

Leroi Jones and the limits of separation

— Tissa Jayatillaka

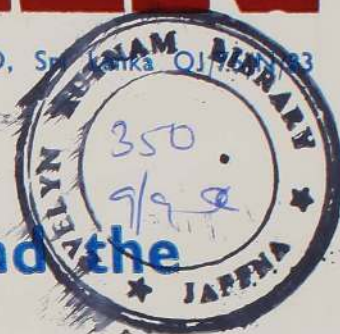
LANKA

GUARDIAN

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GAMANI COREA

**William Clark's 'Cataclysm' and the
1987 crisis**



MERVYN DE SILVA

Eelam, Tamilnadu and Delhi's dilemmas

NIRMALA SALGADO

Feminism and the Nairobi Conference

DAYAN JAYATILLEKA

**Cabezas: Portrait of the revolutionary
as a young man**

BRANKO SAVIC

The Gulf War and non-alignment

Also: The National Front phenomenon;
A Peoples' Peace Conference? **and**
A. J. Wilson, Radhika Coomaraswamy on
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HIGH LEVEL VAVUNIYA PROBE

THE walk-out by the Tamil representatives at Thimpu followed an angry charge that service personnel were involved in the violence at Vuvuniya where the official death toll of civilians was given as 21 with the Madras-based separatist groups claiming a much higher casualty figure. The SUN was quick to see the serious implications of the allegation besides its immediate repercussions. Whether the Tamils used it as a tactical ploy or not, the walk-out *en masse* announced the collapse of Round 2.

In a prompt reaction to the report, the SUN wrote editorially that army personnel "should act with utmost vigilance and restraint in order to maintain a level of credibility, while preserving peace and order. Whenever there are lapses, the policy makers should step in to remedy them. Any cover up would be futile and counter-productive."

Taking justifiable credit, the SUN next day had a front page box headlined "**SUN Called for it — PRESIDENT ORDERS VAVUNIYA PROBE**".

Brigadier Mano Madawela, the Army's chief of staff, and two senior officers of the Navy and Air Force (Commodore Ananda de Silva) and Group Captain J. L. R. Gunatilleka) were appointed to conduct the inquiry.

BANK STRIKE

DEFYING stern warnings from the bosses of the state-owned Banks, several thousand bank employees staged a walk-out protesting that an earlier union-management agreement had not been implemented. But the government got tough. More than a dozen union members have been sacked or interdicted. What's more two officials of the union were arrested under the Emergency regulations and then remanded, when police objected to bail.

With the government totally preoccupied by the violence in

the north, and the stalled Thimpu talks, and Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel painting a bleak picture of the economic situation in the coming years, trade union unrest must surely be the government's (any government's) nightmare.

Already the Nurses Union, which has lately gained a reputation for its activism, is preparing for another confrontation with the Health Ministry, reports the ISLAND.

CIVIC RIGHTS

AT the conference of the World Federation of Sri Lankan Associations in London a surprise item was the adoption of a resolution on Mrs. Bandaranaike's civic rights. Nearly 250 votes were cast in favour of the restoration of her rights, and just two votes against.

The highlight of the conference was National Security Minister Lalith Atulathmudali's speech described by both pro-UNP and pro-Opposition participants as an admirably concise summary of the issues involved in the Thimpu negotiations and a broad presentation of the political situation in Sri Lanka. The other distinguished guest speakers were Opposition Leader Anura Bandaranaike MP, and the Ven. Madihe Pannaseeha Mahanayake Thera.



**TRENDS
+
LETTERS**

North-East Linking

PRESIDENT Jayewardene has said the Northern and Eastern provinces cannot be linked as it will be to divide the country. Premier Premadasa has supported him and said the division of the country will never be allowed.

The present division of the island into provinces was done during colonial times when administration of the whole island from the centre was the easiest way to administer colonial rule and have control over the whole island. Now that the people of Sri Lanka are politically free it is open to them to make whatever changes they think are desirable.

Two races have lived in Sri Lanka for centuries, the Tamils in North and East and the Sinhalese in the rest of the island. To recognise the existence of two separate races with different language religion and culture living in the same land is not to divide the country.

(Continued on page 2)

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Great Britain is a classic example. In it live the English, Scots and Welsh. Though they all speak the same language, have the same religion and culture they live in strictly demarcated portions of the island and will stoutly resist any division of territory occupied by them. And yet it has not led to a divided Great Britain. In fact it has led to a united people and they pointedly call themselves the United Kingdom — U.K. as we all refer to her.

The attempt to divide the Tamils living in the North and East will lead to a feeling of frustration on the part of the Tamils, which will not be conducive to evolving a United Sri Lanka.

Dr. R. W. C. THAMBIAH

Excellent

RECENTLY I stayed in Sri Lanka as a volunteer. Whilst in Lanka I read avidly your magazine "Lanka Guardian" — an excellent publication.

H. D. MACDERMOT
Leeds
England

Anecdote

I found Qadri Ismail's irreverence concerning Peradeniya University's English Department refreshing (L. G. 1st & 15th August 1985.) However, I am appalled by his criminal defamation of Professor Passe, who can no longer defend himself. He does that by retailing an unverifiable "story" according to which Professor Passe "didn't give classes" to some "brave" students of English, solely because they had previously gone on strike against his wish. This allegation implies that the performance of those "brave" students at the examination in question, actually merited "classes."

Voltaire once said: "One owes respect to the living; to the dead one owes nothing but

the truth." Although I do not necessarily subscribe to the first part of this dictum, I find its second part unexceptionable. So I cannot help being appalled by the way Qadri has recorded a mere anecdote against Professor Passe, as if it embodied nothing but the truth about him. And an inevitable question arises in my mind; has Qadri already reached anecdoteage?

CARLO FONSEKA.

Suddhi

READING Dr. Carlo Fonseka's view of 'Suddilage Kathawa', one question rose in my mind. Just what is wrong with the buffaloes? Aren't they just very fine creatures? If by saying the film is perhaps meant for buffaloes, it is implied that it is made for fools, may I straight away say, it would be one of the most difficult tasks in the world to make a film for fools. (Next most difficult task being, to make one for mad men). If a whole lot of fools went to see the film and enjoyed it, the creators of the film must be credited with very great creative imagination.

Now that is besides the point. The main grouse of Dr. Carlo seems to be that the characters depicted in the film, almost all seem to him to be psycho-paths and therefore no true representative of the "South East Asian Third World in Transition". I am sure, Dr. Carlo will not disagree that concepts of psycho-pathology is relative, like all other concepts. (In 1971 some thought the young people who rebelled were psycho-paths. Yet others hold the view that most politicians of the third world are mentally deranged persons). Surely it is one thing in an affluent country with completed democratic revolution; another in poverty stricken "third world" with pseudo democracy. What may seem abnormality in one may not be abnormal in the other.

Dr. Carlo brings in his professional training to bear on the matter. I personally would respect that very much. I too have observed similar characters, though another discipline, namely the law. Life in desperate details revealed to me in that sphere forces me to the conclusion that the characters, in this film are very normal ones, representing the lives of people in our very unfortunate society, call it the third world, if you like.

It may be depressing to find what has happened to "decency". The aggressive ones in their struggle for survival become corrupt and it is the weak (impotent — symbolically) that remain decent as it were. Corruption being inherent in the very nature of underdevelopment decency is associated with failure. Must we look at "the heart of darkness", merely because to make such a look produces "emetic effects" on us. My own criticism of the film in this aspect is that it does not go far enough to express the ugliness of "the third world in transition". Perhaps because that may have had the effect of transforming the fools into mad men! Imagine if such characters as beauracrats, policeman, local politicians etc., got into the film! Though the film may offend our decent sentiments, it is a step towards realism in our cinema.

What I regret very much is Dr. Carlo's relapse into elitism, as manifested in this letter to the editor. Such fine speaker, that the masses respectfully listened to, need not seek the comfort of "the small circle". I hope "emetic effect" is only a result of a temporary irritation and that he would be charitable to the benevolent buffaloes that has done so much good to this nation. Finally I am sure, the doctor will be more patient with the "world views" of Simple Simons, for such are best indicators of the things to come.

BASIL FERNANDO

Understanding the slogans and signs from Madras

NEWS
BACKGROUND

Mervyn de Silva

In thumbing their noses at the Prime Minister of India, the Madras-based "boys" and their advisers evidently over-reached themselves to the point of provoking Delhi and a swift crack-down, which in turn helped re-start the negotiations that had virtually collapsed in Thimpu. 'No breakthrough, no breakdown' was our basic argument in the commentary published in the last issue. Breakthrough, certainly, was not much in evidence, while the assumption that neither India nor Sri Lanka could afford a complete breakdown seems to have proved correct. At this writing, the leaders and spokesmen of the Madras-based militant groups are on their way to Delhi. It is reported and Mr. Hector Jayewardene QC, special envoy of President JR, has extended his stay in the Indian capital. Whatever their differences in approach, and whatever the disagreements that may emerge in the process of negotiations, both governments have a larger stake in sustaining the negotiations than in their irretrievable collapse.

The "boys" did more than refuse to board an aircraft that had been specially sent to Madras by the Indian government. They demanded that the deportation orders on Dr. A. S. Balasingham, Mr. S. C. Chandrasaran and Mr. N. Satyendra be withdrawn first. That was the moment when wills and strengths were tested.

Mr. Gandhi didn't wilt. It was exceedingly naive to think he would.

However the fact that the demand was made and the test of will attempted at all points to a confidence based obviously on a consciousness of extra, perhaps hidden, reserves of strength. If

so, what are they? How real or imagined? The answer to the first is easier.

To start with, Tamilnadu, of course. The other source of confidence would surely have been a belief that if the worst happened, the rebel organizations could move back to Sri Lanka, with men and material, and function with that degree of autonomy which they have achieved in the years in exile. In other words, the confident conviction of operational self-reliance.

Firm answers to the second question on whether such self-assured assumptions are grounded in political reality or in exaggerated and fanciful hopes can be given only by future developments. But both questions make Tamilnadu the major factor, and as a corollary, Delhi-Madras relations.

Within 48 hours of the deportation orders, the Tamilnadu opposition took to the streets. This report is from the *HINDU*:

Madras protest

"Angry protests flared in this South Indian city today over India's deportation of three senior Sri Lankan Tamil separatist leaders.

"About 15,000 people marched to a protest meeting in the business centre of Madras, capital of Tamil Nadu State, to listen to speeches warning Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of large-scale unrest if the deportation orders were not revoked.

"Hundreds of policemen guarded the six-km (three-mile) route of the march led by M. Karunanidhi, head of Tamil Nadu's main opposition group the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK).

"Rush-hour traffic came to a halt and truckloads of armed police watched as the crowd shouted slogans including "Down with Rajiv Gandhi", "Down with Sri Lankan President Junius Jayewardene" and "Down with the betrayers of Tamil Eelam"

"Opposition groups in Tamil Nadu, whose 50 million Tamils have close cultural and religious links with Sri Lanka's Tamil minority, have asked New Delhi to reconsider the expulsion of Tamil separatist leaders Anton Balasingham, Chelvanayagam Chandrasaran and N. Satyendra.

"K. Veeramani head of another opposition group the Dravida Kazhagam (DK) was cheered when he accused Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran a Gandhi ally of having approved the deportation orders."

Does one protest demonstration (and of fifteen thousand, a small figure in a state as large as any West European country) make a agitational movement? It does look as if the Sri Lankan expatriate groups felt quite strongly that cultural affinities and the accompanying emotions had effectively converted the Sri Lankan Tamil issue into a Tamilian cause. A highly emotional unifying cause would inevitably influence public and political opinion and thus introduce a new factor into Tamilnadu politics. This would be all the more true if in these years of exile in Madras, the Sri Lankan expatriate rebels had successfully infiltrated the Tamilnadu political system, establishing across-the-board contacts with all major parties and politically significant pressure groups.

M. G. R's Move

A sustained agitational campaign in Tamilnadu would first of all become a cause of concern and, possibly great anxiety, to M.G.R's AIADMK, of which Mr. Gandhi's (I) is an ally, its only ally in fact in a South where the Congress, battered at the March state elections, cannot count on any state government. MGR has two options. To beat down such a growing Opposition-led agitation, and take Delhi's side completely, or pre-empt his local opponents and thus make sure the agitation does not assume an anti-MGR character. In the first demo, there were more anti-Gandhi slogans than anti-MGR slogans according to most reports, a point surely Mr. Ramachandran would have carefully noted.

Outside the Lok Sabha in Delhi, too, there were anti-Gandhi slogans, shouted this time not only by the DMK but the Opposition Janata which has no clout at all in Tamilnadu. It did show however that the Sri Lankan Tamil issue has all the potential of a serious irritant to Delhi's policy-makers in the national political context, just when Mr. Gandhi is busy de-fusing tensions in the turbulent north.

South-North encounter

Underscoring this point heavily is a statement of Mr. K. Veeramani, the leader of another opposition party, the Dravida Kazaghham (note the name). "If the orders are not withdrawn, Gandhi will face agitations like Punjab and Assam and we will not allow any North Indian to set foot here". So, already, there is a strong hint not merely of a Tamilnadu-Delhi confrontation but of an abrasive North-South encounter.

Finally, there was that other highly thought-provoking slogan: "Down with Gandhi... Down with Jayewardene...!".

Eye-ball to eye-ball, Mr. Gandhi didn't blink. The deportation orders were carried out. Discussions

in Delhi have resumed and so we are in effect having Thimpu 2½ in Delhi.

The question then is: how has Mr. Gandhi read the signals from the demo in Madras, the protest in the Lok Sabha, the hartal in Vavuniya and what will he do?

Having cracked down hard on the separatist rebels, he has watched a train of events which cannot make him too comfortable. Confronted by the dilemmas produced by an extremely complex and volatile situation, he has to do some pre-empting too. After leaning hard on the 'Eelam' rebels, he has to lean next on Colombo because the need for a political settlement is now even more urgent and important.

He will seek to push Colombo from A. P. C. 'plus' towards the C.W.C. proposals and Annexure 'C'.

The urgency springs from the fact that the cease-fire did not really hold outside the Jaffna peninsula. In the peninsula itself non-UNP Tamils say that the armed forces respected the letter and spirit of the agreement, in spite of some provocations. Not so, outside. Over 600 violations, including 112 killings, according to the government's figures. In Madras, meanwhile, the TULF and the militants have both charged the security forces of serious violations and the most violent of them at Vavuniya has led to a top-level probe ordered by President JR.

Progress towards a political settlement will be meaningless if the armed combatants do not once more sustain the ceasefire. If in fact the combatants have slipped out of the total control of both Delhi and Colombo, then time is really running out for a peaceful reconciliation.

Rs 32,000 m Budget deficit

THE Government on Wednesday approved a series of measures proposed by Finance Minister, Mr. Ronnie de Mel to reduce his overall budget deficit of Rs. 32,000 million for 1986.

A press release of the Ministry of Finance and Planning said yesterday that the preliminary estimates of revenue and expenditure now being prepared by the Treasury indicated the total expenditure for 1986 at Rs. 69,000 million and estimated revenue at Rs. 37,000 million leaving an overall budget deficit of Rs. 32,000 million.

The Finance Minister who has told the government that the overall budget deficit was "unsustainable by any standards has made the following proposals to which the Government has agreed to.

The proposals are:

(1) Capital expenditure to be pruned by approximately 15 per cent and no capital expenditure to be incurred in 1986 over and above the figures already agreed to by the Treasury and communicated to the Ministries.

(2) Each Ministry to achieve an overall saving of 5 per cent in current expenditure during the course of the year 1986.

(3) No Supplementary Estimates, except to bring foreign aid to account or for very essential security purposes.

(4) No new posts to be created in 1986 and no vacant posts to be filled except with the approval of the Ministry of Finance.

(5) Public Sector Corporations to pay to the Treasury a mandatory dividend of at least 10 per cent of the capital employed or 25 per cent of the profit after tax in 1986, whichever is higher.

(6) Loss-making Government Corporations and Government owned Business Undertakings to be either closed down or sold if they cannot be made viable within a reasonable period. Certain other Corporations and Government-Owned Business Undertakings which should not be strictly run by the Government to be sold with a view to raising resources for the

(Continued on page 5)



Mrs B and the National Front phenomenon

How does the newly established 'National Front' fit into the rapidly changing and persistently puzzling national political equation? Is it a new pressure group of the once powerful B.J.B. type? Or does the presence of Mrs. Bandaranaike, the most formidable politician in the country next to President JR make a qualitative difference?

If the questions have to be framed in this fashion it is because the 'National Front' has some unique features which suggest that it is a phenomenon for which no close parallel can be found in the colourful and chequered history of party politics and pressure groups in Sri Lanka. When the leader of a party that has held office three times in 30 years — a leader who has also been prime minister twice — joins a new non-political organisation, then the character and role of the new movement eludes easy definition. There are obvious difficulties in finding it a well-defined place in the traditional structure of Sri Lankan politics.

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party is a national party, with a national program that seeks to draw support from all communities in this multi-ethnic society, and represent their interests as effectively as possible. At first glance, the N.F. looked purely issue-oriented, and such movements are not strange to this country or any other. At its inception, the N. F. placed one demand on the agenda — the postponement of the Thimpu talks.

But it soon became clear that the Front had a pronounced Sinhala-Buddhist character. The organisation sprang out of the emotions generated largely by the violence in the north, its spill-over to 100% Sinhala areas and the emergence of the new problem of Sinhala refugees, and the climate of insecurity and fear prevailing in the so-called "border" areas.

Evidently Mrs. Bandaranaike herself was conscious of her dual political role — SLFP leader and quite plainly the most prominent political personality in the ranks of the new movement. At the well-attended Panadura rally, she said that her participation was not as SLFP President but as a Sri Lankan disturbed by current events and trends.

In a conversation with this writer, she said:

"We have entered a stage when the future of parties and party politics is itself at stake. The drift is towards violence and disorder. We must halt that drift before we are faced with the possibilities of anarchy when normal democratic party politics may become impossible".

The significance of the 'National Front' must be read therefore from the perspective of both current pressures and urgencies as well as recent political trends. Firstly, oppositional politics of the kind we have known since independence lost its old structural character and its style and spirit from 1978, the new constitution, and more so from the day Mrs. Bandaranaike was deprived of her civic rights. The decline of the Left, the decimation of a once lively trade union movement, the proscription of 'new left' parties, the suicidal factionalism of the SLFP and the total disarray of the anti-UNP forces created the sort of vacuum in which new formations and alignments were inevitable.

Secondly, the perceived needs of a 'negotiated political settlement' of the ethnic issue, a position basically supported, at least in formal pronouncements, by ALL parties made a broad Sinhala consensus a crucial prerequisite. Mrs. Bandaranaike (and the SLFP)

is the key to that consensus. Any settlement, it is widely felt, must be endorsed by a Sinhala consensus. Equally, the negotiating position of the Sinhalese would be greatly strengthened if such a consensus was a reality. Thus, there is a convergence of opinion between those who think that no settlement is possible or credible without a Sinhala consensus and those who feel that any settlement without a supportive consensus would be detrimental to Sinhala interests. The overseas Sri Lankan associations may not be the best guide of Sinhala opinion at home but the vote at the London Conference (see TRENDS) does reflect the strong tendency I have identified.

Mrs. Bandaranaike then stands at the inter-face of post-1978 political problems and current majority Sinhala/oppositional pressures.

— M. De S

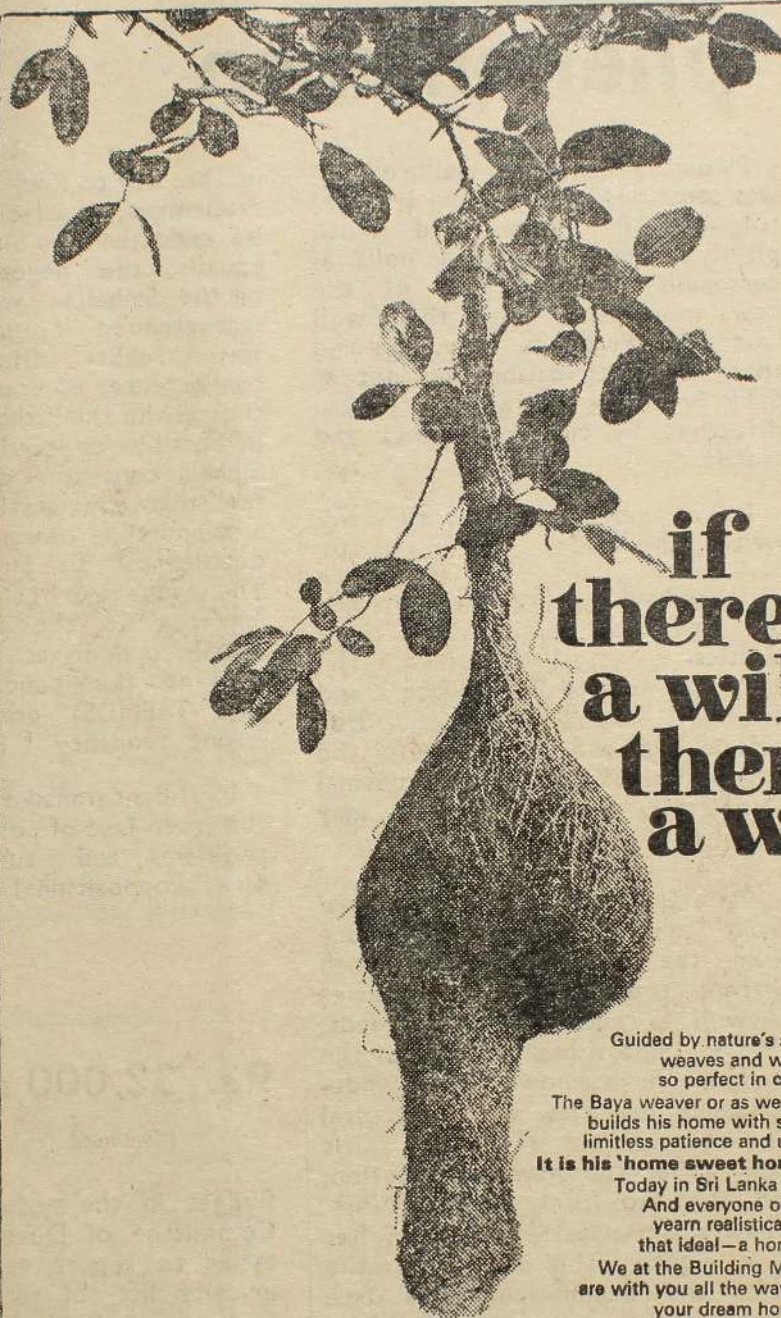
Rs. 32,000 m . . .

(Continued from page 4)

Budget in the medium term. The Committee of Development Secretaries to report very early on a priority list of such Government Corporations and Business Undertakings which should be either closed down or sold.

The Press release said that the Ministry of Finance considers that with these measures agreed to by the Government and with the foreign aid and the new tax proposals which will give additional revenue, the Budget Deficit for 1986 should be considerably reduced. The Ministry has stated that unless this is done it will be impossible to maintain price stability or control inflation.

— "Island" 24. 8. 85



**if
there's
a will
there's
a way!**

Guided by nature's strange powers, he
weaves and weaves a nest
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The Baya weaver or as we know the Wadu Kurulla
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PHOENIX

● Following SC decision on Mahara by-election appeal

CRM wants Constitution amended

The Civil Rights Movement of Sri Lanka which considered the implications of the majority judgement of the Supreme Court in the appeal in the Mahara election petition case decided to urge the government to amend the Constitution.

Stating that the situation in which an unlawful election cannot be set aside if the person whose act render it unlawful happens to be the head of the State as highly unsatisfactory. The Movement has proposed urging government to amend the Constitution to enable Courts to hear and determine an election petition and, if need be, set aside the election no matter whose actions are alleged to render the election void.

The movement further states:

"The law provides that an election may be set aside if either the candidate or his agent (that is to say someone acting on behalf of the candidate) commits an election offence such as bribery, intimidation or making a false statement about the other candidate's character or conduct. The law further provides that in the legal proceedings to set aside the election not only the successful candidate, but also any agent alleged to have committed such an offence, must be made a party.

It is clear that this law is essential to safeguard the basic right of fair and free elections. Indeed its purpose is to find out whether the particular election in question can in fact be considered an election at all, in other words whether the result reflects a fair and free expression of the people's will. If not it must be set aside and a fresh election held.

The Supreme Court in the Mahara election petition had to consider a situation where it was alleged that the President in the course of the campaign for the successful candidate had committed a election offence as a result of which the election should be set aside.

The Court by majority decision held that as another provision of this Constitution gives the President immunity from legal action, he cannot be joined as a party to the election petition, and that

therefore the election petition cannot be proceeded with.

It is clear that this is a highly unsatisfactory situation which strikes at the very root of the concept of fair elections and representative democracy. A situation in which an unlawful election cannot be set aside if the person whose acts render it unlawful happens to be the Head of State is, furthermore, contrary to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights to which Sri Lanka is a party.

— "ISLAND" 22. 8. 85

Tamils arrive in India, says AIR

A spokesman for the terrorist group yesterday claimed that more than 200 Tamil refugees arrived in the state yesterday from Sri Lanka's northern district of Vavuniya.

State-run All India Radio quoted Tamil Nadu Rehabilitation Minister

T. Ramaswarny as saying that 331 Tamils landed at the southern port of Rameswaram on Tuesday.

India has said over 85,000 Tamil refugees have arrived from Sri Lanka since ethnic conflict flared on the island in July 1983.

— "ISLAND", 22.8

Partition only solution — Karunanidhi

NEW DELHI Aug. 22

The Press Trust of India (PTI) quoted M. Karunanidhi, President of the Opposition Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) Party in Southern Tamil Nadu State as

saying the ethnic division of the island could be on the lines of the partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947 into Hindu Majority India and Moslem-majority Pakistan.

— "ISLAND"

A peace conference of peoples' organisations

AN APPEAL

Several Nayake Theras and other members of the sangha have joined a campaign for a national conference of Peoples' Organisations to support the current efforts for a negotiated settlement of the ethnic conflict. An appeal for such a conference has been made by a mixed group of monks, clergymen, trade unionists, representatives of peoples' organisations, and professionals. Those who have taken the initiative state in their appeal:

We welcome the decision of the Sri Lankan Government and the representative organisations of the Sri Lankan Tamil people to agree to a cease-fire and to begin negotiations for a political solution to the conflict between two major ethnic communities inhabiting Sri Lanka. We believe that the vast majority of all communities hope that these talks would succeed.

We also believe that such a political solution could be implemented with greater success if the people and their organisations, particularly among the Sinhalese and Tamils were involved in the peace process. It is only by such an involvement on the part of the people at large that any efforts to subvert the present negotiations by chauvinist elements could be overcome.

We propose, therefore, that an assembly of delegates from all major peoples organisations be convened in order to adopt a series of proposals that could form the basis of a political solution and would help to end violence, restore peace and promote inter-ethnic justice.

In facilitating such a discussion, the following basic framework may be of use. What is necessary is to ensure a true devolution of power that will guarantee equality of status to all members of all communities.

(a) The State shall consist of a Central Government and a number of territorial administrations. Each territory shall consist of a number of Districts which are geographically with each District having the power to decide which territory to join.

(b) Each territory shall have a territorial legislature and shall be responsible for all functions of legislation and of executive administration, within its area of jurisdiction; in particular Education, Territorial Finance, Health, Land Settlement and Policing of the region shall fall within the jurisdiction of the territorial administration.

(c) The Central Government shall be responsible for Defence, Foreign Affairs, National Finance and the Central Judiciary. It shall also be responsible for the execution and maintenance of country

wide services such as railways, port and telecommunications, harbours, etc, which it will not be feasible to bring within territorial administration as well as of development projects which spread over a number of territories. In the latter instance it will act in full consultation with the territories concerned.

(d) All inhabitants of this country, and in particular the plantation workers of 'recent Indian origin', who opt to become citizens of this country would have the right to obtain full citizenship rights. There should be no discrimination between citizens by decent and citizens by registration.

(e) Constitution provision will be made to ensure the implementation of the above provisions and protect the rights of the minorities in each territory; all acts which seek to impose special disabilities or confer special privileges on any ethnic group will be constitutionally barred.

(f) Any legislation purporting to amend/alter these provisions of the Constitution must have the consent of all territorial governments. We invite all mass organisations in this country to consider the possibilities of devolution based on these proposals, giving such discussions the widest publicity in their organisations.

SIGNATURES

Batapola Anomadassi Maha Nayaka Thero, Wellawatte Gnanabiwansa Thero, Badagiriye Medananda Thero, Kongasdeniye Ananda Thero, Hatigammana Uttarananda Thero; Mandawela Pannavamsa, Thero, Rev. Paul Caspersz S. J. (Satyodaya), Sevaka Yohan Devananda, Sister Josephine Mendis (Provincial Holy Family Order), Sister Helen Fernando (President, Justice & peace Commission, Holy Family Order), Charles Abeysekera (President, Movement for Inter Racial Justice & Equality), D. W. Appuhamy (Secretary, All Lanka Peasants Congress), Sunil Bastian (Researcher, International Ethnic Studies Institute), Mervyn Casie Chetty (Lawyer), Upali Cooray (Lawyer), Jayasuman Dharmabandu (Journalist), I. V. Edirisinghe (Head Dept. of Sociology, Colombo University), Dr. Radhika Coomaraswamy (Associate Director, Int. Ethnic Studies Institute), S. Nadesan (President, United Plantation Workers Union), Indika Guna-

wardena (Secretary, Movement for Inter-racial Justice & Equality), Dr. Newton Gunasinghe (Lecturer in Sociology, Colombo University), Dr. Bertie Gajamagagedera (Lecturer in History, Peradeniya University), Dr. Kumari Jayawardene (Women's Education Centre), Dayan Jayatillaka (Journalist), Prof. Osmund Jayaratne (Professor of Physics, Colombo University), Premasiri Khemadasa (Musician), Sumansiri Liyanage (Peradeniya University), Jayaratne Maliyagoda (General Secretary, Lanka General Services Union), P. Devaraj (Director Congress Labour Federation), L. W. Panditha (General Secretary, Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions), Dharmasena Pathiraja (Film Director), S. G. Punchihewa (Movement for the Defence of Democratic Rights), Dr. James Rutnam (Historian), Ainsley Samarajiva (Lawyer), S. Sandarasegaram (Lecturer in Education, Colombo University), T. B. Subasinghe (Vice President World Peace Council), Bernadeen Silva (Secretary, Centre for Society & Religion), Sudarshan Seneviratne (Lecturer in Archaeology, Peradeniya University), Dr. S. L. Tambiah (Professor of Social Anthropology, Harvard University), Gunasena Vitarana (Writer), Suriya Wickremasinghe (Lawyer), Gamini Yapa (Vice President, All Ceylon Peasants Congress).

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GLIMPSES OF FORUM '85

Nirmala Salgado

The 1985 NGO Forum in Nairobi has been a major event in the Women's decade. The advances made by women's groups since the Mexico and Copenhagen conferences was obvious. A distinctive feature of Forum '85 was that women from the Third World had no fear of 'betraying' their cultural traditions in their attacks against patriarchy in their respective countries. The post-colonial hang-ups appear to be on the wane.

This one week long Forum included more than four hundred workshops representing activist women's organisations throughout the world. The workshops were held daily in the university and the lecture rooms were usually so crowded that late-comers had to sit on the floor or crowd around the doors. Women's organisations which were represented include GABRIELA, WILPE, DAWN, the Committee for Women's Democratic Rights in Iran, Isis International, Vimochana, SWAPO Women's Council Arab Women's organisations, lesbian groups, diverse religious groups and many others. Women in science was represented by an open air demonstration and exhibition at Tech and Tools. Inevitably many clashes of good workshops did take place and an added disadvantage was the lack of a schedule which indicated names of prominent panel discussants.

The film forum organised about six films a day on and by women. These showings however could not be screened as scheduled because of censorship which not only delayed the programme but also excluded about thirty percent of the films altogether.

Most heated disputes appear to have arisen in the Peace Tent. Discussions outside workshops took place here during the lunch break and the weekend. The subject of

women in peace movements addressed here by representatives from Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka, Japan, the Philippines and the Pacific Islands stressed a common stance against US interference in Third World countries. This particular discussion on peace could not be continued for the police soon came to assure the participants of undesirable consequences unless the gathering dispersed immediately. Attacks on Islamic fundamentalism as being anti-female and un-Islamic were found to be another common very attitude amongst women throughout the Islamic World.

One of the largest and according to many observers, the best organised forums was the "Third World Forum on Women Law and Development". The main theme of this forum was to discuss achievements in the past decade and future projects for empowering women to make the law relevant and real in their lives. Annie Jiagge, Chief Justice of Ghana chaired the inaugural session for which the inaugural address was given by Justice Owour of Kenya. Nawal El Saadawi delivered the keynote address on Law Patriarchy and Class. In her talk she stressed the need for an interdisciplinary understanding of social reality. She said that the compartmentalisation of knowledge into disciplines has induced a distorted human image that has contributed to women's oppression. Law though reflecting the social structures of patriarchy could be used to serve women's needs provided that the women were to unite themselves and consolidate power in the same way that the working classes had done before them. She added that women from developing countries often do not enjoy the basic political rights of their sisters from the more developed nations and that religion and tradition which had become a part of national identity in the third

world were usually used to deny the basic human rights of women. Thus patriarchy together with class structures inhibited the exercise of justice which is at the core of equality peace and development. Working groups on State Law and Development focused on constitutional issues, development, family, land and labour. The achievements of the decade for women included the incorporation of women's rights to equality in the written law although the difficulties of access to the law and the implementation of it were seen as major obstacles.

The importance of rural and grass roots organisations in places such as Kenya, Nepal, Peru and in Vanuatu, both in raising women's consciousness of the law and empowering women was discussed. There was agreement that women who in a precolonial era had traditional land rights were often deprived of these rights by development projects and the introduction of agricultural machinery. Models of development were criticised for being discriminatory as they are based on the patriarchal and capitalist structures. It was revealed that in some Latin American countries women are still legally minors and that in Ecuador a man is allowed by law to kill a wife or daughter for adultery. Women were often given political rights such as the right to vote not to further women's causes but to further male political interests. The necessity to integrate legal aid with economic activity that enhanced women's independence was also discussed. Customary law as being specially relevant and discriminatory within the family was seen as an unnecessarily sensitive area of law in a multi-ethnic country as it usually served to violate women's rights in the name of a minority or ethnic group. It was agreed that women in "Free Trade Zones" who were

employed as cheap labour should in the next decade be mobilised and form unions in order to enable them to fight for their basic rights.

A main attraction at the session on violence and exploitation in the Women's Law and Development forum was Sister Sol Perpinon from the Philippines who described her battle against pornography, prostitution and sex tours. In the session on violence, the relevance of considering the socio-economic and political reality of the society was seen as central in the understanding of violence and rape. Several women's organisations have emerged in the past decade to combat violence against women and the exploitation of their sexuality which have needed to take this into account. It was seen as necessary to combat the legal machinery which often tended to further victimise a victim of rape whilst the perpetrators of the violence often went free. Domestic violence was seen to be ignored by law as it took for granted the inviolability of the patriarchal family.

Activists from Chile the Dominican Republic and Brazil spoke on human rights violation in their respective countries. It was agreed that women in some Third World countries are denied the right to freedom of speech and are politically oppressed and that it is imperative for a net-working of women's organizations to form and bring international pressure against human rights violation. Case studies on torture in political prisons Chile showed that a tortured prisoner was likely to later become a torturer of prisoners.

The concluding session assessed the achievements of the past decade for women. Legal aid centres and legal awareness projects had been initiated in several countries and new women's organisations had also emerged. However the need was felt to go beyond this and empower women so that they could fight for their just rights and also to build and consolidate a network of women's organisations throughout the world, so as to enable organisations to learn from each others strategies and experiences.

The three hour workshop on "Feminist Publishing in the Third World" organised by DAWN was another well structured very compact workshop. Participants came from India, Pakistan, Brazil, Japan, Zimbabwe and Chile and spoke of their personal experiences as feminists writers, poets, researchers and publishers. This session included a slide show of Chandralekha's posters and was interspersed with outbursts of powerful feminist songs in Hindi. Kishwar Nahid who has translated Simone de Beavoir's "The Second Sex" into Urdu (which is incidentally banned in Pakistan and has caused charges to be brought against her) spoke on Urdu poetry. She said that Gazal writing had always been a man's privilege and it is still considered absurd for women to write this. A male poet can write love poetry freely but a female poet who does likewise would be stigmatised for expressing scandalous personal affairs. Kishwar read out two of her own poems in Urdu in one of which she compared herself to grass which though continuously trampled had a desire from within for growing freely. The inaccessibility of women to the interpretation of the Koran was also discussed. The subversiveness of feminist writings both within and

without academic work was a main theme in this session, as was the necessity of feminist academics as well as researchers to work together and break the barriers between abstract theory and experience. The problems of the distribution of feminist publications was considered as a major obstacle especially amongst rural women who do not have access to the major publication networks. The journalist from Japan described the difficulties she encountered when she began to write on women's issues (after having previously written on environmental issues.) The lack of seriousness and sensitivity with which male writers considered feminist writers was evident amongst journalists in Japan where only about 5% of them are women.

It would be misleading to ask whether Forum '85 was a success or a failure. Women groups had certainly progressed since Mexico and Copenhagen according to observers who had attended these conferences. The success of this NGO Forum really lies in the decade ahead and the effective and networking women groups and the mobilisation of women throughout the world who-despite cultural diversity have voiced their oppression in unity.

Raids on Ancient History

*Raids on ancient history is a sophisticated hobby
When in leisure there is no scarcity, and the present no joy
And the future looks even less joyful, if it matters at all.*

*How do we trace the sudden rise of Dutugemunu
Or interpret the fall of powerful Palonnaru
Or unlock the rock inscriptions attacked by the jungle
Or the polysyllables on strips of palm yet perceptible
When sacred authors were absorbed in other worldly visions
And were rarely attentive to nagging mundane impressions.*

*Do these untangle the present tangle
Either within or without our fences
Or on the roads that lead you to no particular destination
Or in the sea across which lie our umbilical connection,
And when the daily ration of avoidable uncertainties
Make a mockery of our recondite studies.*

Tilak A. Gunawardhana

Omar Cabezas : The Fire, the Mountain, the Man

Dayan Jayatilleka

I recognized Omar Cabezas as he walked into the Anti-Imperialist Centre at the World Festival in Moscow, from the photograph on the dust jacket of his book. Of course the clothes were different. In place of the dark well-fitting military fatigues and a revolver at his hip, he had on a light shirt, blue denims over black boots and a dark brown corduroy jacket. But the face was instantly recognizable — a broad slightly fleshy face with lines; thick wavy hair, a moustache and no beard. Despite his experiences there is no bitterness or hardness visible in the man. Even his hand, when I shake it, is not calloused. Indeed he is soft spoken.

I explained to him that returning early that morning from Leningrad, I had read in the news bulletin covering the previous day's proceedings that he had addressed a meeting in Moscow. I had then kicked myself for having agreed to go to Leningrad since I had missed this great opportunity to meet him. I told him that I had spent a lot of time with his colleague Francisco Lacayo, the Nicaraguan Vice Minister of Culture at the recently concluded 35th Pugwash Conference in Campinas, Sao Paulo. Lacayo was a senior participant in the workshop on "the crisis in Central America and the Caribbean". It is Lacayo who told me about Cabezas and strongly recommended the latter's book. He had also told me of the genesis of this book, when he and Omar were in Paris in 1978 shivering in the cold, reminiscing and reflecting on their love lives. 'Omar really had a complex relationship with the mountain', Lacayo had told me. 'He would constantly ask for a pair of tennis shoes so

that he could go and fight in the city'. Apart from the painful attack of Mountain Leprosy he had developed a cramp running through one side of his body so that he could run only 2 or 3 kilometers at a time. After the revolution, he used to say that he never wanted to return to the mountain, said Lacayo, adding however that the book demonstrated that Cabezas' attitude to the mountain was not one-sided and negative. "As Omar says, we used to dialogue with the mountain, discuss with the mountain. The mountain was more than just a mountain; it was a symbol", Lacayo had explained to me.

Yes, said Cabezas, Companero Lacayo had mentioned this to him on his return from Sao Paulo and he would certainly make time for me to see him that afternoon. There was a problem though. He could understand English when spoken only fairly slowly while he himself could speak English only very slowly. His wife could speak very good English he added, but she would be busy with a programme of her own. Fortunately we were joined by a young American, a Quaker who had worked for 3 months in Nicaragua as a volunteer health worker and spoke good Spanish. Mercifully he was not a member of the CPUSA but was strongly sympathetic, as I was, I guess, to Irwin Silber's 'Line of March' group based in San Francisco. So we all met in Cabezas' suite in the Hotel Moscow in which I was also staying. He showed us a copy of **Barricada Cultural**, the tabloid sized supplement of **Barricada** the official organ of the FSIN edited by Carlos Fernando Chamorro son of

the murdered Pedro Joaquin Chamorro (See 'Talking to Carlos Chamorro — L.G. (Vol. 5 No. 5). **Barricada Cultural** had begun serialising the first chapter of the second volume of his autobiography 'Fire from the Mountain', which would cover the years 1975-1979. No, said Omar, he had not yet decided on the title of this volume and in fact he had finished only the first chapter.

Autobiographies

Autobiographies are rare in revolutionary literature. The personal is never visible in Lenin or in the writings of the Vietnamese Leaders. More of the personal is to be glimpsed in Mao and occasionally in the speeches of Fidel. Cabezas' book however is a direct descendent, though even Carlos Fuentes does not remark on it, in his Foreword, of Che Guevara's 'Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War'. When I mentioned this to Omar he laughed modestly but did not contradict me. It was said after Che's "Reminiscences" appeared, that from Che's decision to be a revolutionary, the revolutionary movement had gained at the expense of the world of Literature and Journalism. Che's humour and humanity are present also in Cabezas' writing. But the former writes with greater authority, is sometimes more judgemental, and recalling now the essay written in memory of his friend who dies in action, 'El Patojo'. I tend to the view that Guevara was the greater writer. What is most striking however in reading Che's 'Reminiscences' and Cabezas' 'Fire from the Mountain' is that unlike in the case of Lenin or Mao we can often recognize and relate to their feelings. These then are contemporaries.

rary men, men of our own time, men we are close to. Reading after his martyrdom and sainthood, Che's first Diary and then the biographies by his friends and particularly that of his first wife Hilda, one is struck by just how human he was and therefore how accessible he is to us. This is the true power of his example.

Cabezas admits in his book that he came to Sandino, his own country's hero, after and through coming to Che. 'Be like Che' was what the comrade who recruited Omar to the FSLN told him. This slogan, he says in his book, "exploded in the very centre of his forehead". Throughout the struggle, that thought inspires Cabezas when the going gets rough. Cabezas joins the FSLN in 1968, the year after Che's death, the year of the upsurge of the world revolutionary process, the year which has impacted and shaped all of us. He joins the FSLN because of its belief in its political line and because he cannot refuse a friend whom he admires. Over the next few years he distinguishes himself as a leading activist of the FSLN's Revolutionary Students Front, (FER — Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario) at the University of Managua. They contest student assembly elections at the University and win. Cabezas takes Marxist study classes and at one time he is co-ordinating seven study circles. Their basic text, which he comes to know by heart, is 'The Elementary Principles of Historical Materialism' by the Chilean Left Wing Socialist Marta Harneker who studied under Louis Althusser and is known fondly in Latin America as "Althusser's daughter". Meanwhile the FSLN is engaging in robberies and political assassinations throughout the country and in the University they are being denounced by the PSN (Partido Socialista Nicaraguense) the pro Moscow CP, which uses as ammunition, Lenin's 'Leftwing Communism', as Cabezas recalls with quiet amusement. After six years of organizing University students and then the slum-dwelling urban poor of Indian origin and having had the immense satisfaction of

the latter demonstrating for their rights (the depiction of the demonstration is superbly done), Cabezas is taken to the mountain for training.

He reminds us that at the time, he had led a life of late nights, smoking, drinking, shooting pool, eating junk-food, chasing girls, and no exercise. The description of his march to the mountain, his "ascent to Calvary" as he significantly puts it, is very well rendered indeed. And always the wry self-deprecatory humour as when he takes his first shift in the jungle and attempts to wipe himself with two leaves! Reaching the heart of the jungle, where, all through his years in urban activism, he had imagined the main force of the FSLN, the guerrilla army, was hidden, he finds a grand total of fifteen men led by 'Modesto' (Henry Ruiz). "Mother — fucking son of a bitch, what is this shit? ... I've made the worst decision in my entire life" rages Cabezas silently, considering retracing his steps. But he stays, somehow. Then begins the training, conducted by a Palestinian trained Sandinista, Tello, who is rigorous but humane. Cabezas is honest. There are ugly moments too, as when the trainee unit is on the verge of levelling their weapons at Tello who has instructed them to march carrying 70 pound packs. Tello walks off and weeps. He then returns and in a masterly stroke of political psychology, reminds them of Che's 'New Socialist Man', whose creation was not, as they had until then understood, a task to be commenced after the victory of the Revolution, but who was up there on that ridge, looking down, waiting for them to catch up with him.

Women

A sizeable part of the book depicts a world of 'men without women', to use a phrase of Hemingway. But there are girls before the mountain and after, and, even in the mountain, but inside his head. Before, the rich girls (driving cars and walking suntanned around the beach in shorts) who Cabezas and his revolutionary friend like to watch and hitch rides from. Cabezas

describes them evocatively without an iota of class animosity or sermonizing, merely delighting in the aesthetics. Then there is the famous episode with the nurse, surely one of the most erotic (as opposed to pornographic) passages in any book published this year. Also the kindly peasant woman who is unconvinced that the earth is round. And then there is Claudia (not Cardenal's Claudia, but cast, in the final analysis in the same role of having refused / jilted the revolutionary male). Claudia, the campus companionera in the urban underground who bears a child by Cabezas (no they're not married, but he is, now) and sometime later, sends him the standard 'Dear John' letter informing him that she doesn't love him anymore (though she does respect him and has learnt much from him), but loves another companero. Now in an earlier chapter, Cabezas, coming down from the mountain, sexually starved, wonders whether Claudia is in town, if not, who the other companeras in the city are. So when he turns on the existential angst in the chapter entitled 'Reasons for Living', plots his revenge on Claudia, writes her a terse poem. etc. he displays a certain hypocrisy and egocentrism. But this is because in his book, he is being himself, he is being totally honest, without posturing as a male feminist. This is a man, hurt, and he says that without "a correct political — ideological mental framework" he would have been shattered. He goes down to the river and sitting on the bank, peels an orange. When he walks back, he has only his revolutionary commitment to go on living for, and it is strongly reinforced. (Now let some feminist or CIA shrink write a thesis about that.)

THE VANGUARD

Cabezas suffers, experiences fear, despondency. Tello is killed by the National Guard. Hit by a single bullet in the forehead, he doesn't even get a chance to put up a fight. If the Guard can kill their guru, a Palestinian-trained cadre, what chance do they have. Cabezas and his companeros think. And the mountain mourns for

Tello, her son. But then Cabezas knows he must "be like Che", set an example, be like Julio Buitrago the FSLN cadre who held off Somoza's tanks and planes with a single Tommy gun in the middle of Managua in a battle that was televised live, until he ran out of ammo and was killed. (Remember the last scene in 'Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid'?)

Omar graduated from the guerrilla training school, is sent this time to organize the **campesinos**. It is hard, painstaking, lonely labour. He has to live 'secluded in a hut in the forest for most of the day his only contact being' with a peasant family. Later he is a leader himself, running 40 guerrilla training schools successively over the years, training hundreds of fighters. He leads his youngsters out of a National Guard encirclement which costs the FSLN many comrades. At one time the repression is so heavy that the organization is badly battered in several cities and regions, and communication is cut. Still the scale of the repression, hitting the masses widens the support base of the FSLN. It is not that the FSLN militants are superhuman jungle combatants, like (Sylvester Stallone's) Rambo or Chuck Norris. On the contrary, Cabezas once admits that the Guard always managed to catch up with and surpass their jungle tactics. It is the superiority of the FSLN's strategy their political line, the clarity, morale and motivation of the fighters, the combination of political and military work, and the deepening political and economic crisis, that brings victory.

Cabezas' opening chapter is a paen of praise to 'the vanguard', a slap in the face of those political illiterates, Euro-Communists and Gandhian-Gramscists who try to find, in the Nicaraguan revolution, a refutation of the theory and practise of the vanguard! He describes the sense of superiority the 'incredible delicious sensation' of knowing one belongs to the vanguard. Indeed as the book progresses and he describes his own metamorphosis — and he is a microcosm of the vanguard — the writing becomes unconsciously, and ever so slightly Nietzschean and

narcissistic. His depiction of the positive **political** affects of the vanguard's military actions both on the organization itself as well as on mass consciousness, is a signal lesson to 'orthodox' and also 'revisionist' leftists who engage in blanket condemnations of what they call 'individual terrorism', 'adventurism', 'anarchism' and 'ultra left provocations'.

Insurrection

Omar Cabezas' book ends in 1975. It is the next volume that will deal with the period covering the massive National Guard offensive of 1976 at the conclusion of which the FSLN was reduced to several dozen militants, split into three 'tendencies'. In 1977, the organization numbered around two hundred. Two years later, the Sandinistas were in power. It is the **how** and **why** of this that Cabezas tried to explain to me in our conversation. In doing so, he sketched out an urban-rural dialectic and also spoke of the particularities of the struggle in the different zones of the country.

Continuing our conversation he said:

"Please remember that all this time, the clandestine cells in the cities were incrementally augmenting their political activities. So when the guerrilla columns entered the cities, the people rallied around them. The result of course was insurrection.

"The process I have described (see L. G. Aug. 15, 1985) took place mainly in the North of the country. In the Pacific coast area where Leon, Managua and Chinadega are located the process was slightly different. Here clandestine structures developed and clandestine schools were set up in the suburbs outside the cities. These comrades sent their people to the mountains to be trained and then when they re-entered the cities those comrades set up clandestine military schools in the cities themselves. First we gave 8 days training, then 3 days and finally a days training. This training took place in the houses of our collaborators. There would be ten youngsters in one room and they'd be shown how to use arms. How to aim, shoot

clean their weapons, how to protect themselves, how to move, how to crawl.

"In all these cities the Frente began a series of military actions so as to form military units. These units consisted of clandestine comrades and also those comrades who were not clandestine but who would come for a specific action and go back to their houses.

"So we had two phenomena inter-acting: in the North, that is mainly in Matagalpa and Estele columns of guerrillas, and in the Pacific area far from the mountains, the clandestine structures of the cities. Then one day these two forces came together at different points of the cities!

"Groups of 100 people or 200 people would gather at a certain point. For instance in Leon at 6 a.m. such groups would cluster at different points. The Executive command of the city guerrillas would give the order that at different points, different clandestine groups should converge. Each group had its own leadership and internal organizational structure. These groups would then start yelling slogans, and agitating the people. Soon they would get the populace really going. Meanwhile some of them would have also begun digging trenches and looking for the positions of the enemy. When the enemy left its shelters to engage the people, then the fighting began. This is how the insurrection took place."

As we were concluding our chat, I asked Cabezas a final question. "What happened to Claudia?" Laughing gently and patting me on the shoulder, he replied: "Wait for the next volume of my book." Well, I thought to myself, suppressing a moment of sympathy for the lady, sixty years after Alexandra Kollantai's 'A Great Love', its about time.....

Many hours later, I met Omar Cabezas again, in the milling crowd, spirit suffused with the superlative Cuban jazz-folk-rock (yes, there is such a thing) music of Silvio Rodriguez and Pablo Milanés stepping out of the Hotel Izmailovo into the midnight air of Moscow in Summer.



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Power variables of nationalism

Radhika Coomaraswamy

Experience with post-colonial nationalism in third world societies as analysed by the above theorists point to certain variables which appear to provide the nationalist enterprise with a certain tenacity and ideological vigour. These factors in their aggregate may be referred to as the variables which sustain nationalism, as the premier ideology of the modern world.

Territoriality

The first factor which comes to mind in analysing the nationalist phenomenon is the concept of **territoriality**. Unlike past eras, the ideology of nationalism is territorially centered around a geographical entity which is seen as the "homeland". This differs from other political movements which appeal to criteria which are universal or regional. Neo-classical economics, marxism, pan-Africanism, etc., are all movements which attempt at ideological hegemony across territorial boundaries. Their cosmopolitan or macro-character has been rendered impotent by the supremacy of nationalist ideology. In fact Benedict Anderson's book is a product of his concern over Marxist regimes which purport to adhere to international criteria of exploitation being overcome by nationalist ambitions. Only militant Islam appears to be challenging this concept of national territoriality in recent times. As a result of Khomeini's success in Iran, Islam has provided a force for the mobilisation of discontented elements within society against so-called nationalistic regimes. From Pakistan, Malaysia to Indonesia — not to mention the societies in the Arabian peninsula — militant Islam has put forward an ideology of protest which supercedes national boundaries and national loyalties. Whether it will succeed in creating a pan-Islamic movement is another question altogether. Given the strength of nationalist sentiment and identity,

Islam may remain an ideological focal point for political organization which will be absorbed by the nationalist enterprise. Zia's adoption of the Shariya in Pakistan is one such attempt at appeasement.

Populism

A second factor which appears to play an important role in most nationalist movements (except perhaps in the NICS) is the close association between nationalism and populism. Peter Wiles in a 1960's volume on populism identifies 24 points which he argues form the substance of populist movements. Among these are

- "moral" outlook over political programme emphasizing "mystical" contacts with the people
- movement of individuals over a structured party
- extremely anti-establishment, often anti-intellectual, with a tendency toward grand conspiratorial theories
- unconcerned with class but with emphasizing "the people" in a collective sense
- belief in the "small is beautiful" ideology — sympathetic to the "underdog" believing that he needs special protection, especially the protection of state
- hostile to big business and financiers — often linking these finances to alien races and alien influences
- a strong belief in developing the state sector as the representative of underprivileged groups, but very keen on making the state responsive to and not control the interests of these groups
- a strong rural bias (except perhaps for Peronism)
- nostalgic for past visions of decentralized, harmonious, communal life

● often supporting policies of self-reliance and isolation.

Populism according to Wiles is a "syndrome not a doctrine", it is the rhetoric of the "little man", his struggles, his virtues and his quiet heroism.⁵⁵

This populist element is what distinguishes modern day nationalism from previous dynastic and religious empires. The concept of "The people" and the belief in their sovereign rights is its major contribution. This populist component poses two major problems for the nationalist enterprise in developing societies. Firstly, as it rests on the definition of "the people", such "people" is often defined to exclude racial minorities with a different lifestyle. The concept of "pluralism" is rejected in favour of majoritarian rule. Secondly, populism easily gives way to left-wing movements, especially if these movements are led by a determined political vanguard. As a result of these contradictions, nationalism in post-colonial societies is currently being challenged by secessionist movement of national minorities from within. In addition vested interests in an attempt to avoid the left-wing versions of populism have instituted authoritarian models of development in third world societies, especially in Latin America and East Asia. One of the main purposes of the so-called "bureaucratic-authoritarian" model is to contain populist political movements by focusing national attention of economic growth and consumer prosperity. The success of the NICS is in fact related to the pre-emption of this populist component of modern nationalist movements.

The Post-Colonial State Apparatus

The most important variable in the nationalist enterprise is undoubtedly the post-colonial state. All the brands of third world notional-

lism outlined above from Nehru to revolutionary nationalism to the NICS are heavily "statist" in practice. As P. Worsley argues, "it is the State which permits or insists upon certain identities and refuses others". It is the States which determines and guides economic policy. It is the state which controls the means of communication in society, thus ensuring ideological. All non-statist nationalist ideologies from Gandhianism to Pan-Africanism, which did not have a state focus, were doomed to political marginalization.

It is often said that the concept of the State and statehood — as opposed to empire and imperial administration — was a European export to the third world. That view is extremely Eurocentric. Though one is ready to concede that nationalism as we know it today is European in origin, the art of statecraft and bureaucratic management are definitely not new to the third world. In fact as Phillip Woodruff in his study on British India clearly shows, British colonial administration merely took over the state apparatus of the Mughal dynasty. In addition, the Chinese state bureaucracy would have surprised many Europeans by its sophistication and outreach.⁵⁸ However, the concept of state as attached to the concept of nation and nationhood is indeed a modern development.

Not all nations bid for statehood. Many are absorbed within larger regional structures. According to Tilly, the likelihood that nations would make a bid for statehood is dependent on the following factors:

1. availability and use of resources
2. a protected position in both space and time — i.e. a territorial base
3. continuous supply of political leaders who articulate grievances in national terms
4. the ability to have successes in warfare or confrontation
5. homogeneity in population
6. class coalitions which cut across from landed elites to the working classes supporting the nationalist doctrine⁵⁹

An important characteristic of the post-colonial state is its ambiguous nature. Marx's own analyses of State and superstructure, rested on the assumption that they reflected the material economic base, with little relative autonomy. Weber, on the other hand, saw the state and the bureaucracy as the primary forces in social life. Modern theorists from Gramsci to Althusser have attempted to create theoretical models which bridge this gap between economic base and political power. Unfortunately, the focus for their empirical data has been Western Europe. The third world experience abounds with examples which give insight into the many dimensions of the problem. The complex interaction between State and civil society, state institutions and economic organizations, state personnel and those outside the state sector, are perhaps more pronounced in the context of underdevelopment.

The hybrid form of the third world state is a result of two priority considerations in all developing societies. The first is the need to ensure a certain welfare minimum for its people from education, health, food subsidies, birth control, agrarian reform, food distribution, etc. The second, to meet the problems of third world societies emerging from colonialism not having independent productive sectors which were capable of meeting the agricultural and industrial needs of modern society. The State therefore had to step in to help propel economic development either through nationalization or by providing incentives and technical advice for the growth of these productive processes in other sectors. The task of development management was entrusted to the State sector and the personnel manning its apparatus.

The new international development agencies from the World Bank, UNDP to UNCTAD accepted this reality as given. There was no other unit which could be supported whether under international law or as part of the social reality of third world societies. However, the enormity of the development task entrusted to third world have daunted even western bureau-

cracies with their technical back-up teams. In many third world countries the challenge just could not be met, leading to intense internal political conflict over the distribution and management of resources.

Third crucial departments in the "third world state" are the departments concerned with finance, development planning and implementation. Dudley Seers in his last book states that "planning" in many third world societies is conceived of as a public relations exercise.⁶⁰ The plan is published and discussed to prove that the government is interested in development. Though the era of development plans have definitely passed, the importance of the state establishing itself as the heart of the development exercise and using development projects to enhance its prestige as to legitimize its political abuses is still very much the political norm. The "national security" justification has been augmented by "in the interest of national development". Thus planning is not only the benevolent act of the State representing "the public interest" but a very political exercise which is the fundamental basis for the legitimacy of the developmental state. Projects, especially internationally funded ones are of great prestige value. They proclaim that international agencies show confidence in the State. This is often seen as the justification of why local citizens should place faith in government policy.⁶¹

Most international development literature is primarily concerned with policy prescription for the guidance of the development state. Dudley Seers writes in his book third world states should integrate their plans, should correctly implement projects, should exert financial discipline, should devise statistical innovations and should get personnel who are capable of technical expertise.⁶² The problems of the developmental state is not only economic management — though of course one could argue that such skills are also extremely necessary. But the problem is far deeper and more structural. The developmental state is constantly involved in a series of complex interaction. For example, the State is often made

(Continued on page 18)

Will this warning be heeded?

*Gamani Corea reviews William Clark's
'Cataclysm, the North-South Conflict of 1987' **

BOOK
REVIEW

For almost five years now there has been no real response to the pleas of the South for serious discussions on matters that are crucially important for its development. Negotiations in multilateral fora are stalled everywhere. The recovery of the industrialised countries from the recession has been weak and halting. It has not sufficed to reactivate development in the South. Famine in Africa and a drastic squeeze on living standards in Latin America are already the legacy of the politics of neglect and rejection.

Surely this situation and the policies that brought it about cannot go on? But what happened and what considerations will help bring about a change?

The familiar arguments for development cooperation seem to have little impact nowadays. In the early years after the war, the moral argument seemed to be uppermost in supporting aid to Third World countries. Today, it inspires actions to relieve human suffering but it is hardly a force for reordering international relations. In the years of the "cold war", aid efforts were spurred by the political argument of winning allies in the South. But this too lost its strength with the rise of Third World groupings and Non-alignment.

More recently, "interdependence" has become the basis of the plea for development cooperation but so far it has evoked lip service rather than action. The potential gains to the North from positive actions favouring the South appear to be too distant and indirect to outweigh anxieties about short term

costs — and particularly anxieties about sharing of power.

In *Cataclysm*, William Clark, a former Vice President of the World Bank, expands upon a different argument. His book is also about interdependence. But this argument is not about gains and mutual benefits. It is about damage. His purpose is to disturb, to shock, and in that way to forewarn. If the North will not cooperate more decisively in the development of the South for mutual benefit, it would eventually have to do so to reduce or avoid the harm it would suffer from its complacency and inaction. It is to get this message across that Clark harnesses his unique experience, his knowledge, his literacy skill, and his extraordinary sensitivity to the changes that are taking place in the world around us.

Cataclysm, described as "a future history of a potential catastrophe", sets out an imaginary scenario that unfolds in the year 1987. The story opens with the annual meeting of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in the Sheraton Hotel Washington. The vast Third World debt becomes the subject of an unintended confrontation between North and South. The President of Mexico, to the dismay of the USA and the United Kingdom, proposes a world conference to tackle the subject. The proposal is adopted by a vote and the USA and its Western partners decide to punish the Third World countries voting in favour. Their assets are frozen and further credits to them are suspended. Their ability to import is confined to the limit of their current external earnings. The USA and the UK seek to convert the International Monetary Fund into an exclusive institution of the rich countries charged with managing the international economy.

Economy chaos and social unrest grip to the South — demonstrating the formidable punitive power of the rich. Southern government grope around for a collective response but with little success. The real backlash from the South comes in other ways.

Clark takes considerable pains to construct a plausible scenario of what could happen. There are several settings in which his drama unfolds.

First, the United States. Destitution and disorganisation in Mexico and other parts of Central America and the Caribbean bring waves of refugees over the US borders. They disappear into the cities where their activities link up with dissident minority groups to step up the tempo of protest. The upshot is racial violence on a large scale bringing chaos and disruption to American cities and leaving many of them in flames.

Second, the United Kingdom. Clandestine organisations of restive minority communities carry out a highly effective sabotage of the centralised computer run traffic control systems and bring the life in London and other cities to a virtual halt.

Third, "inconvenience terror". Communications satellites are interfered with and messages from centres in the militant South are relayed to Northern homes creating a climate of confusion and panic.

Fourth, Israel. Saboteurs successfully penetrate its nuclear reactor and bring about a horrendous nuclear melt down.

Fifth, South Africa. Here, victory over the regime is total. A series of underground nuclear explosions rock the gold mining belt bringing about the eventual collapse of the white regime and the expulsion of the government from the continent.

* Sidgwick and Jackson 1984, 236pp.

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In the end the North is forced to yield. The book reaches a climax with a dramatic TV summit where world leaders are obliged to display their sanity before the eyes of billions of viewers. The outcome is an agreement to embark upon "global negotiation" within the universal forum of the United Nations.

This may sound like a tame ending but it is not. The World Conference is destined to succeed. Its goal is a new international economic order with a World Central Bank as its centre piece. The confrontation ends after a memorable demonstration by the South of the realities of present day interdependence.

The book is laced with shrewd observations on political alignments. The Soviet Union, for instance, does not fan the flames of confrontation by siding with the South. Instead, it tries to profit by offering its vast territories in Siberia for development in partnership with Western technology and capital. In the Middle East, it restores its influence by manoeuvring a joint peace initiative with the United States. Japan is never at ease with the aggressive Western stand against the South. It joins with China — and Australia — in promoting a return to the conference table. In the end it is Asia, particularly Japan and China, that dominates and runs the Conference.

Each episode in the book is fascinating and constructed with imagination and artistry. Each is carefully researched and spiced with dramatic content. The author takes pains to ensure that the events and actions described are politically and technically plausible. He is most captivating when dealing with the environment with which he is familiar. The processes and procedures of the multilateral fora — the Bank, the Fund, and the United Nations — are vividly described as by an insider. There his fictional characters come alive. Present day personalities are thinly disguised and their doings delightfully portrayed. The events and happenings in the world outside are, inevitably, somewhat more contrived. At times,

it would seem, the threads are woven into too intricate a fabric.

Cataclysm is an absorbing book because it highlights aspects of interdependence other than the familiar trading linkages. In the first place, the South is not just a number of far away countries. It is present in the North itself in the form of disadvantaged communities of immigrants and minority ethnic groups. The systems that support modern living are so complex and interdependent that societies cannot function normally if one or the other of the groups within them refuse their cooperation. Moreover, technological progress has made modern societies extremely vulnerable. Clandestine and militant groups in any part of the world can command sufficient know-how to penetrate and disorganise complex systems in a way that can wreak massive disruption in other parts. Above all, ecological damage can spill over national boundaries and endanger the global systems that support life itself.

It is not important to be convinced of the imminence of the particular chain of events described by Clark. The debt bomb may indeed explode some day, but one can imagine other scenarios. The toppling of moderate governments and the radicalisation of Third World countries are more commonly cited as a possible outcome of the growing economic crisis in the South.

But the essential message of the of the book is that the deepening North-South divide can result in disastrous consequences for the industrialised countries as well. Neither the economic or military power of these countries provide sufficient security against consequences of disruption and dislocation in the South. The only sane response is a return to multilateralism based on a recognition of the need to accommodate the interests of the South in a restructuring of international economic relations. This is a telling point, particularly when made by a former Vice President of the World Bank.

William Clark's book brings to mind a recent film depicting the

horrors of a nuclear war. The film was dismissed as propaganda and blackmail by those who support the nuclear build up. There will be some who react in a similar way to **Cataclysm**. But the arms lobby was able to argue that a strong nuclear defense is the way to avoid a cataclysm. Nobody can make a parallel argument about the neglect of the South. Clark's book itself, incidentally, seems to offer plenty of material for an enthralling film.

Power variables . . .

(Continued from page 16)

up of different interest groups which pursue separate policies within the power bloc:— the civil service, the armed services, the national bourgeoisie, those members of the bourgeoisie linked to foreign capital, financial interests, trade-unions linked to the government, ethnic groups supporting the government, etc. These groups often hold contradictory views of government policy. At a given point of time and depending on the nature of the issue different groups are on the ascendant. Policy is therefore not only determined by a managerial exercise but by a power struggle both within the government and from forces outside the power-bloc.

to be continued

FOOTNOTES

55. P. Wiles quoted in M. Canovan, *Populism*, London, Junction, 1981, pp.290-297.
56. P. Worsley, *op cit* p. 246
57. See generally, Philip Woodruff, *The Men Who Ruled India II: The Guardians*, London, 1965.
58. This is often known as the Han synthesis. A good analysis is, E. Balazs, *Chinese Civilisation and Bureaucracy*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1964.
59. A. Smith, *op cit* p. 15.
60. D. Seers, *op cit* p. 111.
61. Sri Lanka Parliament — budget debate of 1979.
62. D. Seers, *op cit* p. 91-142.

Limits of Nationalist Separatism

A study of Leroy Jones' "Dutchman"

Tissa Jayatilaka

THE relationship between literature and politics, a close one in the modern era, was particularly close in American society in the 1960's. The social and political turmoil arising out of the Vietnam war and the Black Nationalist Movement spurred some artists to express in their creative work their views on the issues of political, social, and racial justice. Of the Afro-American artists who during the middle-to-late sixties advocated Nationalist Separatism as a means of attaining racial justice, Leroy Jones is by far the most prominent. His play **Dutchman** (1964) marks an interesting phase in the career of this important Black artist, for although essays of his written at about the same time reveal evidence of powerful Black nationalist hostility, the play itself is a finely balanced study of the racial situation in the 1960's. Regrettably, the response of certain leading critics of the day to **Dutchman** was extremely hostile. Piqued apparently by the provocative nature of Jones's other writings, these critics seemed unable to give the play its proper due.

The present study attempts to establish the serious shortcomings of the critical response referred to above. It also attempts to expose the flaw inherent in Jones's choice of "Nationalist Separatism" rather than "Cultural Nationalism" as a means of resolving what W. E. B. Dubois spoke of as the conflict of "two warring ideals" in the Afro-American experience.

Leroy Jones is an important figure in contemporary letters.¹ His literary output is enormous. In addition to some twenty-four plays and four drama anthologies, he has published seven volumes of poetry, a novel and a collection of short stories, five books of essays and an autobiography. Jones is one of the finest and most influential Black playwrights in America. Of them he is arguably the most widely known outside of the United States.

Although Jones had written a few plays by the end of the 1950's, he first came into literary prominence as a poet; it is to his poetry that he owes his initial literary reputation. His first major success as a playwright occurred in 1964

when **Dutchman**² appeared. It won the **Village Voice's** Obie Award for the best Off-Broadway play of the year. Of all of his dramatic works, this has been Jones's most successful and powerful and also his most controversial. The production of the play appears to have coincided with the beginning of a period of crucial change in Jones's outlook on art and life — the period when Jones assumed the leadership of the Black Arts Movement which was the cultural arm of the Black Nationalist Movement of the 1960's.

¹In this study I have referred to this playwright by his original name because he was known as LeRoi Jones when **Dutchman** first appeared in 1964. He took the name Imamu (Spiritual Leader) Amiri Baraka (Blessed Prince) in the mid-1960's when he became a Kwaaida minister. The alternation between Jones and Baraka throughout this study would have proved confusing.

²LeRoi Jones, **Dutchman and the Slave** (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1964). All textual references are to this edition.

While I alone am responsible for ideas expressed herein, this essay has benefitted immensely from discussions I have had with Prof. Lee H. Potter of the Dept. of English, Wake Forest University, North Carolina, U. S. A. and Prof. Johnella Butler, Head, Dept of Afro-American Studies, South College, Northampton, Massachusetts, U. S. A. It is a pleasure to acknowledge my debt to them.

— T. J.

There is a great deal of confusion regarding Jones's achievement in **Dutchman** and as a playwright in general. When the play was first performed, and for some time after, critical opinion was highly divided. Some critics hailed the play as a masterpiece while others dismissed it as a nasty piece of racial propaganda. Jones himself has contributed rather lavishly to this critical confusion by his dual role as artist in and politician of the Black Power Movement. This fact, however, does not totally absolve the critics since we are justified in demanding of them a sense of objectivity in their literary appraisals. It is my view that the critics have not assessed the Jonesian achievement fairly. Notwithstanding our desire for dispassionate assessment of works of art human fallibility may not enable literary critics to achieve such objectivity at all times. What concerns me in this instance is what I perceive to be the almost complete absence of any sense of objectivity whatever. It appears that the critics have allowed their own political and literary critical views to colour their judgment of Jones the artist. They have failed to take into adequate consideration the crucial criterion by which Jones ought to be judged — his peculiar frame of reference. To judge Jones's plays

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on the basis of traditional western models, as most of his critics have done, is to ignore totally his deliberate attempts to write a different kind of drama. That he consciously sought to deviate from these models is made clear in his essays in general and, in particular, in "The Revolutionary Theatre."

A look at Jones's biography will also help us to understand his art in its proper perspective. We see in him the plight of a sensitive and educated Black person trying to resolve the contradictions that arise, both in himself and in the society in which he lives, as a consequence of the prevalence of racism in American society. Jones was concerned, as were most Black creative writers of the 1960's, with creating a distinctive and authentic Afro-American sensibility in order to forge a sense of identity for the Afro-American. He employed and intended to employ his literary efforts towards such an end. He was, therefore, obviously enough, not subscribing to "art for art's sake." Nor was he attempting to pander to those who wish to treat as sacrosanct the received notions and conventions of dramatic literature. **To ignore these considerations and to call Jones names, as some critics have done, is about as fair as blaming a tiger for not being a lion.**

My study aims to highlight the failure of the critics of Jones to appreciate the peculiar strengths of his literary effort, a failure which has not only vitiated their view of the Jonesian dramatic achievement, but, what is more important, has prevented them from focussing on the true limitation of that achievement, namely, its flawed worldview. By choosing "Nationalist Separatism" instead of "Cultural Nationalism" Jones has failed to seek the more desirable resolution of the conflict of the Afro-American. Here I refer to the conflict of the "two warring ideals" in the Afro-American that W. E. B. DuBois spoke of. The primary objective of this study, then, is twofold:

(a) to show the limitations of the critical response to Jones the dramatist by focussing on **Dutchman** and its critics;

(b) to show the limitations of Jones's world view, a world view that has kept him from fashioning a desirable, distinctive and authentic Afro-American sensibility.

Dutchman: a reading

An attractive female and a good-looking male happen to meet and get acquainted during a subway ride in New York City. They indulge in small talk heavily spiced with sexual undertones largely because the woman deliberately channels the conversation in that direction. At the beginning their dialogue is little more than playful (if mischievous) banter or clever repartee, but gradually it develops into acrimonious harangue. The "conversation" becomes so provocative that it ends up, shockingly enough, with the woman stabbing the man to death. Although the incident (a commonplace occurrence, perhaps, by the city's standards especially in the 1960's) takes place in a New York subway, it captures our attention more forcefully when we realize that the participants in this gory spectacle are a thirty-year-old White woman and a twenty-year-old Black man. Not surprisingly, David Littlejohn has described the play "as the most important and imaginative literary document of the American race was since **Native Son**"¹

1 David Littlejohn, *Black on White: A Critical*

The dramatic action referred to above revolves around the crucial theme of the Black person's identity in a racially divided American society. It brutally tears apart the comforting myth of America as a "melting pot," as a pluralistic society where immigrants from various parts of the world live together in harmony. Jones's thesis is that Afro-Americans are not given their rightful democratic place

in American society on account of the racist attitude and the oppressive nature of White America. Afro-Americans are therefore not able to realize their selfhood and are compelled to live behind a false front. Like Eliot's Prufrock, they have to prepare a face to meet the faces that they meet. Jones suggests, given this reality of American society, that the Afro-Americans have only one of two options. They can conform to the stereotypical view that White society has of them and play the role of mindless and soulless (therefore "inferior") persons (that is, "slaves" who no longer live on plantations but in hovels). Or they can, if they are intelligent and smart enough as Clay in **Dutchman** is, diligently work their way "up" the social ladder and become imitation white. They can, in other words, by acquiring the qualities that White America approves of (neat dress, knowledge of western culture and manners) become socially acceptable. In either case they are not allowed to assert their humanity. They cannot be what they really are, a blend of two worlds. They are not allowed to reconcile their African heritage with their American present. They are condemned by the society in which they function to bury their true selves under a pose.

Survey of Writing by American Negroes
New York: Grossman, 1966, p. 75.

In **Dutchmen**, Jones successfully dramatizes this burden and the dilemma of the Afro-American. How may the Afro-American survive in a predominantly White society that is culturally and socially hostile as well as oppressive? Jones casts aside any traces of inhibition and the result is a powerful indictment of American society as it is. Jones's unrestrained approach in **Dutchmen** has, regrettably, evinced the wrong response from most of his critics. An analysis of the play shows us how debilitating racial prejudice is and indeed how (quite literally) deadly it can be.

(To be continued)

Ethno-nationalisms can no longer be internalized

A. J. Wilson

M. Ladd Thomas in his *Political Violence in the Muslim Provinces of Southern Thailand* (Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Occasional Paper No. 28, April 1976) gives us an invaluable background study of the five troubled provinces in South Thailand including an account of the regions' geography historical perspectives, administration which is Bangkok-centred, a common failing of most decolonised states, the problems of social integration (the Muslims are self-contained, mainly for religious reasons, the Thais being Buddhists) and economic participation as between Thai Muslims and Thai Buddhists, the Thai Muslims being the principal losers. Consequently the Thai Muslims feel a sense of alienation. Thomas states "a system of government was imposed of Thai Muslims and even today it is not something they feel comfortable with or fully understand".⁵⁴

The Muslims of the Philippines are concentrated in Mindanao; they are some two million in a population of 40.2 million. Since 1972, they have been agitating for a separate state under the leadership of the Moro (which means Muslim) National Liberation Front (MNLF). Like the Tamils of Sri Lanka who have the same linguistic group just twenty miles across the water in Tamil Nad with the latter helping them, the Muslims of Mindanao feel a greater affinity with their immediate Muslim neighbours in Indonesia and Sabae (in Malaysia). At the same time the MNLF, no different from the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) in Sri Lanka, is willing to settle their dispute with the Filipino government if they are offered the compromise of a regionally autonomous state within the framework of the sovereign state of

the Philippines. In an interview to the *Far Eastern Economic Review* in June 1975, the Vice-Chairman of MNLF gave expression to the ethno-nationalistic views of the Muslims in reply to the question as to the goals of his organization, viz.,

complete indendence for our people and our homeland was our point of departure when we reached the stage of revolution. But to show the civilized world our sincerity — that we really want peace — we gave in to the request for compromise: establishment of an autonomous Bangsa Moro state out of the islands of Mindanao, Sula, Basilan and Palawan within the context of Philippine sovereignty. This is a big compromise and then as if to emphasise that the Muslims would not be cheated in a deal, the Vice-Chairman added: "It's a fact that our people still want freedom and complete independence".⁵⁵

A negotiated settlement appears to have been struck in 1977 but this was not implemented, there by aggravating Muslim suspicions about the good intentions of the Filipino government.⁵⁶ Consequently the Muslims have recommenced their rebellious activities.

The clearest example of separate and natural entities being glued together as an artificial sovereign expression prior to independence for the convenience of the retiring power is the case of what is today known as the state of Papua New Guinea to which was also tacked on the island of Bougainville. This package of "an imposed political geography" obtained its independence on 16 September 1975. Papua had been a separate Australian territorial acquisition in 1906. New Guinea was an Australian mandated territory since the end of World War I and after World War II was held by her as a U. N. Trust Territory. Ralph Premdas has aptly stated the position:

what was for Australia and the U. N. Trusteeship Council an act of administrative convenience was regarded by many Papuans as an unfair decision that callously overlooked their desire to determine through a referendum, whether to be a separate state or to amalgamate with New Guinea.⁵⁷

A "Papua Besena" movement evolved under the leadership of Josephine Abaijah. In March 1975, Papua declared UDI, months before the territories of Papua, New Guinea and Bougainville were forcibly joined and granted independence. Copper-rich Bougainville declared itself "The North Solomons Republic" sixteen days before the new state of Papua New Guinea was launched. Bougainville separatists alleged the imposition of a "false unity" and the "juggling of colonial territories."⁵⁸

They assert that they have "a distinctly marked different cultural and political ethos..."⁶¹ The Papuans for their part stress language and cultural values. Only twenty-two per cent of Papuans speak Police Motu. But their leader, Abaijah, has charged the government of attempting to force "Pidgin imperialism" on the Papuans and proclaims New Guineans as being "uncivilized and belligerent" in contrast to her own people, the Papuans whom she describes as "civilized and peaceful".⁶² Premdas's conclusion is that "the short-term outcome may be a quiet compromise, but in matters related to ethno-nationalism, long-term peace cannot be predicted."⁶³

Conclusion

The evidence presented in the preceding paragraphs points out to the fact that all the new states of South and Southeast Asia are artificial entities which the departing power expected

will evolve in time into consolidated nation states. Growth and development present contradictory evidence. Rather than consolidation, the history of the last thirty odd years since decolonization indicates a growing apart of disjuncted ethnic groups put together within a state-frame strait-jacket.

The reasons for the disjunction are varied. Politically, democracy has been misunderstood as the rule of the ethnic majority, the classic instances being Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Papua New Guinea. Pakistan and India can be classified in a gray area being Bismarckian examples of unity imposed by principles that left much to be desired. Whether their present unification will continue is a matter for serious conjecture. Our position is that these creations are the accidents of history as well as the callousness of the decolonizers. The latter wished to be disengaged before being faced with liberation wars.

The new states, their boundaries, their heterogeneous composition, the existence of pervasive ethnicity and ethno-nationalisms within their territorial confines were accepted by political scientists as givens in the context. There were a few of the futuristic genre who doubted the permanence of these new political states.

Cynthia Enloe in **Ethnic Conflict and Political Development** (Boston, Little Brown, 1973) expressed reservations when she wrote: "actually nation states have shown themselves to be fragile and there is no guarantee that their permanence is any more than a passing phase."⁶⁴ Enloe, a specialist in Southeast Asian political problems no doubt had the states of Southeast Asia in mind. Others such as Walker Connor, Dov Ronen and Lee C. Buchheit were even more daring and pathbreaking in their writings.

In 1973, Connor opined that "ethnic awakening" had to be recognised as a human right and as a "basic human category."⁶⁵ Consequently he envisaged a proliferation of political states.

For Dov Ronen, the political state is not the terminal entity.

Writing in 1979, Dov Ronen assessed the developing situation, viz.,

the pressures of ethnic self-determination will probably continue, possibly producing an enormous proliferation of political entities, perhaps in the hundreds with implications for the international system.⁶⁶

Dov Ronen had a framework to contain the otherwise ensuing chaos. In the same work, **The Quest for Self-Determination** (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1979), he contemplated that while complete secession might be avoided, there could be "a new type of federation in which the wider economic entity, provides a framework for sociopolitically independent entities".⁶⁷ But here we encounter a real problem, a problem already faced with despair by negotiating parties to accords. Dov Ronen's arrangements may not be enduring because of the increasing awareness and militancy of ethnic majority groups and consequently changes in government. There is no sure way of guaranteeing that the new frameworks will continue. One way to ensure these is for a group of neighbouring states or for a regional power to be the underwriter. These states may not however be willing to expend time arbitrating no internecine conflicts. We would then have widely prevailing Cyprus-style situations.

There is finally the question of intervention on behalf of the oppressed or rebelling ethnic minority by interested powers. Such interventions take place quite often on the global scene as if to prove the case for self-determination. In a recently edited work by Hedley Bull, the Montague Professor of International Relations at the University of Oxford, **Intervention in World Politics** (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1984), contributors on the problems of ethnic strife are agreed that though intervention cannot be justified on grounds of international law, interventions do occur in the context of genocidal strife and starvation of inhabitants. Other reasons are always found for incursions into the state where ethnic turmoil prevails.

These views lend credence to the position that ethno-nationalisms can no longer be internalized within the traditional confines of the conventional political state. The conflicts are a destabilizing factor for states within a region. A new equilibrium must consequently be sought and established. Dov Ronen and Buchheit suggest some possibilities while Connor is definite that the right of self-determination must be recognised. When ethnic minorities take up arms against a sea of troubles, the internal situation becomes internationalized. A new order is then called for by interested powers. Or else the civil war within the conventional sovereign state could have maleficent effects on the international system.

(Concluded)

FOOTNOTES

54. *op cit.*, 310.

55. *Far Eastern Economic Review*, June 27, 1975, 23; see also Lela Garner Noble, "The Moro National Liberation Front in the Philippines", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 49, 1976-77, 405-424.

56. known as the "Tripoli Accord". for the details see *The New York Times*, Sunday, October 9, 1983, L 3;

57. Ralph Premdas, "Secessionist Politics in New Guinea", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 50, 1977, 64.

58. *ibid.*, 67.

59. *ibid.*, 69.

60. *ibid.*, 71.

61. *ibid.*, 72.

62. *ibid.*, 71.

63. *ibid.*, 85.

64. 11.

65. See his "The politics of Ethno-nationalism", *Journal of International Affairs*, 27, no. 1 (1973), 20 (quoted by Dov Ronen, *op cit.*)

66. *The Quest for Self-Determination* (New Haven, Yale University, 1979), 20; see also Charles W. Anderson, Fred R. von der Mehden and Crawford Young, *Issues of Political Development* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice Hall, 1974).

67. *op. cet.*, 22.

68. X.

69. 217.

THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR — a Yugoslav view

FOREIGN
NEWS

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For almost five years, Iran and Iraq, two countries engaged in authentic revolutions, have waged a war of attrition and have used all their human potentials and material resources to destroy each other.

No matter how absurd, this relentless war between two neighbouring countries which have freed themselves, with vast sacrifices, from the guardianship and domination of outside powers — will not go down in history as a precedent, because similar wars have been fought in the past. Flames of the current war on the Shatt-al-Arab, however, are fraught with much larger dangers than any local conflict so far.

This has been proved above all by the build-up along the 1500km-long Iranian-Iraqi frontier of more troops and military equipment than in any other theatre of operations since the World War. The dangers are the greater as the fiercest fighting is going on just in areas richest in petroleum. Objectively, the Iranian-Iraqi theatre has been turned into a testing ground for weapons of mass annihilation supplied by big powers, and this fact cannot be overlooked either.

Naturally, military strategists of the warring sides are aware of this, and many friendly, especially nonaligned countries have repeatedly brought it to the attention of both countries. Non-aligned, Moslem and other states have launched many initiatives for halting this war of self-destruction and reaching political solutions to controversial issues. For, each day of the war wears out the already shaky economies of the two countries and weakens their

defence capacities, thus playing into the hands of military-political blocs. All these initiatives, unfortunately, failed.

Initially, the controversies between the Iranian and Iraqi revolutions, although both proclaimed social equality and complete national sovereignty as their goals, reflected the philosophies followed by their leading forces — the religious oligarchy in Iran, and the Arab Baath socialist Party in Iraq.

In the absence of organized social forces, the Iranian clergy has proclaimed Islamic dogmas to be the ultimate revolutionary goals, and has geared religious fanaticism of the masses to their implementation. From the very beginning of Iran's Islamic revolution, which simply wiped out monarchy and freed the country from dependence on the United States, its militant outcries have been listened to with intense suspicion in Baghdad. Iraq is the only Arab country with a large Shiite Moslem minority, which seemed to spell the danger of the Islamic revolution spreading into Iraqi territory.

However, the roots of the Iranian-Iraqi antagonism and mistrust are much deeper than that. There have been frequent frontier disputes between the two countries in the past. Their relations worsened especially after Shah Mohamed Raza Pahlevi, who based the power of his empire on American Weapons, placed three islands in the Strait of Hormuz — Abu Musa, Great Tumb and Little Tumb — under Iran's sovereignty. In 1975, however, the two countries signed, through the good offices of Algeria, an agreement which was finally to settle their frontier disputes.

LUANDA CONFERENCE

The non-aligned foreign ministers meet in Luanda this month to prepare the ground for the 8th NAM summit.

The revolutionary change in Iran has been followed with a new aggravation in relations and frequent frontier incidents between the two neighbouring countries. Finally, in September 1980, Iraq cancelled the Algiers agreement and its troops marched into Iranian territory.

This started a war, the end of which is still nowhere in sight, despite the efforts of many peaceloving forces in the world. Each day of the war heightens, objectively, not only the belligerents' dependence on their main arms suppliers, the big powers, but also the threat of the powers' becoming directly involved in the conflict and the fires of war spreading far beyond the region.

For all these reasons, the Movement of Nonalignment continues to consider it to be one of its priority tasks to help reach a "formula for peace" in this part of the world. That is why the Iran-Iraq war will most probably figure as one of the items on the agenda or topics in informal talks at the forthcoming nonaligned ministerial meeting in Luanda. For, any conflict between nonaligned countries weakens, objectively, the international role and influence of nonalignment, the main aims of which are to put out the fires of war and to strive for peace and equality-based cooperation in the world.

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