www.tamilarangam net

The Federal Option for Sri Lanka

Opportunities and Challenges for Constitutional Settlement



Prof. Kumar David

Preface

The left tendency that emerged in the LSSP in 1970 initiated an internal discussion of the national question right at its inception and actively intervened in the national political arena throughout the 1970s, on the basis of these ideas — well before the commencement of the civil war. Unfortunately, because of the limited strength of the movement, these actions could not reach practical fulfillment in the form of a peaceful solution nor prevent the ethnic civil war. Nevertheless, it is a great moral victory for those of us who participated in these efforts, that the parties to the now suspended war are trying to reach a settlement on the basis of the very concepts that we developed so long ago.

It is a great relief that the Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE have started discussions to find a negotiated settlement that can avoid secession – the division of the country into two separate states. However, this situation forces us to face the next difficult challenge that is formulating an acceptable model for constitutional change. The Free Trade Union Development Centre (FTUDC) commenced this discussion on 31st July 2002 with a seminar by Prof. Kumar David entitled "What Kind of Federalism is Suitable for Sri Lanka". Following this we held a number of discussions in the work places.

This was followed by a discussion paper that Kumar prepared with the intention of drawing all left political parties into a constructive exchange, but before the discussion could be launched Parliament was dissolved and new elections announced in 2004. In the aftermath of the elections a confused picture has emerged as the new government attempts to move forward with negotiations while at the same time both internal and external communal forces attempt to pull it back. In this situation we have decided to redouble our efforts to build an understanding all over the country of the essential elements of a peaceful solution. Accordingly, we in the FTUDC have commenced a schedule of wide ranging discussion forums with leaders of mass organizations, trade union leaders and other activists, regarding essential constitutional changes, including the rights of the Tamil people.

At the request of the FTUDC, Kumar updated his discussion paper and prepared this document that you are now holding in your hands. In an era where intellectuals are more concerned with the benefits of the open economy, and few are willing to come forward and develop concrete concepts on democratic and social reform issues, we think Kumar's undertaking is praiseworthy. We hope that the forums will help us to be bold in our thinking and actions in search of a peaceful solution to ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. Since our objective is to seek a democratic solution, as well as to go forward with social reforms that are meaningful for the livelihood of the mass of our people, we believe that this warning is timely in the present international context.

The 26th December 2004 Tsunami inflicted another blow on our country. We are now suffering from three disasters; civil war, natural catastrophe and economic stagnation. The solution to these three disasters needs bold and radical reforms and the new road forward must address all of these issues. By coincidence, a symposium interlinking these issues is to be conducted on 22-23 January 2005, in Colombo, with the participation of local and overseas intellectuals. What this FTUDC booklet has in common with the symposium is that both seek to steer away from sectarianism and bring together a whole wide spectrum of progressive people from many organizations and parties who have a common outlook on constitutional, social and economic reform.

This booklet will be made available locally and internationally. The FTUDC will use it for extensive intervention in workplaces and public forums. As such we look forward to constructive critical comments and the opportunity to refine its contents through dialogue. The contents of the booklet may be freely quoted and used with acknowledgement to the author and the FTUDC.

Finally, we wish to thank our Trade Unions, Community based organizations and well wishers for financial assistance with the publication and Heyles Graphics and its printing section staff for their conscientious efforts.

G.V.D.Tilakasiri President Free Trade Union Development Centre.

11/36A, Ananda Rajakaruna Mawatha, Punchi Borella, Colombo 10, Sri Lanka. 2005 January 10.

Tel 0094 0777 071 062 (Office) 0094 0712 286 439 (Mobile) Email. ftudc@sltnet.lk

The Federal Option for Sri Lanka

Opportunities and Challenges for Constitutional Settlement

ABOUT THIS DOCUMENT

This document has been prepared to initiate a public discussion, especially in work places, schools, the media and other open forums; its objective is to initiate a constructive no-holds barred dialogue. There is a wealth of goodwill in Sri Lanka for ending the war and finding a fair and lasting solution to the ethnic divisions, which have deteriorated over the years. This goodwill in the public domain far outweighs the voices of extremism, chauvinism and ultra nationalism; but there is a problem. The problem is that no careful and reasoned discussion about the feasible structure of a lasting long-term solution has been initiated and conducted in a systematic way. The author of this document believes that the Federal option should be given careful study as a feasible option and that it should be discussed without preconceived emotions. for or against the idea, clouding balanced judgement. The author is aware that implementing a Federal structure has its own difficulties, especially regarding the future of the Eastern Province. The challenge facing all of us is whether we can show the intellectual creativity and practical wisdom to overcome these difficulties and evolve a structure that has the chance of being a lasting solution. Nobody has a monopoly on creative ideas or the whole truth, and this author is well aware of the smallness of his own contribution. Therefore, if this little document gives rise to a healthy, reasoned and constructive discussion, it would have more than served its purpose.

INTRODUCTORY COMMENT

Through a process of military exhaustion and political filtering federalism has emerged as the maximum that one community can grant and the minimum that the other will accept.

Hence at the present time federalism seems to be the only viable compromise on which to base a constitutional formula for peace and settlement. Giving detail and substance to this concept is the life and death challenge that Sri Lankan society now faces.

It is known that during the last decades many left and radical minded people agreed that the Tamil people were entitled to the right to self-determination including the right to secede. They advised against secession but upheld the right — a conceptual subtlety that many Tamil militants could not grasp in the decades from 1970 to 2000. Today we observe that the issue of secession has become historically dated because the principal Tamil combatant organisation is seeking a negotiated settlement on the basis of autonomy and regional self-government. Hence although the perspective of self-determination stands vindicated in theory, in strategy and through experience it lacks practical relevance at this moment. Among the Sinhalese people too, the firmness of those who took up a principled and fearless position on the national question contributed a great deal to the defeat of chauvinism and acted as an educational wake up call to the people.

PRINCIPLE-1: Sovereignty and Nationality

A viable constitutional settlement, in the prevailing national context, must incorporate the following features to be able to win majority public acceptance among the Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim people of Sri Lanka.

- The Sinhalese community needs to be reassured and guaranteed that the new constitutional, political, administrative and military arrangements put in place by the settlement process cannot be subverted for the division of the island into two separate nation states.
- The Tamil community of the North and East needs to be provided with a territorial arrangement ensuring selfgovernment in respect of day to day administration, autonomy in decision making in social and cultural matters, opportunities for economic development and freedom from fear and violence.

- ❖ The Muslim community must have guarantees of freedom of religious and cultural practice, recognition and protection of its identity and assurance in the North and East that it will not be subsumed under a larger Tamil umbrella.
- The Up-country Tamil people must be fully absorbed into Sri Lankan citizenship, fortunately an on-going process, and be provided with economic and cultural development opportunities equivalent to those enjoyed by the majority Sinhalese community beside which they live.

Since the conflict and civil war in Sri Lanka and the tensions accompanying the present search for a negotiated settlement are essentially rooted in ethnicity, so too are the principles outlined above rooted in the identity and nationality concerns of the different communities of Sri Lanka. That is to say, it is not economic or political but rather the basic concerns of people as members of ethnic entities that a new constitution must address first and foremost.

PRINCILE-2: Elements of the Federal System

I will now raise several specific issues, most of which are well known, for discussion. Sometimes I will propose an opinion and at other times only draw attention to the matter as an item that needs to be addressed as a constructive discourse among progressive minded Sri Lankans develops.

How many federal units?

Federation into just two units – the NE (North-East) unit and what for want of a better name I will call RSL (Rest of Sri Lanka) may be just the right approach. My preference for limiting the structure to just two units is as follows.

Sri Lanka is small and it is meaningless to have a plethora of state laws, jurisdictions, administrative codes and guardians of public order – variety is inefficacious and wasteful. Having many legislative units, experience has shown, does not amount to greater devolution of power to the grass roots. On the contrary what it has meant, at least to some degree, is a profusion of opportunistic politicos, arranged in layers, fattening themselves at the expense of the public purse.

I have also heard arguments suggesting that a two or more unit federal division of RSL will be conducive to economic and social development since the demographic and geographic specificity of different regions can thus be better dealt with, but I am not convinced. Such developmental and socio-economic devolutionary concerns pertain to provincial and district administrative divisions and do not justify separate federal legislative and governing organs. Hence, I envisage that two provincial administrative organs in the NE and seven in RSL, as well as district councils at the next lower level, will accomplish this below the federal level.

Provincial and District Councils and local government (municipal, town and village) entities will of course have a continuing role to play, but not as legislative assemblies of a federal structure. I see them essentially as administrative and functional units concerned with social and economic development tasks — that is organs of practical devolution assisting in the emergence of democratic self-administering local communities.

Legislative power at the national level obviously belongs to a Federal (Central) Parliament and the separation of powers between this and the State (or unit-level) legislatures is discussed in the next section of this document entitled Separation of Powers. There are however some further important points to consider here. Should the new legislature at the Centre be bicameral? The old Senate was abolished in 1972 since it was seen to protect privileged interests; but in a federal structure an elected upper house performs a different and necessary function. I think this balancing function is necessary in the envisaged federal system.

These elected legislatures need to wield substantial power to counteract the excess of the presidency and the executive arm of government. In fact it is best to abolish the Executive Presidency altogether because of the hateful experiences of the last 26 years and introduce a better system of checks and balances than at present. These will include independence of the judiciary, the election's commissioner and the public audit commissioner, and an end to the appalling behaviour of current MPs, which has brought parliament into public ridicule and contempt. It will also be necessary to design a mixed constituency and proportional representation system learning from Japan, Thailand, Philippines and South Korea in setting up the Central and Unit level legislative houses. The 100% proportional representation system, with replaceable MPs, has turned them all into ineffective party stooges. This is largely responsible for the emasculation of parliament and ugly behaviour of members.

Although I have indicated my preference for the two-unit model it is agreed that this is a complex issue needing further discussion especially since measures to protect the identity of the Muslim community still remain ambiguous. The greatest difficulty facing the two-unit federal model is the merger of the North and East. The Muslims are the largest community in the Eastern Province (42%) while the Tamils are only 30% and furthermore the Tamils are only 11% of the population in Trincomalee and 19% of Amparai Districts. Therefore the North-East federal unit will be substantially multiethnic and its design poses great challenges. If the details of the design prove unacceptable to the Muslim and Sinhalese residents of the Province the model could fail. The mere separation of Amparai District will not solve the problem since the Trincomalee District is 49% Muslim and 40% Sinhalese. Hence it is not possible to get away from the challenge of designing a pluralistic and democratic federal system whatever the number of units. (All figures from the 2001 Census of Sri Lanka).

Separation of functions

The assignment of functions to the centre and the federal units will be a most vexed question. This is the point at which all the concerns itemised in the early part of this document in the section on Sovereignty and Nationality will surface. Safeguarding the integrity of the sovereign state, ensuring autonomy for the Tamils of the NE, protecting the identity of the Muslims and ensuring opportunity for the Up-Country Tamils, are the contending objectives between which balances have to be found.

The ISGA (Interim Self-Governing Administration) formula put forward by the LTTE in October 2003 is maximalist (this is to be expected in a negotiating proposal) and is more concerned about the privileges of the Tigers than the welfare of the Tamils, but it does have one merit. The document makes mention of a large number of imperative considerations that must be systematically worked through to achieve autonomy and sustained development in the NE federal unit. The following is my commentary on some of the matters that the ISGA proposals bring into focus or sharply into contention and on some other related matters.

(a) Law: In respect of what matters should the federal units legislate? What initial all island system of law should be allowed to prevail at the commencement? The answer to the second question seems inescapably the current laws of Sri Lanka. Even more than in the case of criminal law, in the case of corporate, company, commercial and labour, a mature system of law is essential if commerce, business and economic development are to flourish. Large investments are urgently needed in the NE and this cannot occur except within a secure legal and judicial framework. Federal-unit laws will, of course, be enacted over time and the framework will evolve and be modified - this is not disputed. The case of personal and family law is a separate issue.

- (b) Interpretation of the constitution: What constitutional court will adjudicate in respect of legislation and/or actions whose constitutionality is challenged? This will have to be a sovereign national mandate in the final constitution, whatever is the arrangement in the interim period.
- (c) Judiciary: What will be the national and federal judicial system? Who will appoint the judges to the various arms of the judiciary? How will the independence and freedom from intimidation of judges be guaranteed?
- (d) Police powers: How many police forces will there be? Who will appoint senior personnel in each case? How will recruitment be done? How will freedom from political control and the abuse of power be ensured? In view of our long history of political interference in police activities and abuse of power by the force, the writing of a new constitution is an opportunity not to be missed to insert appropriate safeguards.
- (e) Revenue: What taxes can the centre and the federal units levy? How will the main revenues (personal and corporate income taxes, customs duties and other revenues obviously garnered by the centre) be shared? Presumably parliament in the form of a national legislature will be supreme in respect of approving the appropriations bill (budget) and the federal assembly will similarly deal with unit revenues. There is a vast range of international experiences with different federal systems to draw from.
- (f) Off-shore resources: How far out to sea will resources be deemed to be part of the federal unit's domain and beyond what point will territorial waters and resources deemed to be national assets? (Of course the concept of national sovereignty requires that immigration and emigration, customs and naval defence are vested exclusively with the centre).
- (g) Language: Sinhalese and Tamil will be the official languages of Sri Lanka and of both federal units. Both languages shall enjoy parity of status. English shall be used as a link language and it will be promoted in education and encouraged so as to enhance opportunities for international

- discourse for everyone and improve competitiveness in international commerce.
- (h) Religion: It is my firm personal belief that Sri Lanka should be a secular state. The framers of the Indian Constitution had this foresight more than 50 years ago and the even older American Constitution insists on the separation of church and state. Obviously no religion should have special privileges or constitutional recognition; but that is not enough. There must be separation of religion and state in the new constitution. Do we want to follow 50 years of ethnic conflict by a period of religious strife? Many people may not appreciate the importance of separation of religion and state but it is our responsibility to explain this patiently.
- (i) Freedom of movement: Freedom for all citizens of Sri Lanka to move without hindrance or question across federal unit borders must be guaranteed. The right of all citizens to buy land, seek employment or engage in commercial activities in all parts of the island must be written into the constitution.
- (j) The LTTE's updated proposals make reference to an independent Auditor General and Attorney General for the ISGA. This is meaningless since the ISGA is an undemocratic and unelected interim administration, but the long-term federal framework must include a public auditing/ accounting commissioner and an elections commissioner appointed under the constitution with their independence constitutionally protected as in India.
- (k) Others: There is a long list of other specific functions (land, education, transport, water, social services, and so on) written into the schedule of the 13th Amendment to the current Sri Lanka constitution. It is necessary to revisit this list and sort out a position on all of them item by item.

PRINCILE-3 Human and Democratic Rights

Since the country is coming out of an ethnic civil war and since systematic and widespread violation of human rights was practised by both sides to the conflict for a long time, protection of human rights must be an important element in the new constitution. The mechanisms for such guarantees must include international supervision. Every single government of Sri Lanka, ever since independence, has systematically trampled on democratic rights, hence constitutional provisions against abuse of emergency powers, constraints on draconian legislation, fraudulent elections and checks on authoritarian executive actions must also take a prominent place in the constitution. There is now undeniable evidence that the LTTE is using systematic violence against Tamil political opponents and undermining the democratic rights of the Tamil people. Hence this issue acquires added importance and relevance in the light of post-MoU experience.

Apart from pointing out that a concern with human rights issues is one of the fundamental principles that should underlie the preparation of a new constitution, I do not undertake a long discussion of the matter here for two connected reasons. First, there has been a huge amount of discussion of these issues in recent decades and I am sure readers will be familiar with much of it. Secondly, it is necessary to keep this document to a manageable length. I would, however, like to denote the principle headings; clauses on fundamental rights and human rights guarantees, structure of the legislature (proportional, Westminster or mixed), abolition of the executive presidency and terminating the crisis prone misallocation of power between president and government in the present constitution, the need for a second chamber in a federal system, and ensuring the independence of the judiciary and the civil service].

PRINCIPLE- 4: Social and Economic Principles

This is a discussion document for progressives in Sri Lanka hence it is very necessary to incorporate programmatic considerations pertaining to social equity, socialist objectives and class power as a part of the guiding constitutional principles. It is of course well understood that socialism as such is not on the agenda for any small and underdeveloped country like Sri Lanka, or for that

matter even for a large and developed country if in isolation. Socialism is only conceivable as a generalised world tendency incorporating the economically most advanced nations. However, let us leave this caveat to one side for the moment and return to it after the next paragraph.

There is a very special feature of constitution making in Sri Lanka at this conjuncture that needs to be emphasized. The intensive focus of the constitution making exercise that is now taking place is on issues such as ending an ethnic civil war, sovereignty, the peace processes, nationality and democratic and human rights. Concerns with social transformation, and class issues are, comparatively speaking, in the background – that is, so far as this document goes we are dealing with issues regarding a democratic nation building, not issues related to an equitable and socialist society. One could contend that the aftermath of the civil war is a social revolution of sorts, but then one also needs to recognise that the cutting edge of the war was not an uprising of the oppressed classes but an ethnic struggle.

Nevertheless, it has been correctly argued by progressives all over the world that no real solution to the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution can be advanced in economically backward countries unless the programme incorporates a transitional outlook to socialism. In that case, the real challenge our society faces is how and in what degree and manner to push forward social and economic concerns in drafting its submissions for a new federal constitution. Progressives need to do so without becoming sectarian or isolating themselves from the mainstream of public goodwill that now permeates the peace process. There is no doubt in my mind that we have a key responsibility to place these issues before the whole people, if at least for educational purposes, because crisis will come thick and fast on the morrow. The challenge is to seamlessly integrate these contributions on socio-economic essentials into the primary concerns of communities perceived by all communities as purely democratic, ethnic and sovereignty issues at the present time.

The difference between the Indian and American constitutions is of interest. The American constitution is a bland document in respect of social issues. It defines the balances and distribution of power for an implicitly capitalist order and contains no significant reference to social equity. The Indian constitution on the other hand contains certain directive principles of state policy charging the holders of power (government and parliament) with crucial obligations in respect of national development, abolishing poverty and social equity. While the exact language of the Indian constitution may not serve Sri Lanka's needs the inclusion of directive principles in respect of social justice, economic development and equity would, from the perspective of the left, be most appropriate. It would also be of interest to give consideration to how responsibility should be apportioned between the central government and the federal units in discharging these obligations. Obviously this has much to do with the devolution power to and below the level of the federal unit and with revenue generation, collection and disbursement.

PRINCILE-5: Freedom from Imperialism

The next fundamental concern that the new constitution must deal with is the international context. The world situation today is characterised by an aggressive neo-imperialist policy spearheaded by the United States. It is not necessary at this point in this document to enter into a detailed discussion of this matter. A summary of the key features of the global political landscape will suffice.

An imperialist strategic repositioning commenced after the collapse of the Soviet Union and has been developing world-wide at an accelerated pace in the last four years. Anti-terrorism is being used as cover for this process but its actual motivation is a more general global military and political strategy that cannot be discussed at length here. In the economic sense as well global capital and imperialist states are making a more aggressive effort to breakdown barriers and penetrate local economies. Trade and interaction with the global market place is inevitable and indeed necessary, but what

this paragraph is referring to are certain parallel trends, which pose grave dangers to the independence and well being of other nations.

A new constitution for Sri Lanka is now being shaped against the background of this world context. Foreign influences, some welcome and some not, are intervening in the internal dynamics of Sri Lanka, and the role of India, the determining foreign power, can swing in directions which are difficult to forecast with certainty. Therefore, it is a matter of life and death importance for all the communities of Sri Lanka that the constitution should be boldly written to ensure freedom from imperialist machinations in the coming years. The sovereign will of the people must prevail over the alliances that the propertied classes will attempt to form with imperialism and global capital. The tendency of Presidents, Prime Ministers and governments to subvert national interests in response to imperialist pressures must be curbed. Appropriate clauses must be incorporated forbidding military pacts, ceding control of Trincomalee, economic subservience and other potential dangers. Pakistan and Egypt show us the kind of traps that we must not fall into.

The need for ensuring freedom from imperialism becomes especially important in the context of writing a new federal constitution since opportunities for imperialist manipulation may be sneaked in through the constitutional structure itself. No room should be left for such threats to develop in one or the other of the federal units and eventually subvert the whole nation to the will of global imperialism. In this respect the LTTE is no more trustworthy than the major Sinhalese parties.

OTHER ISSUES

[Apart from the basic principles outlined above there will have to be a large number of specific issues of a less fundamental nature that need to receive our attention. I have drawn attention below to a few of them and am sure discussants will add many more.]

There are certain special territories of Sri Lanka whose status needs to be given careful consideration – primary among these are the commercial hub of Colombo, and Trincomalee harbour. Is Colombo to be declared a national territory? Trincomalee harbour, its close environs and access thereto are surely a national asset. In fact all international harbours and airports, whether passenger or cargo, will have to be zones under central administrative control and this goes for KKS harbour as well – a possible point for much discussion? Military encampments in all parts of the country will also be national territories but again there could be much discussion about their demarcation and location.

Integration of the military

Finally, there will have to be only one armed-force if there is to be a single sovereign republic. Any other arrangement, almost by definition, is a denial of sovereignty. There have been previous examples of successful integration of armies after a civil war. In Zimbabwe, after the Lancaster House agreement, three separate armies (two guerrilla type liberation forces and the Rhodesian regular force) were merged. Sections of the Tigers and the Sea Tigers will have to be combined in some way with the Sri Lanka forces and other sections turned into regional police forces. Presumably these provisions will not belong to the constitution proper but to some forerunner agreements.

Interim administrative arrangements

Strictly speaking the interim administrative arrangements that are put in place for the period prior to the start-date of the new constitution do not belong to the topic of this paper. However there are contingent and substantive reasons why a few words need to be said here. The contingent reason is that the interim arrangements must be phased so as to flow naturally into final settlement. While, obviously, the final version cannot be known in advance when

designing interim arrangements a degree of consistency is essential. And this is the motivation for a substantive comment. Some concept of the degree of autonomy envisaged in the final settlement must guide the formulation of the interim administration. There are many models of self-administrative autonomy within a sovereign sate stretching from the Hong Kong and Macao 'one-country two-systems' formula of the Peoples Republic of China, the defunct confederation version of Malaya and Singapore and just regular federalism, which too comes in several variants (India, USA, Switzerland, Malaysia, and so on). In my view the realistic option is to start with the Indian and Malaysian versions as topics for deeper study and extract best and most relevant practices from this Asian context. All this, however, is only necessary background; the basic design will have to be largely *sui generis*.

The greatest challenges facing the interim arrangement is how to guarantee the democratic and human rights of the Tamil people and curb the excesses and abuses of power of the LTTE during this period. If this fails the interim fails and eventually no final settlement will flow therefrom. This is a separate issue, but it does not empty the importance of a discussion of constitutional perspectives as undertaken in this document.

Closing comment

The author of this short pamphlet invites readers and participants at the discussion forums for which it is written to comment on the document, propose improvements and become involved in the process of building Sri Lanka's new constitution through a process of public consultation and discussion. As said at the beginning of this document federalism seems to have emerged as the most feasible option and therefore demands careful consideration. Though not minimizing the difficulties the author of these lines is unable to come up with anything that is more realistic – meaning, doable and moderately acceptable all round. Nevertheless, the purpose of this booklet is not to sell or force the federal option, it is to motivate a serious discussion.

London, in electrical engineering, and has taught and researched in Universities in Sri Lanka, USA, Sweden, Zimbabwe and Hong Kong. He was elected an IEEE-Fellow, the highest international professional recognition in engineering, for his pioneering contributions to the study of worldwide restructuring of the electricity supply industry. He was Dean of Engineering at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University,



one of the most prestigious engineering schools in East Asia, till June 1994.

Kumar joined the Sama Samaja movement in 1953 at the age of 12 and was probably the youngest party member present at the historic 1964 Lanka Sama Samaja Party Conference. After the Coalition Government was formed in 1970 he was active in the internal opposition, which was dissatisfied with the LSSP's concessions to the SLFP right wing He was a member of the Nava Sama Samaja Party for several years and subsequently a member of the Democratic and Left Front since its foundation in 1994.

In the 1970s Kumar, along with others, systematically explored the practical and theoretical aspects of the national question. The classical sources in Marx, the debates between Lenin and Luxemburg and the extensive modern scholarship on the issue were re-examined. The concept of self-determination, including the right to succeed, in the concrete context of Sri Lanka's Tamils, was emphasized. Many left parties and Tamil radicals learnt from these theoretical developments but eventually the leadership of the Tamil militant movements preferred a nationalist to a Marxist interpretation. During this period he also contributed to the political struggle that had to be undertaken against the JVP's ultra-left and racist agenda before and after the 1971 insurgency.

Kumar has written and spoken extensively on the national question including issues such as, ethnicity and class, ethnicity and state power, and late 20th Century national struggles. Some of these theoretical developments were summarized in 1989, in a book co-edited with Silan Kadirgamer, entitled *Ethnicity: Identity, Conflict and Crisis* and published by ARENA Press in Hong Kong.

Price: £1 / \$1 / €1