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INDIA VS 'THE TIGERS'

Mervyn de Silva



JINNAH

Husain Haqqani

CLINTON: AMERICA FIRST

— *Martin Walker*

CUBA: A Reply to Rajiva

— *Tisaranee Gunasekera*

TAMIL STRUGGLE and Peace Process

— *N. Shanmugaratnam*

— *P. Sahadevan*

INDIGENOUS PEOPLE — *Tyronne Fernando*



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Briefly...

PROBE INTO ASSAULT

A one-man committee of inquiry has been appointed by the government to investigate the police assault on journalists covering the Human Rights Day public demonstration in Colombo on December 10. The inquirer is a retired judge of the Court of Appeal, Mr Tudor de Alwis. The public has been invited to make representations or provide information to the committee office at 15/5, Baladaksha Mawatha, Colombo 3.

PRESIDENT PROMISES 300 HOSPITALS

At a public meeting in the southern town of Beliatte, President Premadasa promised the people 300 fully equipped hospitals before the next presidential election. The president said that the number of garment factories too would be increased to 300, and that there would also be 300 Divisional Secretariats.

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MEET US, SAY MEDIA MEN

At their first and well attended mass meeting in Colombo, Sri Lanka's mediamen urged President Ranasinghe Premadasa to meet them on a regular basis at press conferences as national leaders did in other democracies. The rally was organised by the Free Media Movement to protest physical attacks on professional newspapermen going about their business.

Victor Ivan, editor of the weekly Ravaya said that the right of journalists to place facts before the public should be guaranteed irrespective of the interests of politicians in power. Lucien Rajakarunayake, president of the Foreign Correspondents' Association, said that attacks on journalists were attacks on democratic freedom and people who had experienced democracy should not tolerate such assaults. Attacks on mediamen and disappearance of journalists had been witnessed increasingly in recent times, he said.

Ajit Samaranayake, Associate Editor of *The Island* who presided at the public meeting, said that a free press could function only in a society which wanted democratic freedoms preserved; the large gathering present was evidence that the people wanted freedom of the press in this country. If many newspapers were allowed to be published it was not because of the generosity of the government but because the government was aware that the international community was watching what was going on here, he said.

PUBLIC DEBATE: PRESIDENT INVITES LEADERS

President Premadasa has invited leaders of political parties in parliament to meet him to discuss the modalities of the public debate to which he has challenged the Opposition. He has indicated a willing-

ness to include all registered political parties but has said that the debate should be confined to economic policies.

The debate should be at the level of party leaders only, the President has said.

Mr Premadasa has reminded party leaders of his original call for a debate in which he said: "I think it will be useful in the public interest to have a public debate on the Government and Production Strategies. It will also give an opportunity to the people to get to know the alternative strategies that the different political parties have to offer."

DOCTOR AND NURSE ARRESTED

Police raided a private hospital in Negambo and arrested a doctor and a nurse in the act, allegedly, of performing abortions. The doctor had done 26 abortions that day, police said. They also said he charged a thousand rupees per abortion. He had been charged earlier too for such offences and cases were still pending in courts. The doctor had tried to jump out of a window when they came to arrest him this time, the police told a magistrate's court.

TRENDS

JOC moves

For closer liaison with field commanders the Joint Operations Command (JOC) of the government security forces was expected to move to Anuradhapura, capital of the North Central Province. Simultaneously, the army's Second Division now headquartered there was expected to move further north, to Vavuniya.

MP's residence attacked

Bombs were thrown at government party Colombo District MP Hudson Samarasinghe's residence at Borella on the night of January 21. A police team was rushed to the area. No arrests have been made.



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.

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

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



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for our land and her people.*



WILL INDIA ATTACK THE TIGERS?

NEWS
BACKGROUND

Mervyn de Silva

Is the LTTE and India on a collision course? Since the M.V. AHAT incident at sea and the death of Colonel Kittu, a senior 'Tiger' military commander based in London, there are definite signs that Delhi has decided to confront and (hopefully) crush the LTTE, or at least deliver a crippling blow. The LTTE, claimed that the LTTE-owned ship was seized by the Indian navy in "international territorial waters", challenging Delhi's claim it was "arrested" in Indian territorial waters.

It is also known that the LTTE has moved its Singapore "base" to Burma. The intelligence "coup" by Indian agencies may have been based on signals from London or Singapore where India has well-established information-gathering centres. However the LTTE (sources close to the movement argue) also suspect a tip-off from a foreign intelligence agency which co-operates with its counterparts in Delhi. Since the arms shipment include anti-aircraft guns, semi-official sources in Colombo claim, that the purchase of such weapons was probably prompted by Sri Lanka's recent acquisition — four Argentinian PUCARA aircraft. Such speculation strengthens the position of those highly placed individuals in the UNP hierarchy as well as influential school of opinion in the military establishments that argue the LTTE is once more playing jaw-jaw war-war. The "jaw-jaw" such as the highly publicised visit of the well-intentioned Bishop of Colombo helps the LTTE to project an image of "reasonableness" to two critical constituencies, the "soft" donor countries, the foreign NGO's and the "moderates" in

the South, Sinhala and Tamil. It also eases the pressure from the domestic Jaffna constituency, not merely war-weary but crying for a respite, if not a stable peace. Here the Jaffna middle-class with family connections in the Sinhala south or business interests here, is the crucial pressure-group, although its protest is muted for fear of LTTE reprisal. Bishop Fernando himself employed just one word to express his own intuitive understanding of trends in Jaffna society. He used the word "dissent". Though the LTTE, as an armed rebel group, is profoundly militarist, it cannot as the voice of a community, speak always through the barrel of a gun. Apart from external pressures, its own constituency could exert a more direct pressure through a well-knit family system. And we are told that the LTTE has at least 3-4,000 political prisoners.

But the discontent is not always traceable to the LTTE's authoritarian (totalitarian?) regimen. There are the daily vexations of every Jaffna family, even the propertied and the prosperous. The hardships are directly connected to the regulated supply system. For vital household supplies, Sri Lankan or imported, the Jaffna distributors must rely on the South — food, petroleum and kerosene, medicine etc. In short, the shop-keeper is totally dependent on home-grown items and/or smuggled goods from Tamilnadu. With the Indian and Sri Lankan navies cooperating more smoothly now, the old suppliers across Palk straits are now out of work.

The "dissent" that the Bishop mentioned is of course, not entirely nourished by such con-

ditions. There is a regimentation, and the LTTE is not only tough on criticism but congenitally intolerant of dissenting voices. That was made clear in that excellent document prepared by a small group of Jaffna-based academics. At least one of them, Ranjini Thiraganama paid for her courage with her life.

INDIAN UNION

Domestic discontents have frightened the Indian ruling elite particularly after AYODHYA. The dramatic rise of Hindu fundamentalism in a country that has more Muslims than Pakistan, has made the governing class nervous not merely about the stability of India but its unity. Political stability is absolutely vital if India is to reap the rewards of its IMF-supervised "structural adjustment". That alone can compensate for the burdens that such "adjustment" inevitably heaps on the Indian poor. This "poor" could number more than a hundred million families. In the short run, these severe material hardships of the poor in an emotionally charged racial-religious situation could prove explosive. In such situations, effective power slips from the hands of the politicians to the security services and the upper echelons of India's vast bureaucracy. They become the final defenders of the Indian Union.

Mr. Narasinha Rao, the first southerner to become Prime Minister, leads a minority Congress government. The Cabinet has been re-shuffled, but that may not end his troubles — troubles within a party that has a "Gandhian loyalist group", answerable it is said to Sonia

Gandhi, and the trouble that the Hindu extremist forces represented in Parliament by the BJP, can so easily create. If there is another explosion, the Rao government may be swept away. In such circumstances, shrewd politicians make compromises with the Army, the Intelligence services and the bureaucracy. For all these forces, the Congress dissidents and the Army, intelligence services etc, there is an old score to be settled with the LTTE — assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. The Justice VERNA report has accused the LTTE and blamed the Madras administration for its criminal negligence. The I.B. (Intelligence Bureau) explicitly warned the Madras authorities and the Congress party of the dangers of Mr. Gandhi's election campaign in Tamilnadu. The Indian Army (IPKF), the RAW and the supportive establishments, and the Indian bureaucratic elite must recover lost Indian prestige, internationally and even more importantly, regionally. Indian prestige as well as India's regional pre-eminence is at stake.

INDO-US

The United States, the sole superpower, does support regional cooperation. It also favours democratisation. India is the largest practising democracy in the world. The US does not wish to see India suffer a fate of a smaller Soviet Union or a larger Yugoslavia. India has a middle-class of about 200 million. With economic reforms, it will be one of the largest markets by the turn of the century. The US, Europe and Japan look forward eagerly to India's economic progress.

While regionalism is important, India's prime minister had to cancel his trip to Dhaka. Twice the SAARC summit had to be postponed since Mr. Rao felt his life was in danger in Moslem Bangladesh. The Pakistan prime minister however did fly to Dhaka, and during the religious riots last month, Pakistan and Bangladesh saw hun-

dreds of thousand take to the streets in those two neighbouring countries. The Indian media gave the widest publicity to the LTTE's anti-Indian demos in Jaffna after Kittu's death. The headlines spoke of "effigies of PVN (Mr. Rao) JAYA (Jayalalitha) being burnt by LTTE supporters.

Earlier this month a "high-powered Task Force set up by the Carnegie Foundation in Washington urged the Clinton administration to forge closer ties with India. The study group included former ambassadors, top State Dept. officials who had served many governments before retirement, ex-Pentagon officials, many Senators and Congressmen, and the ex-CIA Chief Richard Helms. "As Ayodhya has shown" the report said "India is one of the major battlegrounds in the struggle between secularism and extremist forms of religious fundamentalism". The rise of ISLAM, it added, stresses the possibility that India and the US "share common security concerns".

India which has opened an embassy in Israel is relying on Israeli intelligence and counter-terrorist expertise to combat terrorism in Kashmir... Why not the "Tigers"? The Indian navy has already held joint exercises with the US navy in the Indian ocean. India could be the regional policeman.

US Investment

"Sri Lanka has initiated" a very aggressive campaign to attract foreign investment and has one of the most liberal import licensing system of regulations in the region" said Mr. James Berg, the executive vice-president of the American Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) a US government agency. Its main task is to facilitate private US investment. The mission to Sri Lanka consists of representatives of ten private US firms and 3 OPIC officials. OPIC has bilateral agreements with 120 countries.

The investment climate in Sri Lanka, the existing system of regulations, and the availability of service — legal, banking, accounting and financial advisory services — are more mature than in many other parts of the world" he added.

The support system that an investor looks for — a system that would cut costs because he doesn't have to supply them himself — are more easily available here he told the press.

But the real work of an investment mission comes in the one-to-one meetings, and excellent arrangements for these have been made by the government. The investment interests of the mission include agriculture, real estate development, radio and telecommunications equipment, financial and computer services, software development and warehousing.

Munich

One thing to be said for Chamberlain
Is, he didn't mount his brolly
Munichwards
During the Battle of Britain.
If actually his Class and his folly
Brought him to commit that act
At this point and not that
All the Grace of Canterbury
Couldn't have stopped History
Putting him in the oft repeated Tale
Of the Simple one, the Maniac, and the
elusive Grail

U. Karunatilake

Peace and re-election

Flickers of hope surround the stagnancy of the situation with regard to the North-East conflict. President Premadasa's recent speeches have contained in them powerful appeals for peace. On a very pragmatic calculation an end to the Rs. 40 million a day military operations would obviously release funds to cushion the hardships of further "structural adjustments" being insisted upon by the international funding agencies.

There are three other hopeful signs as well. First is the relative silence of the SLFP, the traditional guardian of Sinhala nationalism. Second is the LTTE leader Prabhakaran's meeting with the Christian bishops which shows that he is at least willing to talk to some people. Third is President Bush's detailed comments on Sri Lanka's peace and development prospects.

It appears that the Western world is getting ready to pressure us to make peace with ourselves. But keeping in mind the wise observation that "states have no friends, states have only interests," it is necessary to remain watchful of our own interests, and not have the interests of Western powers imposed upon us.

So at first glance, things appear to be looking up. But are they really? The key question is whether the government's evident interest in solving the North-East conflict is for the country's benefit or in order to further its own re-election prospects. No-one can be grudging if the two go together, but only if peace is the primary goal and not re-election.

Is LTTE sincere?

LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran's first direct declaration that his rebel group is for a united Sri Lanka and is prepared to drop its demand for a separate state was good news for 1993 but it is, in the words of Bishop Kenneth Fernando, only one small step in the long hard journey towards restoring peace with justice in our war-ravaged motherland.

While saying Bishop Kenneth's initiative was that of a good shepherd venturing forth into the valleys of darkness and death we also need to consider whether the LTTE leader's pledges or promises are sincere or whether he is playing for time to consolidate his position as he has done so often in the not-too-distant past. Yesterday's report of a peace offer coming on a ship loaded with arms indicates duplicity.

(Sunday Times)

The human face of Prabhakaran

A careful reading of all the available reports of the press conference given by the Bishop of Colombo, Dr. Kenneth Fernando, makes it quite clear that there has been no meaningful change in the position of the Tiger leader, Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran. Leaving aside the balleyhoo about the release of two policemen (the Sri Lankan government had released hundreds of captured LTTE cadres) the LTTE fundamentals remain unchanged. As reported in the *Daily News* he had told His Grace categorically not to ask for more than two policemen.

In hard bargaining terms, it is apparent that Mr. Prabhakaran, in exchange for two policemen, wants the government to change its entire strategy — political and military. The underlying message contained in the press conference held by Bishop Fernando (and we hope His Grace has been reported correctly) is that the LTTE has not shifted one whit from its usual basic position.

(Sunday Times)

Talking to Tigers

The Bishop of Colombo, Rt. Revd. Dr. Kenneth Fernando has returned from Jaffna with a message from the LTTE warlord Velupillai Prabhakaran to the effect that he is willing to negotiate for a political settlement of the North-East conflict. This is not the first time that the LTTE leadership had indicated its willingness to negotiate for a political settlement, but subsequent developments had revealed that its objectives have not been for a peaceful settlement.

In a recent weeks, too, we have heard reports of Tigers offering the olive branch. This offer to negotiate peace rather than continue with the military conflict needs to be probed in the context of recent developments.

As pointed out a few weeks ago in these columns, since the killings of Lt. General Kobbe-kaduwa and others, the LTTE had dealt several devastating blows on government forces and does not appear to be under pressure on the battlefield, as it was the case in the first half of last year.

Also, the blockade around the Jaffna peninsula has proved to be effective and is causing problems to the LTTE as well as the civilian population. There is undoubtedly much suffering caused to the public and the LTTE will, as the warlords of the north have to take a fair share of the blame.

The immediate objective of the LTTE will be to lift this blockade to rid them of the pressure from the suffering Jaffna people. The visit of the Bishop presented a good propaganda opportunity for Mr. Prabhakaran who released two captured policemen as a gesture of LTTE goodwill.

(Sunday Island)

Report Angers Press

William Tuohy

A media outcry was raised last week over the reported recommendation of a Government-ordered inquiry that the free-wheeling ways of Britain's press be sharply curbed.

The report, which was to be formally presented to Prime Minister John Major by lawyer David Calcutt, was leaked ahead of time and received wide publicity in London's newspapers, which said it calls for tough, new standards on what they may publish.

The Calcutt recommendations, according to published reports, call for establishment of a public body with power to impose fines and force newspapers to print apologies and prominent corrections. They also call for enactment of a privacy law that would make it an offence to trespass or take photographs on private property for journalistic ends.

Lord McGregor, Chairman of the Press Complaints Commission — a voluntary body established two years ago to oversee media standards — declared that a statutory body with penal powers would be "a disaster for our democracy, and I am exceedingly alarmed."

A previous inquiry by Mr. Calcutt into alleged press abuses led to the setting up of the Press Complaints Commission, which replaced a former voluntary body, the press Council, because the inquiry decided that voluntary regulation should be given another try.

In that earlier attempt at self-regulation, the Secretary of State for National Heritage, a Cabinet ministry that supervises media legislation, warned that the press was "drinking at the last-chance saloon."

Mr. Calcutt's latest inquiry resulted from growing anger about the behavior of Britain's often

—described "gutter press" among members of parliament and other elements of the establishment, lately outraged at what they consider intrusions into private lives particularly those of members of the royal family.

The press — especially the tabloids competing hotly for circulation — had a field day in 1992.

Stories they covered in sensational detail included: Prince Charles' and Princess Diana's marital problems; tapes of Diana's seemingly amorous conversations with a male friend; the separation of the Duke and Duchess of York; the Duchess's photographed vacation involvement with American businessman John Bryan; Liberal Democrat Party leader Paddy Ashdown's affair with a researcher; Health Secretary Virginia Bottomley's unwed motherhood; the Queen's Christmas speech, leaked in advance; and the affair of National Heritage Secretary David Mellor with an actress, a scandal that led to his resignation from the Cabinet in September.

The new Calcutt recommendations also reportedly call for rules designed to prevent electronic eavesdropping and the unauthorized interception of telephone conversations.

According to published reports Mr. Calcutt, a senior attorney and administrator at Cambridge University, proposes setting up a tribunal made up of a senior judge, appointed by the Lord Chancellor, and two lay assessors, named by the Heritage Secretary, with powers to levy large fines against offending newspapers.

The British Cabinet is reportedly divided over whether to accept such stringent recommendations, with Prime Minister John Major said to want tougher controls without jeopardizing press freedom. Britain has no Bill of Rights protecting freedom of press.

London's newspaper editors said that any statutory oversight board would soon be ruling against papers on political grounds, rather than for reasons of invasion of privacy.

The editor of the leading sensationalist tabloid, Mr. Kelvin McKenzie of *The Sun*, said: "We are not going to rely on some clapped-out judge and two busybodies to decide what our readers are going to read."

Chairman Frank Rogers of the Newspaper's Publishers' Association said: "The last move to restrict the independence of the press in this country was in 1965. It will be a sad day if we resume that path after a period in which an independent press has been indispensable to democracy."

— Los Angeles Times

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Clinton: Leading alliance for democracy

(Address to Foreign Policy Association, April 1992)

At the time the speech was given, President Clinton was the Democratic nominee for president.

Perhaps once in a generation, history presents us with a moment of monumental importance. In the aftermath of World War I, our country chose to retreat from the world, with tragic consequences. After World War II, we chose instead to lead the world and take responsibility for shaping the post-war era.

I am literally a child of the Cold War, born as it was just beginning. My parents' generation wanted nothing more than to return from a world war to the joys of work and home and family. Yet it was no ordinary moment, and history would not let them rest. Overnight, an expansionist Soviet Union summoned them into a new struggle. Fortunately, America had farsighted and courageous leaders like Truman and George Marshall, who recognized the gravity of the moment and roused our battle-weary nation to the challenge. Under their leadership, we helped Europe and Japan rebuild their economies, organized a great military coalition of free nations, and defended our democratic principles against yet another totalitarian threat.

Now, we face our own moment of great change and enormous opportunity. The end of the Cold War and collapse of the Soviet empire pose an unprecedented opportunity to make our future more prosperous and secure.

It reminds us, too, of our duty to prevent the tragedies of the 20th Century — cataclysmic wars and the fear of nuclear annihilation — from recurring in the 21st Century.

Yet at the very moment America's ideas have triumphed and the whole world is rushing to embrace our way of life, our own leaders have been standing still at home and abroad. In the midst of revolutionary change, they have struggled to shore up a status quo that no longer exists.

The Bush administration has been overly cautious on the issue of aid to Russia — not for policy considerations, but for political calculations. Now, prodded by Democrats in Congress, rebuked by Richard Nixon, and realizing that I have been raising the issue in the campaign, the president is finally... even now... as I speak... putting forward a plan of assistance to Russia and the other new republics. I welcome this. It's good for them and it's good for us.

I'd really like it if I could have as much influence on his domestic policy. In the coming weeks, I will be giving more speeches outlining my plan of assistance for America: to create jobs, provide health care, educate our children and turn this country around.

I'd really like it if I could have as much influence on his domestic policy. In the coming weeks, I will be giving more speeches outlining my plan of assistance for America: to create jobs, provide health care, educate our children and turn this country around.

In 1992 we must look forward, not backward. I seek not to be the last president of the 20th Century, but the first president for the 21st Century.

Throughout this campaign I have called for a new strategy for American engagement: to revamp our Cold War military forces to meet our nation's changing security needs; encourage the consolidation and

spread of democracy abroad; and restore America's economic leadership at home and abroad. My vision for U.S. foreign policy is based on a simple premise: America must lead the world we have done so much to make.

In the months to come, I will say more about the need for American leadership to stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction, increase prosperity by opening markets to trade, and confront threats to the world environment from ozone depletion and global warming.

Today I want to discuss what America must do to secure democracy's triumph around the world, and most of all, in the former Soviet empire. No national security issue is more urgent, nowhere is our country's imperative more clear. I believe it is time for America to lead a global alliance for democracy as united and steadfast as the global alliance that defeated communism.

If we don't take the lead, no one else can, and no one else will. As we proceed, we must keep in mind three realities:

First, the end of the Cold War does not mean the end of danger in the world. Even as restructure our defenses, we must prepare for new threats.

Where might these threats arise? From armed conflict within and among the Soviet republics, four of which have nuclear weapons. From the spread of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. From regional tensions on the Korean Peninsula and in the Middle East. From terrorist attack on Americans abroad. And from the growing intensity of ethnic rivalry and separatist violence, which could spill across borders in Yugoslavia and elsewhere.

I have laid out a defense blueprint for replacing our Cold War military structure with a more flexible mix of forces better suited to the dangers we will face in the new era. We can and must substantially reduce forces originally designed to counter the Soviet threat. But the level of defense spending must be based on protecting our enduring interests and preserving our comparative advantage in training, mobility and advanced military technology. And though we will continue to reduce our nuclear arms in tandem with Russia and the other republics, we must retain a survivable nuclear force to deter any conceivable threat.

The commander-in-chief must be prepared to act, with force if necessary, when our country's interests and values are threatened, as they were in the Gulf War. I will not shrink from using military force responsibly, and I will maintain the forces we need to win, and win decisively, should that necessity arise.

A second reality is that the irresistible power of ideas will shape the world in the Information Age. Television, cassette tapes and the fax machine helped ideas to pierce the Berlin Wall and bring it down. Look at the defining images of the past decade; Lech Walesa scaling the fence at the Lenin Shipyard; Vaclav Havel sounding the call for freedom at Wenceslas Square; Chinese students marching in Tianenmen Square; Nelson Mandela walking out of prison a free-man; Boris Yeltsin standing defiantly atop a tank to face down the coup. These pictures speak of people willing to fight against all odds for their convictions, their freedom and the right to control their own destiny.

This means that we are in a position to do more with less than at any time in our recent history. During the Cold War, we spent trillions to protect where it was threatened. In this post Cold-War era the West

can spend a fraction of that amount to nurture democracy where it never before existed.

America's challenge in this era is not to bear every burden, but to tip the balance. Only America has the global reach and influence to lead on the great issues confronting the world.

Third, and most important, none of this will be possible unless we restore America's economic strength. For eleven years, we've had no economic vision, no economic leadership, no national economic strategy. America's ability to lead the world and inspire others with our example has gradually been eroded by an anemic, debt-ridden economy, an inadequate education and training system, a decaying stock of public capital, and the highest crime and poverty rates of any advanced nation.

As John Kennedy put it, we can't be strong abroad if we are weak at home. It was that weakness that prompted the Japanese prime minister to say he felt sympathy for the United States. We must organize to compete and win in the global economy. We need a national strategy that will reward work, expand opportunity and put people first. With more public and private investment, the world's best-education workforce, and competitive strategies in health care, energy and trade.

If we're not strong at home we can't lead the world we've done so much to make. In today's world, foreign and domestic policy are inseparable. But if we withdraw from the world, it will hurt us economically at home. We can't allow a false choice between domestic policy and foreign policy to hurt our country and our economy. If the president fails in either responsibility, it is not just others who will suffer but the people of the United States above all.

Anyone running for president right now — Republican or Democrat — must provide a vision for security in this new

era. The president has yet to meet that test, as evidenced by his embarrassing pilgrimage to Japan illustrates the basic pattern of reactive, rudderless and erratic U.S. diplomacy under this administration.

I have supported the president when I have thought he was right — and will do so again. But I will differ with him when I think criticism just. And my central criticism is this: George Bush has invoked a new world order without enunciating a new American purpose. No one doubts his long experience in diplomatic affairs or his personal ties to foreign leaders. His handling of the international coalition against Iraq was a deft display of crisis management. But for all his experience, skill and cautious professionalism, the president has failed to articulate clear goals for American foreign policy.

The lack of a positive vision has led to miscalculations and missed opportunities. In the Middle East, President Bush and Secretary of the State Baker deserve credit for getting negotiations started. But they have chosen to browbeat Israel, the region's sole democracy, while nurturing ties to Syria's despotic regime. By its repeated public attacks on Israel, this administration has damaged its ability to act as an honest broker and has encouraged the Arabs to harden their positions in the mistaken belief that Washington can or should deliver Israeli concessions without Arab concessions in return. In doing so, the administration has damaged our strategic relationship with Israel and undermined the peace process itself.

In the Persian Gulf, first the Bush administration made misguided efforts to purchase Saddam Hussein's goodwill through generous American assistance. Then, after America's smashing victory over Iraq, he left Saddam Hussein with enough military force to remain in power and savagely suppress uprisings by Shiites and the Kurds — who

rose up after the president's promptings to do so.

In China, the president continues to coddle aging rulers with undisguised contempt for democracy, human rights and the need to control the spread of dangerous technologies. Such forbearance on our part might have been justified during the Cold War as a strategic necessity, when China was a counterweight to Soviet power. But it makes no sense to play the China card now, when our opponents have thrown in their hand.

Most of all, the president kept America largely on the sidelines in the democratic revolution that toppled the Soviet empire and is transforming the face of world politics. Time and again, the administration sided with stability over democratic change. President Bush aligned the United States with Mikhail Gorbachev's efforts to prop up the stagnant and despised Soviet center, long after it was apparent that hopes for democratic reform had shifted to Boris Yeltsin and the republics. Similarly, he poured cold water on Baltic and Ukrainian aspirations for independence and still has not recognized Croatia and Slovenia despite prodding from our European allies.

By failing to offer a compelling rationale for America's continued engagement in the world, the administration has invited a new birth of isolationism on the left and the right, especially at this time of economic duress, when most Americans are properly demanding that we devote more attention and money to our needs here at home. But putting our own people first cannot mean an uncritical withdrawal from the world. That's why we need a clear statement of purpose.

America deserves better than activism without vision, prudence without purpose, and tactics without strategy. America needs leadership of vision, values and conviction.

I have called for greater American leadership to reinforce the powerful global movement toward democracy and market economies, as brave men and women fight for freedom in China and Haiti and South Africa. If we succeed, the world will be a safer place. The spread of free institutions will make foreign rulers accountable to their people and check tyranny and external aggression. As nations free their economies from bureaucratic control they will become productive enough to satisfy more of their own material wants, and rich enough to buy more American goods and services. We have seen the spread of democracy and more open economies in Latin America, now we should seek to increase their reach around the world.

We need to respond forcefully to one of the greatest security challenges of our time, to help the people of the former Soviet bloc demilitarize their societies and build free political and economic institutions. We have a chance to engage the Russian people in the West for the first time in their history.

The stakes are high. The collapse of communism is not an isolated event; it's part of a world wide march toward democracy whose outcome will shape the next century. For ourselves and for millions of people who seek to live in freedom and prosperity, this revolution must not fail.

I know it isn't popular today to call for foreign assistance of any kind. It's harder when Americans are hurting, as millions are today. But I believe it is deeply irresponsible to forgo this short-term investment in our long-term security. Being penny wise and pound foolish will cost us more in the long run in higher defense budgets and lost economic opportunities.

What does a democratic Russia mean to Americans? Lower defense spending. A reduced nuclear threat. A diminished risk of environmental disasters. Fewer arms exports and less

proliferation. Access to Russia's vast resources through peaceful commerce. And, the creation of a major new market for American goods and services.

As I said at Georgetown last December, "We owe it to the people who defeated communism, the people who defeated the coup. And we owe it to our selves. . . Having won the Cold War, we must not now lose the peace."

Already, chaos has threatened to engulf Russia. Its old economy lies in ruins, staples remain scarce and lawless behavior in spreading. The immediate danger is not a resurgence of communism, but the emergence of an aggressively nationalistic regime that could menace the other republics and revive the old political and nuclear threats to the West.

Boris Yeltsin has embarked on a radical course of economic reform, freeing prices, selling off state properties and cutting wasteful public subsidies. Hopes for a democratic Russia ride on these efforts, which must produce positive results before economic deprivation wears down the people's patience.

I believe America needs to organize and lead a long-term western strategy of engagement for democracy. From Russia to Central Europe, from Ukraine to the Baltics, the United States and our allies need to speed the transition to democracy and capitalism by keeping our market open to these countries' products, offering food and technical assistance, and helping them privatize key industries, convert military production to civilian uses and employ weapons experts in peaceful pursuits.

Make no mistake: Our help should be strictly conditioned on an unswerving commitment by the republics to comprehensive economic reform and on continued reductions in the former Soviet nuclear arsenal.

Russia faces two economic challenges. The short-term challenge is to stabilize the

economy and stem hyperinflation, so that Russia doesn't go the way of Weimar, Germany. The long-term challenge is to build a market system from the ground up — to establish private property rights, create a banking system and modernize its antiquated capital stock, which outside the defense sector lags behind world standards.

Russia is intrinsically a rich country. What it needs is not charity but trade and investment on a massive scale. What the major financial powers can do together is help the Russians help themselves. If we do, Russia's future holds the possibility of a stronger democracy rather than a resurgent dictatorship, and a new American market rather than a new American nightmare.

We should look at this assistance not as a bail out, but a bridge loan, much as a family gets from the bank when it buys a new house before selling their old house. I propose that the United States must take the lead in putting together a bridge loan to help Russia make the transition from its old system to its new economy.

We must have no illusions: The West cannot guarantee Russia's prosperity. Even with our help, the future of Russia and the other republics is uncertain. But we can give President Yeltsin's reforms and Russian democracy a fighting chance.

The West should establish a \$6,000 million fund to help stabilize the Russian ruble. Without this fund, the ruble will continue to lose its exchange value and inflation will continue to soar. America's share would be about \$1,000 million, in the form of a loan, not a gift. In return, Russian leaders have to agree to tough conditions. They must rein in public spending and stop excessive printing of money. A fund of this kind is like a net for acrobats. By building confidence, it reduces the chance it will ever be used.

Russia also needs to import food, medicine and the materials required to keep the economy functioning. According to the IMF, which has just endorsed Russia's economic reform program, that country needs minimum of \$12,000 million in financial assistance in 1992 to do so, primarily in the form of loans. Without this, Russia faces more than a 20 percent drop in GNP in 1992 — a bigger drop than America suffered in any year of the Great Depression. This assistance should be carefully aimed at those sectors where it can do the most good, and should come from the western democracies, including Japan, and perhaps also from other countries like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, South Korea and Taiwan. The United States share of these loans would be roughly 10 percent.

Finally, it is also crucial to give Russia some breathing space for serving its external debts, at a time when it doesn't have the money to stabilize its currency or import goods.

Let me be clear: Our nation can afford this. This is not an exorbitant price to pay for a chance to create new American markets and anchor a revitalized Russia firmly in the democratic camp. The amount of money we need is available from defense and other foreign aid savings that the end of the Cold War makes possible. If Boris Yeltsin and his economic advisers stay the course, the chances are good that Russia will be in a position to pay us back in full by the latter part of the decade. Nevertheless, passing such aid will require an act of political will by the Congress and the president, and the kind of leadership from the White House we have not previously seen.

I also strongly support fulfilling the commitment America has made to our share of the IMF quota increase. Of a total increase of \$60,000 million, our share is 19 percent, or roughly \$12,000 million. But we are not

talking about giving the \$12,000 million away. It is like a line of credit in a cooperative bank, and we earn interest on it. The quota increase was voted two years ago. It was necessary to help emerging democracies in Eastern Europe. It is all the more urgent now, with Ukraine, the Baltics and other newly independent nations whose economic fate depends on it. Every other country in the IMF has agreed to pay their share, except the United States. Why? Because our president has not taken the lead in persuading the Congress to authorize the necessary funds. We need a president who doesn't mind taking a little flak to seize this moment in history.

At the same time, we should encourage private American investment in the former Soviet Union. The newly independent republics, after all, are rich in human and natural resources. One day, they and Eastern Europe could be lucrative markets.

But Russia needs to do more than make the transition from state socialism to free markets. Constitutional democracy must take root firmly there as well. The popular movements for Russian democracy has been held together more by anti-communism than by a clear or common understanding of how to build a democratic society. Democracy remains an abstract and theoretical notion; there is an enormous deficit of knowledge in the former Soviet Union about the texture and dynamics of a free society.

No one on earth can fill that gap better than Americans. We need to make our engagement for Russian democracy a matter for people, not just governments. We need person-to-person contacts; a Democracy Corps, as Rep. Dave McCurdy has proposed, to send Americans over there; a crash program as others have proposed to bring tens of thousands of Russians and others here to learn how free institutions work; and a strong National Endowment for Democracy

to lead the way in spreading American values. Promoting democracy is not just a task for the American government. For years, labor unions, universities and volunteer organizations in this country have nurtured the democratic revolution around the world.

Without democratic institutions and values, economic reforms will not succeed. Our nation's greatest resource is ultimately not our dollars nor our technical expertise, but our values of pluralism and enterprise and freedom and the rule of law — and our centuries of experience in making those values work. In an era of fledgling democracies, those values can be our proudest export and our most effective tool of foreign policy.

This spring, Russia is scheduled to be admitted to the IMF and the World Bank. The lead role that such bodies will take points to a broader opportunity at this pivotal point in history: to reinvest the institutions of collective security.

At the outset, let me be clear: I will never turn over the security of the United States to the United Nations or any other international organization. We will never abandon our prerogative to act alone when our interests are at stake. Our motto in this era will be: together where we can; on our own where we must. But it is a failure of vision not to recognize that collective action can accomplish more than it could just a few years ago — and it is a failure of leadership not to make use of it.

The role of the United Nations during the Gulf War was a vivid illustration of what is possible in a new era. Too often in the past, the United Nations has looked like New York's own Tower of Babel — a costly debating society where Soviet client states and others engaged in anti-American demagoguery and outrageously equated Zionism with racism. But the end of the East-West standoff opens a range of new opportunities for these

institutions. Through them, we can share the burdens of making this a safer world.

For example, the United Nations has started unprecedented efforts to transform Cambodia's killing fields into a fertile place for civilian life and electoral freedom and to bring peace in Yugoslavia. The Congress should support those efforts. And we should build on the Desert Storm coalition and these new initiatives, by exploring new ideas for U.N. preventive diplomacy to head off conflicts before they break out. One such idea is a U.N. Rapid Deployment Force that could be used for purposes beyond traditional peacekeeping such as standing guard at the borders of countries threatened by aggression; preventing mass violence against civilian populations; providing humanitarian relief; and combatting terrorism. It would not be a large standing army but rather a small force that could be called up from units of national armed forces and earmarked and trained in advance.

Together, we must also tackle problems that transcend national borders, such as threats to the earth's environment, global population growth, world trade and weapons proliferation. We should be outraged by an indifference in the White House that could wreck the Rio Earth Summit before it has even begun. President Bush should have agreed to attend that summit long before now. The United States should lead the fight to slow global warming, instead of dragging our feet and ignoring important scientific data. We should sign a global environmental agreement to reduce carbon dioxide emissions with specific targets and timetables.

Judging by dogged performance in tracking down Iraq's nuclear facilities since the war, the International Atomic Energy Agency is providing to be an effective weapon against proliferation. The United States should lead an effort to enable the IAEA to conduct surprise inspections any-

where in a member nation, to ensure that it is keeping its commitment to refrain from building nuclear weapons. We must also work much harder than the administration has done to make sure that the United States and other countries do not export dangerous nuclear materials and technology to aspiring nuclear powers. We simply cannot afford to lose the war against nuclear proliferation.

Finally, we can make these institutions more effective and sustainable by reapportioning the burden of collective security. The answer is not to short-change our contribution to these bodies, as the president and Congress have lamentably done with the United Nations. But it is also time to insist that other nations start to shoulder more of the collective burden — not just because it will make those institutions more effective. We should seek to reduce our 30 percent financial share of U.N. peacekeeping operations to the 25 percent we pay for the U.N.'s regular budget. But we should also pay up — and pay up now — the past dues we owe to the United Nations.

Japan and Germany should be made permanent members of the U.N. Security Council. And we should seek larger contributions from those with the greatest interest in particular efforts for example, Japan should pay a full 30 percent of the large peacekeeping costs the United Nations will soon incur in Cambodia.

We should look to our allies to take a more active role in the defense of their own regions. In Europe, we must maintain our ties to NATO, even as the Europeans play a stronger role both within NATO and in the evolution of future security arrangements for the continent. In this hemisphere, the Organization of American States has demonstrated more leadership than the administration in response to the coup in Haiti.

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Clinton, the America-firster

Martin Walker (U.S. Correspondent, *GUARDIAN*, London)

The odd coalition of Rednecks and Rhodes Scholars who make up the Clinton campaign pulled it off. It was a famous victory, whose implications for the future of American politics and the pattern of global ideologies are just beginning to sink in.

The election-winning Republican coalition built up by Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan has fallen apart in the incompetent hands of George Bush. The South has fragmented, with the Clinton-Gore home States of Arkansas and Tennessee falling to the Democrats, but Louisiana, Georgia, and Kentucky voted Democratic too, and they lost North Carolina by the whisker of 18,000 votes.

SOMETHING NEW

The West, from the entire Pacific littoral of California, Washington, and Oregon, is beginning to look Democratic again. The Hispanic and Native American votes in New Mexico and Colorado make those seats look promising for the Democrats, but their victories in Nevada and Montana are striking. The fragmentation of those once-solid Republican regions of West and South was one key to Mr. Clinton's triumph. The other was the strength of the political machine they built in the industrial Mid-West of Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and Missouri.

Mr. Clinton won those regions, and this election, by converting the Democratic Party to Clintonism, and then convincing the American electorate that this was indeed, as he kept saying, "A New Democratic Party". To the European eye, Clintonism is a rather traditional form of social democracy tinged with an American populism, Keynesian policies plus the electric chair, public investment plus a hundred thousand more cops on the streets.

Two Arkansas convicts died on Death Row this year to establish Mr. Clinton's law 'n order credentials. One of them, Ricky Rector, was a pathetic shell of a man who had blown half his brain away trying to commit suicide at the time of arrest. When the executioners came to administer the lethal injection, the hapless fellow helped them find the vein in his arm, apparently under the delusion that these were doctors trying to help him.

Mr. Clinton takes his health policy from Germany, his job training schemes from Sweden, his vocational education models from Germany again, and his concept of the Government's strategic role in economic intervention partly from French planners and rather more from Japan's MITI. But his welfare policies, his commitment to law 'n order, and the kind of economic nationalism he spouted on the campaign trail could very nearly have come from that right-wing ideologue Pat Buchanan.

Mr. Clinton's aides like to talk of his compassion as "tough love", offering the down-on-their-luck a helping hand, but insisting on them showing responsibility and giving something back. In Arkansas, this meant no driving licences for high school dropouts. In Mr. Clinton's America, it will mean that able-bodied welfare recipients will get job training or education, but if they then refuse to find a job, or refuse the one the State offers, their welfare money stops. It means college education for all, but insists on payback by two years of public service.

To the British Labour Party, or Germany's Social Democrats, or a global moderate left which has been bereft of ideas for a

generation, Clintonism is likely to exert a powerful magnetic attraction. After all, it won, and it all sounds novel enough to contain a genuine touch of inspiration, which aroused real enthusiasm on the campaign trail.

EARLY DAYS

But these are early days, and Clintonism has yet to prove itself in office. Mr. Clinton may have won this election by looking a bit like John Kennedy and sounding a lot like Franklin D. Roosevelt. But he will only succeed if he can govern and politick and twist arms in the Congress like that other Southern populist, Lyndon Johnson.

The initial signs from Little Rock were disturbing. A very swift and serious tension emerged within 24 hours of the polls closing, between the Young Turks and the FOBs (Friends of Bills), who won the campaign, and the old Democratic Party hierarchy.

"They were in Little Rock for the party", one of Mr. Clinton's closest advisers told me, and for obvious reasons he shall remain anonymous. "And the very next day they kind of patted us on the head and said 'Thanks for winning for us, boys. Now step out of the way so we can run the country again'. And we said, 'We don't owe you guys one goddam thing, and the last time you were in power you screwed it up so royally the Democrats were out of power for 12 years'. The fate of the Clinton Administration is going to be decided in the next 10 weeks of this transition process."

'DEJA VU'

This, of course, is exactly what happened to Jimmy Carter during his transition period at the end of 1976, and too many

of the Old Guard were indeed brought into the Administration. There is a grim sense of *deja vu* in Little Rock, as the Old Guard urges the need to reassure the markets by appointing someone like former Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker to a top job. Mr. Volcker was the man whose tight money policies doomed Mr. Carter's re-election hopes.

The appointments to watch for are White House Chief of Staff, Secretary of State, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, Treasury Secretary, National Security Advisor, US Trade Representative, and the creation of a new White House office called the National Economic Security Council.

The New Guard will have won if the names of the FOBs and campaign advisers Bruce Lindsay, Eli Segal, Robert Rich, Derek Shearer, Michael Mandelbaum, Ira Magaziner, Robert Rubin, and Roger Altman appear in those posts. The appointment of Warren Christopher and Micky Kantor, Zbigniew Brzezinski and Robert Hormats, would mean that the Clinton Administration would look comfortably familiar, but depressingly like Carter retreads. Mr. Clinton being Clinton, expects the sort of compromise which guarantees a job for his campaign co-ordinator on foreign policy, Tony Lake who is also conveniently a Carter re-tread.

Apart from Georgia's Governor Zell Miller and Colorado Governor Roy Romer, the only member of the party's Old Guard to whom Mr. Clinton is really indebted is Democratic National Committee Chairman Ron Brown. A former aide to Jesse Jackson, and law student of Mario Cuomo, Mr. Brown was a splendid campaigner and fundraiser and organiser, and once Mario Cuomo dropped out of contention, increasingly devoted to Mr. Clinton. He would like to become Secretary of State, but the prospect of this corporate lawyer defending his firm's lobbying for Japanese firms like Toshiba be-

fore his Senate confirmation hearings is ringing warning bells in Little Rock.

Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia is also interested in the State Department, but he was very late to come on board the campaign, and lukewarm in the crucial Georgia primary in March. Mr. Nunn and the Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Les Aspin are each leading contenders for the Pentagon.

The tension in Little Rock is widespread, but the US press locates its focus between campaign chief of staff Eli Segal and campaign chairman Micky Kantor. It is said that Mr. Kantor, a Los Angeles lawyer who got to know the Clintons through service on the Children's Defence Fund with Hillary Clinton, was kicked upstairs during the campaign to run the transition preparation team while Mr. Segal really took over. Mr. Segal, who used to run the anti-Vietnam movement at Harvard over 20 years ago, has been a friend of Bill Clinton since then.

OVERBLOWN

This view is wildly overblown, and Clinton aides testily but justifiably complain that the press is simply hunting for something to write about. Mr. Kantor's relationship with the Clintons is very close, and unless one knows those involved in the FOBs (Friends of Bill), it is difficult to comprehend how selfless and tireless they can be in his service.

By definition, campaigns and the process of picking the top jobs can bring out the worst in people, and the transition process is a daunting time. What seems to be happening is very like that time when Jimmy Carter's chief aide Hamilton Jordan observed in 1976: "If we finish up with someone like Cyrus Vance as Secretary of the State, you'll know we have failed." Mr. Vance indeed got that job, but that was not the cause of Mr. Carter's failure.

Leading . . .

(Continued from page 11)

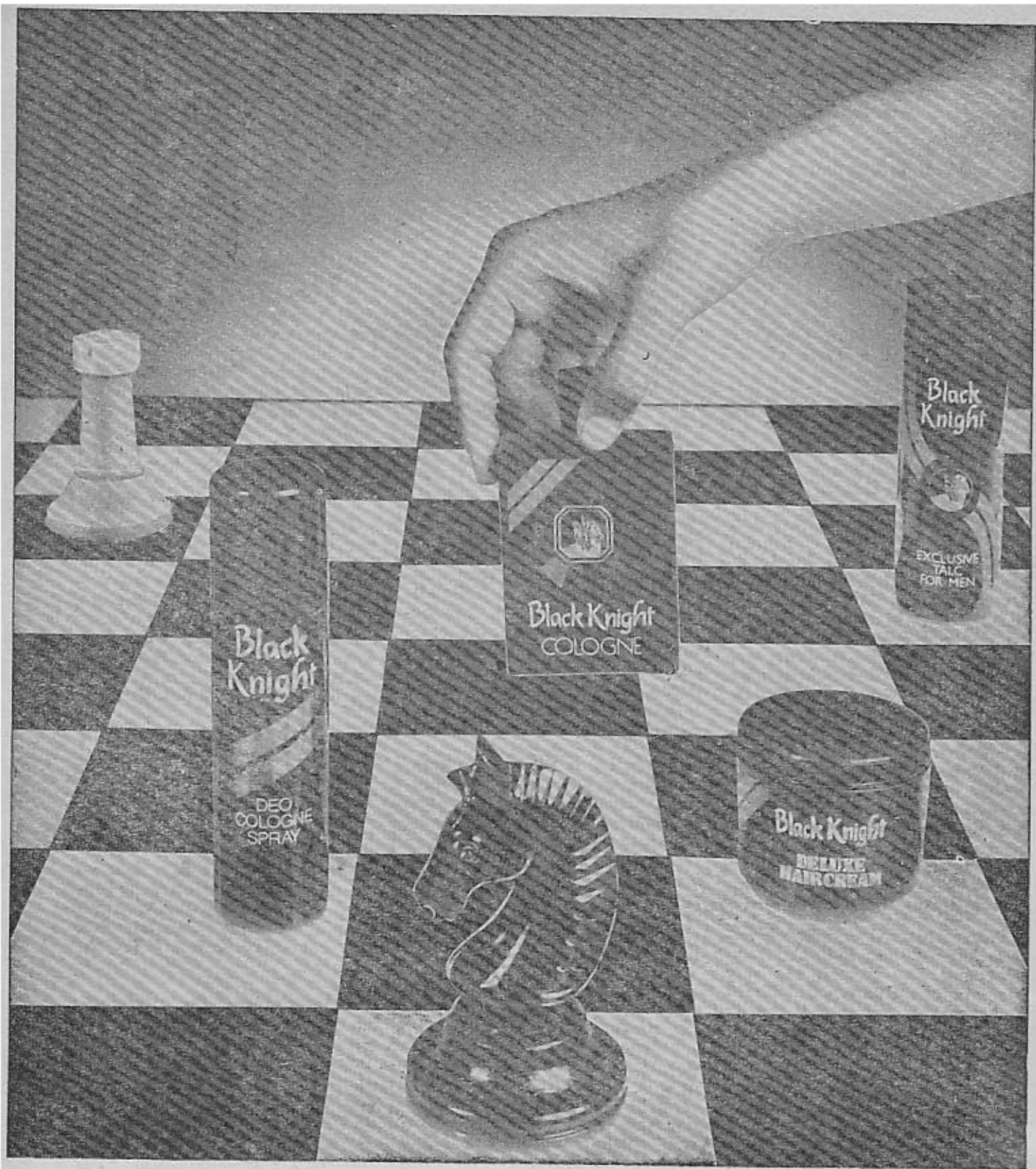
Many of the challenges we face in this new era will call for sacrifice. All of them will test our vision. Most hold more opportunity than danger for America — if we rise to meet them.

It might be convenient to delay a debate over the contours and demands of the new era until this political season is over. But history does not grind to halt during American presidential elections. History is calling upon our nation to decide anew whether we will lead or defer; whether we will engage or abstain; whether we will shape a new era or instead be shaped by it.

These are important choices, but they are not partisan ones. I would rather lose an issue than see America lose an opportunity. The best, boldest and most successful moments of America's foreign policy have come when we stood together as a nation, joined not in separate parties, but in common purpose.

I welcome the fact that the president — today — is announcing a program of assistance to Russia. I hope that his statement represents not only a declaration of intent, but a commitment to lead on this issue. And I tell you today, that as he does so, I will offer my support in convincing the American people and the Congress that this course is necessary for our country.

I am running for president, and I am running hard. Yet at this unique moment, just as important as our choice of national leaders is our affirmation of international leadership. That is what is at stake in 1992. After World War II, in similar circumstances, our nation proclaimed its character with a historic pledge to defend, to build and to lead. I am confident the American people stand ready to affirm that pledge again today.



Black Knight
It's your move

A personality for multi ethnic unity

Husain Haqqani (*Pakistan High Commissioner in Sri Lanka*)

Stanley Wolpert author of the book 'Jinnah of Pakistan' made a very interesting observation. He said, "few individuals significantly altered the course of history: fewer still modified the map of the world: hardly anyone can be credited with creating a nation state. Mohammad Ali Jinnah did all three. Hailed as 'great leader', Quaid-i-Azam of Pakistan and its first Governor General, Jinnah virtually conjured that country into statehood by the force of his indomitable will. His place of primacy in Pakistan history looms like minaret over the achievements of all his contemporaries in the Muslim League. Yet he began his political career as a leader of India's National Congress and until after World War-I, remained India's best Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity. As enigmatic as Mahatma Gandhi, more powerful than Pandit Nehru, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was one of recent history's most charismatic leaders and least known personality".

Today, I join you all in this observance of late Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's birth anniversary; to pay homage to that great man to whom we the Pakistanis owe our nationhood and statehood; it is important to shed some light on why Mohammad Ali Jinnah, hailed by Pakistanis as Quaid-i-Azam and loved by the Muslims all over the world as the creator of the first independent Islamic State to emerge from the colonial era, why is he not recognised for what he was a great leader, by many. Over the last four decades there has been a concerted attempt to create a negative image of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Whether it is in movies, to pay homage to another great man from South Asia, whether it is in novels about the freedom of South Asia,

whether it is in films and plays about partition, Mohammad Ali Jinnah is portrayed as a stiff, harsh man who broke a country — the country that was then British India. But the reality is that Mohammad Ali Jinnah did not break any country. He only made a country out of an empire.

The fact of the matter is that Mohammad Ali Jinnah made an immense contribution to the process of decolonisation. He raised the question. Should geographic entities created under colonial rule remain intact in that form in the post-independence phase. Or should a new concept of defining nations emerge, a concept that is more realistic — a concept that is based on the feelings of the people, a concept that is based on how people wish to define and identify their nationhood. Quaid-i-Azam was not a communalist. He was the acknowledged leader of the community of Muslims of South Asia but he was not a communalist. He was not a man who preached hatred, bigotry, and dislike for other communities. To the contrary, he had started his career as a man who devoted his political life to amity and cooperation between various communities. That is why he was called by no less a person than Gopal Krishan Gokhale as an Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity.

He was also a great constitutionalist — a man who believed in lawful and constitutional struggle. Quaid-i-Azam showed the path to many leaders for peaceful political struggle. The great friendship and understanding that had developed between the leaders of Sri Lanka's own Freedom Movement and the Freedom Movement of Pakistan, was based on this very notion that the struggle for freedom — the struggle for nationhood — the struggle for the statehood — can also be won through constitutional, legal and lawful means. And it was over the issue of not pursuing the path of constitutionalism that Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali

Jinnah broke with Gandhi. In 1920, at the Nagpur Congress Session, it was decided that the struggle for independence of India is going to be waged through unconstitutional, non-cooperation means, and Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah saw in such moves the seeds for violence. Mr. Jinnah, the Quaid-i-Azam, was not a man for violence. He was a man whose vision was for recognising diversity, for working for peace by mutual respect, mutual tolerance and peaceful co-existence. In fact, in 1920, when he decided to leave the Congress, Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah made a very interesting observation which is very pertinent in the present age in which mosques are being razed to the ground and temples are under threat and violence is increasingly being made, the method for politics. Quaid-i-Azam in 1920 said, "I will have nothing to do with this pseudo-religious approach to politics" — Note the words "pseudo-religious" not "religious". Quaid-i-Azam did not oppose religious approach but a pseudo-religious approach, the approach that forces or encourages people to attack the places of worship of others and to commit violence against those who believe otherwise so, the Quaid-i-Azam said, "I will have nothing to do with these pseudo-religious approach to politics, I part company with the Congress and Gandhi. I do not believe in working up mob hysteria". I'll repeat, "I do not believe in working up mob hysteria. Politics should be a gentleman's game".

If the Quaid-i-Azam had been listened to by people both in Pakistan and outside of Pakistan and definitely in the immediate neighbourhood, our region would have been far more peaceful than it has been. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah had a vision not only for Pakistan. He had a vision for the entire region. He had a vision for the entire Muslim Ummah. His vision was that neither nationhood nor relations among states or between states can be based on coercion and force. In fact, at one point, he cited Lincoln's definition of

(This anniversary talk was sponsored by the Sri Lanka-Pakistan Friendship Association at which the Pakistan High Commissioner, Mr. Haqqani was the chief speaker.)

nationality. In his inaugural address, President Abraham Lincoln of United States had said, that "a nation is a group of people that are bound together by bonds of the affection and by the mystic cord of memory". The important phrases of the statement are: "bonds of affection and mystic cords of memory", if "they" do not exist, then sheer territory being geographically in the same region or similar region, has no impact. If there are bonds of affections that can be created even across borders, then there is room for cooperation among even otherwise diverse people.

In the age of turmoil in which we live, in the year 1993, we see that there is violence in the heart of Europe. Yugoslavia is breaking up. There is violence in what used to be the Soviet Union. There is violence in the Horn of Africa, where just to feed the starving people armies of third countries have to be stationed, so that food can be distributed to the starving. We see that there are groups that are trying to use force to break up an island through violence — an island that has traditionally been known as paradise island, the soil on which we stand today. In such an age, it is important to bear in mind the vision and message of peace espoused by Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Nationhood can no longer be preserved or created by violence or coercion nor can relations among states. The world in 1993 is recognising more and more that nationhood and inter-state relations have to depend upon goodwill and recognition of the principles of tolerance and mutual respect.

Greatness of peoples and nations no longer stems from force of arms. The Soviet Union had far more weapons than were necessary to blow up the entire earth. And yet, the Soviet Union could not keep itself together. Similarly, those who are now developing missiles that have ranges of 800 to 900 km; those that have blue water navies that can reach throughout the Indian Ocean, all the way to Australia

and Indonesia on one side and the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea on the other; those who think that it is more important to develop greatness through means of destruction, have to recognise that it cannot be done. What is important is to develop the human being. That people, despite their diversity, can cooperate, that people should live together in peace and happiness and that can only be done by recognising the difference and yet deciding to cooperate.

It has to be a conscious decision and nations should recognise that greatness no longer devolves from force. It devolves from achievement. Japan, in terms of population, in terms of the land area, may be smaller but it is far more prosperous and definitely a greater power than many others. This notion of greatness through achievement of prosperity was operating principle of the Pakistan Movement. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah stood in 1940 and said: "we will create a country for the Muslims of South Asia called Pakistan".

Many people said, this is a communalist slogan and he said, "no". "How can this be a communalist slogan when there would still be many Muslims left in India and still many non Muslims left in Pakistan". It is interesting that as early as 1942, he made a very interesting statement. I quote directly. He said, "once Pakistan is created I will appoint myself champion of the small minorities, of Hindus living in Muslim areas meaning Pakistan, and would insist that the constitution should accord them full rights. If the Hindus do the same to the Muslim minority in their three-fourths of India, the two countries should live amicably as good neighbours like Canada and United States, like Mexico and North America, which no one suggests should be forced to live under one government, merely because they inhabit the same continent".

The message of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah remains as valid in the year 1993 as it was important in the year 1942.

South Asia today accounts for one fifth of the world population. Pakistan, India Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, the Maldives and Bhutan together account for almost one fifth, in fact, a little more than one fifth of the world population. If there is to be peace and prosperity in the world, then peace and prosperity in this region has also to be established. I think that the message and vision of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah can be the message and the vision that will lead us to the dream of peace and prosperity in this region.

It is really heartening to know that in Pakistan after several ups and downs of the last 45 years, today there are people in command, leaders in the form of our President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, who are leading the country in accordance with the vision of Quaid-i-Azam. They are trying to seek development for our own people through the process of encouraging the people to take into their own hands their destiny. This is development through the principle of private initiative and free enterprise. At the same time, we are trying to create a regional and international environment in which outstanding disputes with neighbours are resolved. After the solving of outstanding disputes there can be peaceful coexistence. Pakistan is, with hope, looking towards the dream that Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah mentioned in 1942, of living with neighbours, just as the United States and Canada live with each other as neighbours.

It may be interesting for the audience which I think is composed of Sri Lankans and Pakistanis that Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah also made a very interesting observation and statement about Sri Lanka and Pakistan. That observation was made in 1948. In a message to the late D.S. Senanayake on the attainment of dominion status by what was then Ceylon, Quaid-i-Azam said: "we in Pakistan will watch your progress with most friendly and sympathetic interest as some of

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Failure of Peace Process in Sri Lanka

P. Sahadevan

What had been anticipated has happened. The 45-member Parliamentary Select Committee (PSC) which was set up in August 1991 (after the failure of the Indo-Lanka Accord of 1987) to evolve a solution to the decade old ethnic-crisis, has proved to be a farce. It abruptly ended its deliberations recently after endorsing the 'consensus formula' worked out by the major Sinhala parties (the United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), instead of fulfilling its mandate of reaching a consensus between the Sinhala parties and the non-LTTE Tamil groups on a political package for the Tamils.

The UNP-SLFP formula envisaging devolution of powers on the 'Indian model' to the de-merged Northern and Eastern Provincial Councils without changing the unitary character of the Sri Lankan Constitution, came as a bombshell. More so, because the PSC, in its chequered proceedings, hardly received their active participation. Rather, they used the ethnic issue for political snipping from each other, neither the UNP nor the SLFP spelt out their stance on the Tamils' demand for the permanent North-East merger. Instead, each party was expecting the other one to declare its position on this major plank because of electoral imperatives. As such, the PSC was confined to discussing only those proposals which were submitted by the Tamil and the Muslim groups. Of course, none of these proposals were put to vote in the PSC.

Despite the non-committal role the UNP and the SLFP in the PSC, the Tamil parties continued to pin their hopes on the PSC which happened to be the only form where a search for peace in the island was on. They hoped that the major

Sinhala parties would agree on a fair deal for them. This stemmed from their understanding that the Sinhalese have learnt their lessons from the past misdeeds in tackling the ethnic question by adopting an intransigent attitude towards the Tamil minority's autonomy demands. But hopes were belied and the UNP and the SLFP proved that they refused to learn any lesson from the past when they flaunted a vague peace formula in the PSC. While it has obviously fallen short of meeting the legitimate aspirations of the Tamils who have been demanding 'greater devolution of powers' to the 'permanently unified North-East Provincial Council,' the UNP-SLFP combine, despite the rejection by the Tamil groups, affixed the label of the PSC's 'consensus' on their formula (with the forum Chairman, Mangala Moonesinghe, playing a partism role in the entire affair). This is nothing but the unilateral imposition of the narrow, chauvinist outlook of the majority Sinhala parties on the minority Tamils.

As per the original mandate of the PSC, any political package on resolving the ethnic crisis should be evolved through 'consensus formula.' This means that peace proposals are not adopted on the basis of majority vote. More so, because that PSC is dominated by the UNP and the SLFP members who have packed up 23 and 12 seats respectively. The Tamil and Muslim parties account for only 10 members. It was for this reason that Moonesinghe, in the face of the Sinhala parties' opposition, did not wish to seek in the PSC a formal 'yes' or 'no' vote on the four-point 'Thondaman formula' that asked for a unified politico-administrative unit for the North-East and advocated institutional units and guarantees for the protection of interests of the Muslims and the minority Sinhalese. Also, he buried his own 'Concept Paper' and 'Option Paper'

which contained certain compromise formula. The concept paper proposed for setting up of two separate Councils for the North and the East and an apex Regional Council with one Governor. In the option paper the demerger of the two Provinces became clear, and a Assembly with a Chief Minister by rotation and a concurrent subjects list was envisaged. But Moonesinghe's decision on December 11, 1992 to put one of the clauses, that referred to 'demerger of the North-East', in the 'Srinivasan proposals' amidst protests from Tamil groups, explained his utter disregard to the set procedures of the PSC. By this act, he reduced the deliberations in forum to a farce.

It is quiet evident that Moonesinghe was initially impartial in his role as the PSC Chairman. But he seemed to have succumbed to the UNP-SLFP pressure and machination to impose unilaterally a peace package on the Tamils. This incident shows that there can be no agency or forum for the common cause in the island free from political interference. Worse, Sinhalese themselves do not have much faith in the ruling elites and the judiciary. This explains Lali Kobbekaduwa's plea for the Commonwealth Commission of Inquiry into her husband Lieutenant General Denzil Kobbekadewa's killing in a landmine blast at Kayts Island in July 1992.

INTERESTINGLY, the UNP-SLFP formula is the modified version of the proposal (which suggested the 'de-merger' of the North-East and advocated a 'federal constitution in place of the unitary system') put forth by a dissident Jaffna MP belonging to the Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front (ENDLF) who was allegedly hired by the UNP administration for this job. The UNP's basic intention in doing so was to project that the government had accepted a Tamil's proposal and prepared to settle the ethnic crisis on the line of

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Tamils' wishes. The SLFP too preferred such an approach. But both the parties once again exhibited their status of being 'prisoners' of Sinhalese votes when they retracted from their earlier approval to the idea of federalism. Hence, the dilution of even the inadequate (to the Tamil groups) Srinivasan proposals. When the Tamil groups, who thought federalism was mentioned as a 'deal' to them for giving up the merger demand, raised this issue in PSC, the UNP leader A. C. S. Hameed's reply sounded arrogant, and reflected the Sinhala majority party leadership's colonial mentality. He said: "There is no need for federalism. It is not a reality. We will give powers enjoyed by States in India." This incident reveals that the federal idea still remains a dirty word to the Sinhalese who consider it as being 'one step away from the Eelam.' It also shows that the government's objective in conducting war in the North-East is only to subdue the LTTE and then impose a package of peace proposals on the Tamils.

A tragic part of the competitive electoral politics in the island is that the UNP and the SLFP have evolved themselves in a manner that they adopt parochial and chauvinistic approaches to 'national issues' like the ethnic crisis. They represent the typical Third World phenomenon of seeking political survival and the regime's sustenance at the cost of the country's peace and unity, although Premadasa's rhetoric has been to consider peace in the North-East an achievement greater than victory in the elections. In his speech on January 2, 1992 he promised to end the war before the year end. But the end of the year 1992 has not thrown up any significant clue to a serious peace effort. How could the island's quest for peace be materialised if his government's approach still does not have the spirit of accommodation vis-a-vis the Tamil minority. Even the UNP-SLFP formula was borne out of their

bankrupt approach. How could they devolve powers to the Provincial Councils similar to those enjoyed by Indian States under the federal set-up when the Sri Lankan Constitution is still a unitary one? Are they prepared to hand over powers relating to law and order, and land distribution (which the Indian States enjoy) to the Provincial Councils?

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THE major fall-out of the Sinhala parties' peace formula, if implemented, is the negation of the Indo-Lanka Accord of 1987 and the Thirteenth Amendment which was enacted in the 1987 Accord—a temporarily merged North-East Provincial Council. As per the accord, its permanent merger is subjected to a referendum in the East. But the Tamils (42 per cent) are against such an exercise because the Muslims' (32 per cent) alignment with the Sinhalese (21 per cent) in the Province almost ensure their defeat. Now, even the Muslims are not very keen to have a referendum because they do not want to be seen openly voting with the Tamils or the Sinhalese.

It can be assumed that the entire process of the PSC had been designed to implement the UNP's 1988 election manifesto to de-merge the North-East Province. The SLFP too became a collaborator for the benefit of not getting branded as anti-Sinhalese and pro-Tamil by the UNP. The UNP managed the entire show effectively to the extent that it seems to have obtained the endorsement of several Muslim MPs, including Basheer Segudawood [of the EROS (a Tamil group)], and the leaders of the Muslim Congress (which was until recently negotiating with the non-LTTE Tamil parties to evolve a common stand on the merger issue), to the peace proposal.

Finally, the tragedy of the moderate Sri Lankan Tamil politics is that with the killing of Amirthalingam and the marginalisation of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) by

the militants, there is no strong leadership who can effectively bargain with the Sinhala parties. Although Thondaman's attempt to play such a role merits acknowledgement, the Sinhalese and the Sri Lankan Tamils take him more as the Indian Tamil leader than the leader of the entire Tamil minority. The non-LTTE militants-turned-politicians lack manoeuvrability. This explains their failure to enlist the support of the Muslim Congress to their demand for the North-East merger.

With the failure of the PSC to fulfill its original mandate, the government has lost yet another opportunity to win the support of the larger Tamil community to exert pressure on the LTTE to join the democratic process. What happens next to this hazardous peace process remains most unfortunately a big question mark.

(Mainstream)

A personality...

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the problems confronting your island are similar to ours. We both suffered from exploitation at the hands of a foreign power and now that a new era has been ushered, we shall have to strive every nerve to improve the lot of the common man so sadly neglected heretofore. The problem confronting us is by no means small or easy but we must tackle it boldly. If we are to prove ourselves worthy of our newly won freedom and sovereign government of the people". Quaid-i-Azam said, "Ceylon is rich in mineral resources and talent, and I have no doubt under the guidance of great leaders she will make rapid strides on the road to good government and prosperity and will play her rightful part in promoting goodwill and friendship throughout the world. Pakistan has the warmest goodwill towards Ceylon, and I am sanguine that the good feelings that exist between our two peoples will be further strengthened as the years roll by and our common interests and mutual reciprocal handling of them will bring us into still closer friendship."

Cuba under Seige: A reply to Rajiva Wijesinghe

by Tisaranee Gunasekera

In the year 1992, Cuba, a small, developing country with a population of only 11 million, made history (and not for the first time either) by coming 5th in the Barcelona Olympics. In the previous year Cuba won the Pan American games by beating mighty US). That was not Cuba's only achievement in 1992. The sugar harvest was at a record high, surpassing all the targets set; life expectancy went up to 75.7 years and infant mortality fell to 104 per 1000 live births. Cuba was chosen by the world community (in the secret ballot Cuba received 103 votes) to be one of the three countries to represent the Latin American and the Caribbean region in the United Nations Economic & Social Council (ECOSOC). Furthermore, in an act of open defiance of the Toricelli Act and of solidarity with the Cuban Revolution and its people, the 'Pastors for Peace' journeyed to Cuba, bringing with them humanitarian assistance worth millions of dollars.

But the greatest victory of all was as the year was coming to an end: in a replay of the battle between David and Goliath, tiny Cuba managed to defeat the World's sole super power in the international political arena. Despite all the efforts by the US to prevent the member countries from supporting the Cuban resolution, "The need to put an end to the US economic, trade and financial blockade of Cuba" was adopted by the UN General Assembly. 59 countries (including Canada, France, Spain, Mexico and New Zealand) voted in favour; 23 of these publicly stated why they are doing so. For the first time in the last several years (certainly since 1989) the US found itself completely isolated at the UN, with only Israel and Romania voting with it. What must be mentioned is that prior to the vote, the US circulated a document to member countries stating: "In view

of your relation with them, we would appreciate your going to the Cubans in an effort to have the resolution withdrawn. The Cubans should understand that their insistence that you support them threatens your good relationships with the U.S. The American Congress and people will be watching this issue very carefully.

(Italics mine — T.G.)

Another important event took place in the year 1992 — though unfortunately it will not be entered in the annals of History; 33 years after the Cuban Revolution, Rajiva Wijesinghe finally made it to Cuba. Going by his own words he was in a hurry to get there because "it seemed inevitable that Cuba too would soon change, like all the other Marxist regimes that had crumbled so drastically; and I wanted to see it before then" (L.G. Dec. 1, 92). He is not the only one making such Cassandra-type prophecies about the fate of the Cuban Revolution. There are plenty of such elements — particularly in Miami, Florida — who have been waiting for the last 33 years for the 'inevitable' collapse of the Revolution. These types got a new lease of life, with the disintegration of the Soviet Union. They expected Cuba to go the way of Eastern Europe, soon. Only it didn't happen. And in the ensuing year, Cuba, beleaguered and assailed, facing countless problems (which characterize the current 'special period') managed to perform all the abovementioned feats that any country with normal conditions prevailing, can be justifiably proud of. And it's not surprising that Rajiva Wijesinghe doesn't mention any of these achievements, because it's obvious that he's looking at Cuba with eyes that are blinkered.

Rajiva Wijesinghe laments that the Cuban people do not have anything "at least approaching a decent life". My question is: how would Mr. Wijesinghe define a decent life? Surely for a citizen of a poor, third world country, this would be a life free of poverty, hunger, malnutrition, disease, homelessness and ignor-

ance? If we go by these (universally accepted) yardsticks the Cuban people enjoy a more decent standard of living than the absolute majority of people in the rest of the Tricontinental world and even millions of poor, homeless people in the affluent, developed West. Because, according to Rajiva Wijesinghe himself, "Health care was, one gathered, excellent and the educational system catered to everyone, so that the awful deprivation so many were doomed to by birth alone elsewhere in the Western hemisphere (and in the rest of the world — T.G.) was experienced here."

Let me add to that: according to the World Health Organization (WHO), Cuba has managed to eradicate such diseases prevalent in the Third World as Poliomyelitis, Measles, Diphtheria and Cholera. Despite the massive economic problems not a single school, hospital or recreational centre has been closed. Cuba with 300,000 teachers has the highest per capita rate of teachers in the world. Poverty, hunger and homelessness are things of the past. Though scarcities and shortages abound, even according to Rajiva Wijesinghe, at least all children will get milk and every citizen will get half a pound of chicken a month. For the absolute majority of the people of the Third World who are burdened by poverty and all its attendant ills (such as hunger, homelessness, destitution etc), for all those billions of children who never get a chance of going to school and if they survive infancy have to work like slaves to eke a meagre living, the life of a Cuban will not seem 'deplorable' or 'horrible'. Far from it. No wonder that despite all the problems they are facing and despite being far from happy about the daily deprivations, the absolute majority of the Cuban people support Fidel. (This is a truth even intelligent anti-Cuban analysts and journalists admit).

DEPENDENCY

What is the reason for this economic crisis that Cuba is facing today? According to Rajiva Wijesinghe "For the reality it

should have admitted to itself was that the present state of collapse was primarily its own fault. It had no business to be so dependent still on Soviet subsidies. After 30 years surely it could have produced something of its own, been less dependent on charity for energy, for food, for the very basis of life." (*Lanka Guardian* Dec. 1, '92). Let's get this one straight. Rajiva Wijesinghe is rebuking the Cubans for being dependent—in other words for failing to create an economy that is self sufficient. Would Mr. Wijesinghe care to tell us the same of any Third World country that is not 'dependent' i.e. whose economic survival doesn't depend on aid, trade and investment? Can it be that he, a leader of the Liberal Party has become a (recent) convert to the dogma of closed economy, of autarkic development? Otherwise how can he chide a small, Third World country for failing to become economically independent (and in just 30 years)? Can it be that he doesn't know that all Third World countries (Sri Lanka included) are dependent on the First World for aid, trade and investment; that for instance if the US were to impose a crippling blockade on any one of our countries (like the blockade on Cuba) we too will be in as dire straits as Cuba is (and probably worse)?

If Rajiva Wijesinghe were to say that he was criticizing Cuba for being dependent on the Soviet Union, the truth is that Cuba never had a choice. In the aftermath of the 1959 Revolution, when the new Cuban government took steps to ensure the well being of the masses by addressing their most pressing problems (through land reform, rent control and nationalisation of such essential public utilities as electricity), the US cut off all economic links with Cuba. The Cuban Revolution had to choose between sovereignty, dignity and honour and continued economic links with the US. The Revolution opted for the former. In this context the Cubans had no choice but to look for alterna-

tives—to sell their sugar, to import such essentials as fuel, to trade, to obtain credit. Only the Soviet Union was both willing and had the capacity to take the place of the US as Cuba's main trading partner. The Cuban trading arrangement with the USSR (fuel for sugar) was not charity—any more than the Rubber-Rice pact between Sri Lanka and China was. It is true that the USSR sold fuel to Cuba (and other COMECON partners) at a price lower than the world market rates. That was not an act of charity; that was an act of solidarity, of internationalism. (Rajiva Wijesinghe's inability to understand the difference becomes perfectly explicable when one remembers his implicit disapproval of the tickets for the ballet at the Havana Great Opera House being priced so moderately at 3 pesos—thus making it within the reach of all Cubans instead of the privilege of a handful).

It wasn't that the Cubans didn't understand the dangers of dependency. They did. In the 60's, they (like so many other Third World countries) attempted to shift to a more self sufficient mode of development. But they (like all other Third World countries which made similar attempts) failed. After that, the Cubans have tried to exploit to the maximum the only other options available to countries such as ours—i.e. *diversify* both exports and dependence. As a result the Cubans have managed to develop new export products such as Pharmaceuticals. They produce and export around 900 types of drugs including the only Meningitis vaccine in the world and in Hepatitis B vaccine as well as advanced equipment such as the ultra-microanalytic system—SUMA). The other export products include biotechnology and fish products. This is in addition to further expanding other traditional exports as tobacco and nickel. They have also managed to build substantial trade links with a number of European and Latin American countries (particularly Spain and Venezuela). What must

be mentioned is that the crippling US blockade has been and is acting as a major obstacle to the attempts by the Cubans to diversify both exports and dependence.

U. S. BLOCKADE

It's very interesting that Rajiva Wijesinghe hasn't got much to say about the US blockade and its effects on the Cuban economy. Here are some relevant facts and figures that he must carefully consider before he writes his next piece on Cuba. As the Cuban permanent representative at the UN pointed out during the debate on the Cuban Revolution on the blockade "These are not abstract statements: in order to replace the U.S. locomotives used in our sugar industry and, as a result, to change our railroad system, Cuba had to invest some 480 million dollars. The estimate for the cost of equipment that had to be bought for sugarcane cultivation given these new conditions is 2.6 billion dollars. 9000 U. S. tractors, 580 rice cultivators and tens of thousands of other pieces of agricultural equipment were left useless as a result of the blockade, their cost 100 million dollars.

Losses in the nickel industry are not less than 400 million dollars in the electricity industry, they are 120 million dollars and in the automotive industry, 100 million.

The blockade has meant losses of no less than 3.8 billion dollars in the tourist industry. The above average costs we have to pay to charter ships because of U.S. restrictions amount to no less than 375 million dollars.

Civil aviation, telephone communications, buying medicines and food, copyright, sports, access to certain technological inventions, the wealth of the population, the possibility of a reciprocal cultural exchange between the United States and Cuba and many other areas of Cuban life have all experienced the harsh effects of the ban.

Any calculation must be necessarily incomplete, but the most recent studies show that

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Fate of the indigenous people (2)

Tyronne Fernando

What do we know of the wish and will of the 'younger' indigenous people? Is there an urge on their part to join the mainstream of life? It would indeed be a great pity if the forces that make it possible for the indigenous people around the world to survive are not motivated by any genuine desire to respect the rights of individuals. How long can the indigenous people resist change? After all it must be remembered that the people of today are not the people of yesterday. To change, to desire change, to assume an urge to adopt alien practices which appear exciting, is natural in man. Change is an outcome of exposure. And around the world indigenous people are subjected to more exposure now than in the days gone by. In this context what degree of relevance do rights assume? There is no doubt that extraneous forces, be they legislative or other will have no impact in the absence of a will to retain one's identity. How effective are the 1000 odd indigenous organisations that have sprung up around the world in resisting the impact of the forces of change, be they social, economic, political or cultural. There is no doubt that have given fresh impetus to these organisations. Consequent to decolonisation, rulers who abided time and waited for first peoples to gradually disappear have had to recognise the rise of treasured and dynamic indigenous cultures. There have been international pressure to accept new norms and there has been fresh impetus to accept a new legal order.

To what extent can a state ensure self-determination to its indigenous people? The rising demand could amount to a cry which calls for the treatment of these people on par with other minorities of this country. In other parts of the world. It is in fact so. Some, such as the West Papuan and Kanaky peo-

ples ask for political independence. The hill people of Burma, the Karen, Kachin, Shan and others as well as the Phillipine Igorots want autonomy within their state. Others want the right to participate in national affairs. In other words, they want self-determination of varying degrees for their own people, the legitimate right to decide for themselves.

The extent to which these rights are to be assured by legislative means is indeed a matter for each nation.

In the Sri Lankan context the rights sought are the rights to their traditional homeland 1,500 acres in extent and the right to continue their way of life within their territory. The right to hunt, the right to collect honey, the right to cultivate as their forefathers taught them and the right to worship their idols. The right to their land is not limited to the legal right of ownership of its surface but also the right to everything that goes with it. The fauna, the flora, everything that is beneath its soil as well as everything above it, the spirits, the graves, the rivers, the hills — all this as well as their laws, unwritten — yes, but still laws, to be passed on to their future generations.

To what extent then would the State be justified in restricting these rights? The aims and objectives of the State as determined by the policy makers must of necessity give due regard to the will and wish of indigenous people. If this is accepted, restriction of the rights of these people may be best achieved by a process of consultation and compromise. We can not arrogantly assume that the ecology experts are more knowledgeable about the environment than Tissahamy. After all, did they not control their forests with ease whereas we need Emergency regulations to control most excesses?

While it must be accepted that the rights of indigenous people must be respected and viewed as such, there must also be a certain amount of caution regarding the exertion of external forces to spur their survival against their will. If there be a natural tendency to integrate and join the mainstream of life that too should be aided. There is evident all over the world an increasing tendency to commercialise the activities of indigenous people with a view to obtain gains which cannot be said to be motivated by a genuine desire to respect their individuality. This is the greatest harm that must be guarded against. A veddha with a gun, hunting life to be sold to persons, outside his clan, clenching rupee or dollar notes in his fist are not incidents that can be condoned. Just as much as we cannot condone the role played by the Hmong of Thailand and the Amazonian Indians of Colombia in the big business of trafficking in drugs traditionally grown for home consumption for use as a pain reliever, to treat dysentery and contain tuberculosis rather than as a cash crop. Their demands can be tolerated only as long as they are genuine. They cannot have the best of both worlds. Preservation of their culture — yes, but never a corrupted form of their culture. We must be realistic about these dangers.

It is indeed creditable that the attention of international organisations such as the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation have assumed interest in the plight of the indigenous peoples of the world. It is an indication of the importance being attached to issues relating to these people. I quote from the Dene Declaration, 1975 which states as follows:

..... as the peoples and the nations of the world have come to recognise the existence and rights of those peoples who make up the Third World the day must come, and will

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Narrow Nationalism and Militarism

N. Shanmugaratnam

Is the nationalism of the oppressed always progressive? The answer would be an unqualified yes according to the simple axiom that the nationalism of the oppressed is an ideology of resistance and an inevitable response to the reactionary great nation chauvinism of the oppressor state. Then today's Tamil nationalism as represented by the LTTE should be considered progressive and even revolutionary. For there is no doubt that the LTTE is engaged in an armed struggle against a chauvinist authoritarian state with the aim of establishing an "independent state of Tamil Eelam". However, a more critical view of the politico-military developments of the post-July 1983 period would show that being anti-state may be a necessary but not a sufficient condition for a movement to be regarded as progressive. History is replete with instances in which movements representing the oppressed imitate the oppressor in many ways. For instance, in choosing their myths and symbols, re-construction of history, shaping ideologies and organs of social and political control, and in dealing with conflicts within and between movements: Nationalism is not only an inclusive but an exclusive ideology. In defining and consolidating the identity of a particular oppressed *ethnie* on a territorial basis, the leading nationalist ideologues may deliberately exclude other groups that have been peacefully co-existing with that *ethnie* for centuries.

Thus it is conceivable that a nationalist ideology that is popular among an oppressed people can be reactionary like the nationalism of the oppressor. Tamil Eelam nationalism has become such a reactionary ideo-

logy. The chronicle of ethnic pogroms committed by Tamil militants from the Anuradhapura massacre of 1985 to the more recent Medirigiriya killings and the expulsion of the Muslim people from their traditional homelands in the North-East are among the most dangerous manifestations of a militarist Tamil Eelam chauvinism. The ideology that dominates the Tamil people's struggle today is a powerful mix of narrow Tamil nationalism and militarism. It would be a fallacy to assume that this ideological mix is a monopoly of the LTTE although they are its most extreme exponents at present. In the past, we have seen concrete manifestations of militarism and Tamil chauvinism in the actions of some other groups. By militarism of the LTTE I do not mean anything like a Tamil martial tradition although the latter has become a part of the ideological core of Tamil ethnicity. In this instance, I use the term militarism in its generally known sense to denote the practice that seeks military solutions to political issues and conflicts. In today's Sri Lanka, militarism has become a common property of the state and the violent anti-state forces. In the North-East, it has become a political practice that negates the radical politics of liberation by using organised terror on unarmed people and on rival groups which may be armed to assert the authority of a particular organisation. In such a situation militarism is organised and sustained terrorism, and an ideology too. While Tamil militarism is a phenomenon originating in the 1980s, narrow Tamil nationalism has a longer history.

The armed struggle in the North-East has been going on for nine years (almost a decade, one may say), long enough to reveal the nature of the political forces at work and to project likely future scenarios based on their dynamics. The LTTE has emerged as the de facto state in the areas under its control.

Its power apparatus is made of instruments of coercive repression and terrorism as well as ideological hegemony in ways that are characteristic of fascism. It can not be denied that the LTTE enjoys the support and admiration of a section of the Tamil population in the North-East. It is equally undeniable that another section, which appears to be growing in size, is opposed to LTTE's militarist authoritarianism and anti-Muslim terrorism. We have no way of making accurate quantitative estimates of the supporters and opponents of the LTTE in the North-East. However, that information is not so critical to an understanding of the political character of the LTTE.

As regards the apparatus of violence, the LTTE itself is primarily a military organisation in which the political and military leaderships are merged into one in a single person. The LTTE attained its supremacy in the Tamil areas by physically annihilating the other groups. The Tigers have their own laws which are enforced with an iron fist. They have their prisons in which thousands of men and women are languishing. These prisoners include activists, supporters and suspected supporters of other political groups, and independent intellectuals who are critical of the LTTE. Tigers intensively police the Tamil homeland. They have a rudimentary bureaucracy as an appendage of the military to enforce their form of government including collection of taxes, issue of exit permits, settlement of disputes over property and approval of foreign and local NGOs to operate in the LTTE-ruled areas.

LTTE has developed an elaborate ideological apparatus to exercise hegemony over the Tamils of the North-East. It uses a range of mass communication tools over which it has a monopoly in the North-East to disseminate a narrow, militant Tamil Eelam nationalism. These tools include daily news papers, periodicals, posters, video and audio

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cassettes, theatre and mass meetings. Tamil nationalism has undergone modifications in the past decade in response to the coercive operations of the Sri Lankan state, the hegemonic needs of competing Tamil militant groups, and the specific needs of the LTTE to justify its militarism and maintain its ideological hold on the Tamil people. The LTTE has taken the old narrow Tamil nationalism which tended to be exclusive of the Muslims in the North-East to its logical extreme. In the Federalist phase (1952-72), Tamil nationalism served the political project of creating an ethno-territorial consciousness among the Tamils of the North-East. The ideologues of the Federal Party (FP) sought to bring together the Tamils of the North-East as a people with a common past and a common future by appeal to the core of Tamil ethnicity which, like that of any other ethnicity, resided in myths and symbols, and by pointing at the threat of the rising Sinhala buddhist state. This extensive psycho-political exercise of "educating" the Tamils to imagine themselves as members of a larger community inhabiting a contiguous territory from "Point Pedro in the north to Pottuvil in the east and Puttalam in the west" relied on myths and legends and a Dravidian rhetoric with which the Muslims had very little in common. The parameters of the Tamil nationalist discourse were laid in the federalist extensive phase. However, the FP's discourse was based on a federalist conception of a Tamil homeland and nationhood within a united Lanka and conditioned by the needs of parliamentarist politics. In this phase, Tamil nationalism was non-militant in form — though it had strong chauvinist elements, and was activated mostly in the election season which came once in five years or so. There were, of course, a few occasions of mass action like the short but popular Satyagraha campaign of 1961.

In the Early Tamil Eelamist Phase (1972-83), the nationalist

discourse was intensified while its parameters were redefined in terms of self-determination. The militant groups played an active role in this intensification and redefinition. At the same time, they tried to internalise the Muslims into Tamil Eelam as Islamic Tamils. This was not basically different from the FP's approach of including the Muslims with the Tamils into a larger, common category of Tamil speaking people while at the same time adopting an ethno-centric ideology that excluded them. In this phase, some pro-government Tamil politicians and a member of the NSSP in Jaffna, were among those assassinated as "traitors" by militants. The message of this individual terrorism was that all Tamils should be loyal to the Tamil Eelam cause. In the Militant Tamil Eelamist Phase (July 1983-), the intensification of narrow Tamil nationalism gathered further momentum with a growing accent on the so called martial traditions of Tamil society. Of all the groups, the LTTE has been most consistently strengthening the primordialist myths and legends of Tamil ethnicity. It would seem that it has re-constructed the hard core of Tamil ethnicity with revised heroic myths, battle legends and symbols to root its exclusive and militant Tamil nationalism. This serves several purposes for the Tigers. The LTTE links its military prowess to an ancient martial tradition and claims to be its legitimate heir. Indeed, LTTE's propaganda not only compares its leader to Raja Raja Cholan but claims that the valour of the Tiger guerillas is rooted in the Tamil martial tradition. Once the Tamil youth are made to believe in the myth that they are the proud descendents of martial ancestors, it is easier to recruit and transform them into selfless warriors. The myth and the ideology based on it and other myths are also helpful in justifying LTTE's militarism and ethnic cleansing operations.

The Tamils in the LTTE-ruled areas have become the unfortunate captives of its pow-

er apparatus — coercive and ideological. The vast majority of them have been forced to be the traumatised, silent spectators of a war in which the LTTE claims to be fighting in their behalf for their liberation. They are, of course, invited to participate in the celebration of the heroism of the Tigers, and are free to open their mouths to praise the Tigers and to denounce the "traitors"! With the same apparatus of power, the Muslim people have been excluded ideologically and by brute force from the homeland they have shared with the Tamils for centuries. This horror drama is a total negation of the liberation the Tamil people had hoped for.

Let's face the most disconcerting fact: what is going on in the North-East is a military contest between two oppressive forces, the Sri Lankan state and the LTTE, for unchallenged authority over a territory and its inhabitants. Whoever wins, the people lose. The twin evils of Tamil chauvinism and militarism have irreversibly subverted even the theoretical feasibility of Tamil Eelam as an independent democratic state. For the Tamil masses, liberation meant, and it still means, regaining their human dignity as Tamils and living and participating in a polity that guaranteed basic entitlements and equality of opportunities to all. Today, liberation in this sense has become inseparably linked to the democratisation and socio-economic transformation of the whole of Lanka. The greatest need of the hour is to uphold the original values of liberation and dare to think in terms of viable alternatives to secession. The democratic forces among the Tamils, Muslims and Sinhalese should open a new dialogue on models of reconstructing Lanka as a multiethnic peoples' democracy. The historic task that awaits the democratic forces is the ushering in of an era of enlightenment, an era that breaks radically with the history and practices of Sinhala and Tamil chauvinisms and creates a new history and consciousness.

The conjuncture that precipitated the demand for separation still continues though with constant modifications. However, to those who care to note, there are signs of a new conjuncture emerging out of the brutalisation and inhumanity of the past decade. These signs come from within the Lankan society like a silver lining of the dark clouds of war and authoritarianism. In the South, the extreme Sinhala chauvinists are losing ground. This is not to say that the institutionalised power of Sinhala chauvinism has diminished. The significant point is that for the first time in a decade we witness a visible disillusionment among the Sinhala people with the government's continuation of the war. The patriotic appeals trotted out by the government to the Sinhala youth to join the armed forces to 'defend the motherland' do not find any significant response these days. Several Sinhalese human rights activists working among the people have said that the number of Sinhalese favouring an end to the war and a political solution to meet the aspirations of the Tamils is growing. On the Tamil side, there is a similar trend with a growing number of people wanting peace with dignity and freedom.

The political challenge emanating from these trends is unprecedented. We need an institutional model for a decentralised democracy in which the society and economy can develop rapidly. We need a range of institutional innovations to practice democracy, promote sustainable economic growth, and build communities that are capable of wielding political power and managing their affairs. Federalism is being mentioned as a candidate. It has yet to be debated in a broader arena by all concerned individuals and organisations. The Sinhalese people have been continuously misinformed about federalism for four decades by the stalwarts of Sinhala nationalism. They were told that federalism meant secession of the North-East and its

annexation with India. They need to be helped to be unlearn the rubbish taught them by the UNP, SLFP and other Sinhala chauvinist groups. The Tamils and Muslims need to reach an understanding on how to work out viable units of devolution. It does not make sense to begin with a rigid premise about borders. The reconstruction model should be based on local units as building blocks. There is a lot of confidence building to be done between Tamils and Muslims in the North-East, and between the three communities at a national level. Federalism should be seen as a part of a larger exercise of restructuring the whole country on the basis of autonomous regions. Thus the model we need is not one that simply divides the Tamil and Sinhala areas into two large autonomous political entities but a more sophisticated one that allows building smaller viable units into a federal framework to facilitate decentralisation, rapid development, and the enhancement of people's entitlements and capabilities.

A multiethnic Lanka needs a new identity, a new consciousness and, of course, new symbols; for instance, the Lion flag can not be a symbol of a multiethnic society. This may sound idealistic in these days of break-up of the former Soviet Union into nation states and rising ethno-nationalism everywhere. In our situation, having seen the worst of ethno-nationalism and its limits, we have returned to the idea of a multiethnic reconstruction of Lanka as a practical, political economic, and cultural necessity. If the cry for Tamil Eelam was a product of the separatist practices of Sinhala ethno-nationalism, the renewed interest in a multiethnic alternative is a reaction to the workings of both Sinhala and Tamil nationalisms which have clearly revealed their limits in the past decade. The whole society has been dragged into barbaric violence by these two nationalisms and their bellicose exponents are clearly determined

to keep the people repressed and benighted. We turn to multiethnic alternatives in our search for a new political practice to realise what has been negated by Sinhala and Tamil nationalisms — liberation.

Fate of . . .

(Continued from page 21)

come, when the nations of the Fourth World will come to be recognised and respected....."

Stability of mankind depends on the preservation of our roots, whether they be religious, ethnic, cultural or others. By ensuring the preservation of what is fundamental, the evolution of a just and stable society will undoubtedly be an easier task. Preservation of the fundamentals here means the preservation of fundamentals in its purest and most pristine form and for the noblest of objectives. Nothing short of this will aid in the establishment of a just and stable society in this or any other century. Indeed without roots, we will wither.

Cuba. . .

(Continued from page 20)

the material cost the Cuban people has had to pay as a result of the U.S. blockade over the last 32 years comes to no less than 38 billion dollars." (Granma International Dec. 6, '92).

What has to be emphasised is that the US couldn't refute any of these figures and arguments because they all happen to be accurate.

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