

LANKA

GUARDIAN

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Sri Lanka

— The Pressure Mine as Metaphor

— Mervyn de Silva

— The Prabhakaran Trial: Full Report

Conflict Resolution

Identity Conflict

— Kumar Rupesinghe

Press freedom and ethnic issue

— A. M. Marcan Markar

Is the Gamsabhava A Model?

— A. Sivarajah

The Norwegian Study

Muttu Coomaraswamy: Between East and West

— Radhika Coomarasamy

The Dravidian Diaspora

— D. P. Sivaram

Ethnic conflict: The Demographic Factor

— S. Sathananthan

Censorship and Cologne

— Piyal Gamage



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TRENDS

Chamber calls for glasnost

The stolid and venerable Ceylon Chamber of Commerce has called for greater "transparency" in the government's privatisation program. Addressing its annual general meeting outgoing chairman Ajith Jayaratne (who is also chairman of the old established brokerage firm of Forbes and Walker) said that issues and intentions were not too clear and piece-meal decisions in this crucial exercise were not the best.

Faith in the efficiency and the viability of the private sector should not blind us to the need for protecting the national interest, he said. Also: "While we do need foreign capital, expertise and technology for rapid growth, we must warn against the large scale alienation of land to foreign interests since this would necessarily involve the exclusion of legitimate local interests and could in certain instances be a threat to the security of the country".

Forged certificates

A multi-million rupees racket in forged share certificates has been bared in the City. Investigators have found that the racket has been going on for at least one year during which time the racketeers have pocketed about Rs 10 million. The Brain has been identified as a former senior executive of a leading stock broking firm.

Refugees Repatriated

India has resumed repatriating Sri Lankan Tamil refugees from the island's war zone. Following an exchange of letters between the Government of India and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Geneva, the UNHCR is now assisting with the repatriation of Sri Lankan refugees from Tamil Nadu.

Muslim Tamil talks

The Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC) is talking to the seven Tamil political parties (not LTTE) to work out a common formula before the parliamentary Select Committee on this issue meets again. According to informed sources the SLMC is thinking of an autonomous Muslim council within a merged North-East province.

Briefly. . .

Journalists attacked

Reporters and cameramen covering the start of the DUNF million signature campaign calling for the resignation of President Premadasa were attacked by armed hoodlums outside Colombo's Fort Railway Station. DUNF leader Lalith Athulathmudali and foreign and local mediamen recorded complaints at the Fort Police Station.

Addressing a press conference later Athulathmudali said that many of the attackers were identified and that they were closely associated with a city politician. They were government party supporters, he said.

Common Front: basis Discussed

SLFP All Island Organiser Anura Bandaranaike MP told

the party's parliamentary group meeting that previous common opposition fronts had failed because the participants had not clearly understood the basis of such fronts. Understand the issues clearly before forming such a front, he told the SLFP MPs. Also, understand the role of the SLFP as the most powerful opposition party, in such a front, he told them.

After detailed discussions the Group adopted a resolution asking the party leadership to submit to them for approval all objectives and other details of the Opposition Common Front.

No citizenship promised

Prime Minister D. B. Wijethunga told parliament in answer to a question that the Government had not agreed, at talks with CWC boss Thondaman, to grant citizenship to 84,000 plantation workers awaiting repatriation to India. He said that there had been no talks with Mr. Thondaman on this matter.

Killing of Viharadhipathi

A junior monk at the Thanthirimale temple has been held by the police for the killing of the Venerable Wimalagnana Thera, Viharadhipathi of the Thanthirimale temple. The influential Viharadhipathi who had been doing much for terrorist victims in this NCP outpost was killed in a grenade attack on July 21.

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CONTENTS

News Background	3
Rajiv Murder Trial	5
The Cologne Question	11
Tamil Soldier and the Dravidian Diaspora	12
Conflict	15
Ethnic Issue	17
Resolution Centre	19
Human Rights	20
Muttu Coomaraswamy (2)	23
Books	25
Demographic Engineering	27

DRUGS ?

Doctors are aware that Market Oriented Drug Policies are not always desirable.

The main reason is that out of a bewildering variety of derivatives that proliferate from a single scientifically validated compound, only one or two finally remain in any Rational Formulary. This means that many claims advanced for marketing purposes fail under extended scientific scrutiny.

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Pressure mines and mounting pressures

Mervyn de Silva

Yes, thirteen Sinhala soldiers died in an LTTE land-mine explosion in the north. True, they were cremated at Kanatte cemetery too, with all the formal military ceremonies. All hell broke loose that night and the next day or two. The victims? Tamils on the street or in their homes. The target? Tamil property... shops, and homes, particularly in the Pettah bazaar, and in Tamil enclaves like Wel-lawatte.

But there was a huge difference between "Black July", as this journal named an event that made world news to tarnish Sri Lanka's image. But this funeral, at the same cemetery last Monday, August 10 was no 'Black July'.

The Indian and international press called July '83 anti-Tamil violence "a pogrom" and "state-sponsored" or "state-aided". The mildest charge was that the regime had shut its eyes, if it had not in fact winked at the merciless attacks on a helpless community.

Ten casualties in an LTTE land mine explosion — that is the only real common factor. The violence that was unleashed at Kanatte last Monday had more complex causes although it was on a much smaller scale and lasted only a few hours before the riot police and tear gas brought the situation under control.

There was here more grief and shock than explosive rage. The victims included not merely some of the most respected professionals in the services — army and navy — but also the most warmly regarded, such as the irreplaceable General Denzil Kob-

bekaduwe; the toughest 'pro' of EELAM WAR 1 and 2, Brigadier Vijaya Wimalaratne, and Commodore Mohan Jayamaha, one of the Sri Lanka navy's finest officers.

The 15 year UNP regime, the "long parliament" under President J. R., followed by the 4 year regime of President Premadasa has contributed to the rising, and increasingly visible frustration of anti-UNP forces, dissipating their energies through internal friction for want of clearly perceived goals and a coherent rival program, to place before the people. All that the anti-UNP parties and groups can therefore do is to seize "targets of opportunity", this or that issue, this or that occasion or turn of events.

Beneath all this is seething economic discontent, the direct and predictable outcome of the IMF-World Bank "structural adjustment" strategy. Ever-rising prices — a necessary by-product, steadily marginalises the wage-earner and the salaried middle class the public servant especially, they simply cannot keep pace with inflation.

The burden they are forced to bear, it is clear even to the least educated, has much to do with the war, and its rapidly rising costs... now over 21 billion rupees. So the average Sinhala voter prays for not just a clear victory over the separatist Tamil 'Tigers' but a quick success. Unfortunately, the nature of the war is such that the sort of decisive victory that can be won in more conventional conflicts cannot be achieved in this type of armed confronta-

tion even if one has the high-tech that was proudly exhibited in the Gulf War. The 'guerrilla' fights according to his rules. It is when the 'Tigers' took on the army in a conventional battle — the siege on the Elephant Pass garrison — that Sri Lanka armed forces showed their mettle. The major operations launched since then were also commanded by General Kobbekaduwe, a graduate of Sandhurst, Camberly, and the prestigious Royal College of Defence Studies.

Like other upper echelon commanders of the S. L. A., General Kobbekaduwe understood both the **political** character of the conflict, as well as its **international** implications. It is not for nothing that the International Red Cross, U. N. H. C. R., and other organisations have representatives both in Colombo and in the war-ravaged north. Though not directly attached to any embassies, these "observers" intervene in various ways in the ongoing war. And their reports influence the opinion of the major donors, who in turn, carry a great deal of clout with the World Bank, certainly before the IBRD convenes the annual Aid Sri Lanka consortium meeting in Paris.

Apart from that, Sri Lankan service chiefs, the Army, Navy and Air Force, had understood clearly that the state's objective was in fact to demonstrate that the LTTE had no "military option" i.e. there was no military victory that the LTTE can possibly claim. Once that message was delivered loud and clear, then the path to a negotiated peace, a political settlement within the Sri Lankan constitution, was open.

**NEWS
BACKGROUND**

Selfless sacrifice for the nation

The Sunday Times joins the nation today, amidst scenes of shock and mourning in saluting Maj. Gen. Kobbekaduwa, Brig. Vijaya Wimalaratne and other officers on the frontline of the battle who paid the supreme price to protect the unity and integrity of our Motherland.

If this war torn battle hardened nation still has any tears left it must shed them now. Specially at the feet of Denzil Kobbekaduwa, a soldier of the people, who sought not only to win battles but also the hearts and minds of the people in those ravaged areas.

It is paradoxical that the sword of death had to pierce the heart of a man whose heart overflowed with kindness and concern towards all people irrespective of the race, religion and caste.

Maj. Gen. Kobbekaduwa and Brig. Wimalaratne, in the best traditions of a soldier, always led from the front. They united and identified with their men on the frontlines and were prepared to expose their men. Thus their death was the culmination of a selfless sacrifice for all the men on the battlefield and indeed for all the people of this county.

— Sunday Times

As the SUNDAY TIMES stated editorially:

"If the war-torn, battle-hardened nation still has any tears left it must shed them now. Specially at the feet of Denzil Kobbekaduwa, a soldier of the people, who sought not only to win battles but also the hearts and minds of the people of those ravaged areas".

In short, this was NOT a Sinhala-Tamil war. It was a war against a group of guerrillas, one of the most ferocious in the world, who had launched a war to establish a separate state because that was the only way to remedy many, long-standing grievances against the Sri Lankan state in their view. Why such felt grievances were allowed to fester is of course a question that must be posed to the Sri Lankan political establishment i.e. the major Sinhalese parties which failed to resolve them through democratic means.

Denzil Kobbekaduwa was not only an officer and gentleman, he was that rare soldier who led from the front i.e. when

the order to march was given, the first to move was the man who gave the order, Denzil.

And by his side was Brigadier Wimalaratne, the toughest officer in the field.

If Sri Lanka is an island, Jaffna is a peninsula, and the Palk straits is what separates our country from Tamilnadu. It is from Kayts Island, cleared of hardcore 'Tigers', that the Army with the help of the Navy, was planning to advance. This was a 'combined operation' in which the Air Force had a key role to play too. But the Navy was all-important. In charge was a first-class officer, Commodore Mohan Jayamaha, trained at Indian and Australian naval colleges. The tributes that came from the Tamil parties may well be remembered at the most significant. The PLOT spokesman said that General Kobbekaduwa had "stood above race, religion and political differences. He worked towards bringing the Tamil community back to the political mainstream".

STOP PRESS

Supreme Sacrifice

This issue of the LG had gone to press when the funeral of Major-General (now Lt. General) Denzil Kobbekaduwa was held at Kanatte. Well over half the LG had already been printed when Brigadier (posthumously Major-General) Vijaya Wimalaratne received the last honours from his fellow soldiers. This journal has interviewed them both — one, the most universally respected; the other, regarded by friend and foe as the Army's toughest professional.

The ugly scenes at Kanatte, no matter what the provocation, was no way to honour these men who had made the supreme sacrifice. What happened on Tuesday and Wednesday requires more time for inquiry and reflection. As a first impression, we would suggest that it was more organised than spontaneous and yet it could not have occurred **except** in a society under tremendous pressure; the pressure of a bitter, wasteful ten year war, the emotional pressure of group identity and allegiance, the mounting burden of living costs, the frustration of oppositional movements, divided, dispirited and desperate, and the resurgence of youth adventurism and extremism, armed only for the moment with ultra-nationalist ideology. But that ideological outlook is also shared by younger elements is some of the recognised parties; and these parties, too long in the cold, seize any occasion or issue, as a target of opportunity.

A contributing editor of this journal, DAYAN JAYATILLEKA, who was brutally assaulted by a group of thugs, at Kanatte, was a victim of these emerging forces in a society in the grip of a severe crisis.

NB. If a 'Day of National Mourning', the agitational protesters' stated grievance and rallying cry, was NOT announced in deference to an explicit request from the families of the dead heroes, as claimed by official sources, why was not that fact broadcast to the people?

Rajiv murder trial to begin next month

NEW DELHI

The crucial trial of the accused in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case, commencing next month at Madras, will largely examine the form and contents of the facts collected by the intelligence teams over the last one year. It is also expected to set the scope of future governmental action towards unearthing the conspiracy.

The Special Investigation Team (SIT) has charge sheeted 42 persons, including Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) chief V. Pirabhakaran, the LTTE intelligence chief Pottu Amman and woman intelligence wing member Akila, whose extradition from Sri Lanka is informally requested by the Indian authorities.

The Centre had already banned the LTTE and declared Pirabhakaran and Pottu Amman an offender. But the Government has yet to make a formal official request to the Sri Lankan government, itself locked in armed confrontation with the LTTE cadres, to extradite Pirabhakaran.

Important LTTE activists and sympathisers like Nalini, Murugan, Bhagyanathan, Dixon and other suspects in the Rajiv assassination arrested by the CBI, figure in the chargesheet, submitted recently by the SIT.

The SIT has already linked the alleged LTTE plans to eliminate the Congress (I) leader to its supremo Pirabhakaran of Jaffna in northern Sri Lanka.

A special designated court at Madras will conduct the trial which is likely to continue its hearings of different parties, including those of the accused, till the end of this year.

NABBED: The SIT has begun its investigation immediately after Mr. Gandhi's killing on May 21 last year and nabbed several of the key LTTE members and their sympathisers.

Sivarasan, the one-eyed Jack, called so for his glass eye, and the alleged, mastermind behind the assassination conspiracy, and Subha, believed to be the standby human bomb, had managed to escape the SIT net at Tamil Nadu and hid themselves in the outskirts of Bangalore. There they committed suicide when their hideout was traced by the sleuths and the security forces readied to storm it.

The SIT crack team which worked under its chief D. R. Karthikeyan, currently inspector-general of CRPF at Hyderabad, also went abroad to trace the missing link in the involvement of the LTTE with the conspiracy.

Meanwhile, the one-man Milap Chand Jain inquiry commission, looking into "the conspiracy angle" of the case, had asked the SIT to furnish the names of the "material witnesses, copies of their statements, documents and exhibits relating to the terms and reference of the commission" to it by this week.

The commission, which is to start its preliminary hearings on July 31, has also asked the intelligence bureau and the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) to submit copies, reports and documents which it had asked for earlier. The Jain panel has already received affidavits from the foreign secretary, Mr. J. N. Dixit, union home secretary, present and former, cabinet secretary, top civil and police officers of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. Besides political parties like AICC (I), ALADMK, DMK, DK and district party, Madras and prominent persons like Ms. Maragatham Chandrasekhar, MP, Ms. Jayanti Natrajan, MP, Mr. G. K. Moopanar, Mr. Suman Dubey, journalist, and a Madras-based newspaper 'dinamalar' have also filed the affidavits in the case.

INDEPENDENT: The commission proposes to make its "own independent findings, examine the SIT material, verify its correctness and probe the leads missed by the SIT", according to the commission sources.

The sources said that the notice was issued to the foreign secretary because he played a pivotal role in shaping India's Sri Lankan policy and was also the Indian high commissioner to that country when the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) was sent there under the Indo-Sri Lankan peace accord in 1986.

Last month the Justice J. S. Verma Commission, probing the security lapses at Sriperumbudur where Mr. Gandhi was killed in a bomb blast, had held the central and Tamil Nadu security and intelligence agencies guilty of lapses and recommended key

(Continued on page 21)

LTTE challenges "ban" order

The LTTE is planning to challenge the Indian government decision to ban the movement under the UNLAWFUL ACTIVITIES PREVENTION ACT of 1967. The 'Tigers' are now in search of an Indian lawyer who can take their case. The Indian government acted under Section 3 of the UAPA. The order covers LTTE leaders, members, armed groups, activists, and pro-LTTE Tamils operating on Indian soil. According to a report by S. Venkat Narayan (*Sunday Island* 9/8) the LTTE is now looking for an Indian lawyer who can represent it. LTTE offices in London and New York have been looking for an internationally known lawyer. According to Venkat Narayan, another option is Mr. Ram Jethmalani, the eminent Indian lawyer who appeared for the accused in the Indira Gandhi assassination case.

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Final Report in RC. 9/S/91/CBI/SCB/Madras – (Rajiv Gandhi Assassination Case) Under Section 173 Cr. P. C.

List of Accused:

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------|---------------|----------------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. V. Prabhakaran | } Absconding | 20. S. Vijayan & Perumal Vijayan | } Since Dead. |
| 2. Pottu Omman & Shanmughanathan Sivasankaran | | 21. V. Selvaluxmi | |
| 3. Akila & Akilakka | | 22. S. Baskaran & Velayudam | |
| 4. S. Packiachandran & Raghuvaran & Sivarasan | | 23. S. Shanmughavadivelu & Thambi Anna | |
| 5. Dhanu & Anbu & Kalaivani | } Since Dead. | 24. P. Ravichandran & Ravi & Pragasan | } Since Dead. |
| 6. Subha & Nithya | | 25. M. Suseendran & Mahesh | |
| 7. S. Haribabu | | 26. G. Perarivalan & Arivu | |
| 8. Nehru & Nero & Gokul | | 27. S. Duraisingam & Irumborai | |
| 9. S. Nalini | | 28. S. Bhagyanathan | |
| 10. T. Suthenthiraraja & Santhan | | 29. S. Padma | |
| 11. V. Sriharan & Murugan & Thas & Indu Master | | 30. A. Sundaram & Subha Sundaram | |
| 12. Shankar & Koneswaran | | 31. K. Dhanasekaran & Raju | |
| 13. D. Vijayanandan & Hariayya | | 32. N. Rajasuriya & Rangan | |
| 14. B. Ruban & Suresh | | 33. T. Vigneswaran & Vicky | |
| 15. S. Kanagasabapathy & Radhaayya | | 34. J. Ranganath | |
| 16. A. Chandralekha & Athirai & Sonia & Gowri | | 35. N. Shanmugam & Jayaraj | } Since Dead. |
| 17. B. Robert Payas | | 36. Trichy Santhan & Gundu Santhan | |
| 18. S. Jayakumar | | 37. Suresh Master | |
| 19. J. Shanthi | | 38. Dixon & Kishore | |
| | | 39. Amman & Gangaikumar | |
| | | 40. Driver Anna & Keerthi | |
| | | 41. Jamuna & Jameela | |

A-1 Prabhakaran (Absconding) is the supreme leader of the Srilankan Tamil Organisation called LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL EELAM (LTTE) who along with Pottu Omman (A2), Akila (A3) and others designed the criminal conspiracy to assassinate former Prime Minister of India Shri. Rajiv Gandhi and commit other offences in pursuance thereof and arranged for the execution of the same.

A-2 Pottu Omman & Shanmughanathan Sivasankaran (Absconding) is the Chief of the Intelligence Wing of the LTTE who along with Prabhakaran (A1), Akila (A3) and others of the LTTE designed and arranged the execution of the objective of the criminal conspiracy.

A-3 Akila (Absconding) is a woman member of LTTE holding the position of Deputy Chief of Women's Intelligence Wing of the LTTE. She along with Prabhakaran (A1) and Pottu Omman (A2) planned and arranged the achievement of the objective of the criminal conspiracy.

A-4 S. Packiachandran & Raghuvaran & Sivarasan (Since Dead) was a member of the

Intelligence Wing of the said organisation who had been entrusted with the task of execution of the objective of the criminal conspiracy.

A-5 Dhanu & Anbu & Kalaivani (Since Dead) a "Tigress" (female member) in the said Organisation avowed to execute and carry out the object of the said organisation and was entrusted with the task of exploding the bomb concealed in her person at the public meeting to kill Shri Rajiv Gandhi and others around him, to strike terror among the public and to die without exposing the other conspirators.

A-6 Subha & Nithya (Since Dead) was another "Tigress" in the said Organisation and was entrusted with the task of executing the plan along with Dhanu (A5).

A-7 S. Hari Babu (Since Dead) He is an Indian Tamil who resided in Madras City. He was a photographer trained by Subha Sundaram (A30). He was an active LTTE sympathiser and a close associate of Sriharan & Murugan (Ali), Bhagyanathan (A28) Perarivalan & Arivu (A26) & Sundaram & Subha Sundaram (A30). He ac-

tively assisted Sivarasan (A4) and others in accomplishing the objective of criminal conspiracy.

A-8 Nehru & Nero & Gokul (Since Dead) was a member of the Intelligence Wing of the LTTE who came along with eight others on 1. 5. 91 and clandestinely entered Tamil Nadu. He was a close associate of Sivarasan (A4) and operated the wireless equipment at Vijayan's (A20) house.

A-9 S. Nalini is an Indian Tamil residing at Madras, who had been enlisted by Sivarasan (A4) for the purpose of carrying out the designs of the criminal conspiracy. She is the sister of Bhagyanathan (A28) and daughter of Padma (A29).

A-10 T. Suthendraraja & Santhan and A-11 V. Sriharan & Murugan & Thass & Indu Master are LTTE Intelligence wing cadres who had been sent to India by Pottu Omman (A2) for facilitating the achievement of the objectives of the criminal conspiracy. Suthendraraja & Santhan (A10) and Sriharan & Murugan (A11) are Srilankan Tamils.

A-12 Shanker & Koneswaran, A-13 D. Vijayanandan & Hariayya and A-14 B. Ruban & Suresh are Srilankan Tamils, of who A12 and A14 are LTTE cadres. A13 is an active supporter of LTTE working for the organisation. They were members of the group of nine persons who clandestinely reached Tamil Nadu on 1. 5. 91 under the leadership of Sivarasan (A4).

A-15 S. Kanagasabapathy & Radhaayya and A-16 A. Chandralekha & Athirai are Srilankan Tamils and Kanagasabapathy (A15) is a supporter of the LTTE. Athirai (A16) is a "Tigress" belonging to the intelligence Wing of the said organisation and had been sent from Srilanka to India to act according to the instructions of Sivarasan (A4) by Pottu Omman (A2) in carrying out the objective of the criminal conspiracy according to the needs of the situation.

A-17 B. Robert Payas, A-18 S. Jayakumar, A-19 J. Shanthi, A-20 S. Vijayan A-21 V. Selvaluxmi, and A-22 S. Baskaran Robert Payas (A17), Jayakumar (A18), Vijayan (A20) are Srilankan Tamils and strong supporters of the LTTE having been sent to India for the purpose of helping to achieve the objective of criminal conspiracy. J. Shanthi (A19) who is the wife of S. Jayakumar (A18), Selvaluxmi (A21) who is the wife of S. Vijayan (A20) and S. Baskaran (A22) who is the father of Selvaluxmi (A21) and father-in-law of Vijayan (A20) are Indian Tamils and active supporters of the LTTE who rendered all assistance to Sivarasan (A4) and other members of conspiracy in carrying out the object of the criminal conspiracy.

A-23 S. Shanmugavadivelu & Thambi Anna is a Srilankan Tamil and an active supporter of LTTE. He was closely associated with Sivarasan (A4) and Santhan (A10). He was keeping the funds given by Sivarasan for meeting the expenditure of the members of conspiracy and was distributing the same to them. He was also converting gold brought from Jaffna into cash.

A-24 P. Ravichandran & Pragasan and A-25 M. Suseendran & Mahesh are Indian Tamils trained by the LTTE in Srilanka and were sent back to India for carrying out the objectives of the criminal conspiracy.

A-26 G. Perarivalan & Arivu and A-27 Irumborai & Duraisingam are residents of Tamil Nadu and active LTTE supporters, who rendered all assistance and actively participated in the achievement of the objective of the criminal conspiracy.

A-28 S. Baghyathan is the brother of S. Nalini (A9) and Son of S. Padma (A29). **A-29 S. Padma** is the mother of S. Nalini (A9) and Bhagyanathan (A28). **A-30 A. Sundaram & Subha Sundaram** is a family friend and wellwisher of S. Nalini (A9), S. Bhagyanathan (A28) and S. Padma (A29) and he had trained S. Haribabu (A7) (Since dead) in photography. S. Nalini (A9), S. Bhagyanathan (A28), S. Padma (A29) & A. Sundaram & Subha Sundaram (A30) are active supporters of LTTE and rendered all assistance to the other conspirators in the achievement of the object of the criminal conspiracy.

A-31 K. Dhanasekharan & Raju is an Indian Tamil residing in Tamil Nadu. He had actively assisted the co-conspirators by purchasing vehicles for their use in their activities and transported Sivarasan (A4), Subha (A6) and Nehru & Nero (A8) in his tanker lorry from Madras to Bangalore to help them to evade arrest.

A-32 N. Rajasuriya & Rangan and A-33 T. Vigneswaran & Vicky are Srilankan Tamils who infiltrated into Tamil Nadu clandestinely and lent active support to the other accused in carrying out the objective of the conspiracy.

A-34 J. Ranganath is a Indian Tamil residing in Karnataka and a active supporter of LTTE. He harboured proclaimed offenders Sivarasan (A4) and Subha (A5) and others to shield them from arrest.

A-35 N. Shanmugham & Jayaraj (Since Dead) an Indian Tamil settled at Kodiakkarai, Vedaranyam who rendered assistance to the gang of nine and other members of the conspiracy in executing the object of criminal conspiracy.

A-36 Trichy Santhan & Gundu Santhan (Since Dead) was an LTTE cadre who infiltrated into Tamil Nadu clandestinely and was in-charge

of the Political Wing of LTTE in Tamil Nadu. He assisted Sivarasan (A4) in carrying out the object of the criminal conspiracy.

A-37 Suresh Master A-38 Dixon & Kishore, A-39 Ahman, A-40 (Driver) Anna & Keerthi and A-41 Jamuna & Jameela (Since Dead) were all LTTE cadres who infiltrated into Tamil Nadu clandestinely. They were closely associated with Sivarasan (A4) and rendered all help in achieving the object of the criminal conspiracy.

1. This case relates to the most horrendous murder of Shri. Rajiv Gandhi, former Prime Minister of India, committed as a result of a well thought out design, dexterously carried out in a most diabolical manner which also resulted in the death of 17 others, including 9 police officials, 7 members of public and assassin Dhanu (A5) causing injuries to 44 persons.

2. In or about 1983 the important leaders of Tamil Community in the Eastern and Northern areas of Srilanka started a movement for Tamil Eelam with the avowed object of attaining a Tamil Sovereign State within Srilanka. The demand for a separate Tamil Eelam led to strife inside Srilanka between the Sinhalese backing up the Srilankan Government and the Tamil people backing up the Tamil movement.

3. Periodical outbreaks of ethnic violence in Srilanka resulted in large scale exodus of Tamil population from the island to neighbouring Tamil Nadu in India with whom they had age old cultural, linguistic and ethnic ties. The Indian Tamils were greatly agitated by the plight of the Srilankan Tamils across the Palk Strait. The influx of the refugees was also an economic strain on India which had to provide shelter, food, medical facilities, etc. The ethnic problem of Srilanka took the shape of a major problem for India. One of the groups demanding Tamil Eelam or a separate Tamil State was led by V. Prabhakaran (A1), Leader of the group called the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). Other groups like Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) and People's Liberation Organisation for Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) who had their own leaders also represented different interests. However the LTTE was the major force to be reckoned with and they claimed to be the sole representative of the Srilankan Tamils.

4. This problem affecting both Indian and Srilanka was sought to be remedied by Shri Rajiv Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, by taking the initiative to bring the Srilankan Government and various Tamil groups to the negotiating table by acting as the mediator. On 24th July 1987, Prabhakaran (A1) the LTTE Supremo, was brought to Delhi and was appraised of the details of the proposed Accord. Apparently Prabhakaran (A1) was not satisfied

with the proposed terms. Prabhakaran (A1) conveyed his misgivings to sympathiser that he had been stabbed in the back and betrayed by the Government of India, by Shri Rajiv Gandhi in the matter of reaching the Accord with the Government of Srilanka. He also gave a statement to the Press.

5. The Indo-Sri Lanka Accord signed between India and Sri Lanka on 29.7.87 recognised the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Srilanka. A separate Tamil Eelam State was therefore ruled out. On the other hand only a provincial State within the Sovereign State of Srilanka was envisaged. While the other groups of Tamils were agreeable to this Accord, LTTE was against it as this went against its avowed policy and demand for a separate Tamil State. This Accord, therefore triggered their hatred for the Indian leadership of the time led by Shri Rajiv Gandhi whose mediating skills brought about the Accord. In terms of the Accord, the Indian Army was assigned the peace keeping role.

6. The implementation of the Accord commenced from 30.7.87 when the Indian Army reached Palaly, Jaffna for its peace keeping mission. The Accord contemplated the surrender of arms by all the armed Tamil groups including the LTTE within 72 hours. The situation was ticklish as the LTTE could not decide on the issue since their Supremo was still in Delhi. He was flown back on 2.8.87, and in the public meeting held at Sudumalai, Jaffna on 4.8.87, Prabhakaran (A1) expressed his feelings openly. In his speech, while claiming himself as the Chieftain who had fought for the people, he indicated that he was cowing to fate and surrendering the weapons under pressure while maintaining at the same time his independence and self respect. Despite this announcement, surrender of arms did not commence till 6.8.87, when Yogi & Yogarathnam of the LTTE made the first show of formal surrender. The surrender, however, was not total.

7. The LTTE was dissatisfied with the Srilankan Government for the allegedly casual and lethargic manner in which displaced Tamils were being rehabilitated when compared to the enthusiasm which displaced Sinhalese were rehabilitated in the Eastern Province. On the political front also they were not satisfied with the developments in the matter of allotment of seats in the Interim Council. There were also bickering in regard to the choice of persons for Chairmanship of the Interim Council. In this surcharged atmosphere of tensions, Thileepan, one of the senior functionaries of LTTE, commenced a fast unto death from 15.9.87 in support of certain demands. He died fasting on 26.9.87.

8. The apprehension of 17 important LTTE men by the Srilankan Navy while travelling in a boat including key leaders Pulendran and

Kumarappa followed immediately thereafter. The LTTE sought the help of the Indian Government for their release while the Srilankan Government wanted them to be flown to Colombo for interrogation purposes on charges of violation of the Accord. While they were handed over to Srilankan Forces for being flown to Colombo, twelve of them, including Pulendran and Kumarappa, died consuming cyanide.

9. The LTTE propaganda machinery swung into action to sow the seeds of distrust and disappointment in the minds of the Tamil public in Jaffna towards the leadership of Indian Government, as though India had betrayed them. The role of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) was widely condemned as inimical to the interests of Tamils. While indulging in such scathing attacks Shri Rajiv Gandhi was projected as the perpetrator of their suffering. The LTTE projected itself as the sole guardian of the Tamil people. Prabhakaran (A1) in an open declaration at the time of the funeral of the 12 dead LTTE cadres, averred that henceforth he would revert back to taking up arms to fight for their causes. Udayan, a Jaffna Tamil daily, on 7.10.87, quoted Prabhakaran (A1) as describing the actions of Sh. Rajiv Gandhi as unpardonable. The opportunity was fully used by the LTTE to project their dissatisfaction with the Indian leadership mainly Shri Rajiv Gandhi. The alienation of the LTTE and its Supremo Prabhakaran (A1), from Shri Rajiv Gandhi's leadership in Indian Politics was total. Prabhakaran (A1) after emerging from his hide-out after about two and a half years, made a statement in April '90 that he was against the former Indian leadership namely Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

10. Sporadic fighting broke out between the LTTE and IPKF, resulting in loss of life on either side. This confrontation between the IPKF and the LTTE continued till the commencement of withdrawal of IPKF in 1989. During this period the LTTE went about compiling newsreports, articles and other materials appearing in print and electronic media about the alleged atrocities perpetrated by the IPKF. Propaganda was also mounted for the immediate withdrawal of the IPKF and anyone who called for the continuance of IPKF was branded a traitor. Slain TULF leader Amirthalingam and slain EPRLF leader Padmanabha had thus been branded traitors. The withdrawal of IPKF was completed in March 1990 and by that time Shri Rajiv Gandhi had gone out of power and was the leader of opposition. As the political vicissitudes in India in the later half of 1990 would show the country was heading for an early mid-term poll and there was a perceptible upswing in the popularity of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Shri Rajiv Gandhi himself in August, 1990 predicted the general elections in early 1991.

11. The LTTE apprehended a reversal of the then Government of India's non-interfering

Policy towards Srilanka with the possibility of return of Shri Rajiv Gandhi as Prime Minister as he stood for not only Srilanka's territorial integrity but also for a role for all Tamil groups in any Tamil solution. In order to prevent Shri Rajiv Gandhi from coming back to power the LTTE leadership conspired to eliminate him, create instability in India and make a clean get away without leaving and trace of LTTE involvement. The conspiracy began to unfold by putting certain number of hardcore LTTE cadres in strategic location in India.

12. The first group consisting of Vijayan & Perumal Vijayan (A 20) his wife Selvaluxmi (A 21) and his father-in-law Bhaskaran & Velayuthan (A 22) were sent by Sivarasan (A 4) in furtherance of the Criminal Conspiracy and they reached Rameswaram on 12-9-90, under the guise of refugees. They registered themselves and stayed in Tuticorin Refugee Camp.

13. The second group, consisting of Robert Payas (A 17), Jayakumar (A 18) and his wife Shanthi (A 19) landed at Rameswaram on 20.9.90 under the guise of refugees and registered themselves. In a day or two, they came to Madras and stayed in a house at Mahakavi Bharathi Nagar, Madras 39.

14. Thereafter, Jayakumar (A 18) took a house at No. 26, Sabari Nagar Extn., Porur, with effect from 1.10.90. The entire group consisting of Jayakumar (A 18), Shanthi (19), Robert Payes (A 17) and his family shifted to this house even two days earlier, which became the place of contact for the members of criminal conspiracy.

15. Ravichandran & Ravi & Pragasan (A 24) and Suseendran & Mahesh (A 25) who went to Jaffna for getting training from LTTE came to Tamil Nadu with Sivarasan (A 4) during December, 1990. During his sojourn in Madras in the months of January and February, 1991, Sivarasan (A 4) was frequently meeting Ravichandran & Ravi & Prakasam (A 24). Thereafter Sivarasan (A 4) left for Jaffna through Kodiakkara and returned to Madras during mid March, 1991. On this occasion he brought gold to be used for financing the operation. He got this gold converted into cash through Shanmugha-vedivelu & Thambi Anna (A 23) and left the cash with the latter to be drawn in instalments to achieve the objective of the conspiracy.

16. In the meanwhile, in December 1990, Jayakumar (A 18) took another house at No. 155, Muthamil Nagar, Kodungaiyur, Madras through his father-in-law, at the instance of Sivarasan (A 4) and shifted his family. Thereafter Sivarasan (A 4) stayed with Jayakumar (A 18) and Shanthi (A 19). They were financed by Sivarasan (A 4).

17. While at Tuticorin camp, Vijayan was visited by Sivarasan (A 4) during December, 1990 and was advised to take a house at Madras, so as to accommodate some more LTTE cadres who were expected to arrive soon.

(To be continued)

THE NEO-COLOGNE QUESTION

Advertising with a vengeance

We are writing this letter to convey our grave displeasure and disgust with an exceptionally sexist and violent advertisement that is being repeatedly telecast on MTV since its inception.

The advertisement in question is for a male cologne called *Averger* which is being marketed by International Cosmetics (Pvt) Ltd, a subsidiary of the Maharajah Organization. This advertisement is made up of three sequences.

The opening shot is that of a dark alleyway where an Elton John look-alike is spotlighted strumming a guitar. In the shadows a few yards away stands another man nonchalantly smoking a cigarette. Suddenly, a woman in a black dress and high heels swings through the alley, her black mane of hair swirling around her face. The man in the shadows makes a grab at her, she glares at him, tosses her head dismissively and continues on her way.

Next shot, the spurned man sprays cologne on himself.

The concluding shot is a replay of the first one but with a major development. The guitar plays on and through the shadows once again appears the desirable object, the woman. The man grabs at her again and surprise! She turns towards him and her yielding to him is signified by her painted finger nails curling around his shoulders and her high heeled feet arching upwards on tiptoe.

The final shot displayed the bottles of cologne along with their signature slogan: "*Averger*, Brings out the man in you".

The message here was clear, direct and horrifying. If you wear the correct cologne even sexual assault can be alluring to women. Furthermore, by suggesting that this cologne brought out the "man in you," the advertiser seemed to be also suggesting that to be

masculine was to also be violent; to physically and sexually avenge a woman who may have "insulted" one's masculinity by refusing one's 'advances'.

We call for the immediate suspension of the telecasting of this advertisement.

1. Ramani Muttetuwegama (Sri Lanka Federation of University Women), 2. Malathi de Alwis (Feminist Forum), 3. Vasuki Nesiah (Centre for Study of Human Rights), 4. Farzana Haniffa (International Centre of Ethnic Studies), 5. Manisha Wimalachandra (Women in Need), 6. Chitralekha Maunaguru (Women's Study Circle Jaffna), 7. Qadri Ismail (Columbia University), 8. Reggie Siriwardena

(International Centre for Ethnic Studies), 9. Mala Dassanayake (Voice of Women), 10. Mira Wickremasinghe (University of Colombo), 11. Anna Subramaniam (Women for Peace), 12. Pradeep Jeganathan (University of Chicago), 13. Rajini and Jayanthi (Suriya Women's Development Centre), 14. Kumari Jayawardena (Women's Education and Research Centre), 15. Keshini Soysa (University of Peradeniya), 16. Sunil Bastian (Social Scientists Association), 17. Sunil Abeysekere (Women and Media), 18. Manouri Muttetuwegama (Bar Association), 19. Natasha Balendra (Lawyer), 20. Sunil Wijesiriwardena (Vibhavi Centre), 21. Kumudini Samuel (Women and Media), 22. Sriyani Perera (Vibhani Centre).

Daily News

27/7/92

TEST PAPER

Some aspects of censorship for intellectuals and civil rights activists only

(Paper set by Piyal Gamage)

All 3 questions must be attempted. Pass mark 100

A state-controlled newspaper recently gave prominence to a letter from a group of leading Lankan intellectuals protesting against what they see as sexist violence in a t.v. commercial. They claim to be gravely displeased and disgusted by the advertisement, which depicts a young man reaching out to a passing young woman (without actually making contact). She snubs him and he then douses himself in the cologne which the commercial is plugging and a second pass at the girl is successful. They call upon the government to ban the commercial which they allege contains a horrifying message.

QUESTION 1

Among the signatories to this petition are persons who are quick to protest strongly if ever there occurs anything they perceive as government censorship in the arts or the media of

material which the government considers undesirable.

How can these same persons, without blushing, call upon the same government to ban a publication which they consider undesirable? Explain. (50 marks)

QUESTION 2

Among the signatories to the petition are just a few who look with less than grave displeasure and disgust (still less horror) at the genocidal violence Velupillai Prabhakaran (currently directed against innocent Muslim men, women and children). Explain. (50 marks)

QUESTION 3

When is right and proper and legitimate to suppress freedom of speech and expression? (0 marks)

NOTE

No marks are awarded for question 3 because the answer is obvious: It is right and proper and legitimate to suppress all material which displeases our leading fighters for freedom of speech and expression.

The Tamil Soldier and the Dravidian Diaspora

D. P. Sivaram

The idea of the 'modern Indian army' is rarely associated with the Tamils. The nature or its ethnic composition generates the impression that it is a predominantly north Indian phenomenon. This impression has become so strongly established that the military history of the British Empire's rise has been studied in recent times in connection with the role of the 'martial peoples' of north India in the British Indian army. The tenacity and power of this "impression" in modern scholarship is best illustrated in the argument of David Washbrook "The role the British Indian army played in international affairs over the course of the 19th century however, lifts it out of the context of British Indian relations and places it in a broader global perspective. It was not an army intended primarily for domestic defence and police duties in India. Rather, it was the army of British Imperialism, formal and informal, which operated worldwide, opening up markets to the products of industrial revolution, subordinating labour forces to the dominating of capital and bringing to 'benighted' civilizations the enlightened values of Christianity and Rationality. The Indian army was the iron fist in the velvet glove of Victorian expansionism. Moreover, because the British Empire was the principal agency through which the world system functioned in this era, the Indian army was in a real sense the major coercive force behind the internationalization of industrial capitalism. Paradoxically (or not!), the martialization of north Indian society and, in many ways the feudalization of its agrarian relations, were direct corollaries of the development of capitalism on a world scale during the 19th century." (Washbrook: 1990) Washbrook's view is based on what the Indian army was towards the latter part of the nineteenth century. It is underpinned by an "impression" which arose many

years after the British had established their strategic hold on India and had laid the Empire's foundation with what was known as their 'Coastal Army' which was built up in the latter half of the 18th century mainly with Tamil soldiers. The British succeeded in empire-building not by martializing dominant north Indian military caste communities but by building up a cheap but loyal and effective army of predominantly Tamil soldiers. Until the latter half of the 19th century it was the Tamil Christian soldier who was the main coercive force behind the expansion of the Empire into the subcontinent and elsewhere. The British recruitment handbook for Madras classes says "It can truthfully be said that the Coast Army was mainly instrumental in conquering India for the British." (p.8) The Tamil soldier was seen as the bearer of the Sword and the Bible—with few religious and caste prejudices which made him suitable for expeditions beyond the sea unlike his more expensive brethren in north India. Contrary to what Washbrook claims, the early phase of British overseas expansion in East, West and South Asia was not based on the martialisation of north Indian society, but on the south Indian alternative to its military labour market—the loyal classes of Tamils.

"During this whole period, as always throughout its existence, the Coast Army was specially noteworthy for the cheerful alacrity with which its regiments have volunteered of service overseas. The Bengal regiments on many occasions refused to embark for foreign service, on the plea that it was contrary to their religion. But the Coast Army willingly embarked, and took a leading part in many successful expeditions, including Manila (1762), Mahe (1779), Ceylon (1782 and 1795), Amboyna and the Spice Islands (1796) Egypt (1801-2), Bourbon and Mauritius (1810), and Java (1811-12)". The Coast

Army took part in the final expedition against the King of Kandy which was followed by the first war in Burma (1824-26). The first war by the British in China was also fought by the them in 1840-42 where the 37th Madras Infantry was made grenadier battalion for its distinguished conduct. Sir Hugh Gough reported of their service in the China war that "their perseverance and gallantry before the enemy have secured for them the confidence of the British European soldiers". (Recruitment Handbook for Madras Classes p.6) Even a brief study of the history of the Coast Army and the Tamil soldiers who were recruited into it would reveal that the 'military agency' which "conveyed British capitalist power to areas of the world (including the South Asian hinterland) it could not otherwise have reached" had a very small proportion of north Indian military groups. Washbrook's argument that the World Capitalist system which the British Empire helped so much to expand rested heavily on the intermediation of the Indian army and that without it and similar agencies constituted outside the European capitalism core, "the forces of world capitalism would have been ethnic much weaker or else of a very different kind" is plausible but the argument that harnessing the dynamic potential of the readily available north Indian military groups made it cheaper for the British to rapidly expand their empire, is untenable in view of the two most critical phases which determined the hold of the English on the subcontinent.

The first phase begins towards the middle of the 18th century. It was the contest with the French that first compelled the British to abandon their policy in India till then, that war was bad for trade, and raise local troops. There was in the subcontinent at that time paramilitary caste groups whose services could be obtained for a fee. The British unlike the great

Indian princedoms in that era could not afford the soldiery of the high caste martial groups although they very much desired them. "From the proceedings of the government, dated 7th May 1770, it appears that the Sepoy battalions then consisted of Mohamedans, Tamils and 'Telugus, but no details of caste are given. It may be inferred that the number of Brahmans, Rajputs and Mahrattas in the Madras army was very small. It is clear that the authorities were desirous of restricting enlistments to men of good caste, but it is equally clear that this was not practicable during the last (18th) century." Again in 1795, it is stated that "owing to the small pay of the sepoy and the high price of rice, considerable difficulty was experienced in obtaining good recruits, and the battalions were kept up to their proper strength by accepting undersized men and those of low caste." (Phytian Adams: 1943 Yet Stringer Lawrence and Clive succeeded in making the cheap low caste Tamil sepoys into an army with which the English were able to establish themselves as the main European trading group in India in the contest with the French. It later won all the crucial battles that subjugated most of India during the course of the seventy five years since recruitment of the first Tamil sepoy levies began in the northern parts of Tamilnadu in 1746. The East India company established its first military department at Madras in 1752. The main reason behind the rapid rise of the British in this era was their low cost but hardy army. The major Indian kingdoms of the time, although possessed of modern and larger forces were falling into financial difficulties in maintaining their expensive high caste soldiery whose pay arrears was frequent cause for mutiny. The English fought with the advantage of an extremely loyal army which did not rebel for pay. The Recruitment Handbook of the Madras classes records "never were these qualities more fully tried than in the war with Hyder. The pay of the army was sixteen months in arrears, famine raged

allover the country, the enemy was at the gates offering large bounty and pay to our Sepoys to desert, but in vain. Under all these circumstances severe action were fought. Their conduct during the war excited the admiration of all who knew it, and Frederick the Great of Prussia was known to have said, after reading Orme's account of the war, that had he the command of troops who acted like the sepoys on that occasion, he could conquer all Europe." (p.9)

The second crucial phase in which the future of the British as an Empire building power was determined was the period in which the Indian Mutiny erupted in North India. Again, it was the loyal Coast Army that helped the English survive the Mutiny. It was the Mutiny that made the British reorganize the Indian army into that form which Washbrook considers in his thesis.

"In 1857-58, came the great Mutiny of the army in Bengal, when the Coast Army displayed its loyalty and devotion in no uncertain manner. In a despatch dated the 19th August 1859, the Secretary of State of India said 'The commander-in-chiefs Minute contains only a slight sketch of the important services rendered by the Madras army during the great contest in the North of India. The great fact has been the perfect fidelity of that army and the perfect loyalty of the 23 millions of persons who inhabit this Presidency, which enabled the resources of the South of India to be freely put forth in support of our hard pressed country men in North.' Lieut-General Sir Patrick Grant said "The services in the field of the Troops of this presidency employed in the suppression or the Rebellion and the Mutiny are now a matter of history, and the glowing terms in which they have been recognized must endure for ever, an unperishable record of this noble soldiers. **It can never be forgotten that, to their immortal honour, the native troops of the Madras army have been, in the words of the Earl of Ellenborough, faithful found among the faithless.**"

The Dravidian ideology was underpinned by the idea of the loyal Tamil soldier of British Coast Army, bringing to "benighted" civilizations the enlightened values of Christianity and Rationality. Caldwell and his successors elaborated a theory of a Tamil Diaspora as the bedrock of Protestantism and the English Empire on this idea.

Bishop N. C Sargant who like Caldwell, was the Church of England's Bishop in Tinnevely spells it out clearly in his Dispersion of the Tamil Church'. "The Tamils are great soldiers; they went with the army along with their families and lived in its newly established camps and in the newly captured territories.. they were excellent instruments for establishing the Church among the Telugu and Kannada speaking peoples" **"There is much evidence to show that Tamil soldiers - of the British Indian army - and those (Tamils) who followed the army took the gospel with them to the other parts of India"** (Sargant: 1940, p. 32 and p. 68). About the intention of his work Sargant says "The Dispersion of the Jews was a preparation for the spread of Christianity in the ancient world. Similarly can it be said that the Dispersion of the Tamil church helped the missionaries? The first Apostles found some God fearing Jews as their first believers. Did the missionaries find the Tamils perceptive.. was this race the first fruit of Christian work? I tried to find answers to such questions.... This research made me understand that Christ realised many unexpected and inexplicable things through the Dispersion of the Tamils and the Tamil Church." Sargant, like Caldwell and Bishop Whitehead before him believed that research into ancient Dravidian forms of expression found in Tamil would reveal that there were many surprising words and ideas which denoted Christian concepts such as that of sin. "Like the ancient Hebrews the ancient Dravidians also tried to lead a righteous spiritual life." (p. 3) The close connection between the British Indian army's

(Continued on page 28)

WITH THE BEST COMPLIMENTS

OF

ELEPHANT HOUSE SUPERMARKET
QUALITY AT AFFORDABLE PRICES

NO. 1 JUSTICE AKBAR MAWATHA
COLOMBO-2.

Domestic crises and their transformation

This is a revised transcript of a video interview conducted by Stephanie Loomis and presented at recent conference sponsored by the Michigan State University.

To start with, Dr. Rupesinghe, could you tell us why you have chosen this field of work?

It is partly biographical. I come from Sri Lanka which, as you all know, today is a country which is facing a lot of violence, it is a country at war. Those of us who are involved in research were very much concerned with the political economy of Sri Lanka — You know, problems of development and underdevelopment. I am a sociologist. Then suddenly, to everybody's surprise, the conflict blew up, as it were, and the violence which began around 1970-1978 has escalated today into a serious conflict. So that is the biographical aspect of this; trying to understand how a very beautiful country with a great history behind it, with a fairly advanced welfare state, was getting destroyed from within.

The second factor, of course, is that peace research has been very much involved in the East-West conflict, in the Cold War issues of disarmament and security. I was very surprised that here at this institute, there was very little cognizance and research done on internal wars and ethnic conflicts which seem to be today a major issue on the agenda. When I

Dr. Rupesinghe is in charge of the Ethnic Conflicts and Conflict Resolution Programme at the International Peace Research Institute, and he is also the Co-ordinator of the UN University Programme on Governance and Conflict Resolution. He will soon assume the post of Secretary General, International Alert.

joined the Institute in 1982, I was very concerned at this major gap in the field, and since then I have tried to focus attention on this important and vital issue: internal and ethnic conflicts and their resolution.

Is there something special about the kind of conflicts that you deal with in your research?

Let me start by discussing the 'paradox'. The international system which has developed since 1948, the United Nations system, has been based on the regulation of the inter-state system, and it has build up a fair competence in how to deal with inter-state conflicts. But today we do not have inter-state conflicts. The paradox is that what we have are internal conflicts. I define internal conflicts as conflicts within a given state border. I am quite aware of the fact that you cannot make a differentiation between a pure internal and a pure external conflict. But my major position here is that most of the conflicts we are seeing today are internal in character, but have many external influences acting upon them.

Let me share with you some of the research findings and figures in relation to internal conflicts. This century has been known to have been the bloodiest ever in the history of mankind. Rummel, for example, cites a conservative figure of 143 million people having been killed by their own government. This means genocide, ethnocide, and democide, which has gone on in this century. This century has been the bloodiest so far. At the same time this century will be known for creating international standards of behaviour, particularly on the respect of human rights and the obligations of states.

The second figure I want to share with you is the figure from the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Today we are speak-

ing about a refugee flow of 18 million people, and refugees are a direct result of violent conflicts. We also have 20 million displaced people, which is increasing each year — These are people who are internal refugees who have no place to go. They have no international protection, they are not protected by their government. Now, this brings the figure up to almost 40 million people. I would suggest that if the international community does not address itself to root causes, we are going to have a figure of about 100 million refugees by the year 2000. This does not tell us anything about the results and consequence on children, on women, on old people, for it is a fact that in these conflicts, civilians suffer the heaviest casualties.

I would say that we have another paradox: the Cold War is now over. We have seen the collapse of Communist regimes. Is this going to lead to an era of peace and prosperity? Of course, some conflicts based on the Cold War may disappear. But new conflicts which were suppressed by the Cold War are going to appear. And that is what we have to give attention to, the new types of conflict which are today on the agenda. I have written extensively on this matter so I would only try to list these conflicts and then go on to talk about identity conflicts in particular.

We have ideological conflicts between classes; they will continue. The gaps between the rich and poor will continue to widen. But at the same time these conflicts will not be simple since we also witness a growing middle class tied to values of democracy. We also have conflicts of governance; how is society going to rule in the future, who is a legitimate authority? The whole process of democratization means new conflicts of a particular kind

are going to come up in Africa, in China, in many parts of the South, as well as in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union. An interesting paradox is that democracy may revive ethnicity as the only basis for political mobilisation. When we talk of multi-party democracy we must be aware of the fact that this may mean mobilising on an ethnic or religious basis. A third kind of conflict is resource-based; conflicts over rivers, over oil, over forests, over pollution or clean air; these kinds of conflicts are also going to be important.

The fourth kind of conflict I want to concentrate on is identity conflict. What is identity? All of us, everyone has an existential need for meaning in this world. Therefore, I prefer to use the word identity rather than ethnicity, because identity has both an existential dimension of trying to find out who one is, with the social context in which you are defined and provided with a certain label, with a certain ethnicity. And it is in this particular configuration of identities that we are going to find the most violent conflicts in the future. Let me explain why that is. The concept of modernization process and the globalization of culture itself is a facet of identity formation. Today we live in a global village. There is a massive and continuous thrust for the globalization of culture. This means that all traditional communities, like religious communities, have to redefine themselves in this context of modernity.

Let us take up the question of state-building. The state-building project is not over. State-building and nation-building have come into conflict with existing communities and nations. We have today about 5,000 ethnic communities in the world; we have about 8,000 languages which are spoken in the world. How, then, can we try to guarantee and ensure the people a sense of identity, a sense of security, and a sense of well-being? I would suggest that this will become one of the major issues in the conflict dynamics of the future.

I will try to end this by also

suggesting some things about culture. Let us take the concept of chosen peoples. As you know, the concept of chosen peoples caused havoc in Africa with the "white man's burden". They were chosen to spread the word, if you like, to the natives. We are also celebrating, this year, Christopher Columbus — we know that the chosen peoples concept has been a source of conflict. The other point is in all our cultures we tend to demonize the other, the unknown. Many cultures have ways in which they try to project the other in demonic terms. Also in all our cultures we have a chosen trauma. Communities have been violated by other communities at some time in history. Those chosen traumas can become very dangerous if they are also coupled with myths of origin, which is the major basis of ethnicity. And why it is dangerous is (because) the modern mass media actualizes these elements.

Let us take examples. In Yugoslavia; before the actual direct war there was this cultural war between the Serbs and the Croats where the mass media has been depicting those whom they have lived with for centuries, demonizing them, creating new traumas, chosen traumas, and this is happening in Azerbaijan, in Armenia, in Uzbekistan and in many, many parts of the world. I think this is one of the most important elements that we have to look into, the way in which modernity actualizes trauma and self-fulfilling prophecies, and awakens these identities in a negative aspect rather than a positive aspect.

These have been some pretty depressing figures. One may wonder what the positive role of research could be in reducing these figures?

Research? You know — there has been an enormous amount of it. Research and studies in international relations, for example is mostly a body of knowledge of inter-state conflicts. Anthropology is a body of knowledge of peoples and ethnicities. Political Science may be of constitutions and institutions etc. There are countless numbers of studies on the causes of conflict. But we still have to go ahead and seek

more comparative knowledge on the resolution of conflict, on how communities have lived together and can live together, to try to find the kind of examples and solutions to these sorts of problems.

Clearly, the need for more research and comparative knowledge has been recognised and today there are wide networks of researchers who are addressing these issues. Here, I can only mention that there is now at the United Nations University a programme which I am co-ordinating, a programme on governance and conflict resolution, where we are trying focus more on research networks and trying to get scholars to look at their own conflicts, and we are commissioning a range of monographs and international conferences. I think you will have that in your dossier. I sent you the programme of the United Nations University. There are, of course, other research concerns. UNRISD is another UN research organization which is conducting work on ethnic conflict and development, and there is a new awareness in the area. CODESTRIA which is a regional research organisation is conducting major comparative studies on ethnicity and nationalism in Africa. In Sri Lanka, there is the International Centre for Ethnic Studies. There is today then a proliferation of studies on ethnicity and internal conflicts.

But my main concern is that the research also must be encouraged within the regions of conflicts themselves. Very rarely do people in regions of conflict ever obtain valuable works which are available in the West. A university professor in Uganda or in Sri Lanka could not buy any of these books because it takes two-three-months salary. So, we also have to provide for research competence within the region of conflict. *What about private institutions. Can they help?*

You know, there has been a very interesting development of what you call private institutions or networks, non-
(Continued on page 18)

Ethnic Issue: Blind leads the blind

A. M. Marcan Markar

Reports on ethnicity emerge out of debates in Parliament. Members of the House enjoy the power to raise or lower the stakes of this subject on the nation's political agenda. Just as much as Parliament provides the structure to discuss the problem freely, the press needs to offer space for the public to reflect on the opinions of legislature. Such a continuous discourse will serve as essential feedback information for Parliamentarians. This nexus could be strengthened by reporters pursuing follow-up stories from among the people or groups that will be impacted by impending legislature. And rather than limiting this avenue to people in Colombo, it is paramount to canvass opinion from citizens who live beyond the capital. It would make the dialogue on issues a more representative sample of national opinion.

Besides political speeches, press notices and press conferences feed political journalism. Whatever the form, we cannot ignore the innumerable instances where ethnic politics has been reported to exploit emotions. In such cases, the press is as guilty as the spokesmen who launch campaigns with sectarian interest. Jingoism of this sort distorts the commitment to balanced and accurate coverage expected of the press. It produces hate, suspicion, and distrust in the mind of the readers against the group being scapegoated.

There is a danger when the mainstream press campaigns for causes that have a narrow nationalist focus, rather than campaign for broad, humanitarian principles. It denies the truth to its readers in the interest of propagating a particular ideology. All too often, journalists

who are swept up by such efforts are blinded from the greater issues at stake, and proverbial wisdom warns us of the danger when the blind lead the blind.

Let us look at the Emergency Law as a case in point. When it was introduced to strengthen the force of the Prevention of Terrorism Act in the North, it was deemed an appropriate measure by the press in the South. Before long, however, these harsh laws impacted the people in the whole country, during the second JVP uprising in 1987. By then, it was too late for sections of the press to fault the State with excessive power, since the media opinion in the South had nurtured and endorsed the growth of a strong national security State. It is ironic that the ferocity of the PTA and the Emergency did not discriminate between ethnic groups.

So far, I have dwelt on the avenue that journalists proceed to gather political information. There is a convenience about the existing arrangement, since journalists depend heavily on sources involved in the formal political process, whether in or out of power. However, there is a vast area that remains neglected: perceptions at the community level. An important step towards the sophistication of political reporting would be for the press to explore the attitude on the ethnic question from men and women in the street, in villages, in towns, and in institutions that are not directly affiliated with decision-making process. These opinions are necessary components if the media is committed to understanding the political culture it serves.

Since Sri Lanka does not have the luxury of opinion polls, the press, through human interest

stories, could fill the void by writing about the common beliefs and the modes of thinking on the ethnic question. It would provide a channel for grass roots opinion to contribute towards shaping the political agenda.

In addition to those who report the ethnic problem through news and feature stores, another coterie of writers who provide information are the columnists. Here, I refer to those who contribute personal columns using their name or a pseudonym. Unlike the objectivity required from the political reporter, the political columnist enjoys a wider latitude, since his or her effort is subjective. Such a classification, however, does not mean that a writer should indulge in an orgy of mudslinging, but be guided by the epithet "facts are sacred; comment is free."

Using the Sunday news papers as a guide, we would be able to locate these writers as staff members or as guest writers. It is natural that each writer reveal his biases as he argues or analyses his subject. Better still, a reader will be able to extract the perceptions of a political group, if it is the case, a writer represents. On the other hand, it is the responsibility of the editor to solicit opposing points of view from a staff columnist or a guest writer. This is to prevent a newspaper from becoming a platform for propaganda. Further, it would be in keeping with the liberal spirit of Article 19.

So far I have identified the existing ways by which the press informs its readers: an objective news report, a human interest story, a feature story, a news analysis, or an opinion. This framework evolved with the advance of journalism. In democracies, such a convention is important, since it supplies a diversity of ways that inci-

dents, events and issues may be viewed. If members of the press are sincere to their profession, then they will defend the ideas that produced this concept to disseminate information, for the principal beneficiary is neither the reporter nor the publisher, but the reader, the individual citizen.

By now it would be obvious to you that I concentrated significantly on the press. I did so because it is the medium I know best. Moreover I feel satisfied with my decision since it was the medium that Mr. Kanthasamy chose, too. Further, despite the state imposed restraints on this medium, there is fair amount of proof that the press enjoys more space to function than television and radio. Therefore, a more representative, and natural, picture is manifest when scrutinizing the functional role of this medium in our multi-ethnic society.

But there is a point to be made about the other two media. The most important feature is that it is heavily controlled by the State. Nevertheless, this arrangement provides us with an indication of how the Government perceives the multi-ethnic structure of Sri Lanka. If we look at the broadcasting medium, the one with the largest public audience, it reveals that the State has provided the space for each language community to have access to radio. The television station has gone a step further than the monolingual broadcast stations. It has accommodated all three language groups in one medium, indicating it as a medium that tolerates cultural pluralism. As it appears, these government controlled media reflect the trilingual composite of the country.

Some people might find comfort in this integration process. However, since freedom is non-existent in either medium, this cosy arrangement is not natural; rather, imposed process. And the content of programmes and news indicates the absurdity of this exercise. Therefore, we need to question such an artificial effort, which suffers from

a paucity of communication. The programmes deny the listening and viewing public a cross-section of information on perceptions and misperceptions within an ethnic group and between ethnic groups. Whether in the form of news reports, features, panel discussions, and interviews, the audience should be told about the warts of the country. The powdered face, cosmetic approach that seems to satisfy the objectives of the present management hides the agonizing truth. And if the government is sincere about upholding the principles of democracy in a multi-ethnic society, it should defend a cardinal requirement as a prerequisite: an informed citizenry. This can only be achieved when the television station and radio station serve as for a for many ideas and many truths.

During this lecture, ladies and gentleman, I have shown you how frequently the media violate its obligation to provide diverse

information. In a multi-ethnic society, this failure can be devastating, as indicated by the prevailing political climate. There is no alternative to this citizen's right.

A commitment to openness by the media will require the individual journalist to challenge the prevailing conventions. Out of this will emerge, I hope an enlightened media and a more informed national constituency, where the people will relate to each other as human beings first, then Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims, and Burghers.

The importance of the media, as an institution, within a multi-ethnic society cannot be minimized. Its strength is in its structure to link the many peoples in this country. In this realm, too the media is wanting. It needs to redefine its role, projecting a cosmopolitan image, for it has the capacity to generate a multi-ethnic community through communication. **(Concluded)**

Domestic ...

(Continued from page 16)

governmental organizations. We are trying to address this issue by a particular network under the International Peace Research Association called Internal Conflict and Conflict Resolution. (ICON) This network has scholars and activists worldwide. The network focuses on Early Warning, and training in Conflict Resolution. This is an attempt to encourage scholars within the countries and regions to look at their conflicts. These network try to meet regularly, if funds permit. We have had one I think fairly interesting meeting in Groningen two years ago; we are going to have another meeting in Kyoto, and in between scholars from within the regions have met and tried to discuss their kinds of conflicts. There is also quite a range new non-governmental actors which are coming to the scene, International Alert is certainly one of them.

International Alert was born as an international organization precisely to address the question of group conflicts, because no-

body was dealing with that issue in the international system. In that sense International Alert, under the able leadership of Martin Ennals, was set up to try and create frameworks for discussing these kinds of conflicts. There are many more. Another one is the International Negotiations Network which is based in the United States in Atlanta, presided by President Jimmy Carter. The INN has a Council of Eminent Persons which include people such as Oscar Arias, Schevernadze, Archbishop Tutu and many others. There is then a range of NGOs who have been working like the Quakes, the Peace Brigades, the Reconciliation International. I think there is a tremendous role for these non-governmental entities to work within a context where the international inter-state system is still lagging very much behind in dealing with these issues. But these initiatives whilst seeking to fill a gap in the international system will have to work with local organisation within the regions of conflict. This is not always easy.

Next: U. N. Role

Need for resolution centres

A. Sivarajah

I. Introduction

The idea of having conflict resolution centres is not new to either Sri Lanka or other South Asian countries. For example, in the pre-colonial era Sri Lanka had Gamsabhas and India had and continues to have Panchayats. But with the advent of colonial powers the institutions have disappeared in Sri Lanka. As modern Sri Lankan society faces many conflicts at various levels the revival and reconstitution of the old institutions of conflict resolution may be desirable as agencies for peace-making.

II. Theory of Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution implies the termination of conflict by methods that are analytical and that get to the root of the problem. As John B. Burton has observed "conflict resolution implies a capability to deal with all forms of conflict at all social levels from the interpersonal to the international". Conflict resolution has been treated as the art of the possible with failure attributed to the impossibilities of the situation rather than to the inadequacies of the processes employed.

The theory of analytical, problem-solving conflict resolution is derived from a conception of conflict as a normal and universal human phenomenon. As Burton has aptly pointed out "Conflict describes" a relationship in which each party perceives the other's goal, values, interests or behaviour as antithetical to its own."

First step in the process of conflict resolution is to bring the representatives of parties to a conflict in an interactive and analytical setting. This setting will bring a qualitative shift

in their understanding of the nature of the conflict and to analyze relationships so as to generate an accurate definition of the problem in terms of motivations and human needs. The second step is to cast their goals and policies once they are fully informed of all aspects of the dispute, including the motivations and values of the opposing side. Third is to discover the possible options. Thus, "conflict resolution has the potential of bringing otherwise competing systems into harmony. It has the potential to bridge or link person to person, group to group and system to system.

Gamsabhas vs Centres

According to available data, the villages enjoyed a degree of independence in their internal administration in the pre-colonial Sri Lanka. The committees variously described as consisting of the 'elders' or leaders who discharged both administrative and judicial functions. Their origins and development of these committees is difficult to say. Robert Knox's description of Gamsabhava in the second half of the 17th century is as follows: In the hearing of complaints and doing justice among Neighbours, here are country-courts of judicature, consisting of these officers, together with Head-Men of the Places and Towns, where the courts are kept; and these are called Gam Sabbi, as much as to say, Town Consultations. (R. K. W. Goonesekera Ceylon Journal of Historical Studies, Vol. 1, 1958)

In the Kandyan Provinces, it seems, the Gamsabhas have functioned effectively. Sir John D'Oyly gives a vivid description of the Kandyan gamsabhava. According to D'Oyly:

This court is frequently held both in the Disavaniyas and

the Upper Districts and consists of an assembly of the Principal and experienced Men of a Village, who met at an Ambalam or a shady or other Central Place upon the occurrence of any Civil or Criminal matter as Disputes regarding Limits, Debts, Petty Thefts, Quarrels etc., and after enquiring into the case, if possible settle amicably, declaring a party which is at fault, adjudge restitution or compensation and dismissing with reproof and admonition their endeavours being directed to compromise and not to punishment.

In the above description two aspects are important. One is that gamsabhava always tried to settle disputes amicably. The second is that their endeavours were directed to effect compromise and not to impose punishments. These two aspects are two important features of present day conflict resolution centres in the West, particularly in the U. S. A. Therefore a modernised and modified version of gamsabhava can be formed as a conflict resolution centre. "Clause 8 of the Kandyan convention indirectly gave recognition to the gamsabhava by enacting that 'the administration of civil and criminal justice and police over Kandyan inhabitants is to be exercised according to established forms and by the ordinary authorities.'" (Goonesekera) British authorities duly recognised the useful work they performed.

Colebrooke was in favour of the revival of gamsabhava for the following reasons: Firstly gamsabhas were very economical in conducting their courts, secondly gamsabhas conducted their affairs in conformity with customary laws. Thirdly gamsabhava required little attention in the form procedural regulations

(Continued on page 25)

NORWEGIAN REPORT

The situation in Sri Lanka

1 INTRODUCTION

In recent years the situation with regard to human rights in Sri Lanka has attracted considerable international attention. Numerous reports have documented extensive and massive violations including a large number of disappearances and political assassinations.

In September 1991, Amnesty International (AI) presented a report (Sri Lanka — the North-east: Human rights violations in a context of armed conflict) containing 32 specific recommendations for improving the human rights situations. Numerous measures aimed at improving the situation were also recommended in a report presented to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in January 1992 by the UN-appointed working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances. The Sri Lankan authorities have acknowledged the occurrence of violations of human rights and indicated a wish to improve conditions.

Norway has expressed concern at the human rights situation in Sri Lanka on a number of occasions. At the Country Programme Consultations in November 1991, the Norwegian views were reflected in the Argeed Minutes. Norway has also taken the matter up in such multilateral forums as the UN Commission on Human Rights and at the Sri Lanka Aid Group Meeting in February of this year. On the latter occasion, the Norwegian delegation declared Norway's intention to send an official delegation to study the human rights situation more closely. The Sri Lanka authorities responded favourably and

stated that the delegation would be welcome.

The delegation, which visited Sri Lanka from 4 to 9 May 1992, consisted of Special Adviser on Human Rights, Ambassador Haakon B. Hjelde (head of the delegation), Adviser Berit Fladby, and Senior Executive Officer Nils Haugstveit. The delegation's terms of reference were:

- to obtain up-to-date information on developments with regard to human rights in Sri Lanka,
- to continue the dialogue with Sri Lanka on various aspects of the human rights situation, with emphasis on following up the reports mentioned above, and,
- to identify possible human-rights-related measures with a view to Norwegian support.

The visit by this delegation was also regarded by Norway as a contribution to a continued international monitoring of human rights developments in Sri Lanka.

In the course of its one week visit, the delegation had some thirty meetings / conversations with representatives of the government and the authorities, officially appointed committees, commissions, various private organizations and institutions, members of parliament, multilateral organizations and a number of bilateral donors/Embassies. In addition to the meetings in Colombo, the visit included a day trip to Batticaloa on the east coast. Access was obtained to a large and varied quantity of information on human rights conditions in the country, but it was not possible for the delegation to verify the information at first hand or in the field.

The authorities in Sri Lanka were completely frank and open

and gave the delegation all possible assistance with the visit.

2 SOME MAIN FEATURES OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN SRI LANKA UP TO MAY 1992

2.1 General

Extensive and serious violations of human rights have in recent years taken place in Sri Lanka. These developments have been thoroughly documented in a number of independent investigations and reports. The number of killings and disappearances has been very high, and large numbers of people have been detained under emergency powers, sometimes in deplorable conditions. Cases of ill-treatment and torture have come to light. The legal safeguard for the individual and the rule of law in general have proved inadequate.

Compared to the extremely depressing situation prevailing until some months ago, conditions as of May 1992 must be seen as a distinct improvement. Although indicators and trends seem to be pointing in the right direction, there is still a long way to go before the situation can be described as satisfactory. Developments in the last few years and the problems that still remain both show the close connection between breaches of human rights and the current armed conflict in the country.

The most favourable feature of recent developments is a marked reduction in the number of killings, disappearances and new internments. Conditions in detention camps are said to have improved somewhat. Institutional measures have been initiated to protect the rights of the detainees (the Human Rights Task Force) and to investigate disappearances (the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into In-

(Report from a mission to Sri Lanka 4–9 May 1992 by a delegation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo.)

voluntary Removal of Persons). Sri Lankan authorities have also begun implementing a plan for following up and carrying out the recommendations submitted by AI and by the UN working group on disappearances. According to this plan progress made by relevant authorities in their respective sectors will be assessed every quarter. Training on human rights has been initiated, aimed at the defence forces and the police in particular. According to the authorities stricter instructions have been issued requiring human rights to be observed and respected. In a number of cases, persons responsible for violations of human rights have been prosecuted and sentenced, and damages have been awarded to the victims or their families. The authorities deserve credit for their openness and willingness to enter into a dialogue with the international community.

On the debit side, however, it must be said that despite the improvement in the situation already mentioned, frequent violations of human rights still occur. Sri Lanka still has a long way to go towards full compliance with international norms for human rights and thus fulfilling the obligations it has undertaken through its accession to international agreements.

Sri Lanka is a party to a number of international human rights instruments, including the two International Covenants of 1966, on Civil and Political Rights and of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights respectively. Sri Lanka has also ratified the International Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the Geneva Conventions of 1949 (on the humanitarian laws). The country has not however ratified the Optional Protocol (on individual rights of petition) to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment, or the Optional Protocols of

1977 to the Geneva Conventions (relating, inter alia, to humanitarian law in internal conflicts).

Some of the measures adopted by the authorities will not in themselves be sufficient to ensure fundamental and lasting improvements in the human rights situation. In many cases, instructions have been issued by the highest authority governing action by subordinated agencies, especially the armed forces and the police. The long-term impact of such measures will depend on the degree of follow-up action by the authorities. It will be particularly important that failure to follow the instructions results in action, in the form of punishment, disciplinary measures, or consequences for prospects of promotion in the army or the police.

So far, the authorities have only in relatively few cases been prepared to follow up accusations of breaches of human rights by initiating independent inquiries, leading as the case may be to charges and trials. The extent to which cases involving breaches of human rights are investigated and appropriate legal action is taken will in the opinion of the delegation be an important indicator of the commitment of the authorities to live up to international standards with regard to respect for human rights. Increased willingness on the part of the administration and the highest authorities more consistently to condemn the violations of human rights which do occur, would contribute on a change of attitude and greater discipline.

Many of the breaches of human rights in Sri Lanka must be viewed in relation to the Emergency Regulations and the Prevention of Terrorism Act, both of which tend to undermine the rights of individuals as laid down in international conventions. This applies, inter alia, to the right to be brought before a judge within a reasonable time. Except for a few short periods, a state of emergency has been in force continuously since 1983.

Parliament decides each month on the question of an extension of the Emergency Regulations. These relate directly to the violent conflicts of recent years. Their provisions are currently applied partly as an instrument in the struggle against the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam), and partly to keep persons suspected of connections with the extremist Sinhalese organization the JVP (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna—the People's Liberation Front) in detention.

The recommendations by the UN Working Group on disappearances that the Emergency Regulations, the Prevention of Terrorism Act and other items of legislation be brought into harmony with relevant international standards has not yet been followed up to a sufficient extent. The delegation was told, however, that the authorities are preparing a review of these laws with a view to considering possible amendments. This should be further encouraged.

Next: Emergency

Rajiv murder...

(Continued from page 5)

modifications in future VIP security, arrangements.

The Verma commission report is believed to have linked security failure to the organisational lapses by the Tamil Nadu Congress-I leaders, responsible for organising the meeting at Sriperumbudur.

With the Verma commission having already submitted its report to the home ministry on June 15, the Jain commission beginning its hearing this week, and the crucial trial of the LTTE members and supporters commencing at Madras next month, the assassination case has entered its first decisive phase.

But the progress of the case would largely depend on the nature of defence presented before the special court by the accused, chargesheeted by the SIT.

The Psychology of Imperialism

Radhika Coomaraswamy

Sir Muttu died suddenly on May 4th 1879, a few years after the birth of his son. He was expecting to go abroad and it was rumoured that Disraeli was to offer him an opportunity to become a member of parliament, which again would have been another first for an easterner.

Throughout his life Sir Muttu retained a love for the Classics, especially eastern Classics. His publications included *The Dathavamsa*¹⁶ or the History of the Tooth Relic of Gotama Buddha, *Sutta Nipata* or Dialogues and Discourse of the Gotama Buddha¹⁷ *Arichandra*:- the Martyr of Truth a Tamil Drama¹⁸ *A Synopsis of Saiva Sittantham*¹⁹ and an unpublished manuscript *Tayumanavar*²⁰ which was printed but not released in his lifetime.

Having briefly sketched out the life of Sir Muttu, I would like to try and concentrate on two themes. to further explore the personality of Sir Muttu as well as his contribution to Sri Lankan culture and politics. The first theme relates to what may be called the psychology of imperialism, especially during the early phase of British rule; the perceptions and actions of the victims, the attitudes of the colonial masters and Sir Muttu's very special contribution in this regard. The second theme, which is also somewhat related, explores Sir Muttu's version of Sri Lankan nationalism. Was Sir Muttu a nationalist or a collaborator? What was the dominant nationalist construction or nationalist imagination of that period and how does it differ from the views and ideas of latter day nationalists?

Let me begin with the first, the psychology of imperialism and Sir Muttu's contribution. Perhaps we can understand him more if we reflect on Ashis Nandy's analysis of the life of

Kumar Shri Ranjitsinghji, or Rajput Ranji, the Indian prince of Sarodar who played cricket for England. Nandy, in his book *The Tao of Cricket* shows how Ranji internalised the values and life-style of the British and then proceeded to prove himself to be better than them at their own game. This was his way of fighting the inferiority complex imposed by colonialism. Nandy recounts a story whereby a drunken British spectator jumps to his feet when Ranji scores a six and joyfully extols the fact that the British have a prince on their team. On the very next ball, Ranji gets out and the same spectator mutters, "bloody nigger".²¹

It is this dualism, this fundamental contradiction which characterises the personalities of both Ranji and Sir Muttu. When they performed well, they were accepted as one of the boys, but any slip, any show of vulnerability and they were castigated. Their professional and social life was a constant treadmill, where they had to live up to a particular image without faltering lest someone should discover that they were only colonial upstarts.

While Shri Ranji was an actual prince, Sir Muttu had a more difficult task carved out for him. He did not have a kingdom. He therefore had to excel both in his profession as well as in his social skills. He had to construct his own image of a prince to earn and receive the respect of the British. He therefore cultivated what he believed was an aristocratic personality.

Nothing illustrates these aristocratic strivings more than the costume he designed for himself: As Cardwell chanted during the Mock Christmas debates,

His coat was like the snow drift

His pants of similar hue

His turban shone with diamonds
And his girdle it was blue.²²

He wore a long coat of a plain colour from neck to knee. He had a gold-laced turban and a "Makaram" or a gold chain with a large diamond pendant around his neck.

This costume appears to have nothing in common with anything found in the Jaffna peninsula. But this costume has become the main outfit for Colombo Tamil males at least on their wedding day. The costume appears to be North Indian in design. One of the main cultural transformations brought about by the Tamil nationalist movement has been to reject this outfit as being part of the Aryan North, replacing it with the Tamil Verti and Shawl which is more akin to the Arya Sinhala. But what is important to recognise is that this costume was the total imaginary fabrication of Sir Muttu Coomaraswamy based on what he felt an Eastern Prince should look like. His nephews also adopted the costume, making it the fashion among Colombo Tamils in the early part of the twentieth century. But there is nothing Tamil about it. In that sense it is more like the costumes of the Rajput and Sikh princes of North India, though it is stated that some of the Southern princes such as the Rajah of Mysore also wore similar outfits. But it is unlike the Brahmin trouser costume which characterised the attire of the Chola or Pandyan Kings of the South India.

Ashis Nandy in his book, *At the Edge of Psychology* points to how the British had tremendous respect for the warrior races, as they called them, of India, the Sikhs and the Rajputs and terrible contempt for the effeminate intellectuals of Bengal and Tamil Nadu.²³ Sir Muttu must have unconsciously felt this bias and therefore his costume and his stature was to construct a North Indian warrior image, even for a Tamil vellalar legislator. Nandy goes onto argue that Mahatma Gandhi's brilliance, on the other hand

was to take what was anathema to the British, the effeminate image of the Indian, and to turn it on them as a moral weapon — the essence of his non-violence. But the Mahatma came into his own only fifty years after Sir Muttu's death.

Besides a costume, a prince must also have a crest — if he is to be recognised in a western court. So Sir Muttu used the crest that his father had developed the imagery of Lord Ganesh with the Sanskrit words drawn from the Mahabharata, Yato Dharma Sato Jaya. (Where there is Virtue, there is victory). The crest is still engraved on many articles which belong to the family.

A prince must also have a palace on which to place his crest. There is no description of the Coomaraswamy residence at Muttuwal but Moncure Conway describes the residence of one of Sir Muttu's nephews at Rhineland place, the house in which Sir Muttu died. He describes it as a palatial bungalow, with a large park of palms, large verandas and porticos and flowering trees. There was a high table and when they sat down to dinner there were stems of incense 4 decorated around the centrepiece of the table. Sir Muttu's nephew Coomaraswamy, obviously inspired by his uncle, wearing a turban and a silk embroidered coat and trousers, would sit to dinner with a peacock fan. His wife, in a heavily embroidered Eastern Robe sat at the opposite end. The dinner was always sumptuous.²⁴

After reading these descriptions, especially with hindsight, Sir Muttu appears somewhat as a strange figure. But that is primarily because we have been forced by the categories of modern history to limit him as a Sri Lankan Tamil. He did not see himself as such. He obviously had a South Asian identity, that is why he translated both Buddhist and Hindu texts with equal dexterity. He was fighting the prejudices of British colonialism; he was confronting the Western and Orientalist con-

ceptions of the East. In that struggle and to sharpen his discourse, he used the full arsenal of culture and heritage of the whole of South Asia.

It is said that there are two kinds of persons, those who are victims of destiny and those who try to control it. Both Ranji and Sir Muttu acquired their special status by sheer force of personality. Ludowyk writes about Sir Muttu, "He certainly was the first to have achieved distinction of an entirely personal kind, the consequences not of any academic or sporting prowess, but of the impression left by his character and interests on those with whom he came in contact in England."²⁵

Sir Muttu saw himself as a "go-between" a cultural link between East and West. He felt that it was his duty to open the eyes of the English to the Eastern traditions. His self-proclaimed mission of raising British consciousness did earn him the necessary dividends. Swami Vivekananda in his *Memoirs of European Travel* did recount that Sir Coomaraswamy is the foremost man among the Hindus in London.²⁶

This, then, is Sir Muttu's greatest personal achievement; one he shared with personalities such as Shri Ranji. He managed to penetrate British civil society at its highest levels and to gain acceptance as a colleague and a friend. Given the closed nature of this society, both in terms of race and class, this is no mean achievement. Sir Muttu gained this access not only through the display of professional skill but also because of personal charm and magnetism.

Sir Muttu knew that the clue to success in British civil society was the club system. The British Clubs were the places where the important ideas emerged and where important deals were made. Access to these Clubs was always on the basis of recommendation. So Sir Muttu travelled the full gauntlet. He was a member of the Athenaeum, one of the best known clubs and pillars of the estab-

lishment where one needed wealth birth and professional eminence. He was a member of the Cobden Reform Club, the prestigious centre of British liberalism. He was also a honorary member of the Society of Arts, and A Fellow of the Royal Geographical and Geological Societies.

But there was always a certain measure of subversion in Sir Muttu's dealings with the west. It is therefore not surprising that he is believed to have been a secret member of The Karma Shastra Club, started by Sir Richard Burton, and Monckton Milnes which concerned itself with Eastern Erotica.²⁷ This part of his life is not well chronicled but glimpses emerge out of other pieces of evidence. Some of the writings from the club, carry Sir Muttu's crest pointing to his involvement. This assertion of eastern erotica in terms of a western club would have been of great interest to philosophers such as Michel Foucault.²⁸ Sexuality after all is the most taboo of subjects in western society, especially Victorian England. To assert sexuality as an essential part of the East and to glorify eastern erotica was Sir Muttu's way of getting back at the English values which attempted to underplay Eastern achievement. This aspect of Sir Muttu must also be seen as part of what is called the "fin de siècle" or end of the century developments in Europe, where there was a spurt of creativity in the arts and a desire to shock the values and social mores of the establishment. These movements were more prominent in France, giving birth to radical developments in the field of the fine arts and theatre, but there is no doubt that these developments influenced the liberal radical intelligentsia in England with whom Sir Muttu moved freely.

In the end it is only possible to penetrate British Civil society if one has made good and long lasting British friends. Sir Muttu was very fortunate with regard to friendship. His closest

friend was Monckton Milnes, Later Lord Houghton whom Sir Muttu met on his first trip to England. Lord Houghton was the Cambridge friend of Tennyson, a member of Parliament and very involved in the literary and social circles of the British Upper classes. It was Lord Houghton who introduced Sir Muttu to British society and nursed him when he fell dangerously ill on his first visit. In his letters there is a description of this illness where Lord Houghton writes that he had promised Sir Muttu a cremation if he were to die and therefore had to go out into the woods to find an appropriate place for the felling of trees necessary for such a ceremony. In addition he was in constant fear that his servants would sneak in beef tea instead of mutton broth to the ailing Sir Muttu.²⁹

Luckily Sir Muttu recovered and his letter of thanks to Lord Houghton conveys both warmth and gratitude:-

I say in all sincerity that, but for my having had the rare fortune to know you and through you other kind friends, my stay in England, which I had originally intended to last only six months would not have extended upwards of two years, as it has. I now long for the day when I can revisit it and see you all again.³⁰

Sir Muttu's other good friend was Disraeli. It was on Disraeli's recommendation that Coomaraswamy was knighted in 1874. It is also said that Disraeli travelled with him on the train and the ferry to the Isle of Wight where Sir Muttu was knighted.³¹ Disraeli also gifted a Royal Worcester tea set to Sir Muttu which is now in the possession of the family.

Notes

- 16 *Dathavamsa or the History of the Tooth Relic of Gotama Buddha*, London, Trubner, 1874
- 17 *Sutta Nipata or Dialogues and Discourses of Gotama Buddha*, London, Trubner, 1874

- 18 *Arichandra: The Martyr of Truth*, London, Smith Elder and Co. 1863
- 19 "A Synopsis of Saiva Sittantham" J. R. A. S. C. B. 3 (10) 1856-58, 187-197
- 20 *Tayumanavar or Hindu-Philosophic Poems of the Vedantic Siddhantic School*, (In Press) Trubner and Co. London 1873
- 21 Ashis Nandy, *The Tao of Cricket*, New Delhi, Viking, 1988, p. 57
- 22 G. O. Grenier, *The Golden Age of Ceylon, Battle of Wits in the Sixties*, Ceylon Observer Jan. 25th 1925
- 23 A. Nandy *At the Edge of Psychology*, New Delhi, Oxford University press, 1980
- 24 Conway, Moncure Daniel, *My Pilgrimage to the Wise Men of the East* p 152-154 quoted in Singham p. 38
- 25 E. F. C. Ludowyk in his introduction to Singham's book
- 26 Swami Vivekananda, *Memoirs of European Travel*
- 27 See the introduction to *The Perfumed Garden* translated by Sir Richard Burton, London, Panther, 1962, p. 16-17
- 28 Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, Volume 1, New York, Pantheon, 1979
- 29 Wemyss Reid, *The Life and Letters and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes*, (2 Vols), Cassell, London, 1890
- 30 Singham 16
- 31 Singham 29

BOOKS

Human Rights

A tiny candle

Sri Lanka Resource Centre, Oslo (Norway), FACT FINDING MISSIONS ON SRI LANKA 1980 - 1992: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY, Publication No. 2-1992.

Dr. Kumar Rupesinghe's useful introduction to this 31-page annotated report compiled by Berth Verstappen and Anton S. Philip selected from 47—fact finding mission reports out of 57 on Sri Lanka, the isle of sorrows, covering the crucial years 1980 to 1992. is invaluable for scholars, activists and future missions. The years in question are the most horrendous and cover the period of institutionalised violence by the Sinhala-dominated state and the Sinhalese and Tamil insurrectionists, the JVP and the Liberation Tigers respectively.

The annotations provide the necessary *entree* into the main

contents of the missions' reports. They indicate how meaningful they will be to the various bodies interested not merely in human rights but on the downward slope of that once paradise island. Sri Lanka, the model Third world democracy is, a reading of these annotations, indicate nothing worse than the worst where the rule of law has been virtually suspended to make way for an indisciplined army, government-supervised vigilante squads and the terror of insurgents.

There is a truth that emerges in perusing this guide. The island's middle class and its

westernised sector has either been beaten into silence or terrorised, or probably both aspects have replaced the once promising years of wesminster government.

This publication cannot be read without a feeling of revulsion, a turn of mind involving a mental nausea. So many innocents including women and children have been erased off the face of this earth, and for no good reason, without proper trials and judicial investigation. The only note of optimism is that a timely work such as this cannot but give faith and hope to the spirit of freedom in humankind, a candle that can never be put out even if these unfortunate humans are treated as if inmates of an animal farm. Time will produce the much needed change. In the meanwhile Kumar Rupesinghe and his band of unrelenting investigators will hopefully keep the lights of freedom twinkling.

A. Jeyaratnam Wilson

BLESSING THE RICH

Let me bless you too, O Seven
Earth Mothers now departing
Down the dawning lane
White wisps of mist, rose washed by the kindling Sun

We lit the lamps before daylight
Laid fresh mats in the hall
Waiting for you while the milk rice steamed,
We carved seven times seven white pieces
Placed them on the plantain leaves before you
Milk Mothers
Stealing softly in from the departing Night.
The oil cakes, the fragrant coconut treacle sweets
Seven times seven the offerings.

The Milk boiled over,
You blessed us with chants older than religion
Seven hands circling with seven flames
White Herons, will the Dawn
Hold you here always,
The stir of the Earth in this stern Hall?

No. The day glimmers and you depart
You have blessed us with health and happiness
So sad to know you are melting away
Into the harsh Day
Of your Hovels by the waste lot
Clutching our Offerings from your Harvest.

We too, calculating, turn to bless
Your fertility and helplessness.

U. Karunatilake

Need for...

(Continued from page 19)

for settling petty disputes and cases. (IBID P. 140) In a letter to the Colonial Secretary he pointed out that the regular courts were unsuitable for hearing petty cases and urged that "the ancient mode of referring such cases to a Gamsaba or Village Council would be advantageously preserved where it is established and restored where it has been superseded." (IBID P. 141)

Colebrooke in his report has observed the following:

The lands of villages (Vidahns), to whom the people immediately referred, were sometimes

appointed, but in some cases their offices were hereditary, and lands were ordinarily assigned for their support or use, and for that of other village functionaries. The headman of each village directed the labour of the people under authority of the chief of his province, or the particular department to which their services were assigned, in which case the provincial authorities exercised no control over him, he has also entrusted with the police of his division, and a village council (gamsaba) was assembled by him when required for the investigation of cases which were referable to its jurisdiction. (Colebrooke, Report P. 25)

In fact Colebrooke himself had attended one of these assemblies near Kandy and observed that "the landholders of the village were assembled and the witnesses duly examined. The case in question, relating to the boundary of the lands, had been decided by Judicial Commission's Court, and having come before the Governor in appeal, was referred back for further evidence, and for the verdict of a jury of the village in which the lands were situated." (IBID P. 26) But with the introduction of separate judicial system during the British rule in 1830s and 1940s has weakened the gamsabavas in Sri Lanka.

IV. Need for Conflict Resolution Centers in Sri Lanka

The idea of creating conflict resolution centers is basically to bring peace. These centers will arrive to bring an end to conflicts by peaceful methods. Negotiation, arbitration and mediation are some of well known methods adopted to resolve conflict.

In the recent past and at present Sri Lanka has been facing conflicts at various levels. Starting from family disputes conflicts can take place between neighbours, between caste and religious groups. It can also take place between two communities. These conflicts can be resolved without resorting to violence and going to the courts and through peaceful methods. Like the Gamsabavas conflict resolution centers can be set up in the villages and towns with experienced citizens of the areas on a voluntary basis. The people who run these centers will be local inhabitants who by occupation, training and social standing differed not from the persons in conflict.

In setting up of conflict resolution centers, we should take into consideration the peace committees organised by the U. F. government between 1970 and 1977 and President Premadasa's temple, school and police concept of peaceful resolution of conflicts.

Troubled Paradise

Steve Coll

ONLY MAN IS VILE. The Tragedy of Sri Lanka. By William McGowan. Farrar Straus Giroux. 397 pp. \$25.

One of Sri Lanka's lesser misfortunes is to be ignored. Despite having staged one of post-colonial history's most brutal and fascinating Third World horror shows—replete with death squads, ethnic fratricide, totalitarian insurgencies, and the usual cast of misguided Westernized politicians—this teardrop-shaped island nation in the Indian Ocean, formerly the British colony of Ceylon has managed to rip itself apart during the last several decades without attracting much attention.

Neighboring India dropped in with 50,000 troops five years ago, hoping to sort out the island's mess, which it had a hand in creating. But its soldiers soon returned home, bloodied and sulking. As for the superpowers present and former, they have generally left Sri Lanka to its own appalling devices. Japanese businessmen touch down on the island regularly, hawking cars and electronics, and members of the Western aid community stop by with satchels full of blueprints for hydroelectric dams and self-sufficient shrimp farms. But they have not stopped the bodies from piling up.

In the last decade, the total number of deaths from Sri Lanka's shifting panoply of civil wars and ethnic conflicts is estimated to be above 60,000. The figure swells daily.

To outsiders, Sri Lanka's implosion seems especially tragic because the island is paradisiacal. Its beaches are pristine and its

plam forests brim with elephants and coconuts. Sri Lankans themselves often seem gentle and attractive, having achieved since independence—despite their recent habit of war—the highest literacy and lifespan rates of any comparably impoverished people in the world. And yet these same people have also produced a broad culture of violence and two guerrilla movements, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the People's Liberation Front, whose fanatical terror is reminiscent of Pol Pot's Cambodia.

William McGowan, an American teacher and journalist, arrived on the island in 1986, stayed about two years and has now written a book about his experiences' *Only Man Is Vile: The Tragedy of Sri Lanka*. (The title is taken from Bishop Reginald Heber's hymn "From Greenland's Icy Mountains": "What though the spicibreezes Blow soft o'er Ceylon's isle; Though every prospect pleases / And only man is vile.") Swept up by Sri Lanka's beauty and repulsed by its brutality, McGowan travelled to the island's interiors to chronicle several of its bloodiest guerrilla and army campaigns and to make sense of the larger forces at work in the island's dissolution.

Fashioned as a political travelogue, his book contains strong passages, such as a vivid tale of Christmas in the battered eastern town of Batticaloa. McGowan lunches in a "bullet-scarred refectory" with Jesuit priests who have devoted themselves to defending the region's ethnic Tamil minority from Sri Lankan and Indian death squads. Outside the refectory, was rage. Inside, a priest from New Orleans puts

"Silent Night" on a cassette player before he talks politics in case he says, "we are being bugged."

But while McGowan is a good listener, a careful reporter and a sensitive observer, he seems unable to decide what he thinks about Sri Lanka. In an unfortunate preface, he compares his assessment of the island to the predicament of a servant at his Colombo guest house who sweeps flower petals into piles, only to have them blown away by the wind. "During most of my stay there, I rarely felt I had anything but the most tentative uncertain grasp of the war and what it was about," McGowan writes.

While this humility is occasionally refreshing, McGowan's lack of an argument or even a consistent point of view about Sri Lanka makes it difficult for either the specialist or the newcomer to become engaged in his travels. McGowan examines closely the puzzle pieces of Sri Lanka's divisiveness—the roles of ethnic nationalism, language, religion, economics, and historical identity. But each time, he leaves the pieces in a jumble.

Sometimes McGowan embraces a wispy anthropological relativism to explain the island's conflicts, suggesting that because Sri Lanka's culture is different from his own, he has no right to analyze it. Other times he asserts himself, as when he argues with a nationalist professor from the island's Buddhist, ethnic Sinhalese majority who wishes Sri Lanka could become "Burma without the mistakes." McGowan recognizes the man's murderous chauvinism. But he seems afraid to take on the professor's argument directly or to deal with its chilling implications, for fear of being judged "a Western supremacist"

(Continued on page 28)

Steve Coll is the South Asia correspondent for *The Washington Post*

Demographic Engineering — and the Tamil issue

S. Sathanathan

The sole Tamil member of the panel, Mr. Thangadurai, argued that internal borders are "historically derived" and "politically determined", that not a single country has internal borders defined along river basins or other resource boundaries. He then enumerated some of the criteria which ought to govern the determination of provincial borders.

(a) in respect of "current national needs", internal borders must facilitate a devolution of power which permits power-sharing between "ethnic groups" and initiates a process of democratization; and

(b) in respect of "future development", internal borders must be conducive not only to economic development in each province but also to social and cultural advancement of the different "ethnic groups". An important precondition, it was stressed, for such holistic development in the Sri Lankan context is power-sharing between "ethnic groups". In conclusion Mr. Thangadurai emphasized that those who favoured "resource rational" internal borders were merely expressing their subjective opposition to devolution of power to the NEP "couched in developmental terms."

4.3. On politico-economic provincial borders

A Tamil member of the Sureveyors Institute of Sri Lanka, Mr. Somasekaram, speaking from the audience conceded to instances where national borders coincided with resource boundaries, such as a mountain range, river or coast line, which could be militarily defended against external enemies but have nothing to do with a "resource rational" approach. Such national borders, it was shown, were unrelated to resource boundaries as evidenced by internal political borders in numerous countries, including the United States, Brazil

Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, India, Burma and Australia.

4.4 The Mahavamsa Mentality

If the arguments advanced in support of internal borders based on resource boundaries covertly justified demographic engineering and, therefore, were absurd in the extreme, they were matched only by the warped perception of the question of nationalities among a majority of Sinhalese. A Sinhalese member of the audience, who defended the "resource rational" approach articulated popular perceptions when he described the "ethnic conflict" by way of a parable, in which the husband personified the Sinhalese nationality and the wife personified the Tamil nationality. He said: Consider a situation where a husband invites his wife, who comes from another house, to live with him in his house. No sooner does she arrive, she start making demands on the husband; she asks for "this", for "that" and for "something else". The husband tries hard to satisfy her out of his modest income but her demands continue and in fact escalate. It is only natural that the husband is irritated and occasionally does lose his temper and even hits his wife. The Holocaust against Tamils in July 1983, he said, was one such instance where the Sinhalese "lost their patience" and "hit" the Tamils.

In the parable the images of Tamils, transmitted through the role of the wife, portray them as hierarchically subordinate to Sinhalese. In keeping with the Sinhalese myths of origin (Kapfer, 1988), Tamils are seen as outsiders, from Tamil Nadu, who settled in Sri Lanka after the Sinhalese, who supposedly came from somewhere in northern or eastern India around 500 BC. The fact that

archaeological evidence points to human settlements in the island dating back to about thirty thousand years with a strong cultural affinity to those in southern India has never been allowed to inconvenience the myth. The Tamils in Sri Lanka are according to the parable fortunate to be able to live there because of the generosity of the Sinhalese but they are almost pathologically prone to making unreasonable demands and repeatedly provoking the Sinhalese. The influence of these images was evident when Dr. Amarakone, for example, had claimed earlier in his presentation that the demand for a separate State made by Tamils "invited retaliatory pogroms" by Sinhalese, although the first pogrom against Tamils in June 1956 pre-dated the demand for Tamil Eelam by about two decades. What staggers the mind is not only that such colossal ignorance of even elementary aspects of Sri Lankan nationality conflicts could so confidently be displayed on a public forum; but also that the patently fallacious description provided through the parable was NOT contested by Sinhalese members of the panel of speakers!

Mercifully another Sinhalese member of the audience brilliantly summarized the essence of discussions promoted by the speakers who suggested a return to the *Pihiti-Maya-Ruhunu Rata* model. He described it as symptomatic of the "*Mahavamsa Mentality*": a frame of mind which is hopelessly bogged down in the parochial world view of the 6th Century chronicle, the *Mahavamsa*, and which, therefore, is incapable of understanding current realities and is unable to resolve "ethnic conflicts". To this, Mr. Fernando who claimed earlier "we are all mixed" now responded curtly: "Can we deny our heritage?"

Clearly, Sinhalese chauvinism can learn nothing and forget nothing.

4.5. Demographic engineering and the nationality question

It is tempting to dismiss the claims in favour of "resource rational" borders as gibberish, riddled with factual inaccuracies, unfounded assertions and outright fallacies. Even the patriotic fervour cannot be taken seriously. Because it is logical to expect that self-confessed patriots who recommended a change in the colonial provincial borders would be equally, if not more, enthusiastic in transforming the unitary State bequeathed by British colonialism into a federal State more appropriate for the multi-national society and its developmental needs in independent Sri Lanka. However, no such recommendation was made despite the examples set by India. But to be dismissive would be too easy. It would also detract from the underlying strategy of domination of the minor nationalities through demographic engineering by the major nationality.

"Resource rational" borders have nothing to do with either resources or rationality. Instead, the intention was to create new provinces, each of which would incorporate segments of populations of two or more nationalities. This change was allegedly in the name of optimum resource utilization and national unity. But in fact it has everything to do with redrawing the provincial borders so that the Tamil and Muslim nationalities will always remain numerical minorities in every province in the island. This would ensure that the control over the State and monopoly exercise of State power by the Sinhalese fraction of the ruling classes will continue unchallenged.

5. Towards a military solution

The arguments ostensibly based on environmental rationality have sought to covertly support demographic engineering; to delegitimize a federal system of government for Sri Lanka;

and to deny the attribute of territorial expression of the identities of minor nationalities. The analyses dealt with a political question without recognizing it as political and without reference to power relations, the re-structuring of which is the central dynamic of nationality conflicts in Sri Lanka.

By upholding the unitary State structure in the face of mounting opposition from all minor nationalities, the arguments have provided an implicit justification for imposing a military solution to the question of nationalities in Sri Lanka. Perhaps H L de Silva expects the nationality question to "evaporate sooner than the morning dew" and disappear in the face of the fire power of the Sri Lankan armed forces.

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(Concluded)

Troubled . . .

(Continued from page 26)

One fascinating prism through which to see Sri Lanka's fratricide is suggested by an assertion

McGowan makes early in his book "Sri Lanka." he writes, "failed to build a stable multi-ethnic, multicultural society because it embraced many of the very concepts and ideas that multiculturalists in the West have advocated." But the author lets this provocative suggestion drop, as if it were a mere musing. In the end, McGowan returns to the United States engulfed in dread and forboding about Sri Lanka's future. One wishes he would go back to the island, this time determined to untangle the contradictions and solve the mysteries that seem to have driven him away.

The Tamil . . .

(Continued from page 13)

early conquests, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel-S. P. G., the Dispersion of the English church and the Tamils of Bishop Caldwell's flock in Tinnevely is described by Sargent in detail. (ch. 2, 3,5). Thus the Tamil soldier, the Tamil Diaspora and the Dravidian movement came to constitute a basis of the British Imperial project.

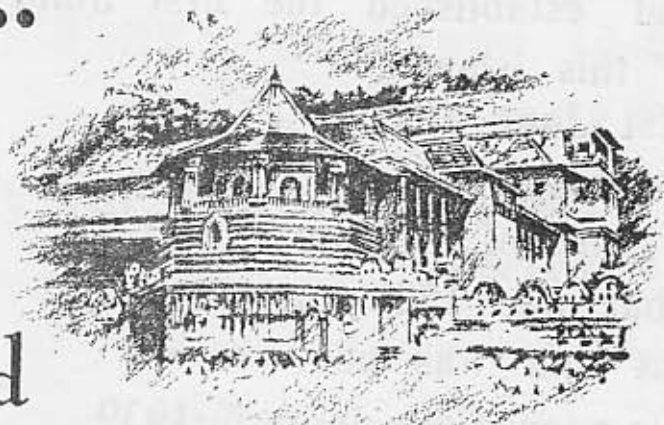
The nationalist reaction to this project in the Tamil country, articulated by the terrorist movement, proclaimed modern Tamil Militarism as the means of national emancipation from British rule.

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