

FLASH BACK

**FREE PRESS — H. W. Jayawardene Q. C.
S. Nadesan Q. C.**

LANKA

GUARDIAN

Vol. 14 No. 17 January 1, 1992 Price Rs. 7.50 Registered at GPO, Sri Lanka QD/09/NEWS/91

D. S. : THE SENIOR STATESMAN

— *A. J. Wilson*

THE GOIYA AS THINKER

— *Manik Sandrasagara*

WHAT'S IN

A



SAARC SUMMIT

: *Mervyn de Silva*

P. S. Suryanarayana

GLOBAL CHANGE

: *Birty Gajameragedera*

INDIAN POLICY

: *T. N. Kaul*

HINDU LONG MARCH

: *David Housego*

INDIA-PAKISTAN TIES

: *Inder Malhotra*

KOSAMBI & MARXISM

: *Pranava Chaudhary*

Why there's sound of laughter in this rustic tobacco barn....

There is laughter and light banter amongst these rural damsels who are busy sorting out tobacco leaf in a barn. It is one of the hundreds of such barns spread out in the mid and upcountry intermediate zone where the arable land remains fallow during the off season.

Here, with careful nurturing, tobacco grows as a lucrative cash crop and the green leaves turn to gold... to the value of over Rs. 250 million or more annually, for perhaps 143,000 rural folk.

Tobacco is the industry that brings employment to the second highest number of people. And these people are the tobacco barn owners, the tobacco growers and those who work for them, on the land and in the barns.

For them, the tobacco leaf means meaningful work, a comfortable life and a secure future. A good enough reason for laughter.

 **Ceylon Tobacco Co. Ltd.**
*Sharing and caring
for our land and her people.*



Briefly . . .

Opposition too at SAARC

Several members of the parliamentary opposition too were present at the opening of the one day SAARC summit in Colombo on December 21. Among them were senior SLFP-ers Maithripala Senanayake, Stanley Tillekeratne and Mangala Moonesinghe.

Three topics

Three topics were discussed when President Premadasa and Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao met for fifteen minutes after lunch on SAARC Summit day in Colombo. They discussed economic co-operation, Sri Lanka Tamil refugees in India and the island of Katchativu.

China approves

A Chinese Foreign Ministry statement expressed appreciation of SAARC's efforts to promote regional co-operation and peace. China hoped that all South Asian countries would live in harmony on the basis of peaceful co-existence the statement said.

Talk, says the President

At the post SAARC briefing pressmen asked President Premadasa if he had a message for LTTE. The President said

"My message to them is to stop this unnecessary war and come to the negotiating table". In answer to further questions the president said that the Tigers could lay down arms or even declare their willingness to lay down arms to enter the negotiation process.

His own, says Thondaman

The controversial peace package proposed by Rural Industries Minister and CWC boss S. Thondaman was "my own", the would-be negotiator said at a seminar in Kandy. The minister said that the government had not opposed his proposals but were studying them.

Mr Thondaman said that he planned to visit Jaffna

to talk to the LTTE after the Hindu Thaipongal holiday (mid January). He was already in communication with deputy Tiger leader Mahattaya and would be meeting Tiger supremo Prabhakaran, he said.

Three hats

Dissident UNPer Gamini Dissanayake who was sacked from the party and thereby lost his parliamentary seat told a Sunday Times interviewer that Mr Thondaman, the Rural Industries Minister who has offered to negotiate with the LTTE, was an excellent negotiator.

"He has been doing that all his life and getting the best for himself and his community. That is all right.

LANKA GUARDIAN

Vol. 14 No. 17 January 1, 1992

Price Rs. 7.50

Published fortnightly by
Lanka Guardian Publishing Co. Ltd.

No. 246, Union Place,
Colombo - 2.

Editor: Mervyn de Silva

Telephone: 447584

Printed by Ananda Press
82/5, Sri Ratnajothi Saravanamuttu
Mawatha, Colombo 13.

Telephone: 435975

CONTENTS

Letter	2
News Background	3
Media Debate	6
Sri - Shri	8
Global Crisis (1)	9
India's Role in the Changing World	11
The Region	12
Barber's Paradigm	15
Plantations (5)	17
Poem	19
Goiya's Looking Glass (2)	21
Kosambi	23

On this occasion however I think he is wearing three hats. One represents the LTTE, the other the President and the third himself", ex-minister Dissanayake said.

They want peace

A Civil Rights Movement representative who visited Jaffna has been given an assurance by LTTE ideologue Anton Balasingham that Mr. Thondaman will not be taken hostage when he goes on his peace mission to Jaffna. Rev. Soma Perera who is a leader of CRM is also an evangelist, and he visited Jaffna on a peace mission himself. It was heart-breaking to see the suffering of the ordinary people of Jaffna; they wanted peace, Rev. Perera said on his return.

HR groups unhappy

Human Rights activists in Sri Lanka were not happy with a SAARC declaration that economic rights were as important as human rights, a Reuter report said.

One campaigner, Neelan Tiruchelvam said: "It was very disappointing. Instead of taking a positive stand the leaders took a defensive position".

The first?

Rotary International President Rajendra K. Saboo said in Colombo that Sri Lanka might be the first country in the world to eradicate polio. By 1989 Sri Lanka had already immunised 88 per cent of its children. Rotary International was working towards making the world

polio free by the year 2005, Rotary's world president said.

Deserves assistance

In his Emperor's Birthday message (December 23) the Japanese Ambassador in Sri Lanka Mr Isamu Nitta said that, wherever possible, Japan had strived to fulfil Sri Lanka's exact need. "We have always noticed that you richly deserve our assistance and aid. It is therefore not only the expectation but also the aim of such assistance that you will initiate yourself into action to become a self-reliant and self sufficient country in the days to come. Perhaps you could become a model for the developing countries to look up to and adapt their development programs", the ambassador said.

LETTER

UDUPPIDY

I read with interest the letter of Sachi Sri Kantha responding to my comments made on his previous letter on the D. B. S. Jeyaraj's article "who was Sivaranjan?"

First I wish to point out Uduppiddy village is only a small part of a larger Uduppiddy constituency. So getting votes there alone would not suffice for Mr. Dharmaratnam to save his deposit. Apart from that 1977 general election was declared by the TULF as a referendum for a separate Tamil state and the people took it seriously. Mr. Rasalingham himself could win the election not because he drew popular support in the Uduppidd-

dy electorate but because he contested on a TULF ticket. Elections cannot be the one and only yardstick to measure one's popular support. Where as in a democracy people vote for a political party and not for individuals. Moreover my observation that Dharmaratnam was "drawing sizeable support in his native Uduppiddy village" was based on the fact that Mr. R. R. Dharmaratnam headed the Uduppiddy village council for almost two decades.

Sachi says the political and social environment in Uduppiddy of 1970 was completely different from the one in 1991. While agreeing with him one cannot deny that political enthusiasm was present among young boys

even during earlier elections. I can vividly remember how my friends and I as 10 year old boys roamed the streets with Federal party flags during the 1965 general election.

The trouble with Sachi is that he fails to grasp the essence of the articles while looking for silly statistical mistakes. In politics Sachi's "great knowledge" should accommodate many other things to make evaluations correctly. Sachi need not call the editor to his support because one's comments are not accepted on the grounds that they are in print.

P. Kirupanathan

Karanavai North,
Valvettiturai

India changing its course

NEWS
BACKGROUND

Mervyn de Silva

SAARC need no longer be regarded as a ready invitation to sarcasm. There was of course such a danger just last month when an unusually high absenteeism, nearly thirty (30) percent, forced the other summitters to self-destruct. The expedition had to be abandoned at base camp two (2), the ministerial level, when King Jigme Wangchuk felt it wiser to stay at home after (unidentified) security advisers warned that his Himalayan Kingdom faced a serious threat.

Invoking the SAARC charter and its rigid rule of "unanimity" and the physical presence of all heads of state (or government) Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao cancelled his visit at the very last moment. The aborted summit, mocking as it did the very spirit of regional cooperation, exposed the not-so hidden rivalries between member-states, the petty vanities and byzantine intrigues of the ruling political establishments of South Asia, and the poorly concealed distrust that typifies their collective behaviour. And yet this is a group that represents a billion people, the proud heirs to a splendid heritage. Justly or unjustly, India, the pre-eminent member by every accepted measure, stood in the dock.

A sense of collective guilt and shame has worked wonders. From the moment the young king of Bhutan apologised to his fellow heads of state, the mood changed. By any standard, the sixth summit was far more of a success than its organisers had expected. And that, I believe, cannot be wholly explained in terms of the fiasco in November. The South Asian leaders, and probably their supportive elites, have felt the

sobering shock of global change, and the tempestuous effects of its impact on the region. They have woken up. They just had to.

That breath-taking 'sea changes' are sweeping the post-war international system is a commonplace. Things move at such electrifying speed that it takes all the running you can do to keep in the same place—Alice's problem in "Through the looking glass". The problem of understanding, let alone re-adjusting, to a crumbling "old order" which has yet to yield a substitute clearer and a little more stable, is the policy planner's overwhelming problem.

This near-universal challenge is all the more exacting for South Asian regimes, particularly the smaller states, for reasons that should be plain enough. The Indo-Pakistani hostility, with Kashmir as the region's generic conflict, soon locked the whole region into extra-regional and global conflicts involving the US, the USSR and China. The nature of their relationships, and the changing patterns of both conflict and contention as well as collusion and cooperation, had their own impact on South Asia. The smaller and weaker nations, their life needlessly complicated, had to survive in a uniquely oppressive environment.

While the new situation seems far less hostile, the problem for the policy-maker has by no means eased. How to respond to the new realities? Except on those issues which directly affected the national interest of a particular member-state, the countries which belonged to N. A. M. enjoyed the comfort of conforming to group behaviour patterns. With the breakdown of bipolarity, N. A. M. now awaits the painful task of

Perestroika. Each member is on his own. Former Indian Defence Minister Mr. K. C. Pant in an interview with *India Today* presented the problem particularly well. "The old coordinates are suddenly gone and we seem to be groping for direction. We seem to be reacting rather than taking the initiative".

The voting pattern in the recent UN debate on repealing the 1975 resolution on "Zionism" is a striking illustration. While India voted for the US-sponsored resolution, little Sri Lanka was one of the few non-Islamic states that voted with Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam. Editorials and political columnists in the state-run press appeared to enjoy the irony.

In his weekly column, the editor of the independent *Sunday Island* took pains to remind his readers that India was so angry over Sri Lanka's close ties with the US, and the decision to open an 'Israeli interests section' in Colombo that both matters were included in the "Indo-Sri Lanka peace accord".

While Delhi imposed its will on Sri Lanka in the name of friendship and nonalignment vis-a-vis the use of Trincomalee harbour as well, India the columnist observed would soon upgrade diplomatic ties with Israel. Delhi would also extend growing Indo-US defence cooperation to joint naval exercises in the Indian Ocean. India had however persuaded Colombo to introduce the "Indian Ocean peace zone" resolution at the UN. Such exercises in regional hegemonism and coercive diplomacy, and the pursuit of Indian self-interest through organisations dedicated to regional cooperation should cease.

The Soviet Union was the main pillar of Indian foreign policy in terms of strategic interest. In terms of influence, political and diplomatic, global and regional, the other principal pillar was NONALIGNMENT. The Soviet Union has disappeared and Russia has taken its place, along with a loose commonwealth of 11 states, many of them Moslem.

What the collapse of the USSR means to India became abundantly clear when Moscow for the first time changed its stance on Kashmir. For India, Kashmir is a litmus test of state-to-state relations with any country, most certainly the major powers and the neighbours. As for NAM, the collapse of bipolarity, has placed a big question before the movement. Things may be a bit clearer after the Djakarta summit this year.

To compensate for these negative changes and uncertainties, India has found the US loosening its ties with Pakistan. American concern was sharply focussed on Afghanistan since Brezhnev's time. The communist seizure of power in Kabul allowed Washington to engage in a Vietnam-Afghanistan tit-for-tat, the US pouring money and arms to anti-Kabul Afghan guerrilla groups, all stationed and operating out of forward-bases on the Afghan-Pakistan border or in Afghanistan itself. Pakistan was vitally important to the US. No more. Washington has gently shifted its pro-Pakistani position on Kashmir. Kashmir, a critical issue in Indo-Pak relations is even more important now. The insurgency remains a major challenge to Indian security interests at a time when the Punjab crisis has seriously worsened, and Assam is a major security challenge too.

Indian View

Hint of political gamesmanship

P. S. Suryanarayana

Subtle overtones of an essentially one-sided political gamesmanship marked the one-day "business-like" summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). The host, the President of Sri Lanka, Mr. R. Premadasa, was happy that the summit was a "resounding success. But no decision was taken that would change the face of SAARC in the short run. Yet, the summit itself was not marred by any security-related incident. This is of course, an index of success in the present circumstances.

There were two major issues before the summit. Of these, the question of streamlining the organisation's ways of conducting its diplomatic business has been merely referred to the Foreign Secretaries who will hold a special session for this purpose. The issue of regional cooperation in the spheres of trade, manufacture and services was given no new thrust. The summit leaders merely stated that they were "pleased to note the establishment of the committee for economic cooperation as an important outcome of the regional study" already made in this connection.

In event, politics assumed greater significance. It was generally expected, as soon as a decision was taken to hold the summit on December 21, that last month's postponement drama would be treated as a closed if not a forgotten, chapter. But the Pakistan Prime Minister Mr. Nawaz Sharif, did not let bygones be bygones, though the officials from his country did not rake up the issue during the preparatory discussions that took

place on the eve of the summit.

On the other hand, according to diplomatic sources in the Indian camp, there was, in fact, no room even for speculation about a setback to the SAARC movement after the Prime Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, had already put the record straight weeks before the summit. When the Maldives Foreign Minister Mr. Fathullah Jameel, called on Mr. Rao in Delhi in a bid to set a new date for the summit, the Indian leader explained the circumstances of New Delhi's action that led to the postponement, in the first place, Mr. Rao removed lingering doubts, if any, about India's continuing commitment to SAARC.

'No legalistic interpretation': The sources said Mr. Rao had told Mr. Jameel that India's action was not based on a narrow legalistic interpretation of the SAARC charter which laid down a litmus test of unanimity for decision-making at all levels. He also stressed how important it was for the SAARC leaders to meet in a relaxed political atmosphere.

After all, SAARC is yet to find its political moorings as an established organisation for regional cooperation, Mr. Rao is understood to have told Mr. Jameel. Therefore, the absence of a head of State or Government (in this case, Bhutan) would not be conducive to the process of developing personal rapport at the highest level. Such rapport alone would help place SAARC on a sound footing.

The SAARC could not be placed in the same political league as the European Com-

munity. The absence of a head of State or Government at an EC summit would not have the same adverse impact as in South Asia, the sources said. According to them, Mr. Jameel apparently conveyed Mr. Rao's point of view to the other SAARC leaders, thereby enabling the Maldives President Mr. Abdul Gayoom, the then chairman of SAARC, to set a new date for the Colombo summit.

Mr. Sharif's assertive observation that "we need to avoid... disruptive (summit) postponements in (the) future" has, therefore, led to diplomatic speculation here that the Pakistan Prime Minister has not given up political gamesmanship on the SAARC stage.

When the summit was postponed last month, Mr. Sharif, in particular, had played a political game of "solidarity", trying to reach out to Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and the Maldives in the process. Though he did not openly accuse India of rocking SAARC boat, he left

no one in doubt on that occasion that he was seeking, in a subtle way, to isolate India.

His latest reference to a "disruptive postponement" was apparently a move to keep India in focus as the power to watch in the SAARC forum. Pakistani diplomatic sources argued, in informal conversation, that the remark was unexceptionable, if only because India, while objecting to a summit without the Bhutanese monarch, had not taken into account the sensibilities of a small country like Sri Lanka. Pakistan, they said, would have taken the same stand even if a country other than India had acted the way it did.

This is not the first time that Mr. Sharif has queered the political pitch at the summit-level. At the previous meeting in Male, he had called for a collective pact to declare South Asia a nuclear-arms-free zone, after the officials from his country had eschewed the nuclear

issue in the summit-eve deliberations.

'Wider implications': On this occasion too, Mr. Sharif has renewed the call for a similar pact. But his preference for either a regional or an international or even a bilateral pact has wider political implications. In fact, according to diplomatic observers, his reference to a "bilateral commitment" on the nuclear question is another sign of his political game to keep India in focus.

Mr. Sharif's references to "self-determination" in the context of the political changes on the world stage today, and his assertion that Pakistan wishes to "seek honourable solution" to bilateral disputes through "mutual accommodation" also fall in the same category.

On his part, Mr. Narasimha Rao (who, according to some Indian diplomats, is in a position to play the role of an elder statesman of the region)

- Hindu

VASA OPTICIANS

207, 2nd Cross Street,
Colombo - 11.

Telephone : 4 2 1 6 3 1

Towards a freer press

In order to promote L. G. campaign for freer press we reproduce extracts from submissions presented to the constitutional court of Sri Lanka on the Press Council Bill presented by the S. L. F. P. Government in 1973 we publish extracts from the submissions forwarded by Mr. H. W. Jayawardena, Q.C. on behalf of the United National Party and an extract from the submission of S. Nadesan Q.C. on behalf of the Civil Rights Movement.

We invite readers to participate in this debate by submitting their views on the state of the press in Sri Lanka today and what they would recommend as necessary reforms.

Kindly note that the term "Press" includes Radio and T. V.

Ideally, contributions should be about 750-1000 words. The name and address of the writer should be given. The article could be published under Pen-name if so required.

Freedom of speech requires courage

Extracts from submissions of H. W. Jayewardene QC on behalf of the United National Party.

1.3 It is in the freedom of the recipient that public opinion has its birth. The Press provides the data by which such opinions find their fullest expression. Therefore, it is man's right as the recipient of information to look to as many sources of information as he likes; and it is equally the duty of the Press which provides the information to seek it from as many sources as possible.

If, however, the sources of information become concentrated in one, or restricted to a few bodies, then the formation of ideas is limited. It is in such circumstances only proper that the sources of information available to the public should be enlarged rather than restricted; therefore there can be no justification for interference with the freedom of the Press.

1.4 Freedom of speech requires courage. If a person who gives information is timid or is reluctant to give facts then the formation of public opinion is restricted. The placing of any restrictions on the communication of data and opinion as hitherto communicated to the public is a matter which merits the closest attention of any tribunal.

1.5 It is submitted that in a system of government based on universal suffrage both the issuer and recipient of information express themselves through the ballot. In such a system there is always a tendency on the part of those in power who wish to maintain their position of power, to control the publication of data and opinion, because it might ultimately affect their tenure.

Therefore, it is not uncommon to see those in power hedging themselves in with restrictions on the publication of data

which would be the basis for the formation of public opinion.

4.17 Clause 16 (1) absolutely prohibits publication in a newspaper of the whole or part of the proceedings of a Cabinet meeting. Clause 16 (2) prohibits the publication in a newspaper all documents passing between Ministers and the Secretary to the Cabinet and the publication of the whole or part of the Cabinet decision, unless approved for publication by the Secretary of the Cabinet. This provision constitutes a flagrant violation of the freedom of speech and expression of Clauses 18 (1) (g) as it directly prohibits publication. Douglas J. stated in the Pentagon Papers case "Secrecy in Government is fundamentally anti-democracy, perpetuating bureaucratic errors. Open debate and discussion of public issues are vital to our national health. On public questions there should be open and robust debate." The essential aspect of freedom of speech involves the right of free criticism of the bureaucracy and the Government.

6.3 It is thus that the involvement of the press in the discussion of Cabinet matters is but an essential part of the democratic structure in a free society. Any attempt therefore to remove from discussion such matters is fundamentally opposed to the freedom of speech and discussion in a democracy.

26.4 A Prime Minister who wishes to test public reaction to a Ministerial proposal must be free to utilise the Press by communicating any proposal before the Government to the public so that the public may express their view.

A Prime Minister can even gauge public reaction to a Minister and his popularity or otherwise by using the Press to communicate any proposal of the Minister with which the Prime Minister may not agree. These communications have always been done secretly and it

is for this reason that even in Sri Lanka representatives of the Press have been closely associated with Prime Ministers and Ministers.

6.5 By far the most important feature of the privilege enjoyed and practised by Cabinet Ministers is the right to alert the

nation if any Minister brings forward a proposal which would in effect bring the democratic process to an end. Any proposal, for instance, vesting extraordinary powers in the Executive or the Armed Forces or depriving Members of the Judiciary or of the Opposition of

their liberty must be brought to public attention before it is too late. Any Cabinet Minister who disagrees with any such proposal should be free to utilise the Press to safeguard the Nation, the Constitution and Democracy before a Cabinet proposal is accepted and put into immediate effect.

Where news is not free, views cannot be free

Extract from submissions of S. Nadesan QC on behalf of the Civil Rights Movement

Cabinet Proceedings and Decisions

49. It is convenient here to consider Clause 16 (1) and (2) together. These prohibit the publication of the proceedings of the Cabinet, the contents of Cabinet documents, or a decision of the Cabinet, unless it has been approved for publication by the Secretary to the Cabinet.

50. It is submitted that this blanket prohibition cannot possibly be justified under any of the permissible restrictions. For the prohibition is against publication of any proceedings, document or decision whether or not it is one the publication of which would be detrimental to the interests of national security, national economy, public order etc.

51. The functions of modern Government are relevant here. There was a time when the State was concerned only with safeguarding public order and national security. Today things are different. The State deals with a host of social and economic problems.

52. The function of the Cabinet is not merely to make decisions regarding legislation, which will later be placed before the National Assembly, but also to take numerous executive decisions. It ranges from making appointments to the public service and deciding on the criteria on which students will be admitted to Universities, to entering into contracts for purchase of goods from abroad. These are all matters in which the public has a vital interest.

53. The conflict of interest between members of the Cabinet and the public can here very easily arise. The Cabinet may well consider that the release of certain information might make them unpopular in the country, and they might therefore refrain from releasing it. There may for instance be a financial scandal in a State Corporation which the Cabinet decides to hush up. But the public has a right to such information, which is essential if it is to adequately judge the performance of the Government it has elected to power.

54. What is involved here is not the privilege of newspapers or journalists, but the right of the people to remain fully and freely informed of the activities and decisions of the Government which they have elected to power. Where news is not free, views cannot be free.

55. The provision that the information may be published with the Government approval is no safeguard. Apart from the fact that it denies the people's right of choice, it must be remembered how easily any Government can become corrupted by the power to censor.

56. It should also be noted that the Bill does not prohibit the disclosure of Cabinet proceedings and decisions. It merely prohibits their publication in a newspaper.

57. This will not prevent the leaks themselves. It will only limit the number of people who get to know of them. Indeed the Government itself might proceed blissfully unaware that its plans have become known. It is often through the press that

the Government learns of a breakdown in its own security and is alerted to take remedial action.

58. Influential people, important pressure groups or business interests, do not depend on the newspapers to learn of Cabinet decisions and discussions that threaten their interests. They have their own channels of information, and their own methods of quietly and unobtrusively setting about exerting counter pressure. Such leakages of information will in no way be abated by the Press Council bill.

59. But if a Cabinet decides on a measure that will hurt the common man, then he can come to know of this only through the Press. The new Bill will close the common man's channel of information and he will not be able to start voicing his views and bringing whatever pressure he can on the Government such as resolutions in his trade union or village council, petitions, lobbying his MP etc.

60. The Press is the source of information of the man who does not have influential friends or political connection. It is the source of information of the great mass of citizens whose voice has a right to be heard at all times and not just at such time that the Government finds convenient.

61. Leakages to influential groups are likely to become more, not less, frequent after the Bill. Once the fear of disclosure in the Press is removed, persons having access to Cabinet secrets will tend to be more careless or more indiscreet than at present. Thus the circle of those "in the know", the influential pressure groups and hangers-on of those in high places, grow larger, while the people as a whole will be kept in the dark.

"SHRI" is a 4 letter word!

H. L. Seneviratne

Apparently two reasons prompt the proposal to use "Shri" rather than "Sri". First, it is alleged that "Shri" represents correctly the Sinhala and "Sri" does not. This is a mistaken idea. When the script of a given alphabet is used to represent sounds of a different language, the result is never accurate. In fact "Sri" is phonologically closer than "Shri" to what we represent by the Sinhala "ශ්‍රී". Professor Mendis Rohanadhira is right and Gunapala Senadheera wrong.

The second argument is the superstition that a four letter word is auspicious and a three letter word is not. This is so stupid that it deserves no refutation except to say that the fault is not in our stars but ourselves. We might recall here that about three decades ago the national anthem was changed from Ananda Samarakoon's original "Namo Namo Matha" to "Sri Lanka Matha" on the same argument. The reader can decide for herself or himself as to whether the present is more auspicious than 30 years ago.

"Shri" has an established usage in Hindi, which is the most accepted in English. In this usage Shri means "Mr. Thus, "Shri Lanka" would be "Mr. Lanka". This is to confound the country with its heavyweight champion.

This whole controversy can be the occasion for some sober reflection. Trivial though it is, it could lead to something good, provided we act with a modicum of sanity. We would be doing so if we squarely face the fact that to rename "Ceylon" as "Sri Lanka" was a mistake which it is not too late to correct. Many countries have names that are used locally while they are known internationally by a different

name. For example the Japanese call their country "Nippon" and the Germans "Deutschland" and the Indians "Bharat". Internationally these are known as Japan, Germany and India respectively.

The name "Sri Lanka" was coined by the SLFP in a typically partisan and arrogant attempt to name the country after their party, which is the reverse of the patriotic practice of naming a political party after the country. The LSSP, to their credit, did this when they called their party Lanka Sama Samaja Party. Because the true name of our Country is "Lanka" and not "Sri Lanka". Although the term "Sri Lanka" occurs in the proclamations of tyrants, the people always called the country "Lanka" in Sinhala and "Illangai" in Tamil. Usage like "lanquesvara" and "lankambara" show that even in the pompous idiom of tyranny, "Lanka" rather than "Sri Lanka" was quite commonly used. In the true vocabulary of the land, namely the everyday speech of the people, the name of the country has always been "Lanka" and never "Sri Lanka". The SLFP called their government "the people's Government" but treated with contempt the people's usages, as it did their aspirations, for example "Sinhala Only" for the people's children, but English and French for their children. The invention "Sri Lanka" as the country's name by the SLFP is in keeping with their reactionary policies, chauvinism and exaggerated sense of self-importance.

"Ceylon" and "Lanka" are short and simple, which is

both convenient and pleasing. Either of these two forms can equally well serve as a sensible name for the country. "Ceylon" could be the country's international name while "Lanka" the indigenous, like Japan and Nippon. But if this is not acceptable, "Lanka" is a fine name for both national and international usage. When we use "Lanka" we can dispense with the controversy about the auspiciousness or otherwise of four letter words.

Let us remind ourselves that "Sri" was introduced to number plates of vehicles by the reactionary and feudal SLFP government. Now we have numeral number plates. In the process of change to "Sri" plates, innocent people were killed and foundations laid for the polarisation of communities who lived in harmony for centuries. All for a lousy letter. If anything more insane can be imagined, it is the present hare-brained attempt to introduce another letter to the English rendering of Sri, so that auspiciousness is inaugurated in the form of a four letter word.

Controversies like the Sri/Shri one detract from the real problems of the country which, if it is news to anyone, are economic such as poverty, unemployment and health, and socio-political such as corruption in high, middle and low places. They are welcome phenomena for politicians who have failed to solve these problems, but want to remain in power. But it is time to bring some sanity to this land before it is enfeebled beyond salvage.

The writer is professor of Anthropology of the University of Virginia, U. S. A.

The Challenge to Theory

Birya Gajameragedara
(University of Peradeniya)

The world constitutes an organic whole. The social formation in the modern historical epoch, that is, the development of human history in its social, economic, political and cultural aspects from the sixteenth century onwards, has involved mankind in a single world system. The different parts of the world system are inter-related to each other by relationships of conflict and cooperation on the one hand, and domination to subordination on the other. Humankind is involved in a common destiny by historical necessity.

In the world today, the major patterns of interaction — socio-economic, politico-strategic and communications — are globalised. Yet the problem of inter-state relations continues to dominate the study of international relations and foreign policy. This approach is valid to the extent that the nation-state remains the basic unit of human organisation and the chief decision-making unit in the world. But the tendency to regard the world as a juxtaposition of nation-states is analytically misleading and conceptually sterile. It leads to a dead end at best; to catastrophe at worst. The greatest danger in the world today is the possibility of the degeneration of the end of the Cold War into a nationalist rivalry reminiscent of the 1930s.

The theoretical definition of the relationship between the nation-state and the global system is a task yet to be accomplished. The conceptual demolition of the autonomy of the nation-state and the victory of the global perspective is the basic pre-requisite for the judicious handling of the current crisis. In the contemporary era, the inter-state interaction itself

is globalised. The nation-state and its ideologues themselves are caught up in a network of globalised relationships. The global system impinges upon us almost daily. In the final analysis, the global setup determines our social being. The global circumstances have demolished the geo-political frontiers of the world; the world is drifting; explosive charge of the current crisis pulls the world towards the orbit. The crisis of the world today is most profoundly manifested in the arena of theory. There is no readily available theory to grapple with the current crisis. The leaders of the global proletariat have blundered. The world bourgeoisie remain parochial in spite of their technological sophistication. Capitalism has become a world mode of production. Yet the bourgeoisie want to remain a prisoner of the nation state.

The changing world balance of forces, viz., the politico-strategic configuration, production and exchange relationships, class struggle and class alliances, and the role of communication and ideology, all at the global level, takes command of the ultimate destiny of mankind. The world balance of forces determines the unity of the global system while at the same time being the central dynamic of its change. The great powers, however great they may be, are subject to and conditional upon the changing world balance of forces.

Foreign policy can no longer be considered as mere application of military strategy and diplomacy so as to achieve external objectives of any given country. The art of conducting foreign policy concerns relating any given country to the changing world balance. Any given

country cannot be brought in line with the changing world balance without its internal policy also brought in line with changing global configurations. This is the most crucial area of the study of international relations and foreign policy. In the current world context, the internal and external policies of any given country from the two aspects of a single globalised relationship. Relating internal policy to the changing world balance can be regarded as the central dynamic of transforming the current world set up into a global society.

* * *

As far as the rapidity of change is concerned, this is the most revolutionary era of human history. Henry Kissinger observed:

The twentieth century has known little repose. Since the turn of the century, international crises have been increasing in both frequency and severity. The contemporary unrest, although less apocalyptic than the two world wars which spawned it, is even more profoundly revolutionary in nature.

The essence of a revolution is that it appears to contemporaries as a series of more or less unrelated upheavals. The temptation is great to treat each issue as an immediate and isolated problem which once surmounted will permit the fundamental stability of the international order to reassert itself. But the crises which form the headlines of the day are symptoms of deep seated structural problems. The international system which produced stability for a century collapsed under the impact of two world wars. The age of super powers which temporarily replaced it, is nearing to its end. The current international environment is in turmoil because its essential elements are all in flux simultaneously.

Global revolution is no longer a theoretical proposition. It is on the agenda of actuality without a proper theoretical

proposition. The current discussion of the global change, however, centres on multipolarity, that is, the transformation of the bipolar bloc conflict into a world balance rested upon the two super powers, Japan, Europe and China. This characterisation of the global change which fails to define a place for the Third World, misses the central issue relating to the international conflict in the contemporary era, namely, the definition of order in a global society. Kissinger tries to get at the heart of the problem thus:

(the) political multipolarity does not necessarily guarantee stability. Rigidity is diminished but so is manageability. Nationalism may succeed in curbing the pre-eminence of the super powers; it remains to be seen whether it can supply an integrating concept more successfully in this century than in the last. Few countries have the interest and only the super powers have the resources to become informed about global issues Equilibrium is difficult to achieve among states widely divergent in values, goals, expectations and previous experience.

The greatest need of the contemporary international system is an agreed concept of order. In its absence, the awesome available power is unrestrained by any consensus as to legitimacy; ideology and nationalism, in their own ways, deepen international schisms. Many of the elements of stability which characterised the international system in the nineteenth century cannot be recreated in the modern age. The stable technology, multiplicity of major powers, limited domestic claims and frontiers which permitted adjustments are gone for ever. A new concept of international order is essential; without it stability will prove elusive.

Yet Kissinger refuses to break away from the conventional problem:

Our deepest challenge will be to evoke the creativity of a pluralist world, to base order on political multipolarity even though overwhelming military strength will remain with the super powers.

Kissinger identifies problems theoretically to reject it in application. The social conflict is globalised. The world is in a revolutionary transformation. The proposition that a stable world order can be established on the basis of an equilibrium on power between the nation-

states is not a tenable one. On the contrary, the establishment of a durable world order presupposes the transcendence of the inter-state conflict. In the context of the 1982-1983 Euro-missile crisis, which represented the climax of the conflict between the two opposing social systems, we made the following observation:

The crisis of the world today is most profoundly manifested in the military-strategic relationship between the East and the West. The world with its five billion people is rested upon a razor's edge, transcending national antagonism and class contradiction.

The clue to the creation of conditions necessary for peace and a stable world order lies in the transcendence of the conflict between the two opposing social systems. The clue in turn, to this transcendence lies in the problem of striking the right balance between freedom and equality. This constitutes the central challenge confronting mankind. The judicious handling of this challenge will certainly usher in the establishment of a global order free from the danger of war and freedom with prosperity for all.

The world does not present only a geo-political problem. It is only so partly. That problem relates to the inter-state conflict. The problems of the world are largely socio-economic. They relate to capital accumulation on a world scale and the different social formations in one and the same global system. But, in the final analysis, the world is a philosophical problem. This raises the question of a conceptual definition of order in a global society. The solution of the crisis in the world today necessitates victory of democracy on a global scale. That victory in turn, necessitates striking the right balance between freedom and equality. Geography, in itself, is insignificant; men in relation to each other define the meaning of geography. Today men are related to each other in a global sense.

The United States of America and the Soviet Union, in combination, continue to be the centre of gravity in the world. America is the greatest experi-

ment in the world capitalist order. Russia is the greatest experiment in the socialist revolution. The impact of the way in which Mikhail Gorbachev has approached the sweeping reforms in the Soviet Union has already proved to be decisive. The understanding of the nature of his reforms, therefore, is significant. The Oxford historian Michael Howard wrote:

There seems good reason to suppose what we are witnessing in the Soviet Union are events no less fundamental and far reaching than those which occurred in France in 1789. We are seeing a genuine revolution. . .

Another historian, William X. McNeil of the University of Chicago neatly observed:

Human affairs never stand still for long. Innumerable small, everyday and almost unnoticed changes have a way of undermining patterns of behaviour and belief until a single individual's actions or a single public event may suddenly trigger rapid and far-reaching alterations in the public life of millions or, in our day, hundreds of millions of people. The Oath of the Tennis Court was such an event in 1789; Lenin was such a triggerman in 1917; and now, 200 years after the French Revolution, Mikhail Gorbachev has initiated changes that may well turn out to be comparably important, even though they have not yet provoked much revolutionary violence.

Given the epoch-making significance of the October revolution, and given the depth and the multi-faceted dimensions of the Soviet reforms, their revolutionary character is undeniable. The problem relates to their socio-historical characterisation. Three leading western statesmen say:

. . . the Soviet Union's stake in it (the reform programme) is enormous since it is fundamentally an effort to sustain super power states into the 21st century and achieve a level of economic development at least not too distant from those of the United States, the European Community and Japan. It is now obvious that the road to success will be long and very difficult. The absolute prerequisite is a radical transformation of the Soviet System that will bring the U.S.S.R. closer to Western concepts of market economics and democratic institutions. That is the definition of perestroika which the present authors support.

India's role in the changing world

T. N. Kaul

In the euphoria created by events during the past year — the USSR and Eastern Europe, Germany, the “end of the Cold War” the success of democracy” and human rights and the failure of dogmatic socialism — one is apt to jump to hasty conclusions, ignoring the long-term perspectives. Hence the need to take a realistic and pragmatic view of these changes and their effect on the rest of the world, especially the countries of the developing world such as India, China, South, South-East and West Asia, the Pacific, Africa and North, Central and Southern America. Even in the short range certain trends are emerging that create possibilities of conflicts in some of these regions.

The Soviet Union seems to be swinging from one end of pendulum to the other. Undoubtedly Stalinist socialism and its methods made a mess of Soviet economy and polity and could not have kept pace with the growing scientific and technological developments and the inherent human urge for equality, respect for individual liberty, freedom of faith and expression, and for ethnic and cultural identities. However, some of the somersaults that the Soviet policies seem to be taking both in national and international relations bode ill both for the USSR and the developing world

Afghan changes

The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was necessary and a step in the right direction. But the agreement, just announced between the Mujahideen and the Soviet Government is a dangerous move, that can boomerang against the union itself, lead to its further break-up take the world back

The writer was a former Indian Foreign Secretary

to the medieval doctrine of religion as the basis of statehood. It could create ethnic upheavals and religious wars in parts of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world where different religions and cultures have lived together for centuries.

The wave of Islamic fundamentalism would lead to the religious fanaticism of Christian (Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant denominations), Hindu and Buddhist chauvinism, Sikh separatism and even encourage a split in the Islamic world based on sectarianism of the Shia, Suni, Wahebi, Ahmediya and other hues and shades. It could not only lead to the secession of the Soviet Central Asian Republics but produce a strong reaction in RSFSR, Georgia, Armenia, Moldavia, Ukraine and other Republics of the Soviet Union. What is more, it could produce a dogmatic-religious wave that would endanger the unity and integrity of China (Sinkiang, Tibet, Inner Mongolia), India (Kashmir and Punjab), the Mongolian People's Republic, Austratia (the aboriginals) Fiji and South Pacific, Indonesia, Myanmar, Malaysia, Sri Lanka and Pakistan itself. This could lead to strengthening separatist and secessionist movements based on language, race and/or religion in France, Belgium (Walloons), Great Britain (Ulster), Canada (Quebec), the U. S. (Puerto Rico and the “Red” Indians). It could lead to racial and religious wars in West Asia (Israel and Arabs), Africa (Nigeria and South Africa) and even spread to Central and Southern America.

This may seem a far-fetched scenario to those who are inclined to take a short term, narrow and selfish view of their self-interest at present, but it is a growing trend that cannot be ignored or bypassed in the long run. The history of the

past 45 years (Lebanon, Congo, Korea, Vietnam, Iran-Iraq war, the Gulf war, Grenada, Nicaragua, Panama, Cuba, Chile, the Indian sub-continent) shows that the cold war between the two superpowers had its fall-out in the Third World which was the battleground of wars by proxy between the two power blocs.

Detente

And now, when the two super power blocs seem to have entered a period of detente and of the cold war, the danger of increasing rivalries and cold war, or even hot wars, between the developing countries loom even larger. As the former President of Tanzania, Mr Julius Nyerere said at the CHOGM conference a few years ago “when elephants fight, the grass underneath gets trampled, but even when they make love, the grass gets trodden” or words to that effect.

The USSR is in a difficult situation — politically, economically and ethnically. To get over its present difficulties, it seems to be adopting policies that could endanger not only its own future but that of the rest of the world, especially the developing countries. Its recent shift on the Pakistani proposal to create a so-called “nuclear free zone” in South Asia is a small but significant shift. Instead of giving priority to nuclear disarmament by the nuclear-weapon powers, it has jumped on to the bandwagon of the Western world. It is like putting the cart before the horse. The dire need of the world today is to ban the production, testing and use of nuclear weapons, and freezing the existing nuclear stockpiles with a view to destroying them by 2000 A.D. (as Mr. Gorbachev had proposed in the UN General Assembly in 1988).

(Continued on page 24)

Outlook on Indo-Pak Relations

Inder Malhotra

If the 20th anniversary of the 1971 war between this country and Pakistan brings back memories of the lightning liberation of Bangladesh, it is also a reminder that mercifully the two neighbours have managed to avoid yet another war for full two decades or for much longer than they were able to do so in the preceding years.

To call this interlude the longest period of peace in the subcontinent would be to put things a shade too strongly. For, during it, India-Pakistan relations have been plagued by alarms and excursions all too often and by tensions bordering on brinkmanship at least twice. More shockingly, Pakistan has been aiding and abetting terrorism and secession in Punjab for more than a decade and in Kashmir for over two years. Its nefarious activities in Kashmir, conducted brazenly and blatantly, add up to nothing short of a proxy war. For its part Pakistan blames India for promoting separatism in Sind.

Even so, the two sides have succeeded in preventing the situation from degenerating into an all-out clash of arms. Armageddon has been avoided. But the question is: For how long?

The sensible answer to this painful poser must be that war has to be shunned. Period. Three and half wars in the past solved no problem and another one in the future would solve none.

To put the matter bluntly, if the Pakistani army was in a position to do in Kashmir what the Indian armed forces so did, splendidly, in what was then East Pakistan, they would have done it by now, provided the world opinion was so overwhelmingly in its favour now as this opinion was on India's side in 1971. In reverse, if the Kashmir issue could not be clinched at the end of a war which has led to India's swift and complete victory, can it be solved at the conclusion of a war the result of which is unlikely to be as clear-cut? Wisdom therefore lies in abjuring all acts that can stoke the fires of war and indeed even the talk of war. But, also, this is easier said than done.

To claim that no one in India wants war would, of course, be absurd. Some of us have indeed convinced themselves that the continuing arming of Kashmiri militants and secessionists by Pakistan leaves this country no option but to go to war. The BJP's demand for bombing the training camps and hideouts of Kashmiri terrorists in Pakistan and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (POK) amounts to the same thing. But when all is said and done, the fact remains that the war cries on the other side are shriller.

As the *Economist* (November 23) has reported, most Pakistanis talk of "when the next war with India starts", few of them

say "if". And the writer in the London journal goes on to add that a very large number of Pakistanis assume that in the event of a new war with India, the Pakistani armed forces would have "strategic depth" or a "fall-back area", provided by Pakistan's Muslim neighbours, in which its forces can "retreat, regroup and retaliate".

"The concept," says the *Economist*, "strains belief. But it is believed; and not just by Muslim fundamentalists but by some western sybarites from Pakistan's wealthy elite, by serious civil servants, even by generals".

Another perceptive observer of the South Asian scene, a non-Indian who was in Pakistan recently, came back with the same ominous impression about the dominant Pakistani thinking. He stated that there were thoughtful Pakistanis who realised that there was no longer any chance of wresting Kashmir from India, that a drift towards war would be to try and find a mutually satisfactory solution of the Kashmir problem through an India-Pakistan dialogue. But, he added, this was clearly a minority view. A conspicuous majority in ruling establishment seems to think that in relation to Kashmir, Pakistan is on the "right course" and that there should be no change in the present policy which is bound to "bear fruit" of some sort at some stage.

Such a state of affairs would

have been worrisome at any time. What makes it alarming is that the war fever is catching on at a time when Pakistani polity is in disarray to an extent that no one seems to know is in charge.

From all accounts, the most powerful man in Pakistan today is President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. He is a hawk who frequently talks about "completing the agenda of partition" regardless of the consequences of such an enterprise. However, he is not the master of all he surveys. He has to share power with the army which remains the final arbiter of Pakistan's fate. Within the army, however, there are different voices. So much so that the infamous ISI — the Inter-Services Intelligence — has once again become a law unto itself. Of late, it has come to light that in Kashmir, parallel operations have been launched by the ISI and the army's directorate-general of military intelligence (DGMI). The two are not working at cross-purposes. But the fact that they are working separately is significant.

If utterances of some of the retired generals are any indication, the Pakistani decision makers on Kashmir seem smug in their belief that the "overstretched" Indian army cannot mount

an attack on Pakistan and the Pakistani army can therefore persist in its provocative activities with impunity. They also feel, rightly, that the international situation is a deterrent to another outright India-Pakistan war.

This, however, overlooks other powerful elements in world opinion which ought to be pondered by the rash individuals in the Pakistani ruling establishment. For one thing, the earlier international silence on Pakistani help to terrorism, indeed narco-terrorism, is yielding place to stern criticism. The U.S. is threatening to place Pakistan on the "Libyan list" or the catalogue of countries to be condemned for exporting terrorism. What the British minister of state for foreign affairs has said on this subject in the House of Commons speaks for itself.

Pakistani attempts to internationalise the Kashmir issue and to invoke the U.N. resolutions than which nothing is more irrelevant today have also failed to produce the desired result. All major countries support a settlement under the Shimla Agreement. America's dispute with Pakistan over the nuclear issue is far more serious than its differences with India

on the same subject.

The U.S. under-secretary of state, Mr Reginald Bortholomew, has informed New Delhi of China's "categorical commitment" to the U.S. that Chinese M-9 and M-11 missiles would not be supplied to Pakistan.

There is some criticism of India on the score of alleged violations of human rights in Kashmir. But on the wider human rights issue Pakistan has no leg stand on. Judged by the U.N. scale of "human freedom", Pakistan ranks 79th — just after Vietnam — in a list of 88 countries!

All these are favourable factors which Indian diplomacy must build upon. But that by itself would not be enough. It would be irresponsible on our part not to realise that Pakistan is able to act the way it is doing because it perceives a "window of opportunity" in Kashmir. The situation is the valley is not an dismal as it was a year ago. But it is far from being good enough. The "window" the Pakistanis are exploiting will not shut until the Indian state establishes over the Kashmir situation much greater control than is the case at present.

Ace Radio Cab

- * Computerised meters * Can be summoned to your doorstep
- * No call up charge within city limits * Vehicle access from selected stands
- * Receipts issued on request * Company credit available

Call 501502 501503 or 501504



Another Aitken Spence Service



Hindu 'march for unity' fresh ethnic clashes?

David Housego

NEW DELHI

Hindu militants recently launched a 14,000 km march across India that both the government and most political parties fear could trigger off fresh Hindu-Moslem riots.

Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, the president of the Hindu Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), set out from Kanyakumari, the southern-most tip of India, at the head of a large following on a highly publicised journey that will reach its climax with the raising of the national flag in Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, on January 11.

Many believe that militants from the Moslem separatist movements in Kashmir will prevent his entry to Srinagar or that the government could be forced to arrest him well before then to avoid violence.

Dr. Joshi calls his journey an *ekta yatra* — a march for unity. He says that its aim is to champion national unity against the "biggest threat" now facing the country — "terrorism and secession".

Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's Congress administration believes that the march will inflame tensions between Hindus and Moslems and make the handling of separatist movements in Kashmir, Punjab and Assam more difficult.

Dr. Joshi, one of the hard line leaders within the BJP, set out on a truck decorated as a Kashmiri house boat. His journey will take him through many of the states where there have been communal and ethnic clashes including Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Uttar

and Kashmir — where he will arrive in the capital on Republic Day.

When the BJP's parliamentary party leader, Mr. L. K. Advani, launched a similar campaign last year to support the building of a Hindu temple in Ayodhya it provoked widespread violence between Hindus and Moslems. There have been almost 400 reported communal riots since then.

Mr. Rao called a special all party meeting in an effort to get the BJP call off the march.

The BJP, already the dominant party in north India sees the march as a central element in its campaign to challenge the Congress as the major national party. By equating national unity with Hindu culture, it is exploiting the anti-Moslem sentiments of many Hindus and their fears of the country disintegrating under pressure from separatists.

The BJP also hopes the march will exacerbate splits within Congress, which is divided over how to respond to the BJP's Hindu nationalism and how to handle the issues of Kashmir and the Punjab.

The danger for the BJP is that its aggressive campaign could alienate middle-of-the-road opinion that is frightened by the BJP's excesses. Dr. Joshi, for instance, implicitly condones the ruthlessness of the security forces in Kashmir which has led to numerous charges of human rights abuses against them.

"My weapons are defined by the weapons of my enemies" he says, justifying the methods of the security forces by the violence they face.

Throughout the march, BJP will be pressing for the removal of the constitutional article that gives Kashmir special status, "India is a one and indivisible whole. No part of the territory can be permitted to secede," says Dr Joshi.

He adds that once the government's authority has been enforced in Kashmir, then separatist militancy will "evaporate".

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Air Mail

Canada/U. S. A. for 1 copy L/G

US\$ 50.00 for 1 year

US\$ 30.00 for 6 months

* * *

U.K., Germany, New Zealand, Australia, Netherlands, France, Japan, Holland, Phillipines, Austria, Norway, Sweden, China, Ireland, Switzerland, Nigeria, Belgium, Denmark, Paris, London.

US\$ 40.00 for 1 year,

US\$ 25.00 for 6 months

* * *

Hong Kong, Saudi Arabia, Dubai, Baharain, Arabian Gulf, Syria, Singapore.

US\$ 35.00 for 1 year

US\$ 20.00 for 6 months

* * *

India, Pakistan.

US\$ 30.00 for 1 year

US\$ 17.00 for 6 months

* * *

Local

Rs. 200/- for 1 year

Rs. 120/- for 6 months

Barber's Paradigm and Personality:

D. S. Senanayake

A. J. Wilson

University of New Brunswick

James David Barber wrote in his *The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House* (2nd edition, 1977) that prediction of the behaviour of a President (and his paradigm can be applied to prime ministers) is possible if we have access to the subject's character as developed in childhood, his worldview as formed in adolescence and his style as it emerged in early adulthood. Stephen E. Ambrose, a distinguished revisionist Nixon historian in *Nixon: The Education of a Politician, 1913-1962* (1987), without referring to Barber, confirms the latter's view that a projection of personality can be profiled if we have knowledge of a future president's early years. Barber's views are accepted by the American establishment. In recent times, he was requested to apply his paradigmatic formula to produce a portrait of Jimmy Carter.

That the paradigm can be used in predicting prime ministerial performance was illustrated by J. H. Grainger in his *Character and Style in English Politics* (1969). Grainger had, in a distant way, anticipated Barber but was never anywhere near the sophisticated paradigm. He stressed character and style in the evolution of the Office of the Prime Minister but his was primarily a study in history.

Barber developed his paradigm in four layers; (1) the President's personality shapes his behavior (2) Presidential personality is a package in which his character, worldview and style are components of his psycho-dynamism (3) Presidential personality interacts with the power situation he is confronted with and "the climate of expectations" that prevails during his term in office;

this climate of expectation is discerned by (a) reassurance among the people that thinks will be all right and that the President will take care of his people (b) a sense of progress and action especially "that the President ought to do something to direct the nation's course — or at least be in there pitching for his people and (c) the feeling that there is legitimacy in the office he has been elected to, that "the President should be a master politician" yet he must also be considered to be above politics and (4) "the best way to predict a President's character, worldview, and style is to see how they were put together in the first place ... in his early life".

Barber stated that there is an "orientation" in childhood "towards experience". Once established, that experience of experience lasts "despite much subsequent contradiction". In adolescence, the focus of attention shifts toward the future". These themes concluded Barber, "come together strongly in early adulthood when the person moves from contemplation to responsible action and adopts a style".

Barber's definitions of character, worldview and style are relevant to an understanding of his paradigm. Character is "the way in which the President orients himself towards life". Worldview comprises the President's "primary, politically relevant beliefs, particularly his conception of social causality, human nature, and the central moral conflicts of the time". Style is the President's "habitual way of performing his three political roles which are speechmaking, personal relations and homework". None of these, stated Barber, can be discerned wholly in a per-

sonality, adding, "it is a matter of tendencies". Traits are to be found in all of us "but in different amounts and different combinations".

Barber classified his types into four categories:

(i) the active-positive where "there is a congruence, a consistency, between much activity and the enjoyment of it, indicating relatively high self-esteem and relative success in relating to the environment; he is readily adaptable"

(ii) the active-negative juxtaposes "relatively intense effort and relatively low emotional reward for that effort"; such types are entrenched in their opinions and take criticism personally

(iii) the passive-positive who is "receptive, compliant, other-directed" "whose life is a search for affection as a reward for being agreeable and cooperative rather than personally assertive"

(iv) the passive-negative has "a character-rooted orientation toward doing dutiful service in order to compensate for low self-esteem based on a sense of uselessness".

Barber's view was that the four types will react differently to situations once they obtain office. Thus:

active-positives want most to achieve results (S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, J. R. Jayewardene, R. Premadasa). Active negatives aim to get and keep power (D. S. Senanayake, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Sir John Kotelawala). Passive positives are after love (Dudley Senanayake). Passive negatives emphasise their civic virtue (Dudley Senanayake).

(Continued on page 22)

NEW FROM PRIO!

Sri Lanka: Towards a multi-ethnic democratic society?

Report of a fact-finding mission to Sri Lanka by Neville Jayaweera

What are the roots of the conflict in Sri Lanka? How has the ethnic issue influenced the evolution of the conflict? What hopes are there for the emergence of a multi-ethnic democratic society and how can the international community assist the process of peace?

These are some of the questions which this report attempts to answer. Commissioned by PRIO, sponsored by the Norwegian government, Diakonisches Werk-EKD and NOVIB and written by Neville Jayaweera, development consultant and former senior Civil Servant in Sri Lanka, it will be of interest to international donor agencies, foreign ministries, researchers and all those working in development in Sri Lanka.

It contains a review of the history and causes of the conflict and examines the role of political parties, ethnic and religious groups, the military, vigilante and guerrilla groups and non-governmental organisations in the conflict and in the pursuit of peace. It also looks at the impact of President Premadasa's presidency and contains a lengthy interview in which he not only explains his past and present policies but outlines his understanding of multi-ethnicity and his vision for the future of Sri Lanka.

The report makes recommendations for achieving peace and multi-ethnicity which are already being considered by the government.

ISBN 82-7288-148-9

Published by the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, (PRIO), Fuglehauggata 11, 0260 Oslo 2, Norway.

ORDER FORM

Please supply _____ copies of *Sri Lanka: Towards a multi-ethnic democratic society?*

Paper: Rs 200/- **ISBN 82-7288-148-9**

Please invoice us (trade and institutional orders only) Purchase order No.....

Remittance.....enclosed. (Prepaid orders supplied post free)

Name:.....

Institution/Organisation:.....

Address:.....

Signature:Date:

Orders to: Marga Institute, 61 Isipathana Mawatha, Colombo 5, SRI LANKA

The estate people within the nation

Paul Caspersz

Does socio-economic integration always and necessarily outlaw politicized ethnicity? Or is political organization along ethnic lines an inevitable development of representative democracy? Divergent answers to these questions may be canvassed. Conceptually of course it is possible to envisage politicized ethnicity in coexistence with socio-economic integration of diverse ethnic groups in a single nation-state. In practice, politicized ethnicity would seem gravely to imperil socio-economic integration.

Politicized Ethnicity

Yet when the option for representative government is taken in an ethnically plural society, the different ethnic groups often claim, and obtain, separate political recognition. When the first Legislative Council was established in Sri Lanka in 1833, Governor Robert Wilmot Horton had the task of nominating six unofficials of which one-half could be natives. The Governor nominated one Sinhalese, one Tamil and one Burgher. In 1889, Governor Arthur Gordon added one Kandyan Sinhalese and one Moor. When the principle of election was accepted, in the Legislative Council of 1910, four members were to be elected: two Europeans, one "educated Ceylonese". It is to the credit of the Ceylon National Congress that at its inception it eschewed division along ethnic lines. But it did not take more than a few months for ethnic fissures to appear in the Congress and in the early 1920s the Congress divided along ethnic lines. The Donoughmore Commissioners set their face against communal representation which, in a famous phrase, they called "a canker in the body politic", but finally the Donoughmore Constitution allowed the Govern-

nor to nominate no less than eight persons to represent unrepresented interests in a Council of only 58 members and the three Officers of State. That the Soulbury Constitution introduced Section 29 to protect the minorities from political swamping by the majority is well known. From 1833 therefore to the present day there has therefore been a steady politicization of ethnicity which even the most enlightened and unbiased political thinkers and practitioners have found impossible to avoid. The politicization of ethnicity is perhaps the necessary price of representative democracy in a pluri-ethnic society.

Should the Estate Tamils also opt for the politicization of their sub-identity in the nation-state? In a little-noticed (perhaps totally unnoticed) short piece* Jagath Senaratne has argued against the politicization of Estate ethnic identity:

Commanding a large aggregate number of votes, the community (that is, the Estate Tamils) as a whole will be a new and significant political force to contend with; it will influence the national political 'space', affecting electoral representation, political alliances and possibly may even influence popular political ideologies... In the context of competition for scarce political resources, the implications of this greater profile are ominous...

My argument is that... the conditions for endemic ethnic conflict in the hill country will be marginally lessened if the Estate Tamils seek political expression through the mainstream parties; that it is precisely this marginal advantage that could enable the containment and management of this particular ethnic conflict...

...My argument is that for a workable 'ethnic compact' to emerge between the contending groups in the hill country, it is necessary

* Jagath Senaratne, "After Citizenship to the Estate Tamils", *Voice of the Voiceless*, No. 25, June 1986.

that the Estate Tamils shed their ethnic group-specific mode of political representation...

Does all this imply that the Estate Tamils must lose their 'ethnic identity'? On the contrary, what I would like to suggest is that religious, linguistic and cultural factors MINUS the 'Ethnic Party' component be combined to form this 'ethnic identity'.

Jagath Senaratne is in effect advising in the context of his plea for an 'ethnic compact' against the wisdom of the political wing of the Ceylon Workers' Congress. The Congress took its origins from the Ceylon Indian Congress, formed more than fifty years ago in May 1939 and the Ceylon Indian Congress Labour Union which was formed in May of the following year. In 1950 at the Tenth Annual Congress of the Ceylon Indian Congress held in Matale it changed its name to the Ceylon Workers' Congress. Mr S. Thondaman was elected President. The political wing of the Congress was re-activated in the mid 70s and in 1977 was recognized as an independent political party by the Commissioner for Elections.

Yet the politicization of the Congress is not a development of the 1970s but merely the continuation of the politicization of the plantation workers which began with the setting up of the Ceylon Indian Congress in 1939. The CIC fielded seven candidates at the 1947 elections; six of them won their seats. Among the winners was S. Thondaman who, as President of the Ceylon Indian Congress, won the Nuwara Eliya seat. The denial of citizenship and voting rights to the plantation workers in 1948 and 1949 forced the Ceylon Workers' Congress — which succeeded both the Ceylon Indian Congress Labour Union — to concentrate on trade union activities in the 50s and 60s but it never completely abdi-

cated its political tasks. Finally, Mr. S. Thondaman and Mr. S. Sellasamy were nominated by the Ceylon Workers' Congress (Political Wing) for the General Election of July 1977. Mr. Thondaman was elected 3rd member for Nuwara Eliya while Mr. Sellasamy came fourth in the 3-member seat of Colombo Central. Writing in the first half of 1986, Jagath Senaratne holds up to the Estate Tamils the example of the Muslims.

It is precisely to facilitate development of multiethnic parties that I suggested that the Estate Tamils conduct themselves in the 'national' political arena in a manner analogous to that which the Muslims have adopted to the present day.

Unfortunate Jagath Senaratne! Since he wrote the Muslims have taken what seems like untraceable steps towards politicization of their separate ethnicity. The estate Tamils may therefore answer Jagath Senaratne that it is not they who have to follow the Muslims but the Muslims who are now following them. What indeed seems to be the pattern of the future is not the multi-ethnicity of the main political parties but the separate politicization of separate ethnic groups.

The way to avoid the latter is to ensure the former. Jagath Senaratne sees this:

Whatever arguments to the contrary, all the mainstream political parties from the entire political spectrum should realize that it is in their long-term interest to woo the Estate Tamils into their party constituencies.

The mainstream political parties which could theoretically accept to be multi-ethnic are the United National Party, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the parties of the Marxist left. The reality, however, is that all these parties, including, most tragically, the traditional Marxist parties since 1963, have capitulated to majority ethnic pressures which today have been canonized by the ethnic quota system. To work or integration through political integration of many ethnic groups in multi-ethnic parties that in theory claim to be inter-ethnic and only secondarily by the minority ethnic groups themselves; the task of the leaders will be rendered less

arduous to the extent that they are able to convince their followers of the bonafides of the leaders of the former. Meanwhile, and in order to make that task easier, the avenues of social and economic integration have to be explored.

Socio-Economic Inter-relationships

The integration of the Estate Tamil community into national society has assumed special importance because of four interconnected factors: the Constitutional Independence of 1948, Repatriation Agreements of 1964 and 1974, the nationalization of the estates in 1972 and 1975, and the Citizenship Acts of 1986 and 1988. As long as Sri Lanka was a Crown Colony and the estates were private property, the British were able to maintain the basically enclave nature of plantation society. This does not mean that there was no interaction between estate and village but the interaction was never guided by the imperative of integration. Independence in 1948 saw the birth of this imperative.

Yet the immediate response of the constitutionally independent Government was by way of refusal to see it and the consequent attempt to exclude the Estate Tamils from national society. The attempt crystallized in the Citizenship Acts of 1948 and 1949.*

* The Indian Government accepted the 1964 estimate of the Sri Lankan Government that there were 975,000 stateless persons in the country. By the Repatriation Agreement of 1964, India agreed to grant its citizenship to 525,000 and Sri Lanka its own to 300,000, and to postpone the decision about the residence of 150,000. This decision was taken by the Agreement of 1974. India and Sri Lanka would each grant citizenship to 75,000. Of the 600,000 thus earmarked for India, only 506,000 had applied for Indian citizenship by 31 October 1981, on which date India closed the list of applicants. Sri Lanka in 1986 agreed to grant its citizenship to the remaining 94,000, thus increasing its quota from 375,000 to 469,000. Both Governments would also grant citizenship to the natural increase of those who came under their quotas as decided upon by the Agreements of 1964, 1974 and 1986.

The nationalization of the estates by the laws of 1972 and 1975 heightened the imperative of the integration of the Estate Tamils into the socio-economic and administrative structures of the country. The bulk of the Estate Tamils were no longer to be the employees of foreign or local private plantation proprietors but were now the direct employees of the State. It was therefore necessary to grant Sri Lankan citizenship to those entitled to it under the Agreements and to ensure that India would grant its citizenship to those entitled under the same Agreements. Yet there was delay, due to a number of complex circumstances.

Citizenship Act No 39 of 1988 was the most recent attempt to finally and definitively end the problem of the stateless. It stipulated that anyone who did not come within the 506,000 plus the natural increase was *ipso facto* a citizen of Sri Lanka. That is the legal situation, but does not seem to have so far had plain sailing into actual and effective implementation. At the time of writing implementation, to say the least, is not being aided by the fleeing of refugees in the North and East to South India.

Integration of the Estate Tamils into national society has to be pursued both internally, or within the estates, and externally, or between the estate and the rest of the national economy. Within the estates, programmes are being launched to overcome the secular disadvantage of the Estate population in education, housing, ownership of land, employment and mobility of employment, health, income. These have to be pursued with determination but also with prudence so as not to heighten the suspicions and jealousies of the neighbouring village communities.

If all the published figures so far testify to the greater relative disadvantage of the estate in relation to the rural and urban sectors, it must also be borne

in mind that conditions in some villages and in some urban slums are worse than on some estates. The estates were not part of an enclosure movement as in Southern England, though much wasteland was transformed into plantations. The Enclosure Movement in England directly dispossessed the peasant and pampered them but only until they got jobs in industry. The plantations in Sri Lanka indirectly had the same effects, but the effects persisted. The enclosure movement in England probably caused more suffering than the plantations did to the Sinhala peasantry. But there were far fewer compensatory effects in Sri Lanka than in England. Here there was no industry to absorb peasant labour, especially when population increased. There was no development of capitalist agriculture. There was little deployment of profits for the development of the country.

When both estate workers and local peasants suffered, it is much less important to decide who is more or less disadvantaged than to take resolute steps to end the admitted disadvantage of both. The problems of the peasantry are only the obverse side of the problems of the plantation workers. In the ultimate analysis the problems of both estate workers and village peasants are the same: marginalization by the groups holding power; low and precarious incomes; lack of outlets for initiative and self-reliant development; lack of opportunity for either the extensive or intensive growth of all that constitutes culture; subservience to the city, chiefly the capital city, Colombo.

G. V. S. de Silva in his *Some Heretical Thoughts on Economic Development* unequivocally challenged the country to reverse the exploitative relationship between village and city and make it a relationship that would favour the former. Only in that way, he argued, could the energies of the majority who reside in the village be released

creatively for the tasks of national development. In his view there could be no genuine Gam Udawa until the existing relationship was reversed. Similarly, de Silva's argument can and should be extended to the relationship between the estate sector and the urban economy. At present it is the estate which by the taxes and duties it pays subsidizes the city. The city is a parasite feeding on the estate. If this subsidy is substantially reduced, if not altogether removed, estate wages can be significantly increased, starting a multiplier process than can spread from estate to village and from both to the entire country.

Historically, until very recent times, next to nothing has been done in a conscious manner to creatively integrate the estate

with the village. In an unconscious manner, however, whenever the village existed in the vicinity of the estate, there has often been mutually beneficial contact between estate and village. Left to themselves, without the interference of self-interested trouble-makers, estate worker and villager have been quick to see in each other an ally and a complementary force, and by no means a natural foe.

It is clear that no social change of any magnitude, certainly no humanistic social change, can take place in the country until estate workers and villagers unite with each other in the plantation areas, and then with workers and peasants elsewhere in the country. That unity by its own dynamics will promote the unity of the whole nation.

Cosmetik fur das Kapitalism

This philosopher, Ethnosociologist

Awaking from a dream

(He dreamt he was a butterfly)

Genus Trotskyptera flitting on a beam

Of rare light from a distant Galaxy.

Alas, in spite, of being Dopplerized

To the Red end of the spectrum, being

Enlightened that Race, creature compulsive

Was as illusory

As his antagonism to the Caterpillar

He broke

Through SpaceTime and awoke

In this last decade to a realization

He said, of his Impotence

Against the potency of flaring Nationalisms

In an era which he described

As one of Advanced Capitalisms

We leave him

Smoking his hookah on a Stock Market Toadstool

Mushrooming after HighTech rain and Recession,

But he still wonders whether

He is a Caterpillar dreaming he is a Butterfly

Or Vice-versa, in a Slump

Which the computer says is a Hump.

U. Karunatilake

LION SHIPPING LTD

AGENTS FOR

GOLD STAR (HONGKONG) LTD

REGULAR AND EFFICIENT SERVICES

To and From:- EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA

**P. O. BOX 812
3rd FLOOR, ASSOCIATED MOTORWAYS BLDG,
185 3/1 UNION PLACE
COLOMBO 2**

Telephone :- **434066, 431394, 449133
447543**

Fax :- **448974**

Telex :- **21255 A/B LIONSHIP CE**

Cable: **LIONSHIP.**

Goviya's Looking Glass

Manik Sandrasagara

MEMORY

We have survived as clans because we can remember what we were. Now, we can read all the signs around us by remembering the past. Nothing is new. 'Suba Sha Yasa', Milinda Prashna', 'Ummagga Jataka'.... our folk stories — all this makes us wise. Nobody really fools us... we just pretend to be stupid. This is very safe in a society ruled by a dominant mentality. The boy who thinks, usually ends up on tyres.

INSECURITY

Fear and Paranoia results from feeling threatened. An ant called the 'Binkunda' teaches us this important lesson. It dances when threatened. We therefore respect the right of every living being to seek happiness. Our culture does not make us compete; we co-operate instead for common ends. The water, the land, the air...the elements we don't own. We therefore collectively plan all activity that affects one another. The only goal we aspire to is balance — this brings the rain in time. When this balance is lost, we become de-natured and our darker side manifests. The Deva-asuna war is in our thoughts and our actions externalises this war. Fear and Paranoia is a disease that affects all those who hold on to anything. In a culture where nothing is owned, there is nothing to fear.

Fools have now arisen who react to the illusions around them. The demons and fears are in their own minds. Their urge to destroy themselves with their insecurity makes them take others with them. A shared vision of desire. The desire to rule, to dominate, to control, to make a lasting impression, to create History.

BIG TANKS

Kola-amunu-oya runs from Nathagane Pattini Devale to Karawita (sea). There were several 'gamas' and 'wewas' along this Oya. This was at a time when Gamanis ruled our 'gamas'. It was Pandukabhaya who first destroyed the tank system by building the mighty Pandawewa. Big tanks require a bureaucracy. Were big tanks went the Kingdom's power extended. In the small tank country our village was our world and the spirit that dwelt in our Devale was both our God and King.

Kingship, as an institution became a process whereby Kings expand their control through water. Finally, with democracy, Irrigation and Roads came to the village and we lost control over everything. Very often the road went right through our tank.

RAJAKARIYA

Sri Lanka's agrarian culture was not based on the Feudal patterns that existed in Europe. This interpretation was given to us by our foreign trained historians, sociologists and politicians. Our culture was based on Rajakariya not feudalism. To understand how this worked, one must first know what is 'yuthukama' — duty. This was our contribution in keeping the balance. Our duty was not to a man — but to principle. It was principle that ruled not individuals.

In keeping nature's balance, we knew what our responsibilities were. These responsibilities we consider a sacred duty. This duty was looked upon as a service to the community. There was no bureaucracy to order anyone — everybody collectively attended to functions they were best suited for. Agriculture was the best example — where all parti-

ciated together for the common-good. This was common-sense. Social Scientists cannot understand this 'Mahasammata' (common consensus). They call it feudal based on the European experience that they have been taught.

CASTE

The book-trained rarely understand caste. For centuries, people have lived certain lifestyles. This is genetic information or 'Buddha Bhoga'. People are best doing what they like and understand. Every village had a distinct cultural pattern inside it. No two villages are alike. In my mother's 'paramparawa' there is a 'Denapideni' custom, coming they say from Kuveni. In my father's 'paramparawa', there is something else. But my father and mother have the same 'ge' name, are from the same caste and come from adjoining villages. As much as a tree is indigenous to its environment, people are also indigenous to different environments. Village names arose from 'Rasa' — taste; and, 'Guna' — quality. My village is Thimbiri-yawewa, named after a Thimbiri Tree and a Wewa. This tree can live in and out of water. It is also a tasty wild fruit around which children gather. Similarly, every caste had its own secrets in maintaining the quality or 'guna' of the tribe. It is this knowledge that made them distinct. This 'guna dharma' ruled each group. Although this 'dharma' is now considered old fashioned primordial urges don't change. They surface in other ways.

VILLAGE RELIGION

The sun was our God King — called 'Suryadivvarajah'; The Moon was our God King — called 'Chandradivvarajah'; the Earth was our Virgin Mother

called 'Polo mahikanthava'. This was our religion. When the Sun and Moon united, we called it 'Palaviya'... the night when there is no moon. We learned that out of darkness life begins in order to die. Life contained infinite possibilities with the cycle repeating itself endlessly with no beginning and no end. This is 'Samsara'. The life cycle was understood by all with the Sun and the Moon as our teachers. Because there was nothing to worry, all were happy. It was into such a society that the city introduced Roads, Education, Churches, Business and Politics. Soon our simple 'Gama Pola' (Village Fair) had to compete with a 'Mahapola' (Great Fair) and then with a 'Jathika Pola' (National Fair). Naturally, our 'Gama Pola' lost out in this game.

POVERTY

Who defines poverty? Contentment can be found in a mud hut and misery in the palace. The family is the first unit. This is where our culture begins. For centuries we protected our children. Now those who came from broken homes, who had seen nothing but discontent, came to us as our saviours... these agents of change were the real 'terrorists in our midst'. Poverty follows roads and new settlements. In traditional villages we consider ourselves rich, in fact we call the city 'Geri Wala' — the pit in which cattle are slaughtered. In the village we revere our cattle as our teachers. It was they who taught us about clay and mud. Every village lost its identity and individuality with its unique cultural pattern and became part of a nation when trade, commerce and money became the new Gods. Fertilizer, insecticide, tractors, miracle seeds; all this was a part of what the city called 'Rural Development'. A speed oriented urban mentality fast replaced our tranquil way of life. The simplicity of needs was replaced by unending acquisition and desire... what then is poverty?

KINGSHIP

We only knew what Kingship was. The individual associated with Kingship was of no consequence. The stability and goodness of a regime was determined by the rain coming in season bringing prosperity and peace. When there is conflict, division and drought, the people believed that the King was at fault. A rebellion followed since the King was unacceptable, and anarchy was the result. In order to survive, the King looks towards a division in the public mind and he tries to benefit from it. These attempts are recorded in history by scribes who live off the system. If the scribe is partial to the King, he becomes a hero and if he opposes the King, he is sent to jail. It is the same story always. We come to know of Kings only when they are mass murderers. Ashoka is the best example of this syndrome.

DHARMA WAR

In 1988 a poster appeared in Kataragama. It said that every secret will be revealed. This is what's happening now. 'Hara' (deceit), 'Boru' (lies) and 'Maayan' (illusion) will all be exposed. We are in the middle of 'Dharma' War'. Everybody and everything is under scrutiny. Nobody is exempt. This is the best era for Sri Lanka — a golden era in fact, when people everywhere begin to understand how change comes by itself with the season. Till city people see the hand of nature in all what's happening around them, they will attribute blame to various people. How can we blame individuals? It is conditions, the system and 'irthu' (season) for all this to happen. Everything that happens, happens right.

HISTORY

All written history is a story of conflict and War. Conflict appears in all cultures in between long periods of peace. Peace is hardly recorded in history.

It is always a story of Wars, of Kings and of the building of monuments. This is what is taught to our children — conflict. Even today what we read in the mass media is the story of conflict where slander is the main weapon. Sustainability of cultures is based on practice, not on words. Without practice, theory is useless. Culture is forgotten and conflict emphasised and this nurtured and cultivated in the city. Unable to understand the truth we are being further taken into further chaos and division by "both karayas".

Barber's . . .

(Continued from page 15)

And he added "the problem is to understand — and to state understandably — what in the personal past foreshadows the future behaviour of a president", and in our case, what in their personal past explained the behaviour of a prime minister.

The four categories that Barber classified do not exist in water tight seclusion. There is always an overlap. But when we make our assessment, the incumbent will be assessed in the round for to do otherwise will amount to writing a complete biography. And for the purpose of our analysis, we are interested in those dominant traits which led the officeholder to act as he did.

D. S. Senanayake (1947-52), the first prime minister arrived at his position by accident, the death of a brother (F. R.). D. S. however had had a long apprenticeship. The question we need to ask is whether D. S's early life and later experience had any influence on his career as Prime Minister.

The evidence of D. S's career up to the early nineteen thirties indicates that he was not the emerging choice though he began laying the groundwork after 1931, the year of the inauguration of the Donoughmore Constitution, to make himself the inevitable senior statesman whom the British colonial authorities could rely on as a safe bet.

Kosambi: Using Marxism Creatively

Pranava K. Chaudhary

The late Prof Damodar Dharmamanda Kosambi was a distinguished thinker and writer who made outstanding contributions in various fields. In particular, he extended and enriched the concepts of scientific methodology by applying it to the problems of archaeology, history and culture, making original and far-reaching contributions in these disciplines.

One of the most eminent historians of India, Prof R. S. Sharma, who was a close associate of Prof Kosambi, spoke about the multifaceted aspects of Prof Kosambi's contribution to the social sciences, particularly history:

Q. How would you assess Kosambi as a Marxist historian?

A. Although Kosambi adopted the Marxist approach to history, he did not accept the conclusions of Marx himself, not to speak of the views of the official Marxists in the Soviet Union. Though, the Soviet Indologists spoke of the slave mode of production in ancient India, Kosambi did not accept this thesis. He, however, cautiously considered the *Harappan* civilisation close to a slave type of society.

Again Kosambi totally rejected Marx's application of the concept of Asiatic mode of production to Indian society and strongly criticised Wittfogel's theory of Oriental despotism. Kosambi did not adopt Marx's "modes of production" or their

sequence *in toto*. He held that in India there could be several modes of production at any given time. In short, Kosambi tried to use Marx's method and approach for a creative Marxist explanatory model. This is now being realised by the Soviet Marxists themselves.

Q. Could you state some of the significant views of Kosambi on early Indian society?

A. Kosambi forcefully pointed out the weak apparatus of violence in ancient Indian society. In his view people were subordinated more ideologically, than militarily. Similarly, Kosambi did not look upon the caste as a ritualistic mechanism based on purity and pollution. He considered caste as fossilised class, and as a mechanism of social control. However, his view on caste still remains to be worked out. Kosambi looked upon a part of the pre-Muslim age and the period of the *Sultans* and *Mughals* as feudal. His idea of feudalism from above and *feudalism* from below has been thought to be highly original by Prof A. L. Basham. The first indicates powerful kings levying tributes on subordinates or tributary princes, and the second signifies the development of a class of landowners between the peasants and the state in the villages. The debate on Indian feudalism is still continuing.

Q. What's Kosambi's relevance to present day religious controversies?

A. What Kosambi wrote in 1956 regarding the reconstruction of

traditional history has great relevance to the controversy that is raging about the historicity of Ayodhya. Till the 1950s historians mainly relied on the genealogical tables given in the *Puranas*.

But Kosambi rejected the rigmarole of history based only on *Puranic* lists and accounts.

In reconstructing the history of ancient times Kosambi went a step ahead of Dr H. C. Raychaudhari, who considered events and personalities to be historical only if they found mention in both the *Puranic* and *Vedic* traditions. Kosambi, on the other hand, judged their historicity in relation to the history of human settlement, which was linked with natural resource use and in clearing the dense jungles in the rainy alluvial soils of the Ganga and the black cotton soil area of the Deccan. It is evident that unless settlements were founded in the middle Gangetic plains states and the empires could not have been formed on any scale. In this context he underlined the significance of the role of iron tools.

(Prof Sharma also pointed out that going by Kosambi's method and approach it can be deduced, Ayodhya could not have been settled in any scale until the 8th century BC, and that this is also attested archaeologically.)

Q. What kind of influence has been exercised by Kosambi after his death?

A. Kosambi made the first serious attempt to apply the theory

(Continued on page 24)

India's . . .

(Continued from page 11)

Creating nuclear-free zones may produce the illusion that nuclear proliferation will be halted, but we know what is happening in Pakistan, Israel and South Africa to name only a few countries. India, in spite of having exploded a nuclear device in 1974, unilaterally declared it would use nuclear technology exclusively for peaceful purposes. Having proved its nuclear capability, India deliberately refrained from carrying out any more nuclear explosions, in order to help the movement towards nuclear disarmament. Instead of appreciating this and following India's example, the nuclear weapon powers are now concentrating on the NPT which imposes controls and safeguards on the non-nuclear weapon power even for peaceful uses, but not on the nuclear weapon powers. What meaning do nuclear-free zones have as long as the nuclear weapon powers, especially the US, the USSR, China, UK and France have their nuclear arsenals? This is not "equal" security but "unequal and iniquitous insecurity" for the non-nuclear-weapon powers.

Some Indian experts say India should sign the NPT as a "nuclear power" — but this is self-delusion. By being accepted as a "nuclear" power, Indian pride may be satisfied but its security will not be safeguarded.

Some other experts plead that since China and France are willing to sign the NPT, India has no reason to refrain from doing so. But what does it really mean? By signing the NPT

France and China will merely agree not to transfer their nuclear technology to non nuclear weapon powers and not reduce or eliminate their own nuclear arsenals. Both the NPT and "nuclear-free zones" are mere gimmicks to delude the non-nuclear-weapon States. They will only delay the realisation of nuclear disarmament which must have the first priority. If that happens there will be no need for NPT or nuclear-free zones for the whole world would then be free of danger of a nuclear holocaust.

It is not the USSR alone that is propagating these dangerous trends and doctrines. Perhaps it is under pressure from its new found friends to jump on to their bandwagon. But, even the U. S. and the other countries of the Western world are playing and encouraging this dangerous game and pressuring the non-nuclear-weapon States to follow suit. It is a shortsighted policy that will not succeed in the long run and may eventually lead to greater and not less nuclear proliferation. Those who do not have the nuclear capability may sign on the dotted lines, but those who do will be reluctant to do so. What the U. S., the USSR and the other Western nations need to stress and concentrate on at this juncture is to:

(a) reduce the number of arsenals of all the nuclear-weapon powers (including China, France and the U.K.) by at least 50 per cent immediately.

(b) agree immediately to ban the testing, production and use of existing nuclear weapons and

those that are in the process of testing and development.

(c) agree to destroy all nuclear by 2000 a. d. under international safeguards and control machinery in which the non-nuclear weapon powers must be represented namely the Geneva Disarmament Committee.

India has played a positive, constructive and leading role in the field of nuclear disarmament in the past. Nehru was the first world statesman to plead for this in 1954. It would be sad if, because of its present economic and other difficulties, India gave up its time-tested policy in this field and weakened its stand. It would not only jeopardise its own security but that of the whole world. It is hoped India will not follow the example of the USSR or other countries in this matter.

— Hindu

Kosambi . . .

(Continued from page 23)

of mode of production to the study of social, economic and other processes in ancient Indian history.

The ideas and insights generated by him are still being pursued by a host of researchers not only in India but also in other countries. Although, historians working in universities did not take Kosambi seriously in his lifetime, it is a measure of his intellectual impact that three commemoration volumes were issued within ten years of his death. There is no doubt that the pioneering and perceptive contribution of Kosambi to early Indian history has stood the test of time and continues to inspire historians.

COLOMBO

The Pivotal Port of South Asia


Ideally located to cater to the region's transshipment trade and the world's maritime industry.

- * The best turn-around times in the Region for all traffic.
- * A streamlined fully-computerised operation.
- * A Net-work of Container Depots & Freight Stations.
- * A consolidated Rates Structure.
- * Attractive rebates for transshipment.
- * Safe handling by skilled personnel.



SRI LANKA PORTS AUTHORITY

19, Church Street, P. O. Box 595, Colombo 1, Sri Lanka.

 421231 421201 Telex: 21805 Ports CE Fax: 540651

Loans for Janasaviya Recipients

Loans for self-employment

Loans for NYSCO Members

Loans for fishermen –

all aimed at the re-generation of the majority of the nation who were hitherto neglected

BANK OF CEYLON
BANKERS TO THE NATION