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HEARTS AND MINDS WAR

Mervyn de Silva

And now the battle for hearts and minds, Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim, and therefore for the political parties which speak for these communities. Yes, it was a famous victory. And the Lion flag has been hoisted in the city of Jaffna, capital of the (Tamil) northern province, and more significantly the bastion of the secessionist Liberation 'Tigers'. But...

The Mahanayakes, the traditional spokesmen of Sinhalese-Buddhist interests, have not spoken yet on the P.A.'s next move, next necessary move — to win back the hearts and minds of the Tamil community, the peace-loving Tamil community which supported P.A. candidate Chandrika Kumaratunga at the presidential polls in 1994. She did much better than the P.A. in August — a record 63% as against the modest 50% of the 8-party Peoples Alliance.

There is little doubt that this 63% went up after December 5th, the triumphant conclusion of OPERATION SUNRISE. The sun shone brightly — for President Chandrika and her Peoples Alliance.

But...

Four former militant groups, EROS, TELO, PLOT and EPRLF, have produced a seven-point formula which demand a (a) a secular state (b) replacement of the word "state" for "regions" and (c) citizenship for those who have lived in the island continuously for ten years. We note that the EPDP which has the largest number of seats in Parliament has not been associated in this exercise. The anti-LTTE, former guerrilla groups are divided.

More significantly, the TULF, the main Tamil parliamentary party has rejected this plan. In short, there is no Tamil consensus. As for the formula itself, the demand for "state" and a "secular state" would mean that the following section of the 1972 constitution introduced by the United Front administration of Prime Minister Sirima Bandaranaike would have to go:

"The Republic of Sri Lanka shall give to Buddhism the foremost place and accordingly it shall be the duty of the State

to protect and foster Buddhism while assuring all religions the rights secured by Section 18 (1)".

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANCE

As for the two major parties, the SLFP and the UNP, neither will compromise on this constitutional provision. The Buddhists nearly 70% of Sri Lanka's 17 million and the only explanation for "SRI", specially blessed, is that the *DHAMMA*, the Buddha's teachings, in its purest form, have made this island, the *dharmadeepa*. To the Buddhist, this is non-negotiable; for the Maha Sangha, the secularist idea is unthinkable.

So the Mahanayakes who blessed President Chandrika and Deputy Defence Minister Anuruddha Ratwatte, and later General Rohan Daluwatte, the true "Heroes" of OPERATION SUNRISE, will reject any Tamil demand that undermines the "pre-eminent position of Buddhism.

What is common to Sinhalese political opinion and Tamil political trends? In impact, both are divisive — the TULF, the major parliamentary has clobbered the ex-guerrilla quartet, while the U.N.P. the conservative opposition and alternate government has launched an aggressive propaganda campaign over the dissolution of two UNP-controlled councils.

Addressing the Kalutara District party convention, UNP and Opposition leader, Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe argued that dissolution was possible only when the Chief minister ceases to command the support of the assembly, and of course at the end the Council's term of office. "There is a clear violation of the Constitution" he argued at a rally in Horana (*ISLAND*). But the petitions were withdrawn on Wednesday (10/1).

SELECT COMMITTEE

The Tamil political parties are confident that the President will present her autonomy proposals to the Select Committee of Parliament during the second half of January. The Select Committee will then discuss and debate the proposals. Once consensus is reached these propo-

sals along with other amendments to the constitution will be placed before parliament. Many MP's from both sides of the House believe that these discussions will take at least 3 to 4 months, possibly 6 months according to a Opposition front-bencher. No major proposal can become law unless the U.N.P. cooperates, since a two-thirds majority may be required. If the unitary character of the State is to be altered, a referendum would also be required. So P.A.-U.N.P. cooperation is a "must" for a political solution based on any federal formula. Far from cooperation, we observe a P.A.-U.N.P. confrontation. An end to confrontational politics is a "must" for a negotiated settlement of the National question.

(Continued on page 7)

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After the Great Victory

Dr Vickramabahu Karunaratne

The "liberation" war of the PA government is claimed to be a great success. However unfortunately Tamils in general refuse to get liberated. They ran away from the Sinhala "Liberation" army as if Ravana's Yaksha army was advancing on them. Many of them have abandoned Jaffna peninsula altogether and come to the Vavuniya district. Around half a million people are refugees. PA leaders claim that Tigers forced them to flee. There is some truth in that. But in general people started leaving when they realized that the Tigers are incapable of resisting a conventional attack of a well equipped traditional army. The moment Tigers started retreating the exodus started. Obviously Tigers did not want the lame and the loyal only to be left behind hence the order for everybody to leave. Thus came the ridiculous situation of Sinhala army "liberating" the virtually empty city from the Tamil people. Whatever the claim of Chandrika the reality is that she has occupied the hub of culture and identity of the Lankan Tamil people sans Tamil people. The claimed victory over Tigers is at most an illusion. But she has severely hurt the Tamil pride so much so the TULF the liberal Tamil bourgeois party withdrew its support to the PA. All upper class Tamil intellectuals such as Radika broke their romance with the PA with a sigh of grief.

Certainly this is a defeat for the Tigers. They had illusions about their ability to face an attack of a conventional army. On one hand they over-estimated the support they can mobilise within the Imperialist countries. They claimed repeatedly at least in the recent period that they represent only national liberation and their heroes are of the Napoleon type. They clearly avoided being classified as Marxists. Hence they expected protection from the West for their "genuine" effort for national liberation. On the other hand they over-estimated the resource problem of the Sinhala army. With enough resources

it could become a ferocious military machine. Chandrika with her "Package" the noise made for devolution and the unhesitant commitment for the 'development project' of the IMF was able to mobilise military aid from imperialism. Besides imperialism today is not interested in liberating oppressed nations when all capitalist leaders have agreed to the WTO and economic zones are appearing to facilitate just that. On top of that Tigers are accused of helping international trouble makers. It appears now that they are hunted through out the world.

It is in this scenario that the Tigers had to retreat and the Tamil people were evicted from their famed city. Chandrika agreed that this called for celebrations. Though the people who are burdened by rising prices and vexed by the sellout to capitalist, did not respond enthusiastically to this call of the racists, state sponsored celebrations continued at much expense. This went far beyond a general chauvinist act. The helpers of the Deputy Defence Minister in their effort to promote him as the future PM in place of ailing Sirimavo dug deep in to his ancestry to establish connection to the Sinhala war hero, Leuke Bandara Deiyo. It is claimed that this true decendent did the job and the generals of the war Gerry de Silva and Rohan Daluwatte are treated like the errand boys from the South. Thus it was not only chauvinist but also vulgar and pretentious. After hurting so many in this manner Chandrika and her adjutant started clumsily to talk about devolution and the package. This could appear to the Tamil nation like the offer of true love to a woman by her rapist. She could only return the venom and hatred of seven Durgas.

This military victory has multiplied the problem in many ways. The war is continuing as a protracted guerilla activity half a million Tamils have turned refugees almost all Tamils are alienated chauvinist militaristic forces have strengthened and last but not the least the burden on the

masses has increased many fold. The rise of rightwing within the Cabinet is seen in the rise of CV at the expense of "liberal" Peiris the man who thought that he could resolve all conflicts through legal jargon. CV is supported openly by a substantial section of the UNP. Hameed's exit is also part of the problem. In any case the objective need of a Ranil-type UNP has ceased with the rise of rightwing forces within the PA. Of course the UNP will not vanish but it will be in the margin for the moment.

Naturally the opportunist left within the PA is feeling the kick on their backs. They compromised too much on the issue of war and now totally incapable of challenging the occupation of Jaffna and the eviction of the Tamil people. However on the issue of privatisation there is no way they could back out. All workers parties within the PA including the CWC of Thondaman have challenged the privatisation project of Chandrika. Infact the joint committees of all sectors under threat of privatisation have got together to launch a common campaign. In particular the Tamil plantation workers in Maskeliya area came out on strike against the private managers. They were demanding 25 days of work per month jobs for their children in the plantations and gratuity at retirement. Perfectly reasonable demands. But Sepala Ilankoon says these are impossible demands that will tie them down. These workers will not relinquish their right to this land without adequate compensation. When plantations were nationalised the State undertook to safeguard their right to land and work. State cannot change this agreement unilaterally. War and racism has temporarily dampened the agitation against privatisation and other dictates of IMF. But certainly it will gain momentum in the coming period. When that happens opportunist left leaders may get dragged out at least for a period. At the moment while the opportunist left leaders are howling within PA, Chandrika is using public money to advertise the sell out of public property.

The writer is General Secretary of the NSSP

With the rise of militaristic forces, workers also face new repression and attacks. In many work places employers used police and some times paid thugs to drive away protesting workers. Police visited houses of agitating or striking workers in the middle of the night to threaten them. Often female workers were threatened in this manner. When employers complained, police came in the middle of the night to take workers into custody threatening every one in the household. Peaceful marches were dispersed.

Within the parliament, JVP MP consistently spoke and voted against the war though his party took a dubious line in relation to devolution. At first they condemned devolution as dividing the country into eight parts though theoretically they stood for Tamil autonomy. As we kept on raising the question of autonomy and referendum JVP leaders hastily retreated and raised the slogan of equality. We had several debates with the JVP leader Wimal Weerawansa who defended their

position by claiming that "socialism will resolve national conflict". But the question remained if the JVP grants autonomy under their rule which area will come under this home rule? However there is a very important development at the rank and file level. A significant section of their membership came over totally to our position: some took almost an ultra left position of LTTE without criticism. "HIRU" is the indirect voice of this tendency supported by several student leaders from Colombo, Japura, Kelaniya and Peradeniya. In addition there is dissatisfaction on the way they handled the student struggle during the war period. Only luke-warm support was given to the struggle against war and privatisation. Many of their members feel that they compromised to the Janatha Mithuro the Buddhist fundamentalists. Will the JVP leadership break from the racists and come to a revolutionary alliance with the proletarian organisations? This will depend on a number of factors above all on the strength of the independent workers movement.

On 13 Dec we had a common campaign in lieu of the Human rights Day which fell on Sunday 10 Dec. After a long pause opportunist left within in the PA agreed to a common picket in defence of human rights but we could not agree to a common document. We insisted that condemning the government for the attack on Tamil people and withdrawal of the army to allow self government of Tamils are essential. They did not agree. However the common picket was a success and in addition we marched up to Hyde Park and had our meeting. Though they did not participate in the march and the meeting more than 50% came with us exposing their weakness. However with all such set backs, the 13th was a new beginning for a left alternative. We can expect the movement to grow both political as well as in the mass front. Can the government take a sharp turn towards reforms? Can it contain inflation? With the growth of the right wing within the PA and the strengthening of the racist militaristic forces such a scenario is very unlikely. We are optimistic though the mood still is against us.

WORLD TRENDS

Castro's Visit Reinforces Ties

Though the world is gradually moving toward detente, it is yet far from tranquil, Chinese President Jiang Zemin said when meeting with visiting Cuban leader Fidel Castro in Beijing.

"I am realizing my long-held wish," the Cuban leader said.

New opportunities and challenges for world peace and development now exist, Jiang said. However, he said that hegemony, power politics and "Cold War thinking" are still rampant in world relations. Territorial, ethnic and religious disputes continue to appear from time to time, he added.

China strongly believes that world disputes should be solved through dialogue and negotiation. Arms, the threat of force, sanctions and embargoes should never be resorted to Jiang noted.

China and Cuba forged diplomatic ties in September 1960. Cuba was the first Latin American country to establish such a tie with China.

Jiang reaffirmed that China attaches great importance to developing trade and economic ties with Cuba and intends to explore new cooperative spheres.

He said the two countries have enjoyed satisfying bilateral ties, adding that enhancement of Sino-Cuban ties is of "vital importance" considering the current world situation.

He pledged that a new world economic order should follow the principle of equality and mutual benefit, and help reduce the economic gap between developing and developed countries.

Forging ties with developing countries

is a basic foreign policy for China, Jiang said.

The world should respect the right of each nation's choice of their own social system and development route, Jiang said.

Castro said Cuba is entering into major world activities and opening diplomatic ties with 155 countries, and is set on building "socialism with Cuban characteristics."

Following the summit, Jiang and Castro presented the signing ceremonies for three economic cooperation treaties between China and Cuba.

Chinese Premier Li Peng and other top leaders also met with Castro.

(Beijing Review)

Cuba Defies Blockade, Improves Foreign Relations

Beijing Review interviewed Cuban Ambassador Jose A. Guerra on Cuba's domestic situation and its foreign policy. The following are the main points of this interview

The dissolution of the former Soviet Union and the changes in Eastern Europe, coupled with the US economic blockade, has posed a severe challenge to Cuba's economy. The Cuban people, however, have braced themselves for the blockade. At the same time, the Cuban government has adopted measures since 1991 of opening to the outside world and attracting foreign investment. To date, foreign investment in Cuba tops US\$2 billion and joint ventures number more than 200. Three months ago a new law on foreign investment was adopted. All these measures have served to buttress the national economy. Last year the gross domestic product grew by 0.7 percent and this year it is expected to grow by 2.7 percent.

While developing the national economy, the Cuban government has improved relations with Latin American countries. President Castro visited Barbados, Brazil, Colombo and Mexico on five separate occasions, exchanging views with leaders of the host countries on bilateral relations and other regional and international issues of common concern. The Cuban foreign minister visited 14 Central and Southern American countries including those countries currently having no diplomatic relations with Cuba: Chile, Paraguay, Costa Rica and Honduras. In return, the Mexican president and six foreign ministers and dozens of senior officials from other Latin American countries visited Cuba last year. These exchanges of visits have furthered friendship and cooperation between Cuba and other Latin American countries.

Although the United States has inflicted economic losses of US\$45 billion upon Cuba's 11 million people over the past 33 years, the Cuban government is willing to improve relations with the United States on the basis of respecting sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Taking advantage of the opportunity to attend the 50th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations in New York, President Castro made extensive contacts with US entrepreneurs, journalistic and religious circles as well as meeting with prominent Cuban-Americans, deepening their understanding of Cuba.

A number of US entrepreneurs have

visited Cuba to explore business opportunities increased. Last year more than 500 entrepreneurs visited Cuba and more than 100 of them signed protocols of intent. Recently Cuba signed an immigration treaty with the United States. This treaty is beneficial not only to Cuba but also to the United States, setting an example of cooperation between the two countries.

The majority of UN member states oppose the US blockade against Cuba. The UN General Assembly has four times adopted resolutions calling on the United States to end blockade. Last year 101 UN member states supported the resolution and this year 117 did so.

Although far from each other geographically, China and Cuba enjoy traditional friendship. Both countries are building socialism under the Communist Party leadership and share many identical or similar views on regional and international issues. In recent years, and particularly since President Jiang Zemin's visit to Cuba in November 1993, bilateral rela-

tions have witnessed rapid development in economy, trade, science, technology and culture. High-level visits have increased and last October Premier Li Peng made a brief stopover in Havana to meet with President Castro. Bilateral trade hit US\$500 million last year and is expected to remain on the same level this year.

President Castro's visit to China realizes his long-cherished wish to strengthen Cuban-China relations. During his stay in China, he will have personally witnessed the dramatic changes and achievements the country has made in recent years. He will also take the opportunity to sign a series of agreements on bilateral trade and economic cooperation.

At the conclusion of the interview, the ambassador disclosed that Castro will visit Viet Nam after China. Responding to the question of the purpose of the Viet Nam visit, Ambassador Guerra smiled, "You should ask the Cuban ambassador to Hanoi; I cannot exceed my function and meddle in his affairs."

Clowns Cantos — 14 Water Colour

*Water is so bland
Turning village into island for a painters hand.
Landscape for a cultivated Evening
At a Five Star-lit gallery gathering
Subject Matter
For bright blank chatter
Lively, though,
Of High heels boring the parquet floor.*

*Paintings take ripples from the oar,
Take boats glide but not the sigh of woe
For the fresh sown paddy under the calm flood
Innocent with its reflected trees and cloud,
Not the sigh of man, woman and water
For what comes after.
The dry ration, the bare thatchless rafter
The wattle skeleton of the hut.
The painting does not also hold the laughter
Of days gone past.*

U. Karunatilke

The Role of Parliament

Neelan Tiruchelvam

We must congratulate the Hon. Mahinda Samarasinghe for his initiatives in organising this event to commemorate International Human Rights Day. It is particularly appropriate that Parliament as an institution should accord primacy to the issues of human rights since every individual must be able to invoke the authority and powers of parliament not only to articulate his grievances but also to seek redress. Within the framework of parliament, we have many opportunities to raise issues relating to human rights and discriminatory treatment. Individual petitions are referred to the Petitions Committee of Parliament although this committee has struggled to cope effectively with the very large number of petitions which have been referred to it. The Emergency debate also enable one to raise both general and very specific human rights concerns which are linked to the state of emergency in the country. Parliamentary questions have also been consistently invoked to raise issues relating to discriminatory treatment or other human rights abuses. Parliamentarians also in their individual capacity constantly called upon to intervene in cases of arbitrary arrest and detention of their constituents and of others who seek their assistance. Questions of human rights are therefore intimately linked to the very institution of parliament as the ultimate repository of collective consciousness of the people of this country.

Within the global arena, we have had in the last few years several important international conferences on human rights related issues. We had in 1993 the Vienna Conference to be subsequently followed by the Social Summit in Copenhagen and the Beijing Conference on Women. There have been also many other consultations which have been linked to the 50th anniversary of the United Nations which have focussed on the institutional response of the United Nations to human rights issues. These conferences have taken place against a backdrop of both intense optimism and deep cynicism of the capacity of the international commu-

nity to secure human rights and democratic values. There are two truly substantive achievements. First, notwithstanding persistent acts of inhumanity, lives have been saved and freedom recovered in many parts of the world. More importantly, human rights has been firmly established in the conscience of public opinion as a paramount social ethic of our time. Second there have been significant instrumental gains such as comprehensive, international and regional human right treaties and monitoring bodies and the institutionalisation of human rights activists internationally and in several developing countries.

Sri Lanka's record with regard to human rights has been a deeply troubled record. Despite the ideological commitment in the second Republican Constitution that fundamental rights shall be respected, secured and advanced by all the organs of the government. UN Working Group on Disappearances in its reports in 1990 and 1991 stated that Sri Lanka had the highest documented case of disappearances of the 52 countries investigated by the Working Group. Article 11 of the Constitution states no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. However Amnesty has documented that the most cruel and degrading forms of torture are routinely practised during interrogation. Human Rights groups continuously document arbitrary and indiscriminate arrests and detention by invoking the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the Emergency Regulation. We are the inheritors of religious traditions which emphasise compassion and tolerance and yet we confront appalling cruelty and abuse in our daily lives.

The response to the crisis of human rights has to be multidimensional. On the one hand, we clearly need to strengthen the legal and constitutional framework relating to the protection of human rights. This is a task which is being undertaken by the Select Committee of the Constitution. We also have legislation on creating a national Human Rights Commission which will possibly replace existing institutions such as Human Rights Task Force and the Commission on the Elimination of Discrimination. It would however be a mistake to assume that a problem is resol-

ved by merely creating a new institution. We devote so much of our energy towards drafting laws and creating new institutions but fail so dismally in manning these institutions with persons of vision, integrity and energy to ensure their effectiveness.

We also need to take our international obligation with regard to human rights much more seriously. We are signatories to many important instruments but do not take our reporting requirements seriously. The reports that were submitted to the UN Human Rights Committee and to the Beijing Conference were poorly prepared and did not reflect the importance that should be accorded to these issues. Sri Lanka should also become signatories to the Optional Protocol under the Civil and Political Covenant and to the Torture Convention. This would enable individuals to invoke the complaint machinery established under these instruments. No discussion on human rights can be complete without emphasising the role of civil society and particularly that of non-governmental organisations in defending human rights. No democratic government can seek to constrain the work of civil society institutions in defending human rights and addressing humanitarian issues.

The issues of human rights cannot be viewed in isolation from those of peace and reconciliation. Over the last two decades some of the most serious violations of human rights have been linked to the on-going ethnic conflict. We need a bi-partisan approach to these issues if we are to frame enduring solutions. On Thursday, one of the most cruel conflicts in post-war Europe will probably be resolved within the framework of peace accord to be signed in Paris. One of the immediate humanitarian issues and human rights questions that confront us relates to the mass displacement of persons from Welikamam area to other parts of Jaffna and the mainland. I appeal to all of the political parties in Parliament to work together to address problems of these displaced persons and establish conditions under which they can return to their homes in dignity and security. If we can do so, then we can demonstrate that we are capable of moving away from rhetoric to concrete action capable of alleviating human suffering.

Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam MP (T.U.L.F.) spoke at a INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS DAY discussion in Parliament.

U.S. Recognises Indian Role

Humayun Kabir

And there was renewed pressure from Tamil Nadu for military intervention in Sri Lanka.¹⁵⁹ Two, that if the military offensive of the Sri Lanka government really succeeded, India would have lost its leverage in influencing the affairs of the island.¹⁶⁰ Three, from its strategic perspective buttressed by its formidable military build-up over more than two decades, India thought it imperative to put an end to Sri Lanka's anti-Indian external linkages. And four, that India's role, the efficacy of which appeared discredited to the Tamils and was challenged by Colombo with its resorting to military means to end the conflict, was to be salvaged. In its efforts to retrieve its initiative India hardened its attitude towards Sri Lanka and decided to send relief supplies by boat to Jaffna.¹⁶¹

Remarkably, it was India, not Sri Lanka, which did the assessment that Jaffna urgently needed relief supplies. And India, despite fierce opposition from the Colombo government¹⁶² sent a flotilla of nineteen boats carrying food and medicine towards Sri Lanka on 3 June 1987. The relief boats were intercepted by the Sri Lankan navy and turned back the same day. But India was out to make the point by conveying the message across to the UNP leadership that Sri Lanka would do itself tremendous good if it chose to extricate itself from the string of anti-Indian foreign linkages, that it was only India that would have a role to play in the island's internal affairs pertaining to the ethnic question and that India would have the decisive influence in determining the nature and content of devolution of power in the island. As such, on 4 June, India violated norms of international law and principles of good neighbourliness by crossing into Sri Lanka's air space and by having air-dropped twenty five tonnes of dry rations and vegetables over Jaffna peninsula. That India was more concerned about its own interests than about supplying 'urgently needed relief' to the starving million of Jaffna was evident from the meagre quantity of its relief goods.

The government of Sri Lanka and its people were outraged by the turn of events. Prime Minister Premadasa, who contemptuously characterised the para-

dropping as "dogs that shit on the Jaffna peninsula" and called the Indian action an act of "cowardice", stated that "the Sri Lankan people unitedly condemn the act of India and express their opposition and hatred".¹⁶³ The Sri Lankan government lodged a protest with the United Nations against India for having violated Sri Lanka's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.¹⁶⁴ But to no avail. Also, the international response, both regional and global, to India's relief mission was not particularly reassuring to Sri Lanka. The reaction of the South Asian countries ranged from calling the Indian action a "deplorable violation" of Sri Lanka's sovereignty and characterising the development as "grave" and a "matter of concern for all neighbours" to Pakistan's reported offer of unspecified material assistance to Sri Lanka.¹⁶⁵ While the Soviet reaction was termed "a pregnant silence", the United States regretted India's move but refrained from using strong expressions against India.¹⁶⁶ To the utter horror and dismay to President Jayewardene and the rest of the Sri Lanka leadership, who had been pinning their hopes on the United States as their 'perceived ally', America recognised New Delhi's role in the Sri Lankan affairs and advised them to sort out things bilaterally with India.¹⁶⁷ As a matter of fact, Sri Lanka's counterbalancing strategy failed in the second half of the 1980s with shifts in the pattern of relationships between and among the major powers of the world.

Under the Reagan administration, the United States of America regained its self-confidence and reasserted its position as the leading global power. With the assumption of power in Moscow by Mikhail Gorbachev in March 1985, the launching of his domestic policy of 'perestroika' and 'glasnost' and the espousal of his 'new thinking' in respect of international relations, the Soviet-American relationship began showing signs of improvement. The Soviets wanted an honourable exit out of the Afghanistan imbroglio. This signified that the Soviets had no intentions to thrust itself towards South Asia and the Indian Ocean. And this, in turn, implied a consequent reduction in the salience of Pakistan and Sri Lanka in the strategic calculus of the United States. Under Gor-

batchev, the Sino-Soviet rapprochement was steadily moving ahead. And this sent signals to New Delhi that it should improve its relationship with Washington. The USA also was more comfortable with India under Rajiv Gandhi, for he was supposed to be more modernised in outlook and hence more interested and bold in forging relationships with the West, particularly with the United States. Sino-Indian relations were also on the mend in the 1980s. That explains why China, while expressing herself against any big power interference in Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict, avoided any anti-Indian campaign which previously she frequently resorted to. The South Asian regional countries, including Pakistan, either had limited resources or were unable to provide them for Sri Lanka in its possible confrontation with India.

Under the evolving scenario, Sri Lanka found itself left alone contending with the full might of India. The imprudence of the island's political leadership lay in the fact that they misread the global and regional politico-strategic realities and miscalculated in virtually making their traditional friends choose between Sri Lanka and India. The obvious in *realpolitik* happened, as the less important international actor was found to be expendable for a far more important one. Sri Lanka felt let down and abandoned by its friends.¹⁶⁸ It was left with no other option but to submit to the imperatives of keeping in mind the interests and security requirements of India with regard to its own ethnic issue, and its foreign and security policy.¹⁶⁹

Therefore, in the face of India's veritable display of will and capability, the Sri Lankan government called off "Operation Liberation", lifted the six-month old economic and communication blockade, and announced "operation goodwill" which provided for the distribution of 900 tonnes of food to the Tamils in the Vadamarachchi area.¹⁷⁰ An accord was also signed between India and Sri Lanka on 25 June 1987 over the modalities of relief supplies. The accord demonstrated that Sri Lanka had accepted India's 'legitimate' role in its internal affairs, as Indian officials were to be involved in the distribution of the relief supplies.¹⁷¹ Following the signing of the relief accord, the negotiating process was

resumed in search of a peaceful, political settlement of Sri Lanka's ethnic. But this time, India made it a strictly bilateral matter with Sri Lanka as Tamils were pushed to the background and India took upon itself the role of their custodian. From its role of mediator, India became not only a participant but also the guarantor. This is evident from the 'Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement to Establish Peace and Normalcy in Sri Lanka', popularly known as Peace Accord, signed in Colombo between President Jayewardene of Sri Lanka and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India on 29 June 1987.

(To be Continued)

Notes

159. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, who sent a telex to Rajiv Gandhi expressing fears that thousands of civilians would be killed at the hands of the Sri Lankan army, urged him to prevail upon Colombo to suspend the offensive. News Background, "India condemns anti-terrorist thrust in Jaffna", Lanka Guardian, Colombo, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1 June 1987, p. 9. Even in New Delhi, Tamil politicians and other vocal sympathisers mounted a clamour for such Indian action. For example, the Lok Dal leader Subramaniam Swamy and the retired Supreme Court Judge Krishna Iyer were vocal in demanding such action. Times of India, New Delhi, 3 June 1987.
160. Indian External Affairs Minister, N.D. Tiwari, in a statement warned the Sri Lankan government of the long-term dangers of carrying out the operation. He said "the government of India strongly condemns the massive assault by the Sri Lankan security forces against the entire civilian population of Jaffna", News Background, "India Condemns anti-terrorist thrust in Jaffna", Lanka Guardian, Colombo, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1 June 1987, p. 9. It is now no secret that J.N. Dixit, India's High Commissioner to Colombo who was sarcastically called India's 'Pro-Consul' in Sri Lanka, had carried a message from his political bosses to the Sri Lankan leadership warning them of dire consequence if "Operation Liberation" was not called off.
161. On 1 June, J.N. Dixit called on Sri Lanka's Foreign Minister Hameed and conveyed that the Government and the people of India propose to send urgently needed relief by sea to Jaffna commencing 3 June 1987. The note he handed over contained, "... In response to this tragic situation, and motivated by humanitarian considerations, the Government and people of India propose to send urgently needed relief to Jaffna...". The Island, Colombo, 3 June 1987.
162. The government of Sri Lanka issued a statement with regard to this extra-ordinary situation. It contained, inter alia, that "... the Government of Sri Lanka wishes to point out that neither has the Government of Sri Lanka solicited any humanitarian aid nor does the situation obtaining in the North require any assistance...". The Island, Colombo 3 June 1987.
163. Hindu, Madras, 5 June 1987.
164. Hindu, Madras, 6 June 1987.
165. Partha S. Ghosh, Cooperation and Conflict in South Asia, op. cit., pp. 192-193.
166. Ibid., p. 193.
167. A State Department spokesman said on 4 June 1987 "We understand there were extended discussions... concerning modalities for the delivery of relief supplies by sea. We regret these discussions failed and, consequently, India felt it necessary to deliver the supplies by air. We strongly urge both governments to reestablish their dialogue on this issue as well as on the broader question of bringing about the end of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka". Hindu, Madras, 5 June 1987.
168. One might recall here President Jayewardene's lamenting words after signing the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord that no power would lift a finger against India. In fact, the United States had recognised India's regional role in Sri Lanka and counselled the Colombo leadership for a negotiated settlement of its ethnic problem in cooperation with India. Robert A. Peck, the US Deputy Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, told the Solarz Committee (the House Sub-Committee on Asian and Pacific Affairs) that "we have been gratified, in the last one year or two, that our policies and the policies of the Government of India are very running parallel... This is a positive factor in our overall relationship". "Resolving the Sri Lankan conflict", Department of State Bulletin, May 1987. The US was also critical of Sri Lanka's penchant for military option and her appalling human rights record. Earlier in March, appearing before the Solarz Committee, Robert A. Peck said: "If you add up all the categories of human rights abuses, the (Sri Lanka) government agencies are probably responsible for more human rights abuses than the militants...". Indian Express, New Delhi, 13 March 1987. Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister was also in favour of a political solution with the help of India as she did not react to Jayewardene's suggestion to her at the time of commissioning of Sri Lanka's Victoria dam in 1985 that her country could station troops in his country as the Defence Agreement between them was still legally valid. Hindu, Madras, 13 April 1985.
169. Some scholars, such as Bastiampillai and Sivarajah, hold the view that economic factor was also a compulsion for the Sri Lankan government to sign the Accord. Sri Lanka's tourist industry had been declining. Rice and fish production in the country had been declining due to violence in the North-East. Depression of business and in employment was economically disastrous to Sri Lankan stability. Peace was expected to take care of all these economic ills. See Bertram E.S.J. Bastiampillai, "Ethnic Conflicts in South Asia and Interstate Relations Especially in Relation to Sri Lanka" in Shelton U. Kodikara (ed.), South Asian Strategic Issues: Sri Lankan Perspectives, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1990, p. 104; A. Sivarajah, "Indo-Sri Lanka Relations and Sri Lanka's Ethnic Crisis: The Tamil Nadu Factor" in ibid., p. 156.

Hearts and Minds War

(Continued from page 1)

SEVERE HARDSHIPS

Meanwhile even the moderate Tamil parties are quite disturbed over current developments. A major cause for Tamil concern is the displaced Tamil population, a direct consequence of the military offensive that ended on Dec. 5th the army in total control of Jaffna. "These displaced persons continued to experience severe hardships despite the efforts of the government to enlist UNHCR in delivery of non-food related relief. There is also very little interest within the displaced population in the details of the political proposals says Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam, TULF MP and Director of the International Centre for Ethnic Studies.

Is there a way out?

"Unless some political contacts are re-established between the Government and the LTTE" there can be no significant improvement in the situation of the displaced persons, he said.

While the LTTE says the number is well over 300,000, the government put the number at less than 200,000.

Meanwhile the national economy bleeds. Defence spending will certainly increase by at least 100 million dollars from a 1995 all-time high of a nearly 650 million. Living costs will rise, and the salaried middle-class will have to bear a heavy burden. How much money can the government raise by selling state ventures? Transport electricity, postal and telephone rates will go up and up. The trade unions will put the heat on their political bosses, and the bosses, all aligned to Leftist parties, are allies of the P.A. So watch Vasudeva Nanayakkara MP and his comrade Dr. Vikramabahu Karunaratne. Sri Lanka is not Bosnia, nor Palestine. With the end of the Cold war we are important only to our neighbours, India and (therefore?) Pakistan.

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Something Nasty on the Internet

Pornography of the worst kind is now available to children — and it is probably unstoppable, says **Christopher Lloyd**

Let's go on a trip into cyberspace, says daddy. He takes eight-year-old Jonnie up the stairs and into his teenage brother's room where the new home computer has recently been installed.

After switching on the machine and clicking the "dial" button on the screen, a home page springs up, replete with colour photographs and graphics, and a welcoming voice greets the domestic adventurers into the brave new world of the Internet.

With one mouse click the pair are off to the British Library to check out the most recent book publications — a worthy enough place to start. Another click takes them to the White House where a verbal greeting awaits them from President Clinton. Another click and they are surfing through a list of news services to see what has been going on in the Conservative party's leadership election and catch the latest cricket scores from the Press Association. One more click takes them into the magazine section and...

Dad's heart sinks. It isn't PC magazine that catches his eye, but the Internet editions of *Penthouse* and *Playboy*. And what's this? He pulls down a menu from the top of the screen listing his elder son's Internet "bookmarks" — alt.erotica, bestiality and alt.pictures.erotica.breasts. Further down he sees other pages leading to images of bondage, group sex and lesbianism.

Many British parents are excluded from the high-technology world their children inhabit. In the past 18 months "surfing the Net" has become one of the most popular pastimes. Children now spend more time interacting on their home personal computers than watching television. And what has already happened in America is fast catching on.

Lesson one for the uninitiated: once a personal computer is plugged into the telephone line it can download text, high-resolution colour pictures, sounds and even small video clips from any other computer in the world. Many of these linked-up machines are part of the Internet, the biggest computer network of all, to which an estimated 10m people worldwide have access.

From this endless world of home pages, hypertext links and web sites comes an exhaustive educational resource incorpo-

rating newspapers, the BBC, public libraries, corporations of all kinds and special interest groups on every subject imaginable, from bee-keeping to how to run a circus.

Then comes the uglier truth. Once children are on-line, hard-core pornography is not restricted to the newsagents' top shelves. Hard-core pornography is potentially at the fingertips of any on-line child, and that usually means in the privacy of their bedroom.

Recently, the most exhaustive surveys of on-line habits were revealed by researchers at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The study, called Marketing Pornography on the Information Superhighway and conducted over 18 months, found nearly 1m sexually explicit computer files (mostly pictures, short stories and video clips). On the Internet's Usenet Groups service, where such pictures are often stored, 83.5 per cent of all pictures were found to be pornographic. In one American university 13 out of the 40 most frequently visited newsgroups had names such as alt.sex.stories, rec.arts.erotica and alt.sex.bondage.

It is not just the Internet that peddles porn. Much of the most explicit material exists on privately run "bulletin board" services that are not connected to the Internet. However, anyone with a modem can dial up and join the service, which allows them to download the images. Some services are free, others are charged.

Defenders of unregulated access to the Internet argue that although the survey findings sound horrific, pornographic images represent only three per cent of all files posted on the Internet's newsgroups. And to access these images requires substantial computer knowledge and special software to decode the files.

Teenagers with an interest in computers will have no problems, but eight-year-olds learning how to point and click with a mouse are less likely to be able to work it all out. Hard-core pornography is available on the Internet, but children will have to go out of their way to find and access it.

The real problem is that any explicit file can be downloaded by a computer-literate teenager on to a diskette and simply given

to younger children in the school playground. These can be viewed on any school or home computer even if they are not connected on-line. The child needs no knowledge of how to get Internet access or how to download a file.

Another problem is that many of the images available on-line are more explicit than in most adult magazines. Downloading on-line is more appealing to children than magazines because it gets round the problem of having to walk into a local shop and run the danger of being recognised. Peddlers of porn also find cyberspace more convenient.

It is far safer for them to distribute their material on-line because it can come from anywhere in the world, where domestic laws may be liberal, and their identities can be better hidden from obscene publications squads. The Net also means there is no danger of being hauled out of immigration queues by customs officials.

Control over the on-line world is rapidly proving a hopeless task and the idea of government regulation as a solution is going nowhere.

Could the computer industry make moves to clean up cyberspace? Some software that claims to help prevent children from being on-line porn addicts is coming on to the market.

SurfWatch is a software package that has a list of forbidden Internet sites and stops children from accessing them. There are two snags though. New erotic sites can be added at any time and it would be naive or anyone to underestimate the ingenuity of software developers.

There is no one solution. Without stopping the telecommunications revolution in its tracks, governments cannot control cyberspace and technology cannot contain it. On-line pornography is, literally, one of the modern facts of life that is with us and here to stay as a result of the digital communications revolution.

It is a world that parents would do themselves and their children a great service to understand. Take time to learn how the technology works and perhaps together parents and children can work out sooner rather than later that there is more to life than on-line porn.

(Courtesy Sunday Times, London)

Back to the Future in Moscow

George Walden returns to his alma mater and finds optimism among Russian students

I suffer from cold war nostalgia in one respect: in Moscow University in the 1960s Russian girls used to ring me up, sight unseen, for a date. As a postgraduate fresh from women-starved Cambridge I was naturally flattered — until I discovered they were doing the same to each of our small band of newly arrived westerners. Also, there were security considerations: how to distinguish between the KGB molls and those interested in genuine cultural exchanges?

I would not get many of those tantalising calls as a western student in Moscow today. The KGB would't bother, having a good living to earn with its mafia friends. As for my novelty value as a westerner, it would have died a sudden death circa 1989 with the fall of the Wall. My attractions to Soviet girls were purely practical: as a purveyor of illicit books, such as the novels of Iris Murdoch, which I exchanged for dissident Soviet writings, equally mild; as a slaker of curiosity about life *там* (over there); and as the possessor of enough roubles to take a girl to a restaurant where she could puff ostentatiously on my Players cigarettes. Today, as a 21-year-old Playboy of the Western World showing the Moscow provincials a good time, I would be about as enticing as yesterday's cold borsch.

Going back to meet young students from my old faculty was a shock. The building where we met was familiar enough. Though new since my time, like everything from the Soviet era, it was prematurely aged: broken lights, overcrowded, the ambience shoddy-academic.

Not so the students. The undergraduates gathered to meet me were predominantly women, as tends to be the case in our own language and history departments. Doubtless they will in time "progress" to grunge culture, but not yet. The ones I met were more smartly dressed, and spoke a more "correct" English, than many of their British counterparts. Not a few were disconcertingly bright; there was no room for any western condescension. I had gone back to my Soviet alma mater partly through curiosity, partly to get a clearer view on the eve of the parliamentary elections of that age-old question: where is Russia going? To hell in a horse-drawn *troika* to judge by the image often presented in the West. The image is of Russia as a hopeless case, a country unable to stand the strains of modernisa-

tion, where the communists and nationalists look set to make a comeback in the elections that could have the West re-examining its assumption that the cold war is over.

So was it true. I asked, that Russia was sliding back into apathy and inertia, with a growing nostalgia for an "ordered society"?

No, came the determined answer. The elderly were having a hard time adjusting but the young would not accept a reversal of their new freedoms. Which is not to say they were captivated by democracy: "Obviously there is disillusionment with politics, but we have to vote," said Maria, a petite, characterful girl.

"We are a privileged generation, with a real promise of change". Such is the force of habit that, watching her bright smile, I was reminded of the official optimism of the old Soviet days. But Maria means it. I try to imagine her being cowed back into submission but find it difficult.

Yet how typical is she? Are the neo-nationalists confined to the impoverished and disgruntled elderly, or do they exist among the young? Yes, they all agree, there are young nationalists, too, though mostly among the poor and uneducated. Others saw Zhirinovskiy, the nationalist leader, for what he is — a clown, not least after his boasts about his primitive attitude to women. It is nice to see the flicker of healthy indignation.

In my day discussion and argument with Soviet students centred on foreign policy: Cuba, East Germany, the Berlin Wall. Black humour reflected the underlying pessimism of the time. "The situation is tense. Will there be a war?" "No, there will be no war. But there will be such a fight for peace that not a stone will be left standing on a stone".

Gone, all gone. Now only Aleksei, a history student of obvious brilliance, mentions international affairs at all, inquiring about Nato, Bosnia, and the significance of American involvement on the ground. Nobody challenges my view that Nato and the Americans have no expansionist ambitions in that snakepit of murderous tribalisms, and would much rather not be there at all.

For a moment I am tempted to test out their racial attitudes by reminding them

that, in my day, Soviet students used to refer to their Chinese colleagues as *limonchiki* — "little lemons". Or by recalling the story of the African student caught pantsdown in the bushes with a Russian girl by the student militia. He ran away buttoning himself and shouting "Peace and friendship! Peace and friendship!" But I resisted, keen to get the talk back to Russia.

We returned to the future. Their dominant concern — as in our own universities — is not for politics but for their own careers. The women especially are keenly aware of the risk of being trapped in the traditional role of teachers. In the past they would have resigned themselves to it.

No sign of fear or resignation on these healthy, alert, intelligent faces. And there are touchingly anxious moments, as when they inquire whether their English isn't too twee, too literary, as they had been told by Americans? I said it was excellent, which it was, although obviously book-learned. I suggested a little less Agatha Christie — which they used for modern comprehension — and a bit more Martin Amis. No problem getting the books because a store in the entrance is piled high with second-hand paperbacks; no call for my furtive book-swaps today.

I ask myself what is the essential difference between my own 20-year-old daughter, also at university, and the women before me? The answer is not much, though there is something: a freshness combined, for all their articulacy and self-composure, with a lingering frailty. It is a mere six years since the Berlin Wall fell. I have a moment of doubt. Can there really be no turning back? Historically, culturally, sexually, these young women are halfway out of their shell. You can sense a birth of confidence that, God and Russian politics willing, will ripen and firm rapidly with the years.

As I listen to Natasha, a raven-haired girl with a long, beautiful face, talk with a willed determination about the future, I think: in a Turgenev novel she would have died tragically on the eve of marriage. In a Soviet novel she would have died, tragically, for the party. Today, rescued from the past, she will indubitably live. She is like some Jane Austen heroine transplanted over the centuries, then coming alive and making the best of her good fortune.

We talk more about women. I relay what Xenia, a 40-ish wife struggling to make a career in television, had told me: that communism had kept women down, not as an act of policy, but simply by its failure. It forced them to spend every minute queueing for food or organising the subsistence of the household. Instantly there are nods of assent. This was not their ambition. Natasha I begin to see as an operator in the forex market or running a feminist magazine. Certainly not as a teacher of English in some God-forsaken province.

Someone raises Princess Diana. The girls laugh, embarrassed by their own interest. Aleksei, the historian, has seen the interview. He pronounces that it was

wrong of her to say that Prince Charles could never be king, and wrong to reveal her infidelity. Not wrong to do it, just wrong to reveal it.

There is a moment's embarrassment when it emerges that they are all from Moscow, none from the hard-pressed provinces. "They have their own universities in the provinces," one explains weakly. "It would cost a fortune to come here from Vladivostok". I doubt whether there are many horny hands among their parents.

Of course they are privileged group, as well as a privileged generation. Again I think of Xenia, the struggling television producer. When I asked how much she had to pay after the police stopped her battered Moskvich for a bit of random

extortion, she said "nothing". I expressed surprise: the two previous times I had been stopped it had cost the drivers \$ 2 and \$ 50. But they were men, she explained, some what bitterly: the police didn't expect Russian women to have money.

The young women before me will have it better, and they know it. The only hint of complaint is about foreign travel. Most of them have had a month or so in Britain or America. They are grateful for the work of the British Council, but are quick to point out that the French and the Germans are more generous with scholarships for six months or a year. I tend to sympathise. Getting the best of these students to Britain would be doing ourselves a favour, as well as them. One foreign swing by Princess Di could pay for the lot.

RUSSIA

Balancing India and Pakistan

V. Belokrenitsky and V. Moskalenko

During the cold war, relations between India and Pakistan, exceeded the boundaries of the region and received a global significance. Pakistan became an ally of the US, joined the CENTO and SEATO and was involved in the war in Afghanistan, while India and the USSR were bound by "special relations".

But now that the cold war is over, the two superpowers are no longer vying for influence on South Asian states and are even establishing cooperation in order to stabilise the situation in that vast region of the world. This meets the interests of both Russia and the US and consequently they are coordinating their positions on the basic Indo-Pakistani problems, in particular the nuclear non-proliferation.

Pakistan is no longer looking up at only the US and more and more seems interested in the stabilisation of the situation in Afghanistan and on the border with Tajikistan. It has been actively working to this end and helping Russia to liberate the remaining Soviet servicemen held prisoner in Afghanistan. It enjoys great prestige in the Muslim world and, like Tunisia, Egypt and some other states, is a moderate Muslim country.

Major Changes

Yet there have not been any major changes in Russo-Pakistani relations and bilateral political contacts are still negligible. Russia remained indifferent to the planned visit of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, although twenty years have passed since the previous visit of Pakistani prime minister Zulfikar

Bhutto. Trade and economic contacts between the two countries have been shrinking in the past few years, and military cooperation has almost frozen. Scientific and cultural contacts are sporadic. The question is: Do the two countries really want to develop cooperation and are there grounds for this?

Nobody in Russia refutes the importance of developing comprehensive relations with Pakistan, which really wants to cooperate with Russia. The latter was proved at the recent Moscow scientific shop conference on Russo-Pakistani relations. Like many other developing countries, Pakistan needs cooperation with Russia as a counterbalance to the growing influence of the US. After Washington cut short military deliveries to Pakistan several years ago, although a considerable part of them had been paid for in advance, Pakistan has been looking for new providers.

Mr Anatoly Ogurtsov, chairman of the Russian state committee for Machine-building, described the Pakistani economic market as "virgin lands" after his visit there. He believes that the Pakistani market promises both major profits to Russia and large orders — and hence employment — for Russian factories. He meant the improvement of the steel mill which the USSR had helped to build in Pakistan, the development of agricultural machine building, hydro power stations, the building of highways, and the construction of new and restructuring of old ports. There are lucrative possibilities of Russia's private business and commercial structures in Pakistan.

It would be expensive and risky to destroy

the cooperation mechanism and the guidelines and limits of bilateral cooperation developed over decades. But the few agreements reached earlier by politicians were drowned by the bureaucrats of both countries in the bog of linkages and coordinating conditions.

Special Relations

The second reason for the stalemate is the continued confrontation between Pakistan and India. Given such conditions the principle of choosing only one of the two countries will dominate again, despite the attempts to abandon it. And it is clear that India will be chosen in these conditions. But the principle should and must be disputed. Why must only one country be chosen? Why can't Russia maintain relations with both?

Russo-Pakistani cooperation would be difficult to accomplish, as this will call for major efforts and sophisticated diplomatic art. India is used to having special relations with Russia and rises in arms against Russia's attempts to develop relations with Pakistan. India which is a strong country now should not fear the development of Russia's cooperation (including military) with Pakistan. Consequently its dissatisfaction is emotional and concerns India's view of its prestige, rather than anything else.

The problem could have been resolved if India and Pakistan established normal neighbourly relations. But since we cannot expect them to do this, we should learn to cooperate with both countries without offending either. This could bring closer the end of the confrontation era in South Asia.

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Understanding Diversity

Laksiri Jayasuriya

Introduction

Given the rapid demographic transformation that has occurred over the last 50 years, there is no doubt that Australia is descriptively and prescriptively a multicultural nation'. The Conference theme acknowledges this undeniable reality, this 'world of difference'. In this context, education and training for cultural diversity has emerged as a key feature of the 1990s' strategy for implementing normative multiculturalism in the public domain. Educational strategies designed to promote community relations, combat racism or minimise prejudice and discrimination, are heavily circumscribed by the way in which we understand difference and diversity. Hence, we need to cast a critical eye over how we have, in Australia, understood and represented difference and diversity in the language of public discourse. This in many ways echoes aspects of the debate in the UK, between 'multiculturalists and anti-racists' in education and training for diversity (Rattansi 1992). The simple fact is that, as elsewhere, the systematic construction of difference has far reaching implications for those involved in devising training programmes for cultural diversity — be they for the sake of promoting multiculturalism as a social ideal, or for promoting trade and business locally and overseas.

The diversity and pluralism characteristic of contemporary Australian society is a relatively recent phenomenon. The conventional image of Australia has been that of a highly homogenous society which was also regarded as an outpost of white racism. In order to understand this new pluralistic ethos, as Bottomley (1991), Martin (1978) and others have shown, we need to identify 'the enduring frames of reference that stand in the shadows behind definitions of public knowledge

about migrants and 'ethnics'. Castles (1987) amplifies this further by pointing out that social scientific knowledge not only helps us to interpret social phenomena, but, through its discourse, also creates ideologies, policies and institutions. A prime object of my presentation will be to show the manner in which the ideology of Australian multiculturalism creates a distinct view of the nature of diversity and pluralism in society, and to demonstrate the shortcomings of this form of understanding in representing the true reality of the existing and evolving pluralism of Australian society.

A proper appreciation and understanding of Australia as a pluralistic society requires charting historically the institutional response to diversity and difference as a consequence of the waves of migration since 1945 (Jayasuriya 1995b; 1994). The development of Australian multiculturalism, recounting its shortcomings and achievements, would be a key element in such an analysis, but beyond the limited confines of this essay (Castles 1992; Jayasuriya 1992). For the present purposes, it will suffice to identify *two* critical features of the multicultural discourse which are significant for understanding the meaning of 'difference'.

The first relates to the way in which pluralism and diversity has been understood as 'cultural diversity' and that ethnic groups are to be regarded as are 'cultural groups'. Hence, the question of culture — often regarded as the unproblematic centrepiece of the ideology of multiculturalism — acquires special significance. In brief, we shall argue that the way in which the concept of culture has been defined and understood is central to an appreciation of the meaning of difference in the Australian context.

Secondly, it is suggested that the manner in which the culture concept has been conceptualised in the multicultural discourse distorts the true character of diversity of contemporary Australian so-

ciety. The meaning of difference requires a reformulation and new systematic framework which is able to capture the 'world of difference' evident in the complex social reality of present day Australian society. This new framework is based on the concept of minority status, and shifts the logic of discourse away from the affective/expressive aspect of culture and ethnicity and the 'politics of universalism' to the more material/instrumental aspects of culture focusing on issues of justice and equality. The latter is more suited to address the 'politics of difference' and its bearing on such aspects as labour market performance, redress of inequalities, participation, and social well-being.

The Genesis of Difference and its Characterisation

As a preamble to this exercise — primarily devoted to the exogenous diversity arising from the waves of migration especially commencing from the 1945 mass migration — there are two limiting considerations which must govern any meaningful understanding of the nature of Australian diversity. First and foremost is the special status of Aboriginal Australia; and secondly, the need to recognise that any understanding of the diversity of contemporary Australian society is constrained by historical events such as those leading to the incorporation of Catholics into the mainstream, the exclusion of non-white settlers in the 19th century and the racism of White Australia (Jayasuriya 1992a; 1990b). The contextual background for both considerations is that, as a settler society, Australia was, for all intents and purposes, an 'anglo fragment' society, and, indeed, continues to be so (Jayasuriya 1990b; 1991).

The term 'anglo fragment' denotes that settler societies of Anglo Celtic origin (e.g., New Zealand, USA and Canada) reflect their colonial heritage, and also that their institutional forms and practices are informed by the ideological temper characteri-

The writer is Emeritus Professor of Sociology at the University of Western Australia. He made the keynote address at a conference on "MAKING THE WORLD OF DIFFERENCE".

stic of the mother country at the time the 'fragment' (i.e., the new society) detaches from the whole. Furthermore, Hartz (1964) and others contend that these ideological traditions, grafted from the mother country on the new settler societies, became frozen over time. Whatever the limitations of this point of view, the 'fragment' notion illuminates the social and political ideas and institutional forms and practices, e.g., anglo conformity, that have characterised Australian society, and influenced its institutional response to diversity (e.g., liberal political values and universalism).

As Barker (1993) explains, in anglo fragment societies, 'English cultural values and attitudes shaped settler dominant group perceptions and attitudes towards other groups'; and these, in fact, formed the essence of the ideology of immigration and settlement in Australia, which persisted during the 19th and well into the 20th century. This ideology legitimated the 19th century racist attitudes and the overwhelming need for 'anglo conformity' characteristic of anglo fragment societies, all of which were firmly ingrained in all aspects of Australian society, and remain intractable to this day. In short, the 'fragment' notion helps to delimit the context and boundaries within which Australian attitudes to diversity and pluralism have evolved over time.

Turning to the contemporary scene, what sense do we make of such facts based on the 1991 Census data that nearly 4.2% or 7 million were born overseas or had one or both parents born overseas; that about 17% of those aged 5 years and over spoke a language other than English at home; that the largest Christian denomination was Catholic, constituting about 27% of the population, or, that Islam and Buddhism were the fastest growing religions in Australia (ABS 1995).

While we are indebted to the demographers for enumerating the 'facts' of difference and diversity, these enumerations should not be taken at face value. They are importantly framed in a particular terminology in terms of categories such as 'birthplace statistics', 'overseas born' or geographical area of origin (e.g., Asia). We need to interpret these categories with some circumspection as these definers of

public policy are operating within the context of a public agency entrusted with the responsibility of data collection and interpretation. The categories of data collection evolved by these agencies — as in the case of other forms of official social statistics — are social constructions ridden through with hidden assumptions (Irvine et al 1979; Hindess 1973).

Demographers have consistently described this diversity in terms of birthplace statistics to distinguish the 'Australian born' from the 'Overseas born'. This was essentially a way of identifying new comers and immigrants, and formed the basis of social inclusion and exclusion. The term which has recently gained wide currency along these lines is 'NESB' (Non English Speaking Background). As an administrative label, it is argued that the use of NESB is a matter of convenience and is based on 'birthplace rather than competence in English and embraces a wide range of social experience' (Jupp 1992, 2). However, this explanation of NESB, as a social category, has recently been overtaken by a refinement of this terminology, which replaces NESB with *NESC* (Non English Speaking Country), importantly, a shift recommended and endorsed by the ABS, an agency of the Commonwealth government. This new terminology differentiates the 'overseas born' in terms of 'geographic proximity' (ABS 1990) and proceeds to group 'countries into progressively broader geographic areas on the basis of similarity in terms of their social, economic, political and cultural characteristics' (ABS 1990).

Accordingly, the term '*NESC*' interestingly has an implied reference to one's cultural affiliation, and refers not just to Country, but to *Culture* as well. As a result, we have English speaking countries (i.e., Canada, New Zealand, South Africa the UK, Ireland and USA), identified primarily as Anglo-Celtic cultures, and contrasted with non-anglo cultures, i.e., the Non English Speaking Countries. Thus, for analytical and research purposes, comparisons are drawn between these two broad groups: ESC and NESC. The rationale offered by the ABS for this arbitrary usage is that:

This dichotomy was introduced as it

was anticipated that because Australia's official language is English, the ability to speak English would have direct bearing on how the overseas born adapt to Australian and hence their social characteristics (Casey et al. 1994, 4).

This is a most revealing explanation because it exposes the *explicit*, if not *implicit*, meanings attached to the facts of diversity, a hidden assimilationism which is meant to encourage uniformity and limit difference. Just by contrast, we note that the use of such terminology as 'visible minorities' in Canada, and 'Blacks' in the UK, appear to be more accepting of difference.

Even if regarded as a matter of convenience, this labelling acquires added significance in that the use of this terminology has become standard in multicultural discourse, and is indicative of the importance attached to language and culture in representing the diversity and pluralism of Australian society in terms of its 'cultural diversity'. The beacon of culture is language and language becomes the key boundary marker of 'ethnicity' — the term frequently used to portray and capture this diversity (Jayasuriya 1990a). Considering the centrality of culture and ethnicity in the language of public discourse, we turn to examine how the twin related concepts of ethnicity and culture have been used in this discourse.

(De)Constructing Difference. The Language of Discourse

Ethnicity, Ethnic Groups and Universalism

In its broadest sense, the term 'ethnicity' serves to distinguish a group or collectivity by the possession of shared values, physical or cultural diacritica, as well as a common ancestry, language, geographical or national origin. Without entering into the definitional controversies surrounding the concept of ethnicity, it should be noted that there have been points at issue. One relates to the relative importance attached to objective and subjective 'boundary markers' of ethnicity, and the other concerns the *expressive* (affective), *instrumental* (material) dimensions of ethnicity. The first, concerning objective and subjective boundary markers, is easi-

ly dealt with by recognising that ethnicity refers to an identifiable social category or membership of an ethnic group and constitutes a social construction sustained by a process of self ascription and/or ascription by others, especially the dominant groups in society.

The expressive/instrumental issue is more complex. Analytically, the *expressive* aspect of ethnicity, as an expression of difference, stresses ethnic identity arising from belonging to an ethnic group. Within this perspective the link between culture and ethnicity becomes salient. The *instrumental* viewpoint, on the other hand, is more oriented towards the material aspects of living (e.g., need for economic and social security, power and resources to enhance one's life chances) and constructs ethnicity, using subjective or objective criteria, as a special interest, a minority interest operating in the public domain. As we shall argue — given the unarguable reality of ethnicity as an identifiable social category — these alternative ways of constructing ethnicity are fundamental to our understanding of diversity and pluralism.

The equation of culture with ethnicity is central to the discourse of difference associated with Australian multiculturalism. The culturalist construction of migrant groups in terms of ethnicity continues to dominate the ideology of multiculturalism (Bottomley 1992, 1991; Jayasuriya 1992; Castles 1987). This form of 'cultural pluralism' remains the orthodoxy of Australian multiculturalism (Jayasuriya 1992a) and is characterised by two dominant features: one, a strong insistence on universalism in the interests of social cohesion; and the other, perhaps more critical, pertaining to an idealist interpretation of culture whereby the processes, categories and knowledge through which ethnic groups or communities are defined. This characterisation offers an idealist interpretation of culture (Jayasuriya 1990a).

The centrality of universalism derives partly from liberal political philosophy which stresses uniformity, common sentiments, and values. Accordingly, all statements of Australian multiculturalism from the Whitlam to the Keating era, but noticeably in the Fraser-Galbally versions of

multiculturalism, sought to accommodate difference and plurality strictly within a uniform and monistic political and social framework. This was achieved strategically, primarily by the adoption of an inclusionary principle of universal citizenship (Castles 1993). Following amendments to the Migration Act in 1984, the notion of inclusionary citizenship was given a statutory basis by removing the previous onerous restrictions placed on *aliens*, and establishing two categories: *citizens* and *non-citizens*. This philosophy of migrant settlement — firmly entrenched in the doctrine of cultural pluralism promoted by Zubrzycki in 1982 — was promoted with the slogan 'multiculturalism for all'. This mode of thinking has remained throughout and has become something of a sacrosanct premise of Australian multiculturalism, the main objective being to draw the limits of differences within a framework of universal citizenship, and more importantly, to minimise difference by preventing any form of 'structural pluralism' (for an analysis of this paradox of cultural pluralism, see Jayasuriya 1995b; 1992a).

Paradoxically, the comfortable homogenising influence of the 'multiculturalism for all', by its practice of depoliticised 'culturalist' multiculturalism, confronts the very particularism it seeks to avoid, such as the emergence of separatist ethnic structures, spatial differentiation (e.g., ghettos, or ethnic enclaves) and the need for affirmative action policy strategies. The stark reality we encounter — notwithstanding the persistent attempts to deny difference — is the existence of ethnic structures — be they in sport, religion, artistic or educational activities. A recent collection of essays (Fitzgerald & Wotherspoon 1995) attests to this by documenting the extent to which

ethnic communities have willingly nurtured their own 'ghettoes' — the 'Chinatowns' and 'little Italies' which provide 'colour' but also understanding to the wider community (1995, 7-8).

This sort of analytical writing is a rarity and welcome, because not surprisingly, there exists, in some quarters a deep distrust, and indeed, a fear of difference because of the imagined threat to social cohesion and social stability from these

manifestations of 'difference' (Jayasuriya 1995a; 1990b). These latent fears find their expression in the sophisticated 'new racism' of xenophobic nationalists (i.e., racism without 'race') who in the cause of national unity and stability plead for the cultural hegemony of the 'one nation' — the 'One Australia' (Jayasuriya 1995a). Disingenuously, these proponents seek to exploit to their advantage, the equality of respect enshrined in liberal multiculturalism by exaggerating the intrinsic worth of 'difference' of the dominant groups and the 'culture' of One Australia.

This 'liberal pluralism' followed by Australia stands in sharp contrast to that adopted by Canada. Canada has evolved a form of 'corporate pluralism' (Gordon 1981) which gives formal recognition to the existence of difference by legislating to safeguard the interests of ethnic groups. The Canadian version of 'corporate pluralism' is able to focus on the special needs of various *groups* of citizens, by redefining the 'political community' as one comprised of *groups* with special needs (Williams 1985; Gordon 1981). The Australian discourse of 'liberal pluralism' relating to non indigenous ethnic groups, on the other hand, is cast firmly in the language of *individual rights*, and is reluctant to accord recognition or legal status to these groups qua groups. Consequently, the principle '*separate but equal*', in the USA and of '*equal but different*' in the UK finds little support in the Australian public arena (Solomos 1987; Cheatham 1982). This is clearly reflected in the persistent refusal in officialdom (e.g., access and equity strategies) to give credence to any form of affirmative action strategies (NMAC 1995).

The Essentialist Definition of Culture. The Idealist View

The other distinctive feature of Australian multiculturalist discourse is the particular interpretation of the culture concept adopted by the doctrine of cultural pluralism. The question of culture is central to this way of thinking because ethnicity is constructed, within the framework of this discourse, in cultural terms, that is, ethnic groups are regarded primarily as 'cultural groups'.

This is clearly evident in matters of public such as those relating to the media, language, education, cross cultural training programs and theorising about cross cultural communication (see e.g., OMA 1084, 41 on 'effective cross cultural communication'). One thing that stands out in the characterisation of culture is that it is steeped in the language of an essentialist discourse, i.e., in terms of an 'ultimate essence that transcend historical and cultural boundaries' (Brah 1992, 126). This essentialism is couched in terms of primordial bonds and 'particularistic' values that derive from ethnic ties.

This 'culturalist' approach (Foster & Stockley 1988; Castles 1987), based on a flawed concept of culture persists in the notion of 'cultural diversity' propagated by officialdom, as in the recent statement on multiculturalism (see NMAC 1995). The prevailing view of culture in public policy incorporates features of the classic anthropological definition of culture given by Tylor in the 19th century, as in inventory of normative, cognitive, affective, and behavioural elements, or traits, with the more recent sophisticated cognitive-anthropological view of culture proposed by Geertz (1973), and stemming from the original pioneering work of Boas, Mead and Benedict (see Westin 1985). Within the sociology of knowledge, this distinctly American viewpoint is succinctly stated by Keesing who presents an interpretation of culture as 'a system of shared ideas, systems of concepts and rules and meanings' (1981, 69). Culture is said to enter into the behavioural equation because culture 'underlies (and is expressed) in way that humans live, that is, what humans learn and what they do and make' (p. 69).

Likewise, Geertz (1957), the leading exponent of this idealist view refers to culture as 'the fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experience and guide their actions'. In brief, culture as 'shared meanings systems', is steeped in an essentialism and presents a reified, static and unreal view of culture. This is flawed because it exaggerates the homogeneity and imperative nature of uniform traditions.

Importantly, it fails to capture the lived reality of culture as a form of cultural practice where '*people do not act because they think but they think because they want to act*' (Westin 1985, 200).

Contrary to the idealist/primordial viewpoint, other theorists maintain that culture, as a blueprint for action and communicative interaction, operates selectively, filtered through the structures of society. A leading exponent of this more sociological standpoint is the British social theorist Williams, (1977; 1983) who offers an alternative framework for analysing the significance of culture for social behaviour. For Williams, culture is a:

'signifying system', through which necessarily (though among other means) a social order is communicated, represented, experienced, and explored (1984, 13).

This view of culture, incidentally the one adopted by NACCME (1987), makes a notable contribution by acknowledging the constitutive significance of the culture concept and overcoming the shortcomings of conventional anthropological viewpoints. As Jakubowicz, paraphrasing Williams observes:

Culture contains often competing partial ideologies and world views of articulating the different interests and life experiences of groups (1984, 2).

And, what is more, as Williams points out, contrary to an essentialist viewpoint, culture is not a fixed entity or an autonomous realm, but 'an interrelated configuration of *archaic*, *residual* and *emergent* cultures' (Williams, 1977, 73).

The 'archaic culture' refers to past patterns — the so-called 'core values' — usually of historical tradition and identity, which in most instances represents the 'cultural heritage' of migrants, as depicted in many programs of cultural training. If at all, this cultural heritage is only of symbolic value, and apparent in limited instances. The *residual culture* embodies the lived patterns of behaviour which continue to be effective in the present; and the *emergent culture* comprises expectations, negotiated aspects of culture as

processes, lived meanings and relationship, of culture as practised and evolving and interwoven with aspects of social reality. It is the residual and emergent cultures which are most evident in the migrant experience.

In short, Williams' interpretation of culture is theoretically more defensible and attractive because, as a contested negotiated concept, it avoids the danger or reifying culture as an entity, or identifying it as a fixed value system. Besides, Williams' theory of culture accepts the existence of an ideational heritage and asserts that culture is both historic and real. What is more, it recognises that though culture resides in public fact, it is largely manifest and operative at the level of individual behaviour and actions; and because of this, for Williams, culture is not dissociated from lived social practices.

Interestingly, this perspective is similar to that of other recent theorists such as Giddens (1979) and Bourdieu (1977) who have attempted to overcome the classic problem of the social sciences, namely, that of having to straddle the dilemmas created by the *subjective* and *objective* accounts of social phenomena. This distinction is pertinent to culture theorising because it highlights the difference between micro and macro explanations, i.e., those couched in terms of methodological individualism such as the subjectivism of idealist thinking and the structuralism of Marxist theorisation which attempts to deduce the facts of culture from structural phenomena. Neither account of culture is satisfactory; one exaggerates the autonomy of cultural phenomena, and the other is guilty of a simplistic reductionism which amounts to a negation of culture.

In terms of his 'structuration' theory, and in a point of view not dissimilar to Williams (1993) Giddens (1984) attempts a reconciliation of the competing accounts. Accordingly, he states that:

social theory (which I take to be relevant equally to each of the social scientific disciplines: sociology, anthropology, psychology and economics, as well as to history) would incorporate an understanding of human behaviour as *action*; that such an understanding has to be made compatible with a focus

upon the *structural compromise* of social institutions or societies; and the notions of *power* and *domination* are logically, not just contingently, associated with concepts of action and structure (Giddens 1984, 29).

Broadly, he argues that both agents and structures are mutually constitutive and therefore material practices are embedded in ordinary individual behaviour. In other words, culture, is part of the very fabric of social practices.

What is important for Williams, as for Giddens, is that the processes of cultural transmission and changes are related to social, political and economic realities such as the hegemonic influences in society, institutional structures and power relations between dominant and subordinate groups in a given society. Put differently, what we observe as a communicative interaction operates selectively, filtered through the structures of society, i.e., of gendered and class based relations. The shared emanating systems of signification, according to this view, are not historical views but are created and sustained by what happens between people — a point of view regrettably absent in the essentialist discourse of Australian multiculturalism discourse which tends to romanticise culture in terms of fixed traits, heritage culture, and 'core values'.

Hence, the manifest culture revealed in individual behaviour is selective, and not necessarily representative of a historical cultural tradition in its abstract form as it is often implied in the theorising of cultural pluralists who subscribe to a notion of primordial ethnicity. Ulin (1988), in this context, makes pointed reference to Williams' concept of selective tradition and suggests that in a complex society (e.g., as in Australia), the cultural tradition of any particular group such as a newly arrived migrant group, is constrained by the hegemony of the ruling elite; in other words, ethnicity is *not primordial* but *situationally determined*.

Ethnic Identity: Substance and Process

But, the point of view of individual behaviour, what constitutes 'difference' is not ethnicity per se, but how one regards one's self, the sense of identity. Hence,

the special significance of identity and identity formation in the context of difference. Whereas in the essentialist discourse of culture and ethnicity, ethnic identity is fixed and immutable, other interpretations view it more flexibly as being situationally revealed. As Ulin points out, the selective tradition is 'constitutive' and contributes to the formation of *personal and social* identity, which in turn, shapes and patterns the forms of social interaction and exchange in a given society. The distinction between two main aspects of identity — personal and social identity (Weinreich 1986; Lange & Westin 1984; Tajfel 1982) — is of considerable theoretical significance because it is *social identity* which serves as the mediating link between the cultural and individual dimensions of social functioning (see Jayasuriya 1992b). This is, after all, what enter into educational training and cross cultural communication.

Social identity refers to how one is defined by others as well as one's sub identity, i.e., how others regards one as a member of a social category (e.g., an ethnic group). It is for this reason that the process of identity formation, through the processes of primary and secondary socialisation, (see Weinreich 1986), is especially important in understanding diversity and difference. The processes of identity formation in multicultural societies (i.e., those composed of migrants and their offspring) is, as Weinreich (1986) correctly cautions, do not operate on 'a simplistic view of ethnic identification' as suggested by primordial theorists of ethnicity.

Bottomley (1991; 1979), in the light of her own research in Australia with second generation Greek Australians, suggests that the process of identity formation includes cultural resistances and transformations. These, she suggests (1991), can be studied by looking at: peoples' location in the socio-political system; cultural content of their activities; and, the individuals' definition of their own situations. It is for this reason that, 'class, position, status aspirations, and gender [are] at least as important as ethnicity in the construction of the identities' (Bottomley 1991) of migrants and their offspring. According to Brass (1985), 'ethnic identities are not fixed for life... they are variable according to context and circumstance' (p. 23). In other words, ethnic identity is the product of a complex set of transactions governed

by the various social relationships that people form as a result of their lived experience.

This process of identity formation has been vividly portrayed by an Italo-Australian, Teresa Angelico (1989) who describes vividly how, having come to Australia from Italy at the age of 8 years, she grew up and was socialised in a bicultural context. She describes how she was exposed to conflicting 'dual socialisation processes through family, school, and work, and poses the question: How does a coherent set of meanings emerge from conflicting sources of reality? (1989, 9). This she suggests, is through a process of self reflection leading to a self-identity linking the present with the past and 'integrating meanings from both contexts'. She concludes her account of this fascinating process of identity formation as follows:

integrating realities of past and present have clarified values into a coherent set of meanings which is important for future decisions. This clarification process occurs by identifying meanings 'letting go' of meanings which are no longer relevant, retaining meanings which are considered to be of value, and incorporating new meanings in the cultural framework.

While much of the discussion has been about the potential conflict and challenges to be faced by individuals in a bi-cultural context, there are many advantages that could be explored and an important example would be that exposure to a broader range of possibilities provides one with the options to choose. In addition, potentially conflicting situations can be a stimulus for self challenge and growth (Angelico 1989, 9).

What this suggests is that ethnic identity is not reified as a fixed identity, but one which takes different forms in specific concrete situations. We reveal ourselves in many ways, sometimes overriding or concealing some aspects of our identity depending on the context. In short, there is not one identity as an ethnic identity, but *mixed identities* which are situationally revealed in a complex multicultural society.

(References will be published in the next issue)

(To be Continued)

Leonard Woolf Should Be Shot!

Jeanne Thwaites

Miss Sandys bade farewell to the ladies of the district that evening at the Residency and introduced your mother to them. Dr. Ratnesar interpreted for her as there was only one woman who knew English..... Barbie made up her mind to learn to speak Tamil. She spoke colloquial Tamil when she learnt from her father's horse-keeper and Raman who drove their buggy cart. She explained this to the ladies present and asked them to bear with her for the present. They were delighted and offered to help her and recommended a Tamil Pundit (82).

In Mannar, and later in Batticaloa, Barbie found a way to give free government milk to women who refused to feed it to their babies.

Village suspicion of all government handouts is also a feature of Woolf's book, and his response is to force compliance and fine those who do not obey. They respond with rage. On one occasion, a disgruntled person advertised in a local newspaper: "Mr. L.S. Woolf deserves to be shot" (Spotts 59).

Barbie found a gentler route:

With great patience and understanding, your mother won over certain groups. Her knowledge of Tamil was very helpful. The two of us visited their hamlet, congratulated them on the high standard of cleanliness they maintained.... admired their little well-tended gardens, and they gave in and agreed to attend the clinic.... Barbie placed a tin at the table, saying that they could contribute by placing a coin in the tin..... the response lessened each week with only one cent pieces that were put in (84/85)!

Daniel could not have broken down such barriers himself if only because, as Dr. Clifford Jansz, a Dutch Burgher, explains, "Rex spoke the most appalling

Singhalese and Tamil imaginable" (conversation 3/3/92). By becoming "English," he had virtually silenced his own Ceylonese voice. Now Barbie was insisting that he activate it again.

Woolf had no family to ease relationships with the local people until his sister Bella comes to visit him in Ceylon and here again we see a woman who "has fewer principles dictating her behavior" (Sartre 108). Her presence makes a great difference to his life in Kandy (L.W. *Growing* 134 & 137), and she does not have her brother's superior attitude to his associates and fits them both into the whirl of club life. Even so, the relationship between brother and sister become cold and later antagonistic. He stops talking about her suddenly until in the last paragraph of *Growing* when he declares that she is now married to the Assistant Superintendent of Peradeniya Gardens, Kandy, but does not mention her husband's name. In the foreword of her excellent *How to see Ceylon*, Bella gives cold thanks to her brother "Mr. Leonard Sidney Woolf, in whose bungalow it was my privilege to spend many months," and to her husband "I am also indebted to my husband". She too does not give her husband's name. They have depersonalized him! Bella's husband was Robin Lock and they later divorced (Spotts 67).

In England, Leonard and his sister were to have open clashes. In 1959, she wrote, "I know that you know how pained I was by your description of your relationship with our Mother in your book *Principia Politica*, there was not one word of appreciation". Their brother Tom, she says, felt the same way. Leonard responded that they were reading things into the text which are not there (Spotts 512).

Woolf's attitude of superiority when dealing with his family would have developed in school although his anger against

his mother started well before that — which I will explain later.

As a father Daniel at first seems disinterested in his off-spring except when they do something to make him proud of them (such as defy him). He is delighted when he scolds his daughters for drawing on a wall and three year old Barbara interrupts his yelling to say, "Daddy, stop being cross. You must not shout. Come here at once and kiss me.... and I went to her like a lamb" (72). In 1941, he says,

I have said very little of Mary. She had a wide circle of friends of her age group — three years — who lived around the Esplanade. There were the Poole twins — boy and girl. Poole was an Irrigation Engineer..... (124).

and then promptly forgets about Mary, their fourth child, to continue extensively about Mr. Poole! He suddenly announces the birth a fifth, Sally and as his diaries of the time were his source for these memories it is probable that he also omitted any details of this pregnancy in them. He does, however, describe all kinds of parties they went to and gave, and the interesting people they met.

It seems that Daniel was going through inner turmoil through those years for more than one incident shows that he had begun to realize how seriously the English took their feelings of superiority: "it is a mistake to think that bigots are not deadly serious, and to do so can antagonize, even to rape or murder" (Rose). His attitude to them changed drastically after W.W.II broke out. On the one hand, he threw himself very actively into doing what he could to help England's war effort; on the other he appears to have lost interest in trying to please his C.C.S. superiors. In Colombo for the Government Agents conference, Prime Minister D.S. Senanayake gave a dinner party. Daniel says

"Lionel Kotalawela sat next to me at dinner and was in an uproarious mood" (128). The Ceylonese proceeded to ignore the Englishmen and stayed up playing bridge with Mr. Senanayake long after the others had gone home. This must have been a frightening time for the English because such incidents showed that the tables were turning. The Earl of Mountbatten was sent to India to head up the Allies war command in Asia but he chose Kandy as his headquarters. His wife was shown on newsreels walking arm-in-arm with Nehru. Gandhi could no longer be sniggered at for not wearing three piece suits.

When Daniel becomes aware of his children he finds to his dismay it is too late. He is deeply hurt because Barbara and Jeanne, refuse his offer to stay home and be educated in Ceylon. When they leave each year he has begun to miss them. Mr sister and I have talked about this decision we made when she was twelve and I ten. We still identified our parents as being our home base and enjoyed life of privilege we had while with them, but preferred the structured living in the convent boarding school which we had attended now for four years. I felt I had moved up in the pecking order at school and was frightened I would lose that advantage if I became a new girl again, for I could imagine my parents suddenly tiring of us and sending us packing again. We no longer even spoke like Ceylonese so like my fathers had become foreigners in our own country and had few friends of our age. Patrick was now back from England because of World War II and was even more English than we were. His English Public School, Stonyhurst, had become his identity and it was as if he had been to no other school.

Leonard Woolf had no wife and children in Ceylon. He had met the Stephens sisters in 1903 and at that time fell in love with Vanessa, the elder, he was to say later. In 1905, while he was in Ceylon, Strachey told him Vanessa had married Clive Bell, and Woolf replied, "I always said he (Clive) was in love with one of them — though strangely I thought it was the other" (Spotts 97). By the time he left Ceylon, he himself was toying with the idea of marrying that "other" (Virginia) (64); it was Strachey who originally made

the suggestion. In England, however, it is obvious that Woolf fell passionately in love with her. He wrote her beautiful letters which eventually broke down her reservations about his Jewishness. During this time she had a serious mental breakdown and had to be hospitalized but he didn't waver. He describes his plans at this time: "(1) If Virginia would marry me, I would resign from Ceylon and try to earn my living by writing; (2) If Virginia would not marry me, I would return to Ceylon..... and eventually with a governorship and K.C.M.G.⁶... and marry a Sinhalese" (L.W. *Growing* 225 & 247). Nowhere previously, however, has he talked of even meeting the upper or middle-class Sinhalese women whose families carefully arranged the marriages of their children within their community and in any case Woolf would not have been an eligible husband to them. On one occasion, he tells Strachey he is going "whoring," but it seems unlikely that he would want to marry a Sinhalese whore. As his alternate plan marriage to a Sinhalese, he must have confidently expected to find one. That would have to be a girl who would marry any wealthy Englishman to better her lot. So, although he was adamantly against colonialism at this time, he planned to act like a typical English colonialist, that is arrange a regular sex life with a woman he felt superior to and could not join him at his clubs.

But Virginia did accept him and he became her devoted companion instead. It was not a happy arrangement for he called the book of this time *Downhill All the Way*.

In *Growing*, Woolf speaks of most English women he met with contempt but his letters to Strachey talk of falling in love with three while in Ceylon. The most serious of these relationships was with a young English girl Rachel Robinson who he later denies. Kant says that the Englishman "makes a character for himself, that is, sees to it that he acquires one" (229), and this is what Woolf does. He makes himself up as he goes along in an image of what he perceives to be appropriate at that time.

In *Growing* he declares he never once addressed Rachel except as "Miss Robin-

son" and that she called him "Mr. Woolf". He liked her company, he explains, because "I have always been greatly attracted by the undiluted female mind, as well as by the female body and I mean the adjective 'undiluted,' for I am not thinking of the exceptional women with exceptional minds like Cleopatra or Mrs. Carlyle or Jane Austen or Virginia Woolf. I am thinking of 'ordinary women'" (87); Virginia Woolf was, of course, his wife when he wrote this. How Rachel was "ordinary," he then explains at length. But as he writes he contradicts himself. For example: "in the last letter she ever wrote me, which was to tell me that she was engaged and would shortly marry...." (153). The last letter, he says! Three pages later he forgets what he said and it is ".... she used occasionally to write to me even after she married" (156). It seems unlikely that Rachel wrote into a vacuum, so there seems to have been later correspondence between ordinary Miss Robinson and extraordinary Mr. Woolf. In the same chapter that he has said:

The only point in an autobiography is to give, as far as one can, in the most simple, clear, and truthful way, a picture, first of one's own personality and of the people whom one has known, and secondly of the society and age in which one lived (148).

However, he also says of Rachel, "I had for her a real affection without ever at all falling in love with her. "Without ever at all" is a very strong disclaimer, particularly from Woolf who had apparently forgotten he had admitted to Strachey when he met Rachel, "It so happens that I am really in love with someone who is in love with me".

Woolf's coldness when dealing with affairs of the heart could well have come from his childhood. He says he was sure his mother loved him least of the nine children. He was not *one* of the least loved; he is at the very bottom of his mother's affection list and:

I was overwhelmed in melancholy.... a profound passive cosmic despair.... powerless in the face of a hostile universe.... the infant crying in the night with no language but a cry (L.W. *Sowing* 43).

tragic words indeed. From the time of his father's death a creeping knowledge of their change in circumstance overshadowed the young Woolf's lives. But the young boy would hardly have had "profound cosmic despair" about his family's financial position. It was the lack of his mother's love that tortured him and drove him to even the score, so that Bella and his brother protests, when he wrote *Principia Politica*.

Compare Woolf's childhood with Daniel who was his mother's favorite child (there were six). He openly adored her and was on good terms with his siblings — and particularly close to his eldest sister May and younger brother Emil. He cut into one trip to England, a three week voyage away, to return to his mother's side when she was ill and asking for him. He says, "they told me she recovered the moment she heard I was on the ship" (70). Daniel's writing also shows no interest in dwelling on any sorrows of his youth and he gratefully thanks his father for helping him out with unexpected gifts of money. Annesley Daniel did this when his son was most obviously suffering from discrimination in the C.C.S.; one spectacular present was a check for Rs. 10,000⁹ after a promotion to Class I had been withheld. Earlier when Rex upset a superior officer and was posted to distant Mannar, everyone's least favorite district, his recently widowed father came to stay and hired gardeners and other laborers and transformed the barrenness of the huge government-owned Residency into what became joked about around Colombo as the "blooming park". The Mannar district became a social center as friends flocked to visit. A friend's wedding held at the Residency becomes a huge affair. Train travel was free to members of the C.C.S. so when they were bored the Daniels took their children to dinner onto the train from Mannar to Colombo which had a dining car famous for excellent food. On almost every such trip they ran into friends returning from India and there would be an impromptu party. Finally, they'd get off at a station and return home by car for their chauffeur had been following the train. On the train there were invariably people they

knew and it once again became time to party. It is possible to see why his English superiors became enraged. Mannar was supposed to have been a punishment.

Woolf was a solitary man — one without the confidence or generosity to initiate entertainment. His insecurity extended particularly to the way he handled money. His salary averaged Rs. 480 month, and when he left the Island he had saved more than Rs. 16,500: a seventh of what he had earned there (63). John Lehman, Woolf's partner until 1945, in connection with the Hogarth Press, says of Woolf, "a penny, a halfpenny that couldn't be accounted for in the petty cash at the end of the day would drive him into a frenzy that often approached hysteria" (13). Daniel's salary, at the time of his father's Rs. 10,000 gift, was about Rs. 1,000, the cost of living having doubled since Woolf's time, but he could never manage on it and when the

end of the month bills came in he would accuse his children of bankrupting him by consuming too many soft drinks and not turning out the lights.¹⁰

Both men's extreme behavior with money are the opposite sides of the same coin, and both are typical of colonized people. Even in ghettos there are those with an you-only-live-once attitude, and those who hoard every cent against the calamities that life has taught them will always be there as street people die leaving large cash savings put aside for a time when life will become even more intolerable.

(To be Continued)

Notes

8. Knighthood
9. Rs. 5 (rupees) at the time approx £ 1 (sterling), or \$ 2 (American).
10. Personal recollection

The Northern Problem

(On a request for an article by a lady professor)

*The advance-retreat perimeter
Should be replaced by a parameter
More stable —
An Einsteinian Equation
Relative to the passing minute.
The Kosmos advances
To the crash of nullity.
Are those boots I hear advancing
Or ballerina's velvet shoes —
The dying swans?
Thus I offer my keynote theme
To the chairperson's outstretched hands.
She says
"Go print it some other place.
I said article, not poem".
Pace, Pace, I say
Particle not Space.*

Patrick Jayasuriya



ENRICHING RURAL LIFESTYLE

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

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

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

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