

LANKA

GUARDIAN

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JAFFNA IN THE GRIP OF WAR

- Hartal and the strains on the economy — *Paul Seabright*
- The voice of the 'people's poet' — *D. B. S. Jeyaraj*



Gaddafi's challenge to N.A.M.

Who are our Friends ?
Who are the traitors ?

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Third World's Great De-stabiliser ?

TRINCO: The eye of the Storm — *Col. Lyn Wickramasuriya*
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Ethnic conflict: JVP's analysis and answer

Also: Maxine Molyneux on Kumari Jayawardena's
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RICE AND THE PRICE OF WAR

The imminent realisation of Sri Lanka's long standing goal of self-sufficiency in rice has looked, at least in the pages of the local press, like a large poster on the wall of a Colombo theatre — "COMING SHORTLY" or "SOON AT THIS THEATRE"! The over-excitement was not unnatural. After all, this country had been known in centuries past as 'the granary of the East'.

So Agriculture minister, Gamini Jayasuriya was right to feel proud of his achievements. In 1984, Sri Lanka had not imported a single grain of rice he said at yet another Wap Magul ceremony recently. And yet he did strike a cautionary note. Buffer stocks had to be imported because of conditions in the strife-torn East where paddy could not be harvested or if harvested, could not be procured and transported. Otherwise, two meals of rice per person per day were well within our reach.

Reminding his audience of the difficult food situation during the last war, he said that if the present peace talks fail, conscription may be inevitable. Young and old may have to go to the front. A gazette notice would suffice!

The previous day President JR himself said the value of Food Stamps (700/- per month per family) could be doubled, and the salaries of public servants increased if only military spending could be drastically reduced.

AGIT-PROP DEPT.

The recently established Media Centre was guilty of a medium-sized boo-boo when it released as a 'Government Press Communique' an unsigned (and therefore illegal) leaflet attributed to an un-named group of 'peaceful Tamil citizens groups' who warned fellow Tamil citizens in Colombo of possible "Sinhalese retaliation" if the latter gave

sanctuary and succour to "Eelamists" from the North.

How a genuinely 'peaceful' Tamil citizen noting the references to 'business establishments' 'information' passed on to our Sinhalese friends" and "lists" of suspect cases, would have reacted to the publication in the daily press (including the front-page of the State-owned 'Daily News') is not difficult to guess. Nor is it difficult to guess with what relish the international "Eelam" (information-disinformation) agency would have studied the document.

And it is to counter the propaganda of the "Indian Press" and the "Eelam Disinformation Agency" that the same Media Centre was smart enough to take a group of Sri Lankan journalists, all representatives of foreign media, to Trincomalee by plane to demonstrate that stories about 'massacres' and 'air attacks' on civilians were canards. Doesn't the Media Centre's Right Hand know what its Left hand is doing?

Meanwhile, Lake House correspondent Thailf Deen reported from New York that the Eelam movement is opening three press offices in Delhi, London and New York, with former Sri Lankan Ambassadors as station chiefs.

(Continued on page 8)

TRENDS + LETTERS

MEDIA BIAS

Whenever I meet Sinhalese friends in the States — and in Canada, too, during EXPO — they have a bitter complaint to make and it's sometimes impossible to talk about problems at home in any reasonable fashion and objectivity. The U. S. media, they say, is anti-Sinhalese and utterly prejudiced against Sri Lanka.

Whenever I meet Tamil friends, they also complain bitterly at the Sri Lankan media which is according to them, especially the Sinhalese papers, suppressing the facts, and indulging in racist propaganda.

Herewith several cuttings from the U. S. press which you can publish so that your readers can judge for themselves. The papers that are read by the educated circles try to give both points of view. It is clear of course that yours is a little elite magazine and not a national paper. At least the intelligentsia in Sri Lanka and professional circles would learn

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the truth by your publishing these articles.

Chris Wijewardene
New York, USA

(Two items from the 'Monitor' are reprinted in this issue — Ed)

Sri Lanka

While I agree that negotiations are essential, I disagree with Sheldon Gordon's assessment that the Sri Lanka government's "attempts to defeat separatism on the battlefield" stand in the way of negotiations (with Tamils), and with his call for Sri Lanka's foreign aid donors to pressure the country's government into a negotiated settlement ("Sri Lanka — negotiation is essential," April 30).

It is true that the Sri Lankan government in the past showed little serious interest in solving the conflict in the country, but it has significantly shifted its stance since that time. Gordon's

claim that the government is unwilling to agree to a federal system with a significant devolution of power to the provinces is incorrect. The government has on several occasions indicated its willingness to discuss arrangements involving such devolution of power.

He argues that the one instance where negotiations were attempted — in Bhutan (which was host to talks last fall) — collapsed because Sri Lanka refused to cede sufficient power to the Tamils. This is incorrect.

As is normal practice in any negotiation process, the Sri Lankan government made an initial proposal which did not concede much to the Tamils. The breakdown of the negotiations occurred because the Tamil separatists rejected this proposal and, in spite of repeated requests by the Sri Lankan government, refused to present any coun-

terproposal. The Tamil separatists also showed great reluctance to attend the talks and only appeared because of pressure brought to bear on them by the central Indian government.

Gordon fails to understand that the government's statements about wanting to achieve a military solution are merely rhetorical. Given the poor training and the even poorer motivation of the Sri Lankan armed forces, it is unlikely that such a solution is possible. The eightfold increase in defense spending cited by Gordon is also misleading, because the spending level from which the increase factor is calculated was minuscule. Even today, Sri Lanka's total military budget is only \$ 300 million per year and is just 12 percent of the government's total budget.

Romesh Dias Bandaranaike
Rockville, Md.

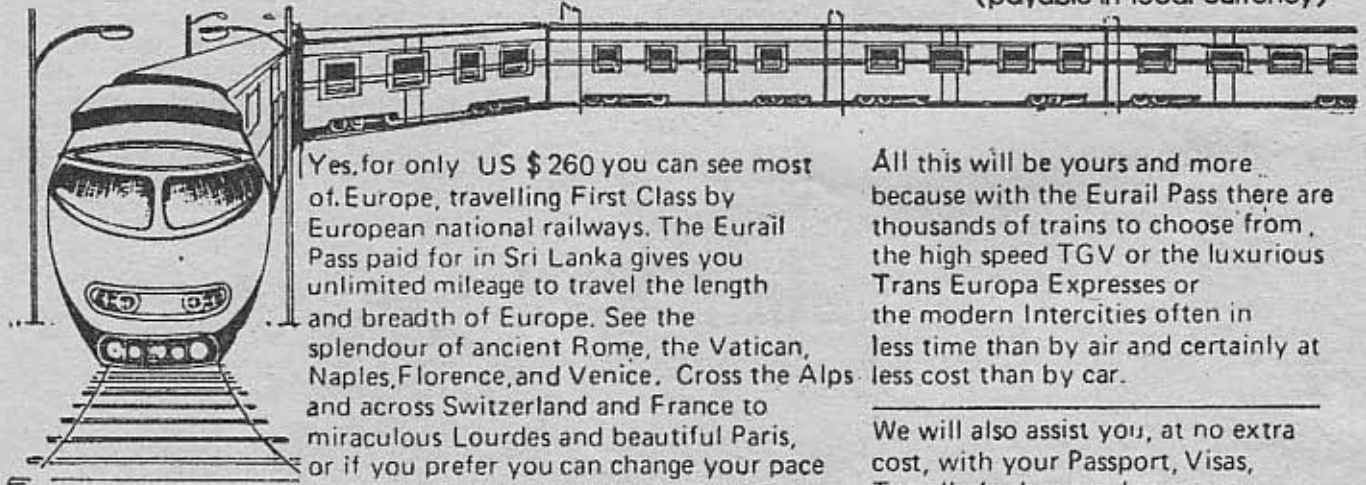
(*Christian Science Monitor*, Boston)

(See page 9)

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President JR's Nugegoda speech

Tactical offensive on the diplomatic front . . Or tactical retreat on the domestic. ?

The idea is not new. In fact it has been expressed in different ways at diverse forums by many top-level UNP'ers. But it has never been stated so clearly and categorically in public and by President JR himself. The 'Daily News' headline was misleading. It failed to do justice in fact to the report. "VIOLENCE MUST END BEFORE PROVINCIAL COUNCILS ARE SET UP" read the frontpage headline. The two-column story however went:

"President Jayewardene said yesterday that violence must end and arms laid by before the Provincial councils legislation became law".

The SUN rightly led off with the speech and rather shrewdly connected the main theme 'provincial councils only if terrorists lay down arms' to the Indian government's responsibilities ('Indian government should pledge cooperation to end terrorism') which was really a sub-theme in a speech fashioned for a wholly local audience at a party rally.

The SUN report began "The Provincial Councils proposal will not be presented in Parliament until the terrorists lay down their arms and accept the concept of a unitary state."

That there is a definite hardening of the President's position is an inescapable conclusion. The question is whether it is primarily a tactical offensive on the diplomatic front. The timing has to be noted.

The same evening ALL INDIA RADIO announced that Delhi has sought the help of Tamilnadu Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran in persuading the Madras-based militants to join the next round of negotiations (See MGR will help). President JR added:

"The Indian government and the State government of Tamilnadu should pledge their cooperation to end terrorism, all terrorist weapons being handed over to the government, and the northern and eastern terrorist camps dismantled."

Those readers who are inclined to stress the external factor, the President's real audience being Delhi and Madras, will find it significant that the *Daily News* also published a *Reuter* report in which Pakistan, highly embarrassed by the fact that two national dailies spoke of the Gandhi assassination attempt before the event, launches a propaganda counter-attack on India over her reluctance to help SAARC reach consensus on a definition of 'terrorism'. The experts who met in Dhakka last month returned home leaving the problem of reaching accord on the issue to the Bangalore summit next month. (See 'Don't forget Tamil guerrillas', Pakistan tells India).

The Opposition however is convinced that the new position represents a tactical retreat by the UNP in the face of the islandwide protest campaign started by the **Movement for the Defence of the Motherland**, led by the

Mahanayake of Asgiriya, and Mrs. Bandaranaike. They point to the government's extraordinary reaction to the advent of the M.D.M., especially its decision to enforce an emergency regulation introduced at the height of the 1971 insurrection. It prescribes the death penalty, 20 years rigorous imprisonment and the forfeiture of property for any person found guilty of trying to prevent the President, PM, Ministers and MP's from exercising their duties or seeking to coerce or influence them by unlawful means. Not satisfied with this move the Government decided to amend the S.P.C. Act to enable it to deprive offenders of their civic rights!

These steps were taken after Mrs. Bandaranaike's appeal to 'patriotic' UNP MP's NOT to vote for the P.C.'s bill, and the Asgiriya Mahanayake's "final appeal" to the government to drop the whole devolution scheme. Furthermore, intelligence agencies had evidently reported to the government of plans to pressure MP's in their constituencies in various ways.

Apart from the Opposition campaign, a close reading of the speeches of some Ministers and District Ministers reveal salient differences in their arguments for and against 'Devolution' as a concept. The difference in the enthusiasm of UNP stalwarts who speak for Devolution on public platforms cannot be concealed too easily either.

— M.

Tamil Nadu Chief Minister has crucial talks in Delhi

MGR will help bring militants into peace talks

T. Sabaratnam

New Delhi has sought the assistance of Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran to use his influence to persuade the Madras based Tamil militants to join the peace talks with the Colombo government, All India Radio said yesterday.

The request was made at a meeting on Wednesday between Mr. Ramachandran and Mr. P. Chidambaram, the union minister handling the Sri Lanka question for the Delhi government.

Foreign Secretary A. P. Venkateswaran and two Tamil Nadu ministers, V. R. Nedunchezian and S. Ramachandran, were also present at Wednesday's meeting in Delhi which observers regarded as a

significant step forward in the peace process.

Delhi provided the chief minister with copies of Colombo's draft constitutional amendments as well as the notes on the subjects to be devolved to the provincial councils.

Alternate formulations drafted by the TULF, in consultation with Indian constitutional expert S. Balakrishnan, have also been made available to the Chief minister.

Authoritative sources said that Mr. Ramachandran, on his return to Madras, will summon the Tamil militants and make these papers available to them. It is well known that the chief minister has con-

siderable leverage over the militant groups whose leaders have long been based in Madras.

Diplomatic observers said that New Delhi is taking a practical view of the situation as it stands and is taking cognizance of feelings in Tamil Nadu.

Good relations between Delhi and Mr. Ramachandran, together with the chief minister's influence over the militant groups and the desire for a political settlement are factors observers expect will work in favour of the peace bid.

"New Delhi wants the militants to join the negotiations and what is being done now is to get them to the table", authoritative sources said.

'Don't forget Tamil guerrillas', Pakistan tells India

ISLAMABAD, Thursday (Reuter)

Pakistan yesterday accused India of holding back an international effort to combat terrorism by trying to exclude the status of Tamil guerrillas fighting in SRI LANKA from discussions.

A Pakistani foreign ministry spokesman also complained that a campaign of vilification against Pakistan had been mounted by New Delhi over last week's attempted shooting of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

The spokesman told a news conference that Pakistan was not satisfied with progress on countering terrorism made by the seven-member South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), which includes India and Pakistan.

He said a working group set up at the 1985 SAARC summit to study anti-terrorist cooperation had been impeded due to Indian reservations on a definition of terrorism.

"It appears that the government of India does not wish the Tamils operating from bases in India to

be classified as terrorists", he said.

Terrorism is a sensitive subject between the two states. India has accused Islamabad of harbouring guerrillas seeking the separate Sikh nation in the Indian state of Punjab.

Pakistan, meanwhile sees an Indian hand behind separatist unrest in its southern province of Sind.

Gandhi infuriated Pakistani officials with his savage criticism of the handling of the Karachi hijack on September 5, saying that Islamabad had in the past encouraged hijacking and acted as a conduit of arms for hijackers of Indian aircraft.

The subject is also sensitive between New Delhi and the SRI LANKAN government, which is fighting a separatist movement in the north and east of the island by Tamils closely related to the 50 million Tamils of the nearby Indian state of Tamil Nadu.

Yesterday's allegations came about a month before the next

SAARC summit in the South Indian city of Bangalore.

The Pakistani spokesman said Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo would be representing Pakistan.

The spokesman strongly criticised India over allegations that Pakistan was in some way involved in the shots fired at Gandhi, saying the charge had caused surprise, disappointment and distress in Islamabad.

"If these allegations were made merely by irresponsible elements in India, we would ignore them," he said. "In this case, however, official circles appear to be encouraging a malicious campaign of disinformation and vilification."

The spokesman said All-India Radio had publicised a report that the gunman admitted to undergoing training in Pakistan. He said this was a false and baseless charge.

Indian Foreign Minister P. Shiv Shankar had also mentioned receiving a dispatch from Indian consul-

(Continued on page 5)

Spotlight on the J.V.P.

The proscribed JVP is back in the news. The state-run *Daily News* carried on its front page (Oct. 8) a report on a Police headquarters 'Red Alert' to provincial police chiefs about a JVP sabotage plan. (See J.V.P campaign).

Ever since Opposition Leader Anura Bandaranaike described the J.V.P (its leader Mr. Rohana Wijeweera polled 275,000 votes at the Presidential polls in Oct. 1982 to come third) as the only 'real Leftist party' in Sri Lanka and demanded the removal of the ban placed on the party, UNP propagandists have hinted darkly of an 'unholy alliance' between the SLFP and JVP. The SLFP leader Mrs. Bandaranaike has dismissed the charge as 'absurd'.

The JVP is the major radical youth force in the island. How does it read the present situation and its causes? And what solution does it offer?

... The JR-Thondaman regime, a puppet of US imperialism, has failed to solve the ethnic conflict, converting the country to a bloody battleground.

... It has decided to concede 'Eelam' as a ransom.

... The Roundtable conference was an attempt to give Provincial administration to the Tamil communalists, dividing North and East from the rest of the island.

... Next, there was a conspiracy to grant estate workers citizenship and make Thondaman, the Chief Minister of the hill country.

... The government wanted the 'consent' of the Opposition, religious dignitaries etc to grant Eelam to the northern terrorists.

... This year, another set of 'bankrupt politicians' was made a cat's paw to achieve the same aim.

These efforts cannot solve the conflict, cannot safeguard the country from the threat of an Indian invasion or 'Eelam terrorism'.

Three questions arise:

- (1) How to defeat the Eelam terrorists?
- (2) How to prevent senseless genocide?
- (3) How to stop a division of the country?

The answer lies not in military might nor in bowing before the Eelam terrorists but by removing those responsible and their 'unpatriotic cohorts'.

But what are the causes?

- (a) Ill-treatment of the Tamil people by bourgeois regimes which have roused Sinhala communalism.
- (b) demands of the Tamil bourgeoisie by rousing Tamil communalism.
- (c) US imperialism, exploiting the situation, encourages the regime to act rashly and foolishly.
- (b) The Indian bourgeoisie exploiting the situation, to promote its aims of grabbing Sri Lankan territory.

What is the solution?

- (a) No division or Provincial Councils.
- (b) National unity based on recognition of the equal national status of all nationalities where national rights and privileges are equally shared, and no discrimination whatsoever is allowed.
- (e) Sri Lanka should stop dancing to the tune of the US imperialists and the Indian bourgeoisie.
- (d) The germ of communal hatred injected into both Sinhala and Tamil communities by the Sinhala-Tamil bourgeoisie must be destroyed.
- (e) Trade rivalry which promotes communal friction must be eliminated through a well-planned national development policy.

Since the bourgeoisie does not recognise the equality of nationalities, these objectives, can only be achieved under a Socialist order.

Steps must also be taken to stop an Indian invasion.

... By making Sri Lanka a camping ground for US imperialism, Sri Lanka became a security threat to India. Thus, the regime has paved the way for the interference of the Indian bourgeoisie. The US must be asked to shift its camping ground elsewhere — VOA, oil tank farm at Trinco etc.

Military connections with Pakistan must end. All intelligence ties with US, Israel etc must cease. Communal repression must end, and all Tamil refugees welcomed back. Strengthening of security against the danger of covert links between Tamilnadu communal bourgeoisie and Eelam separatists and terrorists.

— J. S.

'Don't forget . . .

(Continued from page 4)

general Aftab Seth in Karachi saying that there had been "advance interest" in the city about the attempt on Gandhi, the spokesman said.

"Given the stakes involving peace and progress in relations, we must hope that the Government of India will not allow the conduct of diplomacy to descend into a world of imaginary rumours and fantasy," he said.

Two Karachi newspapers reported hearing rumours about an attempt of Gandhi's life 24 hours before the shooting. One local journalist told Reuters bureau in the city on October 1 that he had heard of an attempt to kill the Indian leader.

No explanation of the rumours has been made public.

Alert to Public : JVP Plotting Sabotage

Srimal Abeyewardene

Police headquarters yesterday alerted divisional police chiefs to a JVP plan to step-up criminal activity and asked them to tighten security arrangements within their areas.

Senior police sources say it has been established that the Galgamuwa bank hold up involving the loss of Rs. 5.2 million was a JVP job, intended to fill the party coffers to fund future operations.

"That's a sizeable chunk of loot. They seem to be having big plans for the near future", one source commented.

The same sources say there is information, that the JVP is taking cover under the activities of groups opposed to the devolution package and planning a campaign to create tension.

The proscribed party, reports say, plans to use its cadres in the universities, government departments and agencies and other places to interrupt work and even engage in criminal activity.

"The public must be alert to this threat and help law enforcement by giving whatever information they have to ensure that we can crack down on such activity", a senior policeman said.

He said that about 200 members of the JVP, arrested in different parts of the country, are now in custody.

"We also have information about a move to collect firearms. Divisional superintendents have been asked to keep close tabs on JVP activity and report to police headquarters", he said.

— (Daily News)

Delhi's Pressure on Militants

G. K. Reddy

NEW DELHI

The written responses of the TULF leaders to the draft formulations sent by the Sri Lankan Government on devolution will be processed by the External Affairs Ministry after the return of the Foreign Secretary, Mr. A. P. Venkateswaran, from Moscow tomorrow, before these are discussed with the leaders of the Tamil militant groups either in Delhi or Madras.

Though the militant leaders are aware of the Sri Lankan proposals and the general reaction of the Government of India to the degree of autonomy that is being offered as part of a political settlement, they have had no occasion so far to engage in a serious discussion with Indian Ministers or officials about the implications of the proposed devolution.

The Indian mediators wanted to get the TULF responses in writing to the Sri Lankan drafts relating to the Constitution amendment, the Provincial Councils Bill, the division of powers and the procedures for devolution, and then invite the leaders of the militant groups to a detailed discussion on all these documents to ascertain their reactions and urge them to participate in the next round of talks with the Sri Lankan Government.

No harm

The Government of India is not insensitive to the strong reservations already expressed by the militant leaders about the limited nature of the devolution package offered by Sri Lanka, which in their view does not meet the real aspirations of the Tamil people on many essential points. But India sees no harm in the militants taking part in the talks along with the TULF to press their demand for further concessions on any particular issue which they consider essential for a peaceful settlement.

The TULF leaders have made known to the Government of India in no uncertain terms on more than one occasion that they are no less vehement than the militants in their demand for a Tamil linguistic unit as the very basis for devolution. They are prepared to negotiate the details but not dilute the principle of a Tamil homeland in one form or the other as part of a lasting political settlement.

The Indian mediators, therefore, see no harm in the moderates and militants getting together to evolve a common approach to what they deem to be their minimum conditions for a settlement within the framework of a united Sri Lankan State. As the Government of India is not prepared to back the demand for an independent Eelam, they will have to decide whether to utilise its good offices in arriving at a limited settlement or carrying on the struggle on their own steam irrespective of the consequences.

There is high regard in Government circles here for the courage, patriotism and sense of sacrifice displayed by the militants in their relentless struggle for justice. But those in authority in Delhi do not understand why they are so reluctant even to engage in a serious discussion on the contents to the Sri Lankan drafts.

As parliamentary politicians who are more accustomed to the cumbersome procedures of political negotiations, the TULF leaders are more used to the complexities of time-consuming discussion on the constitutional implications and administrative procedures for devolution. But as revolutionaries who have taken to an armed struggle, the militants are not equally adept at moving to the negotiating table overnight.

The Indian mediators are well aware of these psychological inhibitions of the militants and they are trying their best to make it possible for them to participate

(Continued on page 18)

Jaffna's War-time Economy

Paul Seabright

The economic effects of disturbances short of full-scale war such as those that currently prevail in Northern and Eastern Sri Lanka, extend well beyond those people and institutions directly touched by the violence. This paper examines the economic conditions in the Jaffna peninsula which is connected to the mainland by a single road through which all trade must pass. While the focus of the paper is on the trade and production disruptions and consequent market distortions, it also looks at the macro-economic repercussions of the conflict, such as those arising from Sri Lanka's foreign exchange constraints.

THE micro-economic effects of certain kinds of stress or hazard upon primarily agricultural systems are an important area of study. Economists are increasingly appreciating that studies of economies at points of crisis, as well as being of intrinsic value, may have lessons for our understanding of their behaviour in more normal times. Crises of an environmental nature — famines, droughts, floods, and so on — have for obvious reasons been better studied than those that are primarily man-made — especially crises due to a deterioration in people's physical security, of which war is the most extreme case. In conditions of physical insecurity short of full-scale war, such as those that currently prevail in Northern and Eastern Sri Lanka, the economic effects of the disturbance usually extend well beyond those people and institutions directly touched by the violence.

This paper uses a few data,¹ collected in a necessarily unsystematic fashion, to examine economic conditions in the Jaffna peninsula of Sri Lanka. The region is particularly suitable for such a study because it is connected to the mainland by only a single road, through which all (legal) private trade must pass. At present such trade is severely disrupted, so that flows of goods have been unable to compensate for shortages and distortions in the markets of the peninsula to the same extent as would be possible in regions greater links with the rest of the island. Production disruptions have therefore, been reflected in particularly conspicuous market distortions. These will be the main focus of the paper, though reference will be made to reports on the

situation in the rest of the Northern and Eastern provinces, and a brief assessment of the macro-economic repercussions of the conflict will be attempted at the end.

The Jaffna Peninsula : Current State of Conflict

The Jaffna peninsula² is an area of 524 square miles at the northern tip of Sri Lanka, comprising just over 3 per cent of the total land area of the island its population according to the 1981 Census was 853,000³ and is currently estimated at 975,000⁴. The large increase is due to the inflow of Tamils from other parts of the island and has taken place in spite of considerable international migration from Jaffna. Some 50,000 to 60,000 families are thought to have entered Jaffna since the 1983 violence, and of them more than 50,000 have come (mainly from the districts of Vavuniya and Trincomalee) since the ceasefire agreed between the government and the main militant organisations on June 18 1985.⁵ The population is overwhelmingly (more than 95 per cent) Sri Lanka Tamil, with a small presence of Muslims and Indian Tamils (though the latter are somewhat more represented among the recent refugees).

The peninsula appears to be the only area of troubled Northern and Eastern provinces where the ceasefire has had any effect. Elsewhere, particularly in the ethnically mixed areas of Trincomalee and Vavuniya, killings and displacements by all parties to the conflict have intensified since August 1985. These include many killings of non-combatants by Sri Lankan security forces and home guards, and also (to a

The successful halt of the lorry owners and the traders of the Jaffna peninsula focussed national attention on a neglected area of study — the disruptive impact of the war on the economy of the region. The halt was a protest against the coercive measures taken by some of the militant groups and their less disciplined cadres. With the army confined more or less to heavily fortified camps the "boys" have not only 'informal, dealings with the security forces as LTTE leader Prabhakaran revealed to N. Ram of the HINDU but are concentrating their efforts in setting up skeletal administrative structures, and new forms of economic management, tax collecting, etc, and providing services such as schools, postal facilities, dispensaries.

But the Jaffna economy is far from self-sufficient. It is dependent on essential supplies from the South. Communications and transport are all important. Thus the protest of the traders, shop-keepers and transport agents. It is a war 'economy' in a relatively stable society (compared to the East, certainly) where a military 'equilibrium' of sorts has been reached. The only serious study of the economy was made by PAUL SEABRIGHT who lived in the north for several weeks last year. Though dated, it is still the only informative evaluation available. He contributed this article to the ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL WEEKLY of India).

lesser extent) by militant organisation.⁶ In Jaffna district the security forces have with rare exceptions remained confined to barracks, and there have been only occasional incidents, usually involving mistaken identity as in cases of firing upon other members of the security forces or upon cattle.⁷ This has meant that there is no official law enforcement in the peninsula. One corollary to this has been a reported increase in incidents of robbery and killing, either by members of militant organisations or by other groups operating in their name.⁸ But murders of local businessmen in Puthur and Karainagar in October provoked strong public protests and demonstrations, including blocking of roads and threat to expose militant encampments to the army;⁹ there was

widespread outrage at the robbing of the large Perumal temple; and on November 12 an attempt to rob the Jaffna railway station was prevented by a major public protest.¹⁰ The frequency of such incidents is said to have since declined.¹¹ A shoot-out on November 15 between rival organisations accusing each other of robbery¹² indicates that the ability of the militant groups to maintain discipline is somewhat fragile, and on December 14 there was a general strike in Jaffna in protest against the killing of three Tamil militants by a rival group.¹³ But overall there is no doubt that the ceasefire has brought the citizens of Jaffna a welcome reduction in violence.

Prior to June 18 by contrast, much of the violence was focused on the peninsula. It was here that an army patrol was ambushed on July 23, 1983 with the loss of 13 lives, an incident that sparked off the ethnic violence in which some 2,000 Tamils are said to have died.¹⁴ 51 of them in Jaffna town as a result of reprisals by the army.¹⁵ Following a second land-mine explosion on April 9, 1984 in which some 15 soldiers were killed, a further 77 civilians were killed and 52 injured in reprisals that also involved large-scale destruction of property.¹⁶ The situation faced by civilians deteriorated with the shelling of the Velvettithurai coastal area by the navy in August 1984 killings of students at Point Pedro, and the beginning of systematic cordon-and-search operations in October 1984. Shortly afterwards the authorities declared the coast and a land strip of 100 yards inland, from Mannar round the peninsula to Mullaattivu in the East, to be a prohibited-zone, as a result of which all fishing in the region ceased. On November 22, 1984 a curfew was imposed in Jaffna, extending with 2-day breaks for Christmas and the Tamil New Year until July 10, 1985. During the day traffic movement in the peninsula was severely restricted. Although the incidence of bank robberies in the district declined from a high point of 17 in 1984 (there are only 27 bank branches

in the district) to five ten months of 1985, this was due to a refusal by banks to carry cash and was not a sign of any diminution in the violence on either side before the truce in June.¹⁷

(To be continued)

Notes

1 The data discussed in this article are of two main kinds: first, those published by the Government of Sri Lanka, particularly in the "Central Bank of Ceylon Review of the Economy 1984". (CBRE). Secondly, there are data collected by myself in the course of an intensive but brief visit to Colombo and Jaffna in November 1985. The latter are naturally subject to severe limitations: where possible I have cross-checked with several informants, but have been hampered both by shortage of time during the visit and by the security situation in the peninsula, which has made many of my informants reluctant to be identified and has increased the difficulty of assessing the reliability of each informant's account. In what follows I shall use the abbreviation "a s" to mean "anonymous source", "a s corrected" to indicate information corroborated by more than one anonymous source, and "a s reliable" to indicate sources that, though wishing to remain anonymous, are in my judgment of sufficient authority and responsibility to be unlikely to have engaged in conscious exaggeration.

I am grateful to many people, from all of Sri Lanka's main ethnic communities, for their help and encouragement. Thanks are also due to the Government of Sri Lanka for allowing me to visit the Jaffna peninsula at a time when it is closed to foreigners.

2 I use the title interchangeably with "Jaffna" and "Jaffna district", and when referring to Jaffna town will do so explicitly.

3 CBRE, Tables 50. In 1981 Kilinochchi district had not yet been bifurcated from Jaffna; the population of the present Jaffna district was then around 740,000.

4 a s reliable.

5 a s reliable.

6 see Note 73.

7 Report in *Frontline*, November 30, 1985, p 30.

8 *The Times*, November 4, 1985; *The Observer*, November 17, 1985.

9 a s corrected.

10 *The Observer*, *ibid.* Also a s corrected.

11 a s corrected.

12 *The Hindu*, November 19, 1985. Confirmed by present author.

13 *The Hindu*, December, 15, 1985.

14 a s.

15 Jaffna Citizens Committee.

16 *ibid.*

17 a s reliable.

Trends...

(Continued from page 1)

NO SCHOOLS

Is Free State education, the sacred cow of Sri Lankan welfare, now being quietly sacrificed on the altar of Privatisation? At the University level, yes. But primary schools and secondary education were still wide open to the poor and the lower-middle class, although the platform boast that money is now invested in education is than ever before is an empty one. True, of course in terms of "devalued" rupees, and not so, if the computation is based on the value of the rupee 10-15 years ago, and in per capita terms.

The most striking illustration of this 'squeeze on schools' (the direct outcome of educational policy) came this month in the form of a protest from over 15,000 parents with Colombo, Galle and Kandy, the island's main centres of education, if one excludes Jaffna, topping the list.

There children have failed to find places in state schools. Taking the lowest possible figure of one unsuccessful applicant to each parent, this represents 10% of the 200,000 children who sought admission.

Sri Lankan ethnic strife troubles Tamils in the US

Brook Larmer (Staff writer of the Christian Science Monitor)

If they arrest a fellow like Ram, how can I go back?"

A Sri Lankan student — sworn to secrecy and torn by fear — lets his question sink into silence. No answer is needed. Like thousands of Tamils living or studying abroad, he knows he cannot go back.

Especially not now.

For three years, his island home — suspended like a teardrop off the southeastern coast of India — has been ripped apart by ethnic violence between the Sri Lankan Tamil minority and the Sinhalese majority. And now, the conflict is lurching toward the abyss of civil war.

Like many others here who still dream of returning to a peaceful homeland, this slender, dark-skinned student has been frustrated and frightened this week by news from halfway around the world:

● On Saturday, the Tamil mother of Ram Manikkalingam finally confirmed that her son — a 1985 graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology — had been arrested for "suspicion of being involved in terrorist activities."

● Later that day, an Air Lankan jet exploded on a runway in the capital city of Colombo, killing over 20 passengers.

● And on Wednesday, a bomb blasted the city's crowded Central Telegraph Office, killing 11 people and wounding more than 115.

The Sinhalese-controlled government has blamed both terrorist acts on the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, one of 20 extremist groups fighting for a separate Tamil state in the island's northern and eastern regions. Even to Tamils here who scoff at such accusations, the latest bombings

do bear a disturbing resemblance to the killings that sparked mob riots in July 1983, forcing many Sri Lankans to flee the country.

The violence, which crippled the economy and killed about 2,000 Tamils, stemmed from a complex web of fearful perceptions.

To many Sinhalese — the mainly Buddhist group that makes up 74 percent of the nation's 15 million people — the Sri Lankan Tamils are a privileged minority bent on tearing the nation apart with the help of the 50 million Tamils in India.

To the Sri Lankan Tamils — the mostly Hindu, 13 percent minority (excluding the lower-caste Indian Tamils) — the Sinhalese are a tyrannical majority intent on wiping out Tamil civilians and culture.

Some Tamils here think the 1983 history will repeat itself: "It's going to happen all over again. It's going to happen all over," says one Tamil upon hearing the latest news. His family, which lives in the Colombo area, could be a tempting target for Sinhalese seeking vengeance, he says.

But what makes the turmoil perhaps even more tangible for Boston's sizable Tamil community is the arrest of Mr. Manikkalingam. The budding physicist — and son of a former Sri Lankan diplomat — returned home last summer, even though his mother begged him to remain in the United States. He had been missing from his Tamil residence near Colombo for over 20 days before the government revealed his arrest two weeks ago.

Under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, a 1979 measure designed to quell what the government calls a Tamil insurgency,

the government can detain suspected terrorists for up to 18 months before leveling formal charges. But the government's army and police force — made up almost solely of Sinhalese — have abused that power, according to Amnesty International. The human-rights group cites reports that some Tamils have been held without notice, tortured, and sometimes even executed.

"At least now I know that he probably won't get killed," says Manikkalingam's younger brother Sudarshan, a student at Hampshire College in central Massachusetts. According to Sudarshan, his brother supports neither the goals nor the guns of the Tamil militants: "Ram does not advocate separation. He went back because he felt that there was an urgent need to educate the Sinhalese to the racial problems — that there was a lack of communication between the two groups."

But from the Sri Lankan government's point of view, Manikkalingam's background makes him a prime terrorist suspect — whether or not he was linked to a devastating dam break two weeks ago.

The government looks with "natural suspicion on outsiders returning to Sri Lanka," says S. Samarasinghe, associate director for the International Center for Ethnic Studies at the University of Sri Lanka. According to Mr. Samarasinghe, who is now doing research at Harvard's School of Public Health, the highest level of distrust is reserved for Tamil students from Boston, who have earned a high-paying education in a center for Tamil activism in the United States.

Part of that suspicion stems from the government's perception

of Tamils abroad as economic opportunists. Human-rights abuses are often cited "just as an excuse" for leaving, says John Gooneratne, deputy chief of missions at the Sri Lankan embassy. "But immigration is more (from) some kind of economic reasons... People leave for better pastures."

"Even if we have total peace tomorrow, few expatriates will want to come back," adds Samarasinghe. For some Tamils — especially those who settled in Europe, the US, and Canada well before the exodus of 1983 — that may be true. But the assumption creates an aura of suspicion that haunts well-educated or well-heeled Tamils who do wish to return to their impoverished island.

That's why most Tamils here are extremely cautious: They generally don't associate with separatist groups, even if they think their people have no other choice; they don't defame the Sri Lankan government, even if they believe it condones and concocts violence against Tamils; and they don't criticize the US government, even if they think its assistance for economic development (\$ 46 million in FY86) only allows the remarkable build-up of the Sri Lankan military.

For most Sinhalese students and immigrants in the US, there is "no danger at all," says Jeham Perera, an outspoken Sinhalese student at Harvard Law School. He's written several critical of the government, but he's felt no animosity from the Sinhalese.

The only Tamils who feel free to air their views in public are those that have few or no remaining family ties to Sri Lanka. That's the case with T. Sritharan, secretary general of the Eelam Tamil Association of America. Given the option of a system that afforded more regional autonomy, "we would reject the separate state idea," he says, pushing a photo of Ram Manikkilingam across the kitchen table. "But right now they treat every Tamil as a terrorist."

Part V

TULF memo to Rajiv

NORTHERN PROVINCE:

The proposed irrigation projects in the Northern Province comprise of Systems J. K. L. and part of I. Development of the above projects would take place under the North Central Province Canal (N. C. P. Canal). Particulars of the schemes of the above projects are as follows:

Malwattu Oya Reservoir	:	Existing Lands	—	19,300 acres
		New Lands	—	16,300 acres
		Total Lands	—	35,600 acres
Parangi Aru Reservoir	:	Existing Lands	—	1,000 acres
		New Lands	—	16,800 acres
		Total Lands	—	17,800 acres
Pali Aru Reservoir	:	Existing Lands	—	6,100 acres
		New Lands	—	8,000 acres
		Total Lands	—	14,100 acres
Kanagarayan Aru Reservoir	:	Existing Lands	—	600 acres
		New Lands	—	19,400 acres
		Total Lands	—	20,000 acres
Kitagala Reservoir (though this scheme is said to be in the Northern Province in the Development Plan, this position is very much doubted — it is thought that the whole or major part of this scheme is within the North Central province)	:	Existing Lands	—	19,900 acres
		New Lands	—	76,500 acres
		Total Lands	—	96,400 acres

From the above it would appear, that the new land available in the Northern Province would be about 137,000 acres, perhaps a only 60,500 acres. However, though eight years have passed, since the commencement of work on the Mahaweli Development Programme, no work not even preliminary work, has been commenced on any one of the above projects, in the Northern Province. From information available, no available, no arrangements whatever, have been made for finances in respect of the above projects, though the above schemes are said to form part of the Mahaweli Development Plan, grave doubts have been expressed by both politicians and irrigation experts as to whether Mahaweli water will ever reach any part of the Northern Province, both for political and technical reasons. The view has also been expressed that these projects in the Northern Province were included in the Delevopment Plan merely to satisfy funding countries and agencies that the Northern Province too would benefit at some stage, under the Mahaweli Development Plan. As of now, development of land in the Northern Province under Mahaweli cannot be looked upon as a reality.

(Continued on page 23)

In the shadow of death

D. B. S. Jeyaraj

MARANATHHUL VALVOM (We live amidst death) — A collection of poems by 31 Poets in Tamil, Nov. 1985, published by Tamiliyal; printed at St. Joseph's Catholic Press, Jaffna.

*Dry, Parched cracking soil!
Heavy imprints of hob-nailed boots!
Clusters like blooming red flowers!*

The cover design of a new book of poetry in Tamil is illustrative of its title *Maranththul Valvom* (We live amidst death) and the greater part of its contents relating mainly to the trials and tribulations of the Jaffna people who live in hope of a better tomorrow amidst the shadow of death. The cover is suggestive of a people who, despite the impact of the military presence, bloodshed and hardships continue to remain human and yearn to 'live' while 'existing'.

Maranaththul Valvam is a collection of 82 poems written over a period of 9 years (1977-85). A large number have been published in Tamil literary journals like *Mallikai* (Jasmine), *Alai* (Wave) *Puthusu* (New) etc. Also the bulk of the poetry published has been in the eighties when the ethnic strife accentuated. It is a literary chronicle of post-77 events in Jaffna. It is an index of the changing perceptions, responses and attitudes of the Northern people to the prevalent political conditions. It also provides in insight into the politicisation and cultural awakening of the Tamil people. The on-going struggle between the state and the Tamil militants has resulted in several forms of poetry emerging at different levels. Wall posters, leaflets, graffiti, street dramas etc., in the North display elements of this new poetry. The poetry in this book does not espouse the militant cause but reflects clearly the mood of the Jaffna people — attachment to their land and a longing for a better life.

A paradoxical feature of this new poetry is that it is in a sense a revival of classical Tamil poetry of the Sangham period. The concepts of *Akam* (inner) and *Puram* (outer) occupy great importance as subjects of poetics of the Sangham period. Both terms relate to emotion. Nearly all verse classified under *Akam* is love poetry while *Puram* is more often bardic or heroic poetry. This does not at all times relate to war but includes much of what may be described as panegyric. K. N. Sivarajapillai in *Chronology of the Early Tamils* suggests that historically *Puram* poetry preceded the more introspective love poetry. In the case of *Akam* five different aspects of love were poetically associated with five geographical areas of the Tamil Country. They were as follows: *Punartal* (union) *Pirital* (separation), *Iruttal* (awaiting), *Jrankal* (wailing), *Utal* (quarrel). The significance of the new poetry is that all these distinctive attributes of the classical poetry are prevalent here too. But unlike in the old there are variations of form and content. Nevertheless the ageless feelings of emotion retain continuity despite the changes of modern conditions.

Heroic poetry in Tamil ended with the Chola period. Today after centuries of "alien" rule by the "Nayakars" (Telugu) and Europeans it is emerging in Sri Lanka in keeping with contemporary political reality. Thus the growth pattern of the political tradition contrasts sharply with Tamil Nadu in this respect. National oppression, state violence death and the politics of bloodshed have evolved a new dimension in Tamil literary growth here.

It must be noted that the 1956-77 period in Lanka was also characterised by literary developments consonant to the political situation. But most of the poetry with elements of chauvinism related to the love of the Tamil

language and a deep sense of nostalgia for the glorious Tamil past. This was due to the influence of the South Indian Dravidian movement and the political course followed by the Federal Party and later the T. U. L. F. But the new poetry deals with the environmental reality of the present. It is no secret that the reality in Tamil areas is akin to Hobbes' definition of life being 'nasty, brutish and short'. In that backdrop the new poetry dealing with humanism, liberation courage, heroism, attachment to one's homeland, lack of shelter etc., are subjects of which the people have a realistic awareness.

Thus the people are able to identify with this poetry which has a simple style devoid of literary flourishes or poetic embellishments. It is very much "People's poetry". The poems in *We live amidst death* have an underlying thread. It is the recurrent cry for human rights, human dignity and above all the guarantee for life. Since the battlefields, blood, death and sacrifice referred to by the poets are real experience, the poetry does not seem to have pretence, hypocrisy or artificiality.

The poets featured in this collection range from the doyen of Tamil poets, Murugaian, to the fledgling Geethapriyan. The most outstanding of these is in my opinion "Veerathai thookku" (With your heroism). On 10-9-84 a bus carrying Tamil passengers was stopped by soldiers in civils at Poovarasankulam. 19 persons were killed. It was the impact of this incident which prompted M. Ponnambalam to write this poem. The greatest merit of this poem is that the author while calling upon the people to face guns with "uplifted heroism" does not confine it merely to the guns in the hands of the state but also includes those of the so-called militants. A substantial portion of the travails of the

Tamil people must be apportioned to the militant groups. (splinter or pseudo) also. The fundamental weakness of "We shall live amongst death" is that most poets attribute the presence of death to only one quarter from where it emanates the State and State-related circles. Most poets tend to gloss over the 'tyranny' or 'miscarriages of justice' perpetrated by the militants with the exception of a few oblique references. But Ponnambalam says: 'When you see a man carrying a gun, do not be afraid:/ Let him be a liberating chaff or barbaric soldier/Do not be afraid... Hey, uplift your heroism/Let any gun-toter who seeks to exploit your freedom shake and shiver.' He also points out that the gun like any other weapon is a 'Nirguni' and that it is the wielder who gives it potency.

A positive feature of the book is the total absence of chauvinist sentiments or anti-Sinhala venom. It is the State and its organs which are criticised. A feeling shared by at least three of the poets featured is that the tenets of Buddhism are not adhered to by the Sri Lankan State. The poets relate their work directly to the Buddha and bring this out boldly. M. A. Nuhman's 'The Murder of Buddha' relates to the burning of Jaffna Library. In his dream the Buddha has been shot dead by security men in civils on the steps of the Library. The Buddha is cremated on a pyre of the 90,000 books in the library. The Dhammapada and the Sigalovada Sutta also turn into ashes with the Buddha. Vivaratnam in his 'The voice of Buddha's silence' writes of a Buddha who, disgusted with the behaviour of his followers, walks out of Sri Lanka, 'Make way for me to walk away from you,' he says. The Buddha charges that 'he who addicted his state was now being held captive on the throne of a Sinhala Buddhist state'.

There is a commonality in some of the expressions and images. Darkness, 'night' and 'ashes' recur constantly. So do 'we' and 'they'. The cleavage between

the Sinhala and Tamil communities seems complete. Yet the hope for a better tomorrow is always there. The titles 'Phoenix' by Pushparajan and 'The night was theirs' by Oorvasi speak for themselves. Oorvasi along with Maitreyi and "Auvai" are the three women poets featured in the book.

One poem by Oorvasi is 'Why are we waiting'. Andrew Marvell's elaborate wooing of his Coy Mistress is reversed in this. The poet is direct and simple, 'Our land and our moments/Nothing seems to be ours/In such a situation: a moment like this may never be ours/Anything can happen in the ensuing darkness of the night'. Therefore, Love/Let us join together in the deep solitude of this dawn.'

The people who remain in Jaffna may be broadly categorised into those who cannot leave Jaffna and those who will not leave Jaffna. While living in hope there is also a resignation to fate, an expectation of death which seems inevitable. According to Cheliyan's 'Death', 'We do not fear to die by fighting for our happiness or for our people/But we hate

to die on the streets as slaves for our New Masters/'. Another is by Dhustiyanthan who writes, 'Some one died yesterday/That was neither myself nor yourself/ Some one died yesterday/That was neither myself nor yourself/ Some one died today/It was not you or I/If someone dies tomorrow/ then it has to be either you or me/ Definitely it will be one of us'.

Three other poems related to the theme of those who have migrated away from Jaffna to foreign climes warrant mention.

One by 'Vannachchiragu' portrays the feelings of those who have left their homeland. 'I shall return, land of my birth' is the title of the poem and is in itself self-explanatory of the contents. The others relate to the view point of those who remain behind towards those who have left. 'A letter to Berlin' by Cheliyan is about the asylum-seeking refugees. 'Before the flames that engulfed our towns have been extinguished/Before the stains of our blood have frozen/ Do not look for me in the refugee mob/which walks over the corpses of our murdered youth and lands at Berlin'.

THE KILLING FIELDS

*You thought to shatter lies with guns
Power lies (Mao said) in the barrel
But lies didn't quite to the barrel succumb
They bred fast in the unleashed horror
From Ages we thought we had safely escaped
Horror returned, the tapestry stale
Moody gunships where arrows once raced
And festering dead that lily the vale
Worse than the wilting of the barrels promise
Than youth spurting weeds from forgotten graves
And children once bright eyed their childhood amiss
Herded by Fat men who fashioned the staves
Are the lies that rise to the lips of the brave
When infantile disorder seems theory to fail.*

— U. Karunatilake

IDENTITY — The Great De-stabiliser

Mervyn de Silva

In the grip of a harrowing ethnic conflict, the five-year-old separatist insurgency, Sri Lanka has learned to live in a blaze of of unwelcome publicity. The story of the Tamil "boat people," 155 refugees abandoned by a West German ship off Newfoundland, seemed almost too much worldwide exposure to bear. "We are not a 'refugee-producing country,'" protested Foreign Minister Shahul Hameed, stung by a Western newspaper comment.

Most European governments have tightened visa rules for all Sri Lankans — including Britain, despite Sri Lanka's claims as a commonwealth member. If the refugee and guest worker become insidious carriers of the virus of racial prejudice in Europe, the revenge of the old colonies on erstwhile masters may appear complete. Yet, such a process will not be free of an irony that mocks the third world. Race, language, religion and tribe, the badges of group identity, have been the most fecund source of third world unrest. And often it is the exile abroad who is the promoter of separatist struggles and terrorism at home.

Race more than class, identity rather than ideology is the favorite mode of mobilization of alienated national minorities. As Prof. Wynaeth H. Morris-Jones, the British political scientist, has noted, two kinds of demands are made. If the group is concentrated, these are likely to be territorial, if dispersed, the demands are for "proportional" participation or power-sharing. Sri Lanka's problem, the conflict between the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil minority in the north, belongs to the first category, but the Government hopes a solution can be based on the second.

Ethnic allegiance is no respecter of state borders, which have often been arbitrarily drawn. The struggle for cultural identity is now the world's most potent anti-systemic force, the great destabilizer. The violence it generates

defies the neat categories of "class war" of Marxism-Leninism just as it makes nonsense of the Soviet-sponsored global terrorism theories of Reaganism-Thatcherism. The phenomenon also confounds countless third world regimes, as was demonstrated this month at the nonaligned summit meeting in Zimbabwe. While it was easy to condemn "state terrorism" (South Africa and Israel) and support liberation movements, semantic skills were severely strained to achieve consensus on terrorism and separatism, especially movements receiving external help. The outgoing chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India, accuses Pakistan of promoting Sikh terrorism and separatism. But only last month, he conceded statehood to Mizoram and installed the leader of a 20-year insurgency as its Chief Minister.

In no region of the world is "identity crisis" so evident as in South Asia, and no country is a more striking victim than Sri Lanka, once a "model" third world democracy and welfare state. Time and space — the rapid acceleration of the crisis in so small a geographic compass — account for the intensity of the demonic forces that now threaten to tear us apart.

India's Role

More than 100,000 Sri Lankan Tamil refugees live in camps in the south Indian state of Tamil Nadu, the home of 50 million Tamils. Madras, the state capital, is the base of former Tamil parliamentarians and, more crucially, guerrillas. This refugee presence allowed India to claim a stake in resolving Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict.

Help, direct and covert, from Pakistan, Israel, China, Britain and the United States could not match Indian pressure, and the pressure of the worsening situation on the ground. Terrorist bombs in Colombo, soaring defense spending and economic setbacks, threats of aid cuts by donors — and the partial

failure of a major military operation in the north — pushed the Government to the negotiating table with the Tamil moderates.

But the guerrillas say that their minimum nonnegotiable demand is a north-east merger that would combine the predominantly Tamil north with large areas of the ethnically mixed east, where Tamils say they have lived for centuries. President Junius R. Jayewardene cannot concede that or be seen to consider it. Already opposition forces led by the former Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, and supported by the influential Buddhist clergy argue that "autonomy" really means "federalism," a sinister word in the Sinhalese vocabulary, rousing fears of separate "kingdoms."

The Tamil moderate negotiators returned to India, only to find their leader branded a traitor by the militants. Two of his parliamentary colleagues were assassinated in the Tamil north last year.

The moderates dare not make a unilateral deal with Mr. Jayewardene.

Only India can bridge the gap, but how much leverage does Mr. Gandhi have? Tamil Nadu was the first state in post-independence India to raise the separatist banner. Nehru's formula of linguistic states, with some border adjustments, helped cope with separatism then. It would be an irony of history if the Sri Lankan Tamil issue rekindled Tamil Nadu separatism.

This is the 10th anniversary of the death of Mao Tse-tung. He wrote: "Countries want freedom, nations want independence, peoples want liberation." As the Zimbabwe meeting testified, countries have got freedom and nations have won independence. But third world regimes are now drawn into close encounters of the third kind.

(This article appeared in the Sunday edition of the New York Times, 21/9/86).



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

Guided by nature's strange powers, he weaves and weaves a nest so perfect in craftsmanship.

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RAJIV GANDHI : a mid-term report

Bhabani Sen Gupta

Only a few full moons ago, he was their darling star of the affluent middle class and the rich. Now, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi is being described as the falling star in the political firmament. With a quickly-contrived, somewhat discomfiting consensus, the press has pronounced another instant judgment: on the wane. The sun is seen to be setting. No sun is rising in the Indian political sky.

The prime minister is being attacked on a wide front, from the left, the right and the centre of the political spectrum. He is being attacked for his political strategy of conciliation and accommodation, more precisely for concluding the Punjab and Assam accords; for deviating from India's traditional foreign policy; more precisely, for moving closer to the United States; for frittering away hard-earned scarce foreign exchange by allowing haphazard, even competitive, import of technology not really needed by the country; for shrugging off the technological capabilities the country has earned over the years thereby undermining selfreliance and independence; and finally, for alienating the captains of trade and industry by sending his sleuths to look under their beds and into their lockers for evidence of largescale tax evasion.

A campaign is on to reduce last year's hero to a non-hero. He is now being depicted as a political novice incapable of playing power politics at home and abroad. As a reluctant politician, incapable of facing up to the stormy blasts of Indian politics now and in the coming years. As a leader who has built a barren distance between himself and his party chieftains for whom he has little respect. As a party leader who doesn't care for the party who can neither disown it nor rebuild it in his own image as Sanjay Gandhi would

(Author of "The Fulcrum of Asia", Prof. Sen Gupta of the Centre for Policy Research in Delhi, is one of India's foremost foreign policy analysts)

"The attacks on him, however do not disapprove that the prime minister's principal policy thrusts are sound, correct and timely. If he is faulted, it is not in the broad area of political 'economic, and foreign policies and targets, but in political strategy, tactics and the language of carrying them through in a soft democracy like India. His achievements are many....."

have done if he had succeeded to the gadi. By compromising with regional political forces, he is seen to have not only "lost" two more states for his party but has sown a political storm in Haryana and Uttar Pradesh which may compel it to harvest an electoral disaster in the Hindi heartland. He has alienated business tycoons whom he needs as friends and the better-off middle class who are his "natural allies", his constituency. If he goes on like this, it is being said, he will be proving the veracity of Oscar Wilde's words, "I have no enemies, but all my friends hate me."

The attacks on him, however, do not disprove that the prime minister's principal policy thrusts are sound, correct and timely. If he is to be faulted, it is not in the broad area of political economic and foreign policies and targets, but in political strategy, tactics and language of carrying them through in a soft democracy like India. His achievements have been many. In a single year, both at home and in the neighbourhood, he has broken with the hegemonic style of Indira Gandhi. His policy of conciliation and accommodation gave the country tranquility it had not known for more than a decade. It integrated dissident regional political elements into the political process.

His neighbourhood policy hasn't worked miracles, but has certainly earned India greater credibility of the neighbours and paved the way for smoother inter-state relations in South Asia. Some people grimaced when they saw him rubbing shoulders with military dictators at the SAARC summit in Dhaka. Others groaned when he refused

to feel threatened from Pakistan, and did not share his mother's perception that India was being "ringed in" by hostile powers. However, by improving relations with the US and China, Rajiv Gandhi has brought India into the mainstream of international politics of the latter half of the 1980s, when no nation is confronting any other nation, and all nations, without deviating from their respective traditional anchors of foreign policy, are trying to normalise relations with as many countries as possible.

His package of economic policies of liberalisation, opening up to the outside world, and mounting a modernising drive in the last 15 years of the second millenium, won overwhelming national support in 1985 with demurs coming only from the two Communist parties. Indeed, one could see a modernising consensus emerging in the elite circles, comparable to 'agriculture consensus' of 1967-72, and the earlier 'industrialisation consensus' of the mid-1950s. The two previous consensuses had brought significant change in the political process. The industrialisation consensus had a hegemonic centre, a command economy with centralised planning, a large public sector that captured the economy's commanding heights, and a national elite now probably 70 million strong. The 'agriculture consensus' enabled the cultivating community to seize political power at the state level and created, in less than a decade, a vast local elite competing with the national elite for sharing political, economic and social power, but also cooperating with it at a hundred meeting points of the political process.

(To be Continued)

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Gaddafi challenges N.A.M.'s credentials

FOREIGN
NEWS

VOICES FROM THE 3rd WORLD

At the newly built B. M. I. C. H. in August 1976, Libya's mercurial Colonel Muammar Gaddafi stunned the largest gathering of world leaders ever assembled up to that moment in NAM history by threatening to 'expose' enemies and traitors. In Harare last month, the Leader of the Libyan Revolution declared in what was certainly the most dramatic moment of the Conference, "The Time has Come!"

Instead of the bits and pieces the news agencies sent out in their reports from Harare, the full text of some of the addresses have now been circulated. Two of the more remarkable speeches, in substance and style, came from Libya's GADDAFI and Cuba's CASTRO — one passionate but aggressively challenging, the other equally eloquent but supportive of the 25 year movement. We begin publishing excerpts: The first is from Colonel Gaddafi:

The time has come.

We cannot dupe our people and ignore the principles of the Movement and accept to sit with those who deal with the Zionists in occupied Palestine and recognize its occupation by them.

I have not come here to sit with such people because this doesn't become a revolutionary like my self.

There are in this hall real puppets for imperialism, enemies of the movement and traitors such as the existing regimes in Zaire, Cameroon, Ivory Coast and Egypt. I wonder whether the 'Arab' recognize the regime in South Africa and whether this will be met with acceptance. Zionism and racism are claws of imperialism and its spearheads in addition to their being its props in Africa and the Arab region.

South Africa is U. S. dirty foot in Africa and Israel is its other foot in our Arab region.

The world until this day still hears the name of Israel which will become Palestine one day, for Israel is a colonialist phenomenon after the second world war in the same way as Northern Rhodesia was a colonialist in our African continent.

My presence in Harare is also for the purpose of strengthening the morals of the fighters for freedom in South Africa and of those who live in the racist prisons like Nelson Mandela and his comrades in addition to meeting with my fighting colleagues such as Castro, Ortega and the leaders of the frontline African States.

It is better for my country to withdraw from this Movement and I will put forward the question of withdrawal. The Non-Aligned Movement has lost justification for its presence.

On the abortive and barbarous U.S.-NATO AGGRESSION launched against Great Al Jamahiriya, Member State in this Movement. I wonder at what the Non-Aligned Movement has done vis-a-vis this aggression, pointing out that West European countries.

The Movement would have been beneficial, if it has announced to the aggressor and to the world that the 101 Member States will join in the Fight on Libya's side, on the side of Nicaragua, Zimbabwe or any other member state being subjected to a colonial aggression from any source.

How can we sit here together with the Egyptian delegation whose regime has allied itself with the Americans and the Zionists on their aggression on our people and offered its land to U. S. troops to train on, to stage manoeuvres and opened the Suez canal to U. S. nuclear aircraft carriers to take part in the aggression on our country.

By such a situation the deceit and treachery have become clear. I cannot accept them. I declare my rejection of the shameful status the Movement has come to.

I believe that the world is divided into two camps, one is for liberation the other is imperialist. There is no effective presence for any other gathering. Being in the camp of liberation does not mean joining the Warsaw pact but to ally with it to confront the imperialist camp.

The presence of reactionary agent forces in the ranks of the Movement poses a great danger. It is inconceivable that, for example, the Egyptian regime supports the cause of liberty, because this regime has appropriated its land for U. S. Troops to train on for their invasion and aggression on the Libyan Arab people.

We have the right to enquire about the meaning of the presence of this and other puppet regimes within the ranks of the Movement.

I did not come here to sit with them, but to declare my disavowal from them and from the Movement which includes them, because in no way I can come and attend any gathering with them.

I talk here on the need to have a split, a tremor inside the Movement against imperialism on international level. He elaborated that the socialist camp is in need of the support of small nations to confront imperialism. Efforts will unite in a strong alliance against imperialism and its malicious cancerous octopus.

Can any of you inform me about what did the Movement do towards the U. S. mining of Nicaragua? Its invasion of Grenada? And its aggression on Jamahiriya?

(Continued on page 18)

Reagan and 'State Terrorism' Caught in the Act

A 35 year old American, Mr. Eugene Hasenfus from Marinette Wisconsin, captured when an American plane carrying arms to the US-supported 'Contras' was shot down by Sandinista forces in southern Nicaragua, has confessed that he is a US 'military adviser'. Mr. George Schultz, US Secretary of State, was quick to deny that he was what he claimed to be or that he had any con-

nection with the Defense Dept. or that the plane was government-owned. It is a 'private plane' with 'some Americans on board', he said, which is the best he could have done in the circumstances. A very poor best as it turned out to be.

There were two bodies found after the crash, and these had identity cards, giving names and bearing the insignia of the 'Salvadoran Air Force', with inscriptions "Group U. S. A." and "Position Adviser". El Salvador is only one of the neighbouring countries from which the US-supported 'Contras' operate. Honduras is the main base. The US press has already established the links between the so-called "Southern Air Transport" and the US government. Mr Schultz denied there were US advisers working with the 'Contras' who are trying to oust the Nicaragua's Sandinista government and conducts, quite successfully, sabotage operation inside Nicaragua.

The official denials lack all credibility because the deep and direct involvement of the Reagan administration in the attempt to overthrow the Nicaraguan government was exposed by no less a body than the International Court of Justice which found the US guilty of mining the ports of Nicaragua, a blatant violation of international law.

In any case, the Reagan administration's involvement was established beyond any doubt by both the US press and the Congressional debate on the highly controversial issue of US aid (100 million dollars) to the 'contras' — a sum slightly larger than that given to the U. N. I. T. A. rebels who work with the South African army in their military operations in Angola.

Richard Halloran wrote in the *New York Times*: "President Reagan is prepared to send military advisers to train rebels fighting the the Nicaraguan government if Congress approves the 100 million dollar aid the President has requested for the insurgents,

according to Defence Dept. officials. Their comments were the first indication that the administration was ready to give direct assistance to the forces that are fighting the leftist government in Nicaragua. The officials emphasised however that the US advisers would not be permitted to enter Nicaragua. . . In addition, officials said, the US would be prepared to share intelligence information with the rebels. . . In testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee, General John R. Galvin, Commander of American forces in Central America, called for "comprehensive US support" for the DRF (the contras) who have their bases in Honduras and mount forays across the border. . ."

Reporting from Miami, Florida, only a few months ago, Marshall Ingerson of the Christian Science Monitor, one of America's most reputed papers, wrote: 'Miami is a rebel base again. . . First anti-Castro Cubans, now Nicaraguan 'contras' operate out of Florida city. . .'

Delhi's Pressure. . .

(Continued from page 6)

in the next round of talks without compromising their publicly stated position on the Tamil homeland issue which incidentally is not very different from that of the TULF which also has been taking a firm stand on it.

It is not certain whether the Indian Ministers and officials dealing with Sri Lanka will have time to engage in these talks with the militants in Delhi or Madras, before the External Affairs Ministry, Mr. P. Shiv Shanker and the Foreign Secretary Mr. Venkateswaran accompany the Prime Minister on his State visits to Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand and Thailand starting on Oct 13. In any case it is highly unlikely that the next round of talks with the Sri Lankan Government representatives with or without the participation of the militant, will be held before next month.

Gaddafi. . .

(Continued from page 17)

The answer is zero, and that means that the turn will be on us all, because we do no more than issue statements at a time Britain offer its bases for U. S. forces to launch an aggression on my home and on my country.

I am sure that a number of those sitting here, they are not with their people. They are not with the cause of freedom. I told you, in Colombo that I was going to expose this Movement at the forthcoming Summit and the hour has come.

We cannot deceive our people or deceive ourselves that members of this movement are non-aligned and that they are with us against imperialism. He said' in this hall there are real puppets and dirty spies for imperialism, Zionism and racism. Anyone who recognises Israel is an enemy of this Movement and an enemy of the cause of freedom and an enemy of the cause of liberty.

I did not come here to desecrate myself before world revolutionaries by sitting beside the President of Zaire or the Cameroon or the Ivory Coast. It is not appropriate for any revolutionary like myself to sit with those traitors and spies who recognise Israel.

I promise you from this rostrum that I will as from now on endeavour to create a world of two camps only:—

A LIBERATION CAMP AND AN IMPERIALIST CAMP!

Flashpoint—Trinco Harbour

- During 125 years from 1815 to 1940 the Crown Colony of Ceylon had hardly any use for the World famous and perhaps the largest natural harbour in the World — Trincomalee.
 - Trincomalee harbour suddenly came alive after 1940 with the outbreak of the Second World War, when Allied Warships began to use Trinco as a Naval base.
 - In 1944 as Commandar of the 3 x 6" gun Battery on Floods Tower — the examination Battery which controlled the entry and departure of all Warships and Merchant ships — I saw the British Battleships 'Queen Elizabeth' and Valiant, the French Battleship 'Richeliev', the U.S. Aircraft carrier 'Saratoga', oil tankers, submarines, and Flying Boats, 'Sunderlands' and Dutch Catalinas, and hundreds of small craft, use this harbour at one and the same time with room for still more ships! There was also the 1000 foot floating dock, which subsequently sunk by the Royal Navy, due to a defect in its structure, which caused serious damage to the propellor of HMS Valiant!
 - With the end of hostilities, Trincomalee Harbour was abandoned and used for yachting and fishing etc.
 - With the prospects for a repetition of the Japanese attack on the U.S. Navy in Pearl Harbour, Hawaii and the destructive power of Atom Bombs dropped by the U.S.A. on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the development of long range bombers and ballistic missiles
- and the modern threat of nuclear attack, no naval power will put all its "eggs" in one basket by basing their fleet in Trincomalee! And the Sri Lanka Navy is so small that one would need a microscope to locate it in the vast expanse of Trincomalee!
- In the forties the idea of a Free Tamil State was being mooted by the South Indian Tamils and by the British Indian Tamils on our estates and eyes were turned on Trinco again for use as the Commercial Harbour of this State, which presumably was going to be independent of India!
 - An extract from — **'The Truth about the Indian Problem'** — by a study group comprising Mettananda, Godammune, Tammita — reads —

"In the words of Professor Appadurai of Madras, Ceylon is already semi-Tamil and when Ceylon comes under their rule, the envisaged Free Tamil State will possess the best natural Harbour in the World, Trincomalee"

This pregnant reference to Ceylon is contained in a little book on the aims of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, a dedicated political organization of South India.
 - After independence in 1948 demands for a free Tamil State made by the DMK in South India grew. Here the demand was first for a Federal State, and from 1974 for the separate State for Tamil Eelam.
 - The scorched-earth policy of the "terrorists" to rid the environs of the Northern and Eastern Provinces, is undoubtedly to get possession of Trinco the old 'commercial Harbour', of the DMK 'Free State'.
- The burning question now is does Sri Lanka need such a huge harbour for its own use, either for its Navy or Commercial Shipping?
- The answer is a resounding 'No!'
- Would not the solution be to reduce the water expense by reclaiming the land, by filling it up with the earth from the Ostenburg/Hoods Tower hills, from the two Sobar isles, the Clappenburg hill etc, up to the requirements of Sri Lanka's Navy and Commercial Shipping, for five or six large vessels and Tankers at a time and thereafter develop the fishing town of Trincomalee and build a super-fine tourist complex, on this reclaimed land. This will give easy ocean access to tourists to The Cultural Triangle and the Central and other provinces, and help to integrate the Northern and Eastern Provinces with the rest of Sri Lanka.
- If this is done immediately, the separatist dreams, the D.M.K. vision and the envious eyes of India, and the big powers and perhaps China, who yearn for the use of Trincomalee Harbour, will cease. We could then return to barracks!
- The struggle is on, not for Trincomalee, or the Northern or Eastern Provinces — but for Trinco Harbour! So let us cut Trincomalee Harbour to size!

Colonel Lyn Wickramasuriya
Colombo 5.

DIVINE REVELATION IN PALI BUDDHISM

by Peter Masefield

In this study of initiation in the Nikayas (Discourses of the Buddha), Peter Masefield, Pali scholar and translator of Buddhist texts, presents evidence which makes it clear that salvation in original Buddhism depended on the saving intervention of the Buddha's grace and that, contrary to the now commonly accepted view of Buddhism as a rationalistic philosophy of self-endeavour, the picture that emerges from a careful examination of the canonical texts is one of Buddhism as a revealed religion in every sense of the term and the Buddha as every bit the divine guru.

In considering the relationship of Buddhism to the Brahmanic tradition, Dr Masefield shows that the Buddha was critical of the brahmins solely on the grounds that they no longer lived up to the social and religious ideals associated with their predecessors, and that, if the Buddha was a reformer, this was only so in the sense that he advocated a return to the former conservatism of Vedic India.

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TAPROBANE HOTEL BOOKSHOP

U S, U K and Japan — Defenders of Apartheid and “honorary” whites

Horace Perera

There was an interesting film some years ago entitled “The Mouse that Roared”, Today in response to the call for sanctions against the white minority, regime in the Republic of South Africa it looks as if the Lion, the Eagle, the Cuds of the She-wolf and other denizens in certain sections of the international jungle can only utter some muted and ineffective squeaks. We are expected to believe that it is for purely humanitarian reasons that they have lost their once belligerent voices and that they are of opinion that sanctions will hurt the blacks more than the effect they will have on the whites. Is this a genuine concern for the welfare of the blacks or just a verdal smoke-screen behind which the commercial houses and the industrial concerns of these countries can continue to extract enormous profits from their branches in the Republic of South Africa at the cost of the “blood toil, sweat and tears” of the indigenous people of that country?

As memories are short it is considered useful to cite one set of the series of statistics furnished in Kanaka Dixit's excellent article in the September '86 issue of Development Forum". We are informed that there is a five-fold difference in infant mortality rates between whites and blacks; that in 1985 out of 44,100 reported cases of tuberculosis only about 700 were whites; that the life expectancy is 72 for whites but only 58 for blacks, and that the doctor to patient ratio in 1982 was 1:330 for whites and 1:91,000 for blacks. The question can very relevantly be raised what more is there for the blacks to lose.

Discrimination is far too mild a word for this monstrous and diabolical phenomenon. It is a very subtle political device not to

eliminate the blacks completely (for they are needed for all types of low grade manual labour) but to keep their numbers down, sap their strength and thus lower their morale so that they can pose no serious threat to the white minority which so cruelly wields political power in the country. With the statistics in reproduced in the paragraph above, the Government of the Republic of South Africa can be said to be morally guilty of mass murders and those who, in the past, participated in this crime and appear reluctant to abandon it altogether can be said to be accessories before and also after the fact. After all, it is very unlikely that they were completely ignorant of the exploitation and dehumanisation of the blacks that was taking place all these years and they surely cannot be ignorant of what is happening there today.

It cannot be denied that some blacks are likely to suffer from the effects of apartheid. The point is that they have declared their willingness to do so for the sake of those who will come after them. When Jesus Christ told Satan that “Man does not live by bread alone”, he was not referring to people with a light pigmentation. It must also be noted that sanctions will not produce immediate results, not only because the government of the Republic of South Africa has already taken, and will continue to take measures to cushion the more deleterious effects of sanctions, but also because there is no guarantee that nations who make declarations or sanctions against that country will honestly and effectively implement them. The main thing, however, is as Mr. Dixit says, in his article, that “sanctions would symbolise moral condemnation, would give a psychological boost to the black and

Based on a talk given in Geneva recently by the Former Secretary-General UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATIONS.

undermine the confidence of the embattled authorities in Pretoria.

There seems to be a surprising omission in the campaign against apartheid. While the appeal for the imposition of sanctions is being addressed to all countries, it is specifically directed to The Republic's major trading partners, such as the United States of America, Canada and some countries in Western Europe, but for some strange reason Japan is often left out. That Japan has been a major trading partner with the Republic no one will deny. As a matter of fact it has even “collaborated” with North American and some major Western European countries in South Africa's nuclear enterprise.* Will Japan, acting altruistically on her own, apply sanctions against South Africa? Will she join the squeakers? Or will she remain quite for the simple reason that, since 1962, the Republic of South Africa has graciously conferred the status of “Honorary Whites” on Japanese living in the country, trading with it or coming in as tourists. In view of the fact the classification of people in the Republic of South Africa is based on pigmentation, should not Japan show its solidarity with the rest of Asia, most of the South Pacific, the indigenous peoples of Africa and most people in the Caribbean region by imposing sanctions against Republic of South

(Continued on page 24)

* In February 1980 the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid named the collaborators in South Africa's nuclear enterprise.

The Kotmale project closed ?

A malign parenthesis in Swedish aid history !

Thomas Bibin

The giant Kotmale Hydropower plant built by the Swedes was inaugurated with pomp and circumstance on August 24, last year. One week later it was closed and, except for one out of three turbines running for a few months earlier this year, it will remain closed at least another year. Great and unforeseen repairs are needed, and the Swedish government has said that it is not prepared to pay for this. In addition, the Swedish government has declared that it will reduce its aid plans for Sri Lanka. In practice this means a 90 per cent cut in Swedish aid to Sri Lanka.

The Swedish built Kotmale hydropower plant, one of four hydropower corner stones in the Mahaweli River Development Plan, has run into problems. Already when the project was commissioned in August last year, it was known that there were cracks in the high pressure tunnels, leading the water to the turbines. On Sept 1, 1985, only one week later, the single turbine in operation was closed. At that time the cost of the repairs were estimated to SEK 30 million (almost 100 million Rupees or 3 million pounds sterling).

The bedrock is not as solid as earlier projected. Millimeter-broad gaps have opened up the bedrock as the water rushed through. At first it was thought that 130 meters in the lower shaft had to be covered with a steel jacket. Skanska, the Swedish company that built the Kotmale dam and plant, has accepted the contract on the repairs as well.

However, in June it was revealed that the problems at Kotmale were much bigger than earlier estimations. While the water was leaking heavily into the cavities around the turbine hall it was discovered that also the low pressure tunnels needed repairing. This meant another SEK 70 million and a much longer time schedule for the stoppage of the plant. Kotmale cannot be opened again earlier than some

(The writer, a well known Swedish journalist, has visited Sri Lanka several times).

time during 1987, around two years after its inauguration.

The Swedish government has declared that it cannot pay for the repairs. According to an earlier decision in the Parliament, Sweden has agreed to pay SEK 1.4 billion as a grant and another SEK 234 million as a subsidised credit for the Kotmale project. The final payments will be made during the fiscal year 1987/88.

The road to Kotmale has been paved with nasty remarks from many critics in Sweden. First the contract was given to Skanska without formal bidding which is prescribed in the development aid agreement signed by the two parties. Then it was the ever rising costs for the project, starting at modest SEK 700 million in 1970. Then it was the sidestepping of SIDA, the Swedish aid authority which was hushed to the corner while the two governments and Skanska were making up their minds. Then it was the earth slide risks and the movement of the damsite upwards the Kotmale river delaying the whole setup. Then, in 1982, there were heavy criticism in Parliament towards the former liberal Government for its failure to inform the parliament on the Kotmale decisions in 1979 and for its generous promises to its Sri Lankan counterparts by far exceeding the prevailing aid agreement at that time. Then critics said that the Kotmale power was intended only for the affluent air condition enjoyers in Colombo and

for the foreign free trade zone industries north of the city, not for the rural inhabitants. Others said that Kotmale would be an element in the resulation of Mahaweli water intend for down stream activities where multinational agrobizz companies were setting up their plantations. Yet others asked if it is not true that local Sri Lankan parliamentarians only selected sinhala peasants when land was distributed under the Mahaweli settlement schemes.

And on top of this, the closure of Kotmale, The proud plans for a 210 mW plant have resulted in no mW. One 70 mW turbine is there but cannot operate. Turbine two is installed but it cannot even be tested for operation. And turbine three has not been installed yet.

Skanska representatives at Kotmale are eager to point out that Skanska has no guilt in the present situation. Skanska delivered the dam and the plant even earlier than planned. But depression prevails among those about 25 Skanska employees still working at Kotmale. In return for anonymity, some of them wonder if Kotmale is all. There are other power plants generating electricity, and their impression is that the Sri Lankan government is not too worried over the closure of Kotmale.

There are also other reasons to be worried over Kotmale, the biggest single Swedish aid project ever made. In May, V Prabakaran, the potent leader of the strongest tamil guerilla group, the Tigers, said to this writer when visiting Madras that the development projects may be a target for future guerilla attacks.

We have no immediate plan for such attacks, says Prabakaran. But if the government continues to bomb defenceless Tamils in Sri Lanka, we will take that possibility into consideration.

The threats stirred up the minds at SIDA and SIDA's security expert visited Kotmale recently. The security arrangements at the project have been tightened considerably. The intention is to equip the Swedish aid employees with wireless communication systems and to elaborate evacuation plans.

The Swedish official attitude towards Kotmale and the aid to Sri Lanka has hardened considerably in recent times. However, publicly there is no harm done to the Kotmale project itself. It is the war between the liberal government under president Jayewardene and the tamil guerillas that has created concern within the Swedish government representatives refused to comment but vaguely on the conflict. Then suddenly, in October last, the under-secretary of state for foreign affairs, Mr Pierre Schori, said that;

It is evident that the Tamils have been exposed to encroach-

ments and sufferings that cannot be justified by terrorist actions. The Sri Lankan government cannot evade its responsibility in this matter.

This being possible shift in the official attitude to Sri Lanka, no new directives were given to SIDA with regard to future aid. But people within SIDA were already concerned over the deteriorating situation in one of the main receivers of Swedish aid. And in March this year the SIDA sub-director Mr Borje Ljunggren told this writer that;

(...) still the fact is that the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka is very serious and that there is no solution within reach presently. This situation has induced SIDA to reduce the planning of development aid to Sri Lanka Kotmale' i.e. after July 1, 1988.

This was the very first sign that the conflict in Sri Lanka would

affect official relations between Sweden and Sri Lanka. The final payment for Kotmale the next two years will be SEK 150 million and 103 million respectively. Apart from that money there is only SEK 20 million yearly for rural development, education and similar aid. The Kotmale project has become an unforeseen hunch in Swedish aid to Sri Lanka. In practice this means a cut from SEK 200 million to about 20 million i.e. 90 per cent less in the future compared to the glorious Kotmale years.

And "Lex Kotmale", a new set of rules established within SIDA, will protect the Swedish aid authorities from possible future ministerial bully. The writing on the wall is clear enough: We have tightened the screws, and they will remain tight until the Colombo government finds a peaceful and negotiated settlement with the Tamils.

TULF memo to . . .

(Continued from page 10)

The projects under the Mahaweli Development Plan are listed in the following order:

Project No.	Name of Project
1	Victoria Multipurpose Complex
2	Moragahakanda Multipurpose Complex
3	Maduru Oya Reservoir Complex
4	Teldeniya Multipurpose Complex
5	Kotmale Multipurpose Complex
6	Kalu Ganga Reservoir Complex
7	Rotalwala Reservoir Complex
8	Pallwella Multipurpose Complex
9	Majwatu Oya Reservoir Complex
10	Yan Oya Reservoir Complex
11	Randenigala Multipurpose Complex and part N. C. P. Canal
12	Balance N. C. P. Canal Complex benefiting lands in the Northern Province.

The report of the Development Plan states that if the projects have to be taken up as and when resources are made available the project numbers indicate the recommended order of Priority

for execution. Resources have not become available for all the projects to be undertaken, and accordingly the N. C. P. Canal benefiting lands in the Northern Province remains as listed above, the last on the list of priorities.

For the reasons stated above, it is more than likely that the projects contemplated in the Northern Province will not be implemented.

In the context of the above, it cannot be disputed that the total land available for alienation in the immediate or even some distant future in both the Eastern and Northern Provinces does not exceed 100,000 acres perhaps much less, the entirety of which extent, in fact, falls within the Eastern Province.

Of the several projects listed above, work has been completed or commenced in many projects benefitting the other Provinces. Even the part of system B — Maduru Oya — benefitting the North Central Province, more than the Eastern Province (62,000 acres new land in the N. C. P. as opposed to 43,720 acres in Eastern Province) has been executed — and the land alienated, if not the entirety — at least over 98% to Sinhalese.

(To be Continued)

Another country

FEMINISM AND NATIONALISM IN THE THIRD WORLD

Kumari Jayawardene

Zed Press £ 6.95 paperback/£ 18.95
hardback

Maxine Molyneux

Nationalism has long been an enemy of women's emancipation. It has demanded their submission to misogynous practices in the name of patriotism — whether this be the veil in some Islamic countries, or breeding for the nation and the cult of *kinder, Kuche, Kirche* in Nazi Germany. To be an advocate of women's rights in such situations is seen as betraying national culture, and capitulating to alien influences.

There is certainly another side to the story. As Tom Nairn has written, nationalism is a Janus, a two-faced entity, and it has been so for women. The early nationalisms of the 19th and 20th centuries, along with socialist movements, had a more critical attitude to their national cultures, and took their assistance from what they saw as backward, "feudal"

and traditional practices. From their different standpoints, Mao and Ataturk both agreed that women had to be liberated from the customs and restrictions of the old society in order to be free themselves and to contribute to the building of the new social order.

It is this ambiguity of the relation between nationalism and feminism that Kumari Jayawardena brings out so well in her comparative study of twelve countries including Turkey, Egypt, Iran, India, Sri Lanka, China and Vietnam. She shows how women were active participants in the nationalist movements of the developing world and that, parallel to the rise of nationalism, the same social conditions were producing feminist and women's movements in these countries.

These social movements developed in a complicated relationship with the west. They rejected colonial rule, but were positively influenced by western ideas about democracy, social justice, and the equality of men and women. Just as colonialism created a dissatisfied and articulate middle class that longed for independence so in stimulating the rise of women's movements in the third world the west also played an ambiguous role. Yet, once independence had been attained, the conservatism of the nationalists came to the fore and their support for feminism waned. The socialist revolutions did more to emancipate women, but they too put clear limits on the process, suppressing feminist and autonomous women's movements.

Jayawardena's is an ambitious book, an attempt to unearth the historical links between nationalism, and feminism, and, in analysing the issues with such a calibrated pen, she has produced a valuable and compelling book.

This is so in the relationship she establishes between the rise of women's movements and the wider process of historical change, and in the way she demonstrates that the adoption of "anti-imperialist" positions does not entail being trapped in uncritical support for national and traditional values. She also has no truck with those who dismiss feminism as a purely western phenomenon.

The overall lesson of this book is that, for women's movements as for nations, self-determination is never achieved without a struggle.

U S, U K . . .

(Continued from page 21)

Africa, and above all by renouncing the dubious honour conferred on them of being considered "Honorary Whites". It behoves Japan to consider her position in continental Asia if she allows her people to accept this position conceded to them so "generously" by the racist regime in the Republic. One has to ask, in conclusion, whether the Japanese, in the face of the mounting opposition to the racist policies of the regime in the Republic of South Africa, wish to associate themselves with ruling white minority or the exploited and oppressed black majority in the Republic of South Africa.

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