

● The nature of Violence — understand or perish ●
— Carlo Fonseka

LANKA

GUARDIAN

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the emerging
triangle

JR's passage
(and Sirima's message)
to
INDIA

— Mervyn de Silva
Nikhil Chakravarthy



Parliament and the Political Will

— Neelan Tiruchelvam

How 'united' is the United National Party?

— Prime Minister Premadasa,
Gamini Dissanayake, Lalith Athulathmudali

**Exclusive: Dame Judith Hart, Martin Ennals —
appeal to J.R., Rajiv**

● TRINCO TANGLE ● "OPERATION PAWAN" ● DIEGO GARCIA

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MORE - THAN - JUST - A - FINANCE - COMPANY

TAKE CARE

In the past, President J.R. has done without care-takers. The constitution has no Vice-President. So when the President left Sri Lanka on his many visits abroad, the popular American question: "who's in Charge?" could be flung at him or the government by any Sri Lankan or concerned foreigner.

But this time, he told the UNP leadership, "the Prime Minister will take care of my duties. ...". In Opposition circles, this remark has been underlined heavily and reserved for special study!

Another claim on Opposition attention was the answer given by Mr. Gamage Dissanayake, (one of two ministers picked by President J.R. as his top aides at the talks with Mr. Gandhi) to an ISLAND interviewer:

Q. Who is the Presidential candidate of the UNP?

A. The Party will decide that and the party has not decided it yet.

MUSLM MOVE

On the 24th the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress held its 7th Convention. A full-page advertisement in the papers raised the curtain on this annual conference which has not provoked any serious attention by other political parties or political commentators in the past. The event should now be seen in the light of the violence and confused situation in the Eastern province, the forthcoming P.C. polls, and the manoeuvres of the island's third largest community (a community with extensive external connections) in a multi-ethnic society where politics have been shaped recently by the Tamil armed struggle against the Sri Lankan, Sinhalese-dominated, State.

The Muslim Congress claimed under the 1978 Constitution communities can be represented in the national politics only through political parties. There are enough number of Sinhalese and Tamil political parties to represent the Sinhala and Tamil communities. There are two recognised political

parties to represent the interests of the Indian Tamils.

As far as the Muslim community is concerned, its interests cannot be represented, its grievances cannot be expressed, because it has not had a political party of its own. Is it possible to expect the emotional and psychological integration of all Sri Lankans which cannot materialise in the hearts of people who as a community are left out from the decision making process.

The Muslims of Sri Lanka should realise that with dissolution of the present parliament a century old political representation of the Muslim community comes to a grinding halt.

However can the Muslims in the circumstances ensure the continuation of their political representation and the liberation of the Muslim community from the clutches of the other political parties.

LAND, HOUSES

In its 10th year the UNP government has decided to amend the Ceiling on Housing Property Act of 1973 with retrospective effect. The Commissioner of Housing says "Let those who can afford build any number of houses". The amendment will remove

(Continued on page 7)

TRENDS
+
LETTERS

STALINISM

I wonder why Shan who quotes Davis and Duranty in defence of Stalinism (L.S. of Dec. 01, 1987) fails to mention Mao's judgement that Stalin was 70% right and 30% wrong.

Mao did justice to history by his disinterested criticism of Stalinism. Nobody can say Mao did a disservice to Stalinism just because he said Stalin was 30% wrong.

Shan defends Stalinism as a whole. Khrushchev was all out to denounce it. If Khrushchev was wrong then Shan too is wrong, though not wholly. They are wrong in not doing justice to history. Perhaps Khrushchev was 30% right and Shan is 30% wrong.

V. S. Mani

Nellady,
Karavaddy.

LAKMA

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SECURITY IS ALL

Mervyn de Silva

Instability and insecurity determine the spirit and condition of our time. What is true for the nation-state is true also for regime and political party; what holds good for communities holds good also for political and social organisations, for political alignments, for group and personal relationships, for the individual himself. Disorder and confusion have replaced order. Gun-law is law. There is no security.

So, the Sri Lankan government is desperately keen on a mutual assistance or 'security' pact. Whose security? The government wants to sign a security treaty with India while its National Security Minister tells Parliament that from North to South, East to West, every Sri Lankan wants the Indian troops out. The Finance Minister, *de facto* foreign minister too, resigns after proclaiming that the UNP "government has no moral right to stay in office", and his civil service colleague, best man and close friend, the Justice Minister, Mr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne has submitted his resignation, according to the ISLAND, because of the Batticaloa jail break on which the Daily News wrote a powerful editorial. But the Minister says 'no comment'.

The Daily News, no supporter of the LSSP's policies, and no US or C. I. A. balser republished an article from the *Christian Worker* where Mr. Hector Abaywardana refers to the C. I. A., in an essay on the LTTE and the JVP, hinting at possible external sources of support or what the Soviet Ambassador at a press conference called "outside reaction". The ISLAND, no admirer of the HINDU, re-publishes an article "from our Special Correspondent" which argues that 'the key factor' in India's Sri Lanka policy was the Trinco Tank Farm deal with two Singapore-based companies that were "fronts" for the C. I. A., during William Casey's time.

The US Ambassador in Colombo Mr. James Spain issues a statement describing it all as a "wicked fantasy" from which only some (un-named) party that had no love for the US, India or Sri Lanka could gain. (See 'Importance of Trinco')

The ISLAND meanwhile makes frontpage news of the fact that Prime Minister Premadasa, National Security Minister Lalith Achuthanudali and Opposition Leader, Anura Bandaranaike found themselves in the same side on the question of the IPKE. In the meantime, Mrs. Bandaranaike has taken the unusual step of issuing a 'message to the Indian people' on India Republic Day and releasing it exclusively to Colombo-based Indian correspondents. (See Mrs. B. "A message to India" page 10). On the same day, the SLFP leader issued a statement to the local press warning the country that the UNP's "monkeying" with the electoral system could be a "prelude to the introduction of a Martial Law administration".

President JR, honoured as Chief guest at the Republic Day celebrations, leaves for India with a large team, consisting of two senior ministers, both contenders for party leadership and high office, but minus the Foreign Minister. He will hold two rounds of talks, with two questions likely to dominate these discussions:

a) the Accord, its progress and the problems it has encountered, and the situation on the ground.

b) A Defence or Defence related Mutual Assistance Agreement.

The Tamils, even the moderate TULF, are deeply disappointed at the devolution package contained in the Bills passed by Parliament. They say it is less than what they expected on the basis for the December 19 talks and three rounds of talks that followed.

NEWS
BACKGROUND

But this apart, President JR has staked his authority and prestige as UNP leader and Head of State, and indeed his own life, to negotiate the bills required to implement his part of the deal — the holding of PC polls before Dec. 31. How can he hold elections in the north and east. True, the Jaffna peninsula, more or less, has been 'pacified', making it look a bit like Punjab-Belfast. But what of conditions outside the peninsula? And more so, in the East. It's a real mess, with the Muslims and the Sinhalese adding to Tamil refugees from the North, and both demanding protection from the Sri Lankan army, now confined to barracks. Besides, the Muslims are organising themselves, and for the first time (See Trends) trying to produce a provincial leadership that is not controlled by Muslim "leaders" from outside the East. The Eastern province Muslims, caught between an aggressively assertive Tamil nationalism and an equally intense, re-active Sinhala nationalism, are groping towards their own 'distinctive identity', with a little bit of help, one guesses, from those forces within and outside the regime which are anti-Accord, and these in turn linked perhaps to external forces, ideological and anti-Indian.

During the Bangladesh crisis and in the build up to the Indo-Pak war, the U.S. which was making its all important move to China (the secret Kissinger trip to Beijing via Pakistan), made it absolutely clear to Delhi that Washington would NOT support India, as it did in the 1962 India-China war, in a confrontation with Pakistan. India turned to the USSR, to sign an Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation, offering to sign exactly the same treaty with the US. The offer was rejected when Mrs.

Gandhi broached the matter with President Nixon.

India signed a similar 'Friendship Treaty' with Bangladesh and its liberator, Mujib Rahman. But that Treaty has not in any way stopped the military regime of General Ershad, now under fierce attack by democratic opposition forces, from establishing very close relations with China, and friendly ties with the U. S.

What has India to gain by a Defence Treaty with Sri Lanka? It has already extracted concessions — the foreign policy *quid pro quo* — in the "Exchange of Letters" signed along with the Accord. Top UNP personalities, with legal experience, and the SLFP MP, Mr. Anil Moonasinghe, also a lawyer, say that the 'Annexure' does not have the force of a Treaty under International Law. 'A scrap of paper' says a highly placed government source. Both are probably right. But a big nation that wishes to impose its will on another, much weaker state, can do so, with or without treaties or irrespective of Treaties, or in total defiance of International Law. The US invaded Grenada, bombed Tripoli, and mined the harbours of Nicaragua — and the last issue was adjudicated at the World Court. Did the US care? The Red Army rolled tanks and all, into Afghanistan, perceiving a threat on its southern border, and making that perception the rationale for its 9 year stay, and 120,000 troops.

India has 40,000 (some say more) troops here. The 'annexure' is good enough for Delhi to impose foreign policy conditions on Sri Lanka, while its troops implement the Accord. One can argue in Hufstdorp or the Hague but who is going to argue against the IPKF, already bigger and stronger than the SL army?

What President JR will remind Mr. Gandhi is that the IPKF has not successfully implemented the Accord, i. e. the basic obligation to force the LTTE to surrender its arms, and so create conditions for the PC elections for which President JR, at tremendous political cost, has prepared the ground,

with his Bills. Second, there is the obligation to see that the refugees are resettled. How long will the IPKF take? April-May or earlier? PC polls will be possible only then. J. R. closed the northern front, pulled his troops back to face the emerging threat in the South. Can he stabilise the crumbling situation in the south? If he fails, then he will need extra help. That is the crucial question. India needs President JR but to what extent does that mean an unpopular UNP government? That is the Indian dilemma. Firm critic of the Accord, Mrs. B. is realistic enough

to know the difference between Indian support for the Accord and Indian keenness to see it implemented, and an open-ended Indian diplomatic-military support for a regime that has clearly over-stayed its welcome. Mrs. B., judging by her 'message', understands India's need to protect the Accord, and support its co-signatory, but does India also need to protect the regime a protection which would then convert Sri Lanka under the UNP into a protectorate? Therein lies the Indian predicament, and hence Mr. Gandhi's "open mind" on a Defence Treaty.

Indian appeal for Polls, Amnesty, Pulsara

NEW DELHI

Eminent jurists, academics, religious leaders and journalists have appealed to the Governments of India and Sri Lanka for a fresh initiative which will contribute to the restoration of peace, unity and democracy in Sri Lanka.

The appeal, which comes on the eve of the Sri Lankan President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene's visit to Delhi, said that peace continues to elude the Tamil, Sinhala and Muslim peoples, if anything conflicts proliferate and violence escalates. To halt the deepening conflict the appeal has urged general amnesty to all political prisoners in detention at the time of the signing of the accord, early general election and genuine devolution of power.

Among the signatories to the appeal were Mr. V. R. Krishna Iyer (former Supreme Court Judge), Mr. P. N. Haksar (former Advisor to the Prime Minister) Mr. Nidhil Chakravarty (Edicor, Mainstream), Mr. Justice Venugopal, Rev. Castmir (Archbishop of Madras-Mylapore), Rev. Sundar Clarke (Bishop in Madras Institute of Development Studies), Mr. Irayatham Mahadevan (Editor, Dinamani), and Mr. Upendra Baxi, Mr. Rajni Kochari, Prof. Rasheedudin Khan, Prof. Urmila Phadnis, Prof. Ashish Nandy, Dr. Usha Patnaik and Prof. Sudipto Kaviraj (all academics).

The appeal pointed out that a large number of political detainees who were in custody at the time of signing the accord were yet to be released; this was despite the fact that the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord made it mandatory on Mr. Jayewardene to grant general amnesty to all political prisoners.

Among those who are still in prison under the Prevention of Terrorism Act are Ms. Pulsara Liyanage, (who is also a Sinhala woman activist supporting the devolution of powers to the Tamils), 1,250 Tamil political prisoners at the Boosa camp and two pro-devolution Southern (Sinhala) groups of 23 and 44 in prison in Colombo.

According to the signatories, there was a growing consensus in both India and Sri Lanka that peace in Sri Lanka was contingent upon early general elections. The last parliamentary elections were held ten years ago. We believe that free, fair, and early general elections and provincial council elections would release some of the pressures that the Sri Lankan polity was facing today. This view was also recently expressed by the former Finance Minister of Sri Lanka, Mr. Roméo de Mel a strong supporter of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord. — Hindu

The Importance of Trinco

Trinco is a port, one of the finest natural harbours in the world, and Admiral Mountbatten's main sea base in the anti-Japanese war. But Trinco also stands at the border of the North and East, and so it is a key factor in the most vexed question of the 'Peace Accord', the proposed North-East merger for a trial one year period.

Trinco is an ethnically mixed town too. And it is the east and north-east where new lands will be opened and new farmer-settlements established under the giant Mahaveli scheme, Sri Lanka's biggest investment project.

Riled by a report in the *HINDU*, reprinted by the daily *ISLAND*, US Ambassador James Spain has issued an uncharacteristically testy reply to the charge that two Singapore-based firms, fronting for the CIA, had signed a deal on Trinco with the Sri Lanka government. The full *HINDU* report and the Ambassador's reply, along with a comment by India's new Navy chief, Admiral Nadkarni are published below.

The following excerpts from statements made by the Mahaveli Minister, Gamini Dissanayake and the Minister of National Security Lalith Athulathmudali illustrate not merely the tangled Trinco issue but the divergent views in the UNP government:

Trincomalee project was the key factor

Details of a draft agreement between the Sri Lankan Government and the U.S. drawn up in mid-1986 with regard to Trincomalee harbour are now available. They suggest that it was a major ingredient in persuading the Government of India in the direction of directly committing itself to resolving the ethnic tangle in Sri Lanka through the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement which was signed on July 29, 1987.

The draft was worked out by Sri Lankan Government officials

and the representatives of two private companies, one of them based in Singapore, who are believed to be a front for the CIA. A copy of this agreement was obtained by the Indian High Commissioner and transmitted to New Delhi.

Exclusive operating rights to U.S.: Under the draft agreement, in exchange for U.S. support for Sri Lankan actions against the Tamil militants and "checking India," the Sri Lankan Government would confer exclusive operation rights

of the following to the U.S. through the front companies.

- (1) Trincomalee harbour,
- (2) Substantial Sinhale-dominated areas around the harbour,
- (3) Islands in the vicinity of Trincomalee harbour,
- (4) The tank farms in the harbour, excluding one which would remain in Sri Lanka control for the use of Sri Lankan ships.

The idea was that this agreement would be a secret document and, in return for this, the U.S. would make a token payment of \$ 101 a year, but through normal mechanisms provide substantial aid, loans and grants including military assistance.

'Trincomalee card': A preliminary assessment of the information available suggests that the Sri Lankan Government was willing to use its "Trincomalee card" to push through its own "solution" to the Sri Lankan ethnic problem — which was, till the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, a military attack on the LTTE combined with a blockade of the Jaffna peninsula. By offering Trincomalee harbour to the U.S. elements within the Sri Lankan Government hoped to neutralise the predictable Indian counter-reaction to its own version of the "solution".

The details available suggest that the U.S. would not create a new base at Trincomalee but front companies of its foreign intelligence arm, the CIA, would have the exclusive operating rights for its harbour and tank farms.

CIA project?: There is no evidence to believe that the U.S. Government considered this proposal seriously and in all likelihood

It was a typical CIA project taken up during the stewardship of the late William Casey. In fact, the U.S. Navy has no special requirements to build a base at Trincomalee, despite its fine harbour. Its main focus at present and in the near future is in the Gulf and West Asia. Its needs there are adequately served by bases and facilities in Bahrain, Egypt, Kenya, Oman and Somalia, backed up by the Diego Garcia base. In addition, the U.S. is believed to have developed substantial facilities on the Makran coast of Pakistan.

Third country factors: The primary interest of the U.S. with regard to Trincomalee has been to prevent its conversion to a base of a "third country", namely the Soviet Union. In a like manner, India with bases in Visakhapatnam, Cochin and Bombay and a major base in Karwar coming up does not require Trincomalee. However, India too does not want a third country to set up a military base there.

Unfortunately, both the Sri Lankan Government and the Tamil Militants have projected an exaggerated picture of the potentialities that the Trincomalee harbour offers.

U.S. document: While no recent thinking on the U.S. military requirement for Trincomalee is accessible in an unclassified form, a document prepared by the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff on military rights in foreign territories, since then declassified, indicates that the U.S. was interested in the construction of Air force and Navy communication facilities on the island. This requirement was considered urgent.

On the other hand, the joint Chiefs of Staff did project a requirement for obtaining the right to maintain stockpiles of "Avgas (aviation fuel), navy fuels, material, and ammunition" in a number of areas and one of the places mentioned was Trincomalee. Since then, it may be noted, almost all the above requirements have been met through the development of Diego Garcia.

Neither the USSR nor China is known to have projected its interest in the Trincomalee harbour.

There are reasons to believe that the U.S. which was already over-extended and did not consider Sri Lanka a vital area of its security concerns, turned down the proposal and also made it known to India that the Sri Lankans were getting desperate. The Indian side

therefore saw this as a clear indication that the U.S. accepted India's role in Sri Lanka as long as it was within the parameters of accepting the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka, and provided for the Trincomalee harbour remaining outside 'third party' hands.

US ambassador: Trinco pact story 'wicked fantasy'

In response to questions about the report of a so-called US-Sri Lankan draft "pact" on Trincomalee, originally published last week in the *Hindu* newspaper of Madras and repeated elsewhere, US Ambassador James W. Spain said there was absolutely no basis in fact for this "wicked fantasy".

Ambassador Spain noted that he had been ambassador in Sri Lanka throughout 1985 and nothing had occurred in that or any other year which could possibly explain the story.

A clue, he added, may be the allegation in the *Hindu* report that the document was obtained by the Indian High Commissioner in Colombo and transmitted to New Delhi.

Ambassador Spain noted that US-Indian, as US-Sri Lankan, relations, were open and frank. He simply did not believe that the Indian High Commissioner in Colombo or the government of India in New Delhi, if they had come across such a document, would not have brought it to the attention of the United States and asked for an explanation.

'No grand design on Trinco harbour'

— Indian Naval Chief

India has no particular grand design on the Trincomalee Harbour, India's Naval Chief Admiral J. G. Nadkarni has said.

"We want to ensure that this harbour is not utilised by any other power" Admiral Nadkarni was quoted as saying in the *Hindu*.

Admiral Nadkarni had told reporters aboard an Indian frigate off Rameswaram that: "We must not look upon the Indo Lanka Agreement as a grand design of

acquiring the Trincomalee Harbour."

"In our strategic environment, we want to ensure that this harbour is not utilised by any other power, which will place India at a disadvantage".

The Navy Chief of Staff had also expressed confidence that gun-running by terrorist groups had been stopped by joint patrolling of the Palk Straits by the Indian and Sri Lankan Navy.

Gamini on Trinco

Q: But do the conditions on the ground allow for that.

A: We have to assert the democratic process, and create the atmosphere for it. We must allow the people a chance to select who their representatives are.

Q: How can the government hold Provincial Council elections with so many refugees in the Eastern province.

A: Except in Trincomalee town the refugees have come back.

Q: But the statistics show that there are still a large number of refugees.

A: 15,000 acres have been cultivated in Kantalej and most of

the refugees have returned.

There are lush green fields in these areas.

Q: But statistics show that there are still a large number of refugees remaining.

A: Those are mostly from Trincomalee town. And even the rest of the refugees have expressed their willingness to return as soon the forces can assure their safety.

The government has taken steps towards that, and the refugees will be back by the time the Provincial Council elections are held.

— Island

Lalith on Trinco

The boys in our villages went to lay down their lives. They took every step to eliminate terrorism in the North. I do not say it was hundred percent successful. Today there are refugees in our own country. There are 154,364 refugees comprising Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims. These are persons in government refugee camps but the total number of refugees almost 6 lakhs.

Most of the refugees are in

Jaffna. I am glad the member for Maharagama spoke about them. But the biggest problem is in Trincomalee where there are Sinhalese, Muslims and Tamils.

Many people have been evacuated from Trincomalee and they have to be re-settled. But when the Sinhalese and Muslims are asked they say 'we will not go back as long as the IPKF is there'. The tamils too say the same.

— Daily News

TRENDS...

(Continued from page 1)

the restrictions placed on an individual or family. The Act allowed a maximum of two houses to an individual, while a family could own two houses plus one for each dependent. The Housing Commissioner would determine the number a Corporate body could own.

The proposed amendment also removes the right of tenants to purchase "excess" houses, a right granted by the Rent Act of 1972. Meanwhile the Cabinet has also approved an amendment to the Land Reform Law of the United Front government. The law allowed an individual only 50 acres of agricultural land. The limit has been raised to 100 acres.

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THE ALTAR IN THE VALLEY

*We are too poor, we cannot afford poplin
With polythene we put out this yellow flag
Sad for the tolling temples in the Valley
Empty of the little priests who played
With us after Dhamma School on Sundays
Not dreaming this sudden spatter of blood.*

*We are poor. On polythene blood will not stay
In the angry wind this flag will flutter
But rain, in prayer, will wash the stains away
May be sometimes we played at troops and terrorists
We, and these little monks were too poor for hate
They died for those who had to keep hate burning
The Poplin Peers who beat the drums of Fate.*

— U. Karunatilake

THREE VOICES OF THE "United" National Party

Premier Premadasa — for national reconciliation

Prime Minister R. Premadasa: The Opposition says that violence and terrorism have not declined. If this is the situation under the emergency what will it be without it. If not for the emergency we wouldn't have been able to restore peace even to this extent.

Even before independence emergency rule was in the law books. In certain situations the ordinary law cannot handle things. The then opposition condemned it but used it when they were in power. In fact Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike made the regulations pertaining to emergency even more stringent.

In '56 a poster depicting SWRD and Sir John agitated for the removal of the emergency, but SWRD was realistic and continued with it. The previous regime made laws even more stringent.

When we realised that law and order were in jeopardy we declared an emergency. Misuse of power is common during an emergency. Emergency laws have been used for the perpetration of violence as well. These things have been happening through the ages. When cowardly acts are done under the guise of the emergency we take action against the culprits.

A democratic govt. doesn't like an emergency. In '83 violence escalated. We were told that not enough money was being spent on arms. Everyone asked us to spend all our money to strengthen the army. We listened to them and allocated large sums of money for arms.

There has been unemployment, malnutrition and poverty as a result of the monies spent on the war. After '83 no one spoke of economic matters, they all spoke of the war.

We couldn't allocate our usual monies for development as the war was raging. The terrorists had more weapons than the state, but the situation in the North improved a great deal after our increased allocation.

When the Vadamarachchi offensive was a success India was so furious they said they will teach us a lesson. Sri Lanka was accused of genocide. But the world's fourth largest army couldn't combat the terrorists. I don't know what kind of word can be used to describe that.

A 79 year old woman was raped by the IPKF. What is the word for that? We will have to invent new words.

How did we win the presidential election? Because at that time we hadn't spent money on arms and development was tremendous. The Member for Maharagama spoke of poverty and malnutrition, the government has appointed a select committee with the Governor of the Central Bank heading it. This committee is expected to do something within the budget.

The committee has put forward certain suggestions to eliminate unemployment, malnutrition and poverty. We are only spending Rs. 1,500 million but something can be expected soon.

The people in the North and East who blamed our forces are today saying "we only want fathers and not step fathers". That is why I say that every dark cloud has a silver lining.

These incidents I am sure will lead to a national reconciliation between the Sinhala, Muslim, Burghers and the Tamils. This year would be a year of reconciliation and reconstruction.

The people will have confidence in the group that brings national reconciliation and reconstruction. All the harassment that has occurred should be made an object lesson for national reconciliation and re-construction.

— Daily News

Gamini on IPKF

Q: What exactly is the continued need for the presence of the IPKF. Does the situation on the ground warrant it.

A: The terrorist groups have taken up the stance that they have to be in combat.

There is a necessity for more troops because even with a larger

army than ours, the IPKF has drawn heavy casualties.

And I can say emphatically (you can quote me on that) is that the Sri Lankan Armed Forces want the IPKF here, because they feel that the task at hand is so enormous. They have told me that.

Q: However, there is a widespread feeling that the strength of the IPKF is far in excess for the task that they have come here to perform.

A: This is not something that any layman can comment on. It is a matter that needs a careful analysis of the ground conditions of the North and the East.

— Island

People ask what is a 34,000 strong IPKF force doing in the eastern province. They must realise that there are very serious problems. There are hundreds of Tamils who were released after the accord from the Boosa Camp. They are easy cannon fodder for those who want to recruit them...

There were very serious problems to the Army Navy and the Air Force, and they told the government to please arrive at a political solution as soon as possible.

The government entered into negotiations with a third party that was nominated by the Tamil Groups themselves which is India.

It was these same groups that were cultivating India, and now India has worked out a political process.

Now these groups say they have got too little, and there are groups in the South which say that we have given too much.

Lalith on IPKF

The democratic people want the IPKF sent away. The terrorists want the IPKF out so that they could take command once again. Therefore we must act carefully. We must not act in a way that once again there will be disunity in the country.

The experience all over the world is that external forces come to a country for their own end... It is only a bankrupt political party such as the TULF which is unaware of that position.

Now, I wish to clarify the position about the number of Indian troops in the country. The number is 37,270. The Sri Lankan armed forces comprise 13,950 men in the North and the East.

The Opposition has various things to say about the IPKF. There are several stories in circulation about them. I wish to recall one of these for the lesson it offers.

There is a Tamil friend of mine in Vavuniya. He is not a supporter of the terrorists, but is much concerned about the interests of the Tamils. He was always in the habit of referring to our army as the "Sinhala army". But I would always tell him that there are not only Sinhala persons but persons of other communities too in the army.

Recently he said that the Indian forces are not like "our forces". When our men went for an investigation, they caused very little upsetting of the house. When they ended their search, they always had a word of apology. They would also inquire as to the end whether there is any venison or wild boar flesh. Whenever he had the two commodities he would oblige them.

But when the Indian troops came for investigation, they turned a house upside down and they

even did not have a word of apology. At the end of the search they inquired "Are there any goats and any females?"

There may occur certain injustices now. But I am always prepared to inquire into them in whatever part of the country these may occur.

In trying to find a solution of the problem, we must think of another matter. The LTTE is in trouble now. I have heard that the 'Tigers' want to talk now.

My view is that we should not discourage any such approach, because it is the people of this country who should ultimately find the solution for the problem. If they are prepared to come to the negotiating table, there is no harm opening a dialogue with them. — Daily News

Death Penalty

Government is considering imposing the death penalty for possession of unlicensed firearms, Government sources said yesterday.

They said the matter had been discussed at length at a meeting of Government Ministers and MP's on Wednesday. A number of Government MP's had pointed out to President J. R. Jayewardene

that several stalwarts of the party who had worked unceasingly for its welfare had sacrificed their lives in recent times.

They had queried what could be done to combat the outbreak of politically-motivated violence in the Country, the sources said.

Several MP's had pointed out that the upsurge of political murders, armed robberies and seizure

of weapons in the South had followed the peace initiatives in the North.

The discussion had culminated with a suggestion that the Government should impose the death penalty for the possession of unlicensed fire-arms, and explosives, the sources said.

Mrs. B. 'a message to India'

The President of Sri Lanka has been invited to India as the Chief Guest at the India Day celebrations. If this is a tribute to the strong bonds of friendship and mutual respect that have existed for centuries between the great people of India and the Sri Lankan people, we sincerely appreciate this gesture. If this is also a token of the Indian government's recognition of the need to preserve such traditional bonds of affection and mutual regard, we welcome it.

It has been widely reported however that the president's week long visit is more than ceremonial. Reports have appeared in both the Sri Lankan and Indian press that a draft Treaty, pertaining to defence and security, is to be signed. Such reports have not been officially concurred by the Sri Lankan authorities.

Six months have passed since the distinguished Prime Minister of India visited this country. That visit was the occasion for "Peace Accord" signed by the Prime Minister of India and the President of Sri Lanka. The Indian government the Indian parliament and the people of India must reflect soberly and dispassionately on the circumstances of that visit and the consequences of that "Accord".

It is not in the nature of the Sri Lankan people to treat a guest, particularly a guest as eminent as the Prime Minister of India, with anything but respect and warm hospitality. It is certainly not in the character of our people to dishonour such a distinguished guest, a leader elected by the people of India.

The signing of the "Accord" was unfortunately marred by an outburst of insensitive violence and ugly incidents. The people of Sri Lanka of all communities are not opposed to peace. They yearn for peace and a return to normal life. They have suffered long enough not least of all the Tamil people who have borne such suffering with great fortitude. They are opposed

to a "peace accord" hatched in secrecy and signed in undignified haste, without the slightest effort at genuine consultation, let alone consensus and consent.

If a large number of Sri Lankans are highly critical or have serious reservations about what was signed the vast majority are opposed to the way it was signed, and by whom it was signed, in their name.

But if the "accord" was the occasion for an explosion of popular indignation, it was also an explosion of pent-up anger and bitterness against a regime characterised by the abuse and arrogance of power and distinguished only by its lust for power and its insatiable appetite for corruption. It is against that regime that the people rose and not against Prime Minister elected by the people of India.

It is reported that a "Draft Treaty" will seek to incorporate ideas contained in an "Exchange of Letters", an annexed to the "Accord". I am sure had the Sri Lanka Freedom Party been in power, the contents in the exchange of letters would not have been necessary. Indeed the Sri Lanka Freedom party has in fact based its foreign policy, the cherished legacy of the founder of our party, on the principles of nonalignment, and on the principle of close friendship with all our neighbours, in a spirit of genuine goodwill and mutual respect.

I myself issued a statement only a few days after the first announcement that Israel was to be admitted to this country. Not only did I condemn such a move I warned the government and the people of Sri Lanka, of the dangers of such a step. We are and remain totally opposed to the use of foreign military and intelligence personnel, and consider the idea of using foreign mercenaries and unleashing them on our own people, as repugnant to our own dignity and

the values of civilised life. We have, never permitted nor will permit in the future any foreign broadcasting stations to be used for propagandist purposes hostile to our neighbours or to friendly countries, whoever they may be. Our position on Trincomalee and the use of our ports is a logical result of our unwavering dedication to peace in the Indian ocean.

But these are matters that have to be discussed freely and debated openly in a parliament elected at a free and fair election, and not decided by a government which has been described by no less a person than its Finance Minister a firm supporter of the "Accord" as a regime with "no moral right" to govern.

At this critical juncture in our relations, the Indian government and parliament must face up to certain obvious questions. Has 'the Peace Accord' brought peace? Has it not, on the contrary hardened feelings among the majority community, to the point when violence has now spread in a most dangerous form to the South? In such circumstances would not continued Indian support mean nothing less than propping up a tottering 'puppet' regime? Is that how an Indian government hopes to honour the ideals and aspiration of the illustrious leaders of India's struggle for freedom, independence and democracy?

If Sri Lanka had remained India's most steadfast friend in its neighbourhood, the reasons were twofold. The cultural heritage of our peoples, Sinhalese and Tamil is your heritage. The wisdom of your greatest son shines over and blesses our land. In modern times our leaders drew inspiration from Gandhi and Nehru and so many other eminent sons of India. Most of all, we valued democracy, the birthright of your people, and ours. If any Indian government, by direct action or collusion, helps in the denial of democracy to the Sri

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INTERNATIONAL ALERT — an appeal

(a letter to President J. R. Jayewardene)

International Alert and the Emergency Committee on Sri Lanka are deeply aware of the efforts which you and Prime Minister Gandhi have made in order to achieve a long term and peaceful settlement of the ethnic conflict. We are also conscious of the suffering created by the continuation of the fighting and the frustration your Government must feel at the obstacles encountered in seeking to implement the Peace Accord.

It is with these factors in mind that we have prepared the following proposals in the hope that they may contribute to the process and to peace. The suggestions follow intensive discussions by International Alert Representatives in Colombo, Delhi and visits to Madras and Jaipur.

International Alert and the Emergency Committee are convinced that the Peace Accord reached between yourself and Prime Minister Gandhi provides the basis for a long term settlement of the Ethnic Conflicts in Sri Lanka. The Accord has been endorsed by both Government and by Tamil Militants. It has been welcomed by the International Community and by aid agencies as being a positive move towards the solution of problems which have been dividing the Country and destroying life and property and displacing the population both within Sri Lanka and to countries overseas.

Far from bringing peace however, the Accord has so far been followed by renewed violence and conflict between Tamils and the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF). Civilian casualties have been considerable. The LTTE failed to surrender their arms and intensified their violence. The IPKF have been accused of having committed serious violations of human rights against non-combatants. In the South, the Sinhalese Extremists have carried out a policy of assassination of those who have supported the Accord.

However, despite the continued violence, the Accord remains the only Agreement upon which to build. The proposals from International Alert are presented as a formula for providing reassurance to those who fear the worst and a programme for those who want to make the process work.

The immediate imperative in the present Military and Political impasse in the North and the East is the cessation of hostilities and the renewal of negotiations for a political and democratic solution to the civil war which persists. In pursuit of this objective, International Alert would like to propose the following:

1. All parties be asked to agree to open a new dialogue based on the Accord and to agree to the non-use of weapons while the dialogue continues.
2. A procedure be established for the settlement of disputes arising from a breach of the agreement not to use arms and for the settlement of other disputes arising from day to day incidents. Such a procedure could involve consultation with all parties, independent observers nominated by the Secretary General of the United Nations or The Secretary General of the Commonwealth. Observers could also be drawn from the ranks of respected and competent international non-Governmental Organisations?

Whatever mechanism is set up to monitor the cessation of hostilities, two aspects are crucial:

1. That those constituting it must be both competent and command public confidence.
2. That it must have carefully defined terms of reference.
3. (A) The New Dialogue should, among other things, lay down a broad timetable for the holding of elections to

provincial councils, including procedures for the gazetting of elections, registration of voters and nominations for elections.

(B) The Inter-Parliamentary union or other appropriate and respected bodies could be invited to advise and assist technically and impartially in the national, provincial, electoral and referenda arrangements.

4. Militant Groups agree to surrender their arms once a date is set for election under the accord.
 5. A phased withdrawal of Indian Troops to be publicly scheduled in relation to the timetable for the implementation of the accord.
 6. The International Committee of the Red Cross should be allowed to exercise its functions in accordance with the March 1987 recommendation of the United Nations Human Rights Commission. This was a consensus Resolution supported amongst others by the Indian Government.
 7. Governments of countries where Sri Lankan Refugees have sought asylum should be publicly requested not to return refugees to Sri Lanka against their own will but to cooperate with the UNHCR in Sri Lanka in establishing an orderly and supported return to their homes with appropriate assistance in their rehabilitation and resettlement.
 8. The entire process could be initiated and invigorated by a week of negotiated peace to permit the vaccination, immunisation and other medical and preventative care for children in conflict areas under the supervision of UNICEF, along lines successfully followed in El Salvador and Nicaragua (Bridges of Peace).
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Miscalculation in Sri Lanka

Nikhil Chakravarty (Editor, MAINSTREAM)

This week the President of Sri Lanka will be our state guest. The idea of inviting him, despite strong feelings about his government's policy towards some of the issues in which this country is deeply interested, is known to be our Prime Minister's very own; and therefore one may legitimately infer that he sets much store by it.

However, if one were to go by the mood of the public instead of the Prime Minister's predilections, there is no gainsaying that there have surfaced perceptive reservations about Rajiv Gandhi's Sri Lanka policy. The euphoria that was whipped up in the wake of the Indo Sri Lanka agreement of July 29 has, by all accounts, gone; and the six months since then have unfolded events which were not anticipated at all at that time. It would indeed be supremely fatuous for anybody in government to claim today that all the twists and turns in the developments since July 29, were expected at the time.

When the agreement was drawn up, it was known that the Prime Minister was in a hurry to sign it. Subsequent events made it abundantly clear that no severely objective assessment preceded the signing of the agreement. Subjective factors superseded careful appraisal. The Prime Minister signed the agreement by which he virtually assured that the Tamil militant groups would surrender all arms within 120 hours; but at that time, he had not received any firm assurance from the LTTE leadership that they would lay down arms at his behest.

In fact, at the press conference in Colombo following the signing of the accord, Rajiv Gandhi only conceded that talks were going on with Prabhakaran, not that he had agreed to surrender arms. Granting that the LTTE leaders went back on their word, how was it that India's intelligence

agencies had no idea about the goings on in the militants' camp nor about their military strength and capability? Nobody would be convinced by any bragging that the strong resistance put up by the LTTE against the Indian army had been anticipated. Had it been so, then there is legitimate ground for questioning the wisdom of pushing our armed forces into a misadventure about whose culmination there had been no perspective thinking.

Our chief of army staff has called for "a national consensus" on the role of the Indian armed forces in Sri Lanka. Such a consensus can emerge only if one were clear about the policy behind the operation. In contrast to what happened in 1971 — when at every stage of the fast-growing crisis, the Prime Minister kept all political parties informed both officially and informally — Rajiv Gandhi has only cared to have a few casual meetings with the opposition leaders. And these too were given up with the July 29 agreement. No consultation has taken place at subsequent crucial stages of development.

Does the government have a clear idea about its Sri Lanka policy today? The government is claiming that our armed forces had to fight the LTTE to enforce the Sri Lanka agreement. But is the government satisfied that the other party to the agreement — that is, the Sri Lanka government — has been faithfully carrying out its obligations under the accord? New Delhi has done its best to sell President Jayewardene's legislative measures but even the moderate Tamil opinion represented by the TULF cannot accept these. Now it is being said that President Jayewardene has given his "personal assurances" that he would concede more reforms for the north. It is strange that our government should be gullible enough to take his words seriously when no party in Sri Lanka —

not even his own — takes him at his word. This is not meant as a slur on his reputation but as a measure of his remarkable capacity to sluff his position. With two of his ministers dead set against the agreement; with the knowledge that his security forces have been infiltrated on a large scale by the JVP; with large-scale violence being perpetrated by the Sinhala fanatics in the south, Rajiv Gandhi trusts that the commitment of July 29 would be honoured by President Jayewardene. Uptil now, there has been no firm guarantee that he would hold the promised elections in the north and east. Instead, it is now common knowledge that two of President Jayewardene's ministers were engaged at the beginning of this month in secret talks with LTTE leaders striking a deal after which the Indian army would have been asked to quit.

All this was done with President Jayewardene's knowledge and consent at the last moment he seemed to have got cold feet about clinching the secret deal. But this does not mean that more such moves would not be forthcoming in the near future.

There is also the danger that in view of the worsening situation in the Sinhala areas of the south, President Jayewardene might ask the Indian army to help him keep the peace there. Is the Rajiv government prepared to go in for such a commitment since this is also possible under the July 29 accord? Have we worked out the implications of such a situation in which India might annoy other political forces in Sri Lanka, while trying to pull President IRJ's chestnuts out of the fire?

It is now being given out that India moved its troops to Sri Lanka to pre-empt any other power taking over the island; presumably the reference is to Pakistan. If that were so, why was this not publicised widely at the time? New

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The Changing Pattern of Violence

Let us not make the same mistakes again

What causes violence? What are the long term remedies? What needs to be done immediately? Published here is a summary of a recent discussion initiated at the CSR. Participating in the discussion were a wide cross section of concerned persons, including a clergyman from Jaffna, a medical doctor from the South, representatives from MRA, writers and researchers. This is proposed as a take off point for further discussion rather than as conclusions agreed to by all.

Violence has escalated to endemic proportions over the past ten years. This phenomenon is uncharacteristic in that the situation has come about in an era of economic growth and expansion, enhanced infra-structure, increased agricultural productivity and modernization. Against this backdrop the justification for violence, by those who initially resorted to this means was identified by the group as follows: a) the growing authoritarianism of the State specially since 1972; b) the present government used violence to be in power; c) a backlash of a counter-violent nature is to be expected; d) institutional violence is a form of chuggery that is widespread and unchecked and d) a constant erosion of human rights over 10 years has tried the patience of the people to breaking point; e) the ethnic conflict which has been festering for several decades has become virulent in recent years.

These factors were the take-off point for the group discussion which covered, on a) the nature of violence, b) provocation for violence, and d) the the means to overcome violence.

Nature of violence

There has been a fundamental change in the pattern of violence in Sri Lanka since 1977. When

alternative approaches excluded, violence begets violence. So what the country is experiencing today is **Institutionalised violence** or State violence which has a spiralling effect, since the machinery of the government is a party to it. Ultimately this has led to a break down of law and order, as experienced in the North and East prior to the peace accord, and in the South at present. The short sighted approach adopted has been to meet violence with violence; the spiralling effect has thus reached its zenith. The urgency of the situation now calls for immediate remedial steps to be taken as a forerunner to long term socio-economic reforms and political restructuring.

Causes of violence

The discussion group identified three categories of persons who have been pushed into violence; (I) Those belonging to a disadvantaged strata of society which has been by-passed in sharing the fruits of liberalization of the economy; i. e. opening up of the industrial, agricultural and plantation sectors; added employment opportunities in the FTZ and Mahaweli schemes, development of energy communication and modern technology, free trade policy etc.

Grievances aggravating the lot of this sector include, a) the break down of the whole medical system, with hospitals functioning without adequate drugs, equipment and staff in the rural areas; no proper food being provided for patients, overcrowding and exploitation through the channel practices;

b) the undemocratic manner in which other political parties have been deprived the right of balancing powers, so there is no chance of changing the balance of power. These include repressive measures such as the removal of political rights of Mrs Bandaranaike, (1981) and the proscription of the JVP (1983), which have contributed to the construction of the democratic process, resulting in violent reactivism.

c) the recent legalization of betting with newspapers devoting several pages to racing news.

(II) Opportunists who want power:- Circumstances have played into the hands of these people by the trend to meet violence with violence. There is a serious danger of "Lebanonisation" of the country with the increase in State security forces, the IPKF, the proliferation of insurgent groups such as the LTTE, (which numbered only 37 in 1983), and other Tamil groups, private militia, home guards and JVP, Movement and shifting alliances among the military powers, and temporary military alliances have brought the country to the brink of a military crisis. Arms and ammunition are freely available and more pouring into the island.

(III) Radicals who are wedded to violence: These include the hard core of militants who have rejected the option of participating in a peaceful democratic process. The LTTE returned to arms after a temporary "forced" truce following the peace accord. The JVP was angered at the 1983

proscription, which came at a time when they were geared to fall in line with democratic processes. Their aim, has been stated by Wijeweera, is to provide democracy for people who had been deprived of democracy; and justice where injustice prevailed.

These groups now see the Peace Accord and the Provincial Council and 13 Amendment Acts as an occasion or provocation for continued violence.

Provocation for violence

Despite the fact that the present Government came into power in an euphoric atmosphere of democratic expansion, the results have been to erode rather than bridge the gap between the poor majority and wealthy minority. There has been no opportunity offered for disadvantaged people to participate in the economy on socialist lines. Quick money is available through means such as private bus trade, and lottery sales, but there has been no proper planning. Blatant corruption right down the line has aggravated inequalities. As a result, many of the people being killed are 'mudalalis' in the lower middle class who have collaborated with upper class government vested interest groups.

The food subsidiary has been removed and prices have been adapted to the world market prices for goods, which is far beyond the capacity of local wages. The basic population is fighting a losing battle to survive without crippling indebtedness.

Unemployment, which tops 20-25 percent in the South, is causing severe social tensions. People are aware that the national budget of defence is creaming off a 35 percent of the budget that would otherwise be available for development and social welfare. With the capital structure has been strengthened and the productive base of the country increased, the question can be asked, "who gets the benefits of

growth? The poorest people may not have grown in numbers, but the large cross-section of people who have been by-passed and deprived of participation in the fruits of prosperity are ready prey to the proponents of violence. Thus in the North it was not the poor who joined the insurgent groups but the educated and frustrated youth. The pattern is similar in the South.

The channels of communication between those in power and the masses are blocked, so that no feedback is obtained from the people regarding the plight they are in.

Means of overcoming violence

The discussion group considered how to break the cycle of violence. Three major steps were identified in addition to the resolution of the armed conflict in the North and East.

- A date should be fixed for holding the General Elections.
- There should be free and fair elections with a safeguarding of the franchise rights of all adult citizens.
- The proscription of the JVP should be removed.

Some in the Group felt that agreement that socio-economic reforms cannot be effective in the short term, since the dimensions of the present crisis had gone beyond considerations such as the quantum distribution of the benefits of economic growth and improvement in the quality of life which cannot be effected overnight. There was general agreement that at least in the long term a more egalitarian socialist vs. a mere capitalist approach was required. This was apart from the ethnic factor and measures required to the peace accord.

The fixing of a date for the General Elections would serve to moderate the tensions building up. It would respond to discontent among the masses, since it would provide an option for

popular participation by youth who had gained electoral rights in the past 10 years. On an ethnic basis, the North, which voted in the TULF in 1977, with the hopes that it bring some results will be afforded an opportunity to re-organise their representation.

The lifting of the proscription of the JVP was desirable, but lesson must be learnt from the North. Lifting the proscription and laying down arms are two different things. A proper procedure must be worked out, and assurance given that compliance with the amnesty would be to the advantage of the party, since it would give them a chance to fight the elections through legal means, rather than remain ineffectively on the outside as rebels.

Ensuring free elections calls for prior preparation by way of opening up the mass media to all parties, since at present the media was not forming public opinion in a desirable manner. Human rights in the North and East must first be restored. Elsewhere too far greater efforts than the present sporadic pockets of effort are required; people's participation needs to be implemented; since it is likely that existing social stresses are the outcome of a social system which the majority of people are not able to cope with.

The scales are weighted towards violence as a reaction to injustice and bribery and corruption. The initial remedy lies in the three basic steps suggested by the Group, to be followed up by efforts at social justice and freedom from corruption.

Mrs. B. . .

(Continued from page 10)

Lankan people, that Indian government will surely betray its own people and their birthright.

I wish to convey to the Government and the people of India our good wishes on the occasion of this Republic day Anniversary, hoping also that before long it will become possible to re-establish in the most free and cordial manner the Indo-Sri Lankan relations that we once had in happier times.

Understanding Human Violence

Carlo Fonseka

Violence is a stark fact of our everyday life. Unless we learn to control it, we are destined to perish by it.

Even the gentlest person could surely not claim that he has never felt like resorting to the use of violence in all his life. Violence is, indeed, often the outcome of a desperate gut feeling that destruction is the only solution to a problem a human being faces.

Violent behaviour may be interpersonal or intergroup violence is, of course, war. Human violence is a very complex phenomenon. Any theory of violence which avoids complexity will be untrue to the facts it seeks to summarize. To seek to account for both interpersonal and intergroup violence in terms of one root cause is likely to be an exercise in falsification, not simplification. As Albert Einstein once said, "things must be made as simple as possible but not simpler."

Discussion of human violence cannot possibly be a dry academic exercise. For it's perspective on violence is strongly influenced by one's social background, professional status, academic training, values, academic training, values and ideology. And it is idle for anyone to pretend that he has no ideology, because they have no specific ideology.

Let's face it; our condemnation of removal of a given act of violence is largely a matter of our own ideology. And in a world of relative values, every man is

entitled to his ideology! The truth about terrorism has a example, is that one man's terrorism or other man's heroism!

Sad to say, violence has not been and not exceptional. Tribal wars, ethnic religious wars, liberation wars, class wars and wars to end all wars fill the gory of human history! Is there no way of controlling this violence?

Understanding the nature of violence

Before violence can be fully controlled its nature will have to be fully understood. Approaches to understanding the nature of violence have included the following: physiological, ethological, sociobiological, sociological, criminological, psychological psychoanalytical, political, astrological and religious.

Physiological approach

Some physiologists believe that violent behaviour is essentially a matter of brain physiology. They assume, in short, that the brain shapes violent behaviour. The implication of this assumption for social policy is startlingly simple; the way to control human violence is to learn to control brain physiology! However diligent search for physiological substrates of violence have failed to link violence with specific physiological processes in the brain. Nevertheless the idea that violent behaviour derives from brain dysfunction and that it can be modified by physical intervention lingers on. Yet clearly, physiology cannot offer a general theory for violence. The most it can do is to explain to a limited extent individual cases of violence.

Ethological approach

Ethology is the study of animal behaviour, especially in natural habitats. Starkly stated, the major promise for an ethological approach is that Man has an inborn predisposition to violence which must be spontaneously discharged from time to time. This may account for interpersonal and intergroup violence. If this hypothesis is true, then violent conflict becomes inevitable, and all we can hope to do is to contain it. The solution is to redirect the innate and spontaneous violence to other channels such as international sport!

Sociobiological approach

Sociobiology represents the attempt to understand human social behaviour in terms of evolutionary theory. Thus concerning human violence the potentiality for violent action is inherent in Man because under certain circumstance it is biologically adaptive and promotes survival of the individual or of the group to which the individual belongs. If this thesis that violent behaviour is essentially predetermined by genetic programming is true then the chief way to control human violence will be through biological manipulation. This is vehemently repudiated by many sociologists, who argue that the distinguishing characteristic of Man is precisely his capacity to learn what in other animals have already programmed into their genes.

Sociological approach

The sociological approach to the problem of violence regards violence as an aspect of social interaction; in fact as a form of social communication. Violent behaviour is presumed to be meaningful to those who indulge in

it, every act of violence is said to carry a message. The task of the sociologist is to read its meaning and to decipher the message. In this connection a longitudinal study of 411 school-boys in England and a study of certain criminal subgroup in a society such as the mafia have yielded three major conclusions; namely that extreme punitiveness in child-rearing tends to breed aggressive children; that aggressive children are prone to violent crime in later life, and that socially disadvantaged people are more likely to commit violent crimes.

Criminological approach

In the criminological approach to violence investigation has identified five catalytic ingredients of black urban violence in the United States, which may be extended. They are a) frustration of the hopes which had been generated by the civil rights movement; b) a climate which was heavy with the approval and encouragement of violence; c) the frustration that was caused by feeling powerless to change the system; d) a mood, particularly among younger people, of enhanced racial pride, and e) a view of the police as a symbol of white racism and repression.

According to the researcher, 'riots' occur because an oppressed group suffers from feelings of inadequacy and helplessness and powerlessness.

Psychological approach

A cardinal concept in the psychological approach to violence is that it is always a consequence of frustration and that frustration always leads to some form of violence. As a matter of observable fact, such invariance does not hold. On the premise that almost all adult human behaviour is learned, many psychologists believe that violent behaviour can be virtually eradicated by a re-ordering of the social environment. As to this, the only valid comment one can make is: easier said than done!

Also on the premise that violent behaviour is a form of learned social behaviour, many psychologists recommend that young children should not be exposed to violence on television and cinema and in comics and real life. Research into this aspect has revealed three general conclusions: a) observing violence tends to facilitate behaving violently; b) the meaning that viewers ascribe to the violence they observe modifies the degree of such facilitation, and c) the popularity of television programme is not related to the amount of violence they portray.

Political approach

The political approach to human violence is inextricably linked with the name of Karl Marx. Behind the legal facade of capitalism Marx saw the struggle of two main classes: the owners of the productive resources who are a microscopic minority and the wage-earners who form the overwhelming majority. Marx believed that by its very nature capitalism was self-destructive. To him, the transition from capitalism to socialism basically involved the transfer of the means of production from private to public ownership. Whether this transfer was to take place by violent means or by peaceful means, was to Marx a secondary issue. He did say that "violence is midwife to every society pregnant with a new one."

Astrological approach

In Sri Lanka to talk of politics is to think of astrology. Even war and civil strife are blamed on the stars. There is little hope that our nation will realise in the near future that the fault "is not in our stars that we are underlings," incumbent and expectant holders of the highest offices in the land are steeped in this numbo jumbo called astrology which the Buddha dismissed as a "thirashina vidya" — a science fit for animals.

Religious approach

However that may be, let us now consider what the Buddha had to say about human violence. According to the Buddha, self

love is at the root of all violence. But the belief in a self the Buddha regards as an illusion. The remedy is elimination of the notion of self through right understanding. The elimination of the notion of self from society as a whole requires a radical transformation of the social and individual attitudes of people.

Synthesis of approaches

It is now time to attempt a synthesis of the different approaches to violence. Let us begin by reminding ourselves that Man is born with capacity to react to threats to his survival or vital interests with rage and attack, i. e. with violence. Such violent behaviour is life preserving and therefore biologically adaptive and meaningful.

The threat the vital interests may come not only from lions and tigers but also from man himself. Indeed, today the principal threat to the vital interests of Man comes from Man himself!

The historical record shows that certain conditions predictably provoke inter-tribal violence. These include: a) development of fixed territories inhabited exclusively by a single tribe; b) an enormous increase in the number of individuals in tribes; c) creation of specialized, professional killers i.e. armies, and weapons; d) gross economic and social inequalities between tribes.

At first glance these conditions seem to make intertribal conflicts inevitable. But a moment's thought suffices to show that there is nothing inherently inevitable about the occurrence of any of those conditions.

What is necessary is for human beings to behave rationally. But are human beings rational? . . . do they act rationally? Heaven knows that most of the time most of us are not guided by reason . . . yet a blind understanding will not and cannot teach us how to control violence. At least as the last resort, we must use the light of reason.

The Decline of Parliament, a failure of political will

Naelan Tiruchelvam

In Sri Lanka there is little discussion of our basic political institutions or any attempt to systematically explore their underlying purpose and their relationship to other institutions in the legal and political landscape. There is even a feeling, that these institutions are somehow immune or are insulated from the detailed public scrutiny to which such institutions should otherwise be subjected to in a vibrant democratic society. The doctrines of parliamentary privilege and judicial concept have been too often invoked to stifle legitimate criticism, and serious intellectual inquiry into the working of these institutions. To the extent that this seminar seeks to correct this imbalance in public discourse, even in a modest way, it must be viewed as a very positive development.

Justice Felix Frankfurter, when called upon to be the first speaker at a Conference compared his role to that of a Greek chorus. Having briefed himself on the proper task of a Greek chorus, he added, in early days the destiny of the chorus was "involved in that of the principal characters". When the Attic stage was at its highest perfection the chorus was "thrown much further into the background," and appears "not as a participant in the action, but merely as a sympathetic witness." The chorus was, "removed from the stress and turmoil of the action into a calmer and more remote region, though it still preserves its interest in the events upon the stage." Later the role of the chorus further receded, whereby it begins to lose even its interest in the action" sings odes of a mythological character, which have only the remotest connexion with the incidents of the plot." (Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*, 320-21 (2ed. 1898).

Although seminars such as this provides with an opportunity for

calm reflection removed from the stress and turmoil of our society we must nonetheless remain mindful of the grim realities of our society, and not be reduced like the later day Greek choruses to 'odes of a mythological character'.

On the last occasion on which I addressed the Council for Liberal Democracy, I referred to what I termed as a crisis in the politics of Sri Lanka. I felt that this crisis was not one merely relating to the collapse of institutions, but also to the failure of the spirit, of political will. I do not intend to traverse this terrain, but to remind you of the continuing relevance of these concerns.

When we refer to the role of Parliament it is important to refer to the theories of sovereignty and to the concept of supremacy with which it is intimately related in the evolution of what we know as the Westminster model. This constitutional order which arose out of the Civil War in the 1640's and Bloodless Revolution of 1688-89 entrenched constitutional principle of Parliamentary supremacy and a new theory of sovereignty. These changes were considered so sweeping that constitutional writers have referred to the new nation that arose in 1688-89. I refer even sketchily to historical experience to emphasise how deeply these developments have influenced the thinking of Commonwealth nations about their political institutions. These ideas are deeply embedded in our legal and political consciousness, that we fiercely cling to these doctrines disregarding the historical context in which they evolved or the more contemporary refinements to which they had subjected. Against this current of thought, radical writers like DeFoe and Thomas Paine, have claimed sovereignty for the people. They have declared the people to be the constituent power of the State, and that political authority of the State

should be exercised only through their consent. More recently Lord Hailsham in his "Dilemma of Democracy" claimed that "the exercise of democracy is a statement about sovereignty residing in the people". Despite these currents the traditional view was not displaced. McKenzie and Silver in *ANGELS v MARBLE, WORKING CLASS CONSERVATIVES IN URBAN ENGLAND*, stated "Though modern constitutions typically locate the source of sovereignty in the people, in Britain it is the Crown in Parliament that is sovereign. . . . The political culture of democratic Britain assigns to ordinary people the role not of citizens, but of subjects".

In the constitutional development of Sri Lanka, particularly since the 1948 Constitution, the concept of Parliamentary sovereignty has been of central importance. The more important constitutional debates revolved around the issues of sovereignty. Perhaps the most important judicial pronouncement on the theory of legislative sovereignty in Sri Lanka was Ransinghe's case, where the Privy Council implied that the limitations envisaged by Section 29 were not merely procedural in character. Dr. Colvin R de Silva clarified in his "G. C. Mendis" lecture this judgement influenced the thinking on the First Republican Constitution. The movement towards autocracy and the break in legal continuity were efforts to liberate the Sri Lankan constitutional order from the constraints placed upon it by this judgement. The First Republican Constitution remains significant for its articulation of the concept of popular sovereignty. The Constitution expressly provided, that in the Republic of Sri Lanka sovereignty is in the people and it is inalienable. However, it retained the notion that Parliament being the supreme instrument of state power, was exercising legislative power of the people directly and executive and judicial power indirectly through other institutions.

One of the flaws in this theory of popular sovereignty, related to

the ambiguity of concept of the 'people' in a pluralistic society which had achieved little concept of a nation state. The Second Republican Constitution resulted in a further movement away from the notion of Parliamentary supremacy and sovereignty, by creating an Executive Presidency which became in effect the source of all executive power and authority. The Executive President, although in theory accountable to Parliament, was in practice immune from the scrutiny to which Ministerial actions and conduct would be subject under a Westminster model. As a matter of practical politics the authority and influence of Parliament was severely diminished by the absence of the executive head of government from the floor of the legislature. A important change in this regard is the direct involvement of the people in the legislative process. This process requires the approval of the people in a Referendum in respect of what are described as the entrenched provisions.

In fact, the Constitution expressly provides that the people at a Referendum may directly pass a Bill, even where it has failed to secure the approval of Parliament, although such a Bill could not result in an amendment to the Constitution, this process provided for the Gaullist conception of an Executive President directly appealing to the people. These changes in the very theory of Parliament under our evolving constitutional order have serious implications for ability to assess its effectiveness in discharging the tasks assigned to it.

Having provided this background we need consider how effectively does Parliament discharge the constitutional tasks that have been assigned to it. The answer to this question turns both representative character of Parliament and its accountability. The former issue turns on the extent to which Parliament is adequately reflective of the diversity of political opinion and the social composition of the electoral base. In this regard we have witnessed a continuous erosion of the representative character of Parliament throughout the post-Inde-

pendent years, commencing from the disenfranchisement of estate Tamils the deprivation of civic rights of Mrs. Bandarenaike, the Referendum of 1981, and the Sixth Amendment of 1983. This Parliament was clearly robbed of even its pretense of being representative of the political opinion in the North and those in the clearly Tamil constituencies of East. Its representative character with regard to the South is also being directly challenged. With regard to responsiveness there are two aspects of responsiveness that we have to bear in mind. Firstly, to what extent is Parliament adequately responsive to public, and to the diverse pressure groups in a society, which have an acknowledged place in our constitutional system. The other aspect of the responsibility of government relates to accountability to Parliament. The effectiveness and rationality of government is related to the efficacy of the control and accountability functions of Parliament. John Stuart Mill in his 'Considerations on Representative Government (1861)' stated that 'the proper office of a representative assembly is to watch and control the Government.'

The most important function clearly in this regard is the function of controlling and scrutinising the executive, including the extracting of information, criticising and procuring reparation or redress. The system of ministerial responsibility to Parliament and the practices and functions which have crystallised around it are important in this regard.

An important aspect of Ministerial responsibility is the convention of resignation of a delinquent Minister. So that if there is a failure of departmental policy or administration, even if the fault is that of 'a civil servant', the Minister is individually responsible and answerable to the judgment of Parliament. Where the failure is a serious one, he is required to resign from office even without a vote of censure. There are too many instances of failure of policy resulting in dam disasters, prison massacres, security lapses which have resulted in bomb disasters and other massacres of civil-

lians, near bankruptcy or collapse of public undertakings, which have rarely in our history resulted in Ministerial resignations. The Opposition has also been delinquent in failing to propose votes of censure where individual Ministerial responsibility was clear. While the instances in which Minister's head has been offered are few, the instances where it has been demanded have been also limited. In addition, there is a wide range of techniques through which the control and scrutiny of Government could be exercised. They range from non-legislative debates, question consultation committees to Ministers, Public Accounts Committees, the Committee on the Operation of Public Enterprises, are committed to work of these institutions, and we are entitled to know how effective and sustained is the scrutiny of governmental conduct through these techniques. What reforms are necessary to strengthen these techniques of control and of scrutiny?

There are two factors which in our recent Parliamentary experience have affected the effectiveness of Parliament in ensuring governmental accountability. Firstly, steamroller majority, particularly the 1970 and 1977 governments have given the governmental party an exaggerated sense of its political strength and made it insensitive and intolerant of opposition criticism. The imbalance between Parliament and Opposition is so great that a former Leader of the Opposition once complained the Government M.Ps were not merely in front of him, but were to the left of him, to the right of him, and even behind him. The second factor related more recently to the increasing number of M.Ps who assume executive responsibility either as Members of Cabinet, District Ministers, or as Deputy Ministers. The responsibility of M.Ps for administering the decentralised budget in their respective electorates has further blurred the distinction between legislative responsibilities and governmental functions.

Another aspect which is related to the concerns of this Seminar

relates to the continuing tension between substrate conceptions of politics and populist in the working of Parliamentary institutions. At one level, the Parliamentary process is a process concerned with political ideas and their articulation. This is intellectual, substance of Parliamentary politics. At another level, at a more populist level, a Parliamentarian has to be responsive to the immediate needs of his constituents and to mediate between him and the governmental process. He has to effectively perform the ceremonial role of being the first citizen in his electorate and yet devote his energy and enthusiasm to resolving the most mundane problems of his constituency. Few politicians have been able to effectively reconcile these roles. This system of Proportional Representation was in some respects intended to remove the Parliamentarians from of these pressures to enable him to adopt a wider perspective. This, however, could result in a weakening of their responsiveness to the needs and demands of their electorates. The very style of Parliamentary office, the perquisites which increasingly attach to it, tend to progressively remove Parliamentarians from the social and economic realities of their constituencies. Equally serious is the decline in the substance of Parliamentary politics.

At the intellectual level, one of the important reasons for the decline of our Parliament as an institution is the little thought and effort that is devoted by major political parties, particularly those in the Opposition, to serious issues of public policy. How many of our party leaders carefully read the reports of the Public Accounts Committee, the report of the Commission of Inquiry on Air Lanka, the recent report of the Wanasinghe Committee? How many of them play a part in promoting the informed discussion of the social and political issues posed by these reports? How many of our political parties have formulated position papers on issues such as local government, educational and cultural policies, for a pluralistic policy, problems of malnutrition and poverty in

our society? Without the kind of sustained intellectual input of this nature, the quality of our politics and the effectiveness of our Parliamentary institution would continue to decline. This decline is reflected in the quality of our legislative process, the content of legislative debates, the degree and care devoted to details of legislation during the Committee stage, continuing decline in the content of the Budget, and the corresponding decline in both the legislative interest and public interest in these processes.

If one was to take a cynical view of this process one would need to agree with Mr Reid Lefeur, one the giants of the Vermont Legislature, who stated in 1960: "As I look around this chamber it occurs to me that many of our members make their greatest contribution to the legislative process on the days when they are not here." But Mr Chairman ladies and gentlemen, there is no room for complacency or cynicism as our political institutions continue to decline and progressively lose their relevance. The failure of our political institutions cannot result in the collapse of the spirit, of political will. If Parliament as an institution is to realize its fullest potential as a forum for the articulation of the grievances of the people and for the sharp clash of opinion on issues of national importance, the political parties must recognize that politics is also a demanding intellectual pursuit.

I would like to conclude my quoting from the Memorandum of Dissent to the Kilbrandon Report, where it was argued scheme for constitutional reform must concern itself with political parties I quote: "Effective political parties are the crux of democratic government. Without them democracy withers and decays Their role is pervasive. Parties are the peoples watchdogs, the guardian of our liberties In short, they are the mainspring of all processes of democracy. If parties fail, whether from the lack of resources, or vision, democracy itself would fail."

(A talk at a C. L. D. Symposium)

INTERNATIONAL . . .

(Continued from page 11)

9. The co-operation in and commitment of opposition parties to the Peace Process is deemed to be of real significance in the creation of an atmosphere of confidence that peace, once achieved, will not be rejected by others in the future.
10. In this context it may be recalled that monitoring the cessation of hostilities is already envisaged by the accord, though this remains to be implemented. Point 5 in the annexure to the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement of 29 July 1987 reads as follows:

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Sri Lanka agree that a joint Indo-Sri Lankan observer group consisting of qualified representatives of the Government of India and the Government of Sri Lanka would monitor the cessation of hostilities from 31 July 1987.

Martin Ennals

Secretary General, International Alert.

Dame Judith Hart P. C.

International Emergency
Committee on Sri Lanka.

Miscalculation . . .

(Continued from page 12)

Delhi could not possibly have had any inhibitions about exposing Pakistani mischief. The point conote is that in the public eye this latest explanation sounds like an after-thought. It is time that the government undertook a serious review of its involvement in Sri Lanka and come to a clear understanding of the prospects ahead. To admit a miscalculation is a sign of greater strength for a government to try to cover it up. The move to have a treaty with President Jayawardene should await such a review of the entire policy towards Sri Lanka. The Prime Minister would be wise to take the nation into confidence insted of putting his trust in President Jayawardene.



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In a Rush to Vanquish

If there had been less political haste, victory could have been easier

For the victorious Indian battalions that captured Jaffna in October, it is now time to write the war diaries and draw lessons. To compile its own diary of what became the country's longest war, INDIA TODAY assigned Special Correspondent SHEKHAR GUPTA to visit the battlefields and interview scores of Indian soldiers, from generals in Delhi to the jawans who fought in Jaffna's jungle of concrete and who now, with their morale high, are policing the peace. His report:

The Indian Army had never seen a war like this: in an alien land, against a foreign enemy that wore no uniforms, knew no Geneva Convention on ethics of war, yet carried deadly modern weapons and fought routinely from behind the cover of women and children. And the war itself was a sudden turnaround to fight an enemy who, regarded as friend till recently, was set on the fratricidal course, forced by its folly and bloodthirst,

Tensions between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) had been mounting since early September. First the LTTE accused India of failing to retrieve from Sri Lanka custody 17 of its men who swallowed cyanide rather than go to Colombo. The LTTE responded with frenzied killings of Sinhalese and political opponents. The IPKF reacted in a limited way, but events gathered momentum on their own. On October 8, the LTTE kidnapped five unsuspecting paracommandos on their way to collect provisions and killed them insidiously, putting burning tyres round their necks in public. Next they ambushed a CRPF patrol. New Delhi wanted a quick end to the trouble and on October 11, the army launched a five-pronged offensive to wrest Jaffna.

If the strategic gains in the operation were considerable (INDIA TODAY, December 15, 1987) the casualties were high: over 350 killed and 1,100 wounded which, at nearly 7 per cent of the men

who fought, is almost twice as high as the rate in the wars against Pakistan. On the positive side, the jawans showed an awesome ability to advance despite heavy casualties.

The army says it fought with hopeless intelligence on the LTTE's manpower, firepower and motivation. "And tactical intelligence on LTTE hideouts was a cipher" says a senior general. Many officers feel that if the Government had given them 48 hours more, the passage to Jaffna may have been much smoother. The haste of decision makers in the capital that resulted in the embarrassing spectacle of four brigades pinned down on their way to Jaffna. And if the politicians were in a rush, the army brass also acquiesced. Consequently, most of the units launched on October 11 were understaffed, under-equipped, under-briefed and tired even before the first shot was fired. Consider the following:

● Many units had been moved to Sri Lanka on October 11 itself and launched into battle within hours. Two of the battalions, 4/5 Gorkhas and 13 Sikh Light Infantry (LI) — which suffered more than 110 casualties between them — had landed only hours before being sent to Jaffna. In August, the 13 Sikh LI troops were airlifted to Bangalore for the onward-move to Jaffna. But on October 7 they were sent back to Gwalior. The next day they were again asked to pack up. Finally, they landed at Jaffna on October 11 after a tiring journey, several tran-

sit halts and sleepless nights, to be flung into a strange war on foreign soil. Similarly, the 41 Brigade was airlifted on October 17 and launched straight on the coastal road axis leading to Jaffna Fort. The brigade had 272 casualties, nearly 17 per cent of its strength, in Sri Lanka.

When the battle began, the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) had just six artillery guns and three T-72 tanks in Jaffna. Says an officer: "Normally one battalion is backed by 200 guns to soften the enemy. Here we had only six for 20." In fact, while the tactical headquarters of the 54th Infantry Division — specially designated for air and amphibious assault — had moved to Palaly, the heavy weapons were left behind as unnecessary. And after the action began the firepower was built up painfully: each giant 11.76 jet landed with one T-72 tank or two BMP armoured fighting vehicles. The jetty at Kankesanthurai port was too weak for the armour to land by ships. Thus for the first few days the Indian firepower was about the same as the LTTE's.

● Troops often ran short of ammunition because when they were launched into assault, they never expected to fight for so many days at a stretch. Due to ambushes, it was difficult to send ammunition by road and helicopters braved machine-gun fire to resupply the troops. Near Navatkuli, a Mahar battalion had the mortification of seeing its ammunition dropped outside the area it controlled. They had to fight their way out of the LTTE encirclement to retrieve it. Helicopters had also to drop cooked food packets for them.

● Ammunition for tanks helicopters was also short. Besides, many lives were lost due to the delay in using helicopter gunships. What should have been a tactical decision awaited political approval for 16 hours. Once cleared, the choppers

proved a point. Chavakacherry was taken by two Madras Regiment battalions at the cost of only three lives, after helicopters fired just 32 rockets. "But for the helicopters, we were resigned to at least 100 casualties in the heavily defended town," says an officer.

Moreover, the units fell short of officers as LTTE snipers picked them out. And once the officer was killed or wounded, the junior commissioned officers and other ranks often lost initiative. The agency of just one battalion illustrates this.

The 415 Gorkhas are a legend. They collected battle honours in Jammu's Rajpuri sector in 1965 capturing the strategic Topa post with less than 30 casualties. In 1971 they did better, with battle honours for Ghazipur, Atgram and Sylhet where they landed by helicopters and fought for eight days on their own. They collected two Mahavir Chakras, two Vir Chakras and other decorations. The total casualties then were 28. But the tally in Jaffna is a disastrous 70.

As part of the 72 Brigade, the battalion was supposed to move towards Jaffna and link up with the troops landed by helicopters in the university campus. From the campus, it followed the convoy of tanks with the paracommandos they had rescued. But while the tanks had safe passage, the Gorkhas bringing up the rear came under sudden fire from four temples dominating the main road-crossing in Urumparal. The battalion adjutant, a tough Manipuri, Major N.J.D. Singh was hit on the head and he died instantly. Another company commander, Major Aril Doonak Gardner, had the entire flesh from his leg blown off by a Claymore mine. Major A. A. Vorghese, the other company commander and the only Tamil speaker in the unit, went into a house full of crying women and children to comfort them, but was shot in the back by an old woman.

Then disaster struck when the commandant, Lt-Colonel I. B. S. Bawa, was shot just under his heart. He was removed along with the other wounded to a dried-up well — the battalion's only cover — where a lone doctor

struggled to save him. While the doctor survived which a grazing wound, helicopters, deterred by machine-gun fire, failed to pick up Bawa. He died at 4.30 p.m. just as rescue came with tanks, six hours after he was hit. Second-in-command Randhir Singh, the only surviving major, took over the battalion which was unfit to fight till new officers could be flown in from India.

Elsewhere too the LTTE systematically picked out officers. A mine blew to bits the BMP that the deputy commander of the 72 Brigade, Colonel D. S. Sarason was riding, killing him and the entire complement of nine men. Snipers also shot dead Major A. K. Chaturvedi of 5 Rajput and Lieutenant R. S. Nagar, whose ambition of following in a proud tradition — his father too had commanded the 16th Sikh battalion — were not shot. Major R. S. Kanwa, an artillery regiment's doctor, was also shot down by snipers.

Often the officer's death held up the troops. Top sources in South Block confirm that the ratio of officers to the men of other ranks killed in Sri Lanka is an all-time high. In the 1965 and 1971 wars with Pakistan, the ratio was 1:9.3 and 1:9.8 respectively. Here it is 1:7.5. This was partly because the officers led from the front and partly because the LTTE snipers, hidden behind windows or on the Chinese-made sniper chairs strung on palm trees, always looked for the officers, often through telescopic sights. A vital lesson the army has learnt now is to mix its officers with troops by avoiding pips of rank, wearing slouch hats and carrying oversized back-packs.

Jaffna raises other vital questions. Why, for example, were whole battalions pinned down by snipers? Officers confessed it was often because they forget the basic exercise of "moving on one leg". Routinely, advancing units make a section (about 10 to 15 men) move forward while another gives it cover. When the advancing section reaches the limit of its protectors' firing range, it takes cover and gives protection to the first one which then

advances. In Jaffna this wasn't always done. Instead, as the units got bogged down and Dalhi pressed for results, more troops were flung into the furnace.

Another lesson was the ineffectiveness of armour in built-up, mined areas. The LTTE used their Chinese rocket propelled grenade launchers (RPGS) effectively at close range. "They even attacked tanks with burning jerry cans full of petrol," says the division commander, Major General Harkirat Singh.

The LTTE learnt from wherever it could. The army recovered, besides arms and cyanide jars, video-cassettes of the Anthony Quinn classic, *Omar Mokhtar: The Lion of the Desert*, in which Libyan guerrillas hold up Italian tanks using mines and burning benzene cans. The LTTE had even defaced the mile-stones around the city, to confuse the army. Further, the army learnt that its heavier 7.62 mm rifle is no match for the Kalashnikov AK-47s in close quarter battle. It fires a shot at a time not bursts.

For the future, however, the army has to learn the most from the Tigers' expertise in mine warfare which accounted for more than 60 per cent of all Indian casualties. For many years while they awaited the Sri Lankan offensive, the LTTE had been laying a network of ingenious mines on approaches to Jaffna. Unlike conventional metallic mines these were heaps of explosive filled in plastic jerry cans. Says a general: "They used anything non-metallic even the hollow coconut tree trunks as casing for explosives." These were connected with wires that could be hanging innocuously in any house up to a kilometre away. The Tigers kept a map of the mines and joined the wires whenever a good target passed by. "Some mines had up to 200 kg of explosives which is a kiloton of explosive power," says an officer, underlining the fact that Hiroshima had been obliterated by a 20-kiloton nuclear bomb.

The impact of these mines was devastating. Along the roads even now one finds twisted bits of metal that once belonged to
(Continued on page 25)

Mauritius stresses claim to Diego Garcia

John D. Battersby (New York Times Service)

FOREIGN
NEWS

PORT LOUIS, Mauritius

The leader of this island state still wants to regain sovereignty over the faraway island of Diego Garcia, which the United States has turned into a military base in the Indian Ocean.

"We maintain our claim over Diego Garcia," Prime minister Anerood Jugnauth said in an interview, "and we will use all diplomatic possibilities to the island and surrounding archipelago handed over to Mauritius."

Diego Garcia, which lies about 1,200 miles (1,945 kilometers) northeast of Mauritius, was ceded to Britain along with part of the Chagos Archipelago under an agreement signed in 1965, three years before Mauritius, then a British colony, attained independence.

That same year, Britain leased Diego Garcia to the United States for 50 years. In 1976 the remainder of the Chagos Archipelago was included in the Agreement. As a result, the United States is now leasing all of what became known as the British Indian Ocean Territory.

When Diego Garcia was given to Britain, its inhabitants were relocated to Mauritius, inflaming passions that were only partly allayed by modest compensation to the displaced islanders years later.

Today, Diego Garcia remains out of bounds to its original residents. The only visitors to the rest of the islands in the archipelago are sailors who discover an uninhabited paradise abounding in coconuts, tropical fruits and marine life.

Mauritius has its own defence agreement, signed at independence from Britain, which grants the British military facilities on Mauritius in return for protection against any external threat.

But Mauritius, which itself lies 1,200 miles east of Mozambique, rejects the exclusion of Diego Garcia from its territory. Mauritius

asserts that it was agreed that the Diego Garcia could be used only as a communications facility and not as a major military base.

"What Britain did before independence, that is the exclusion of Diego Garcia from our territory, is contrary to the resolutions of the United Nations," Mr Jugnauth said. "I have always considered this as a fraud and illegal act since it took place before our independence."

The Mauritian prime minister is passionate about creating a "zone of peace" in the Indian Ocean, a proposal that the Soviet Union has also backed independently. Although the Russians have had naval facilities at various times at Mauritius, the Seychelles and Madagascar, they do not have a permanent base in the Indian Ocean.

"What are for nonalignment and peace with total disarmament" said Mr. Jugnauth, who was once president of the leftist Mauritian Militant Movement and now heads a right-of-center government.

Despite strong Mauritian feelings voiced in public over the sovereignty of Diego Garcia, officials privately appear resigned to its status for the foreseeable future. Mauritius has resumed providing labor and supplies to Diego Garcia in what is a useful trade relation-

ship for the economically pragmatic Mauritians.

The U. S. ambassador to Mauritius, Ronald Dwayne Palmer, said the base issue was a delicate matter. "But there are good and sufficient reasons why a U. S. military base in this part of the world is useful," he said.

Although he conceded that Diego Garcia "is something that is there" as an issue, he said that "in the meantime, both governments try to get on with business."

He is concentrating on expanding trade between the two countries and is proud of a recent agreement under which the United States helped Mauritius set up a coast guard to combat drug trafficking. The United States has agreed to provide \$60,000 of communications equipment for the new coast guard.

According to a survey prepared by the U. S. Embassy in Port Louis, trade between the United States and Mauritius is growing rapidly. Mauritian exports to the United States jumped from \$28 million in 1983 to \$112 million in 1986, a four fold increase in three years. This has established the United States as the island's third largest export market, after Britain and France.

US hits Chilean junta

Lionel Barber

WASHINGTON

The US has suspended Chile from a favoured tariff programme because of the Pinochet regime's repression treatment of labour unions and individual workers.

The action will not seriously damage Chile's trade because it only affects about \$60m of annual Chilean exports to the US, which amounted to about \$800m in 1986.

But Washington's decision marks increasing political pressure on General Augusto Pinochet's regime.

The Reagan administration has been lobbying vigorously, though unsuccessfully, to block a \$250m World Bank loan to Chile, citing human rights violations.

The tariff programme — called the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) — confers duty-free status on about \$14bn

worth of imports from 141 developing countries or territories. If these countries persistently violate internationally recognised workers' rights, the US is obliged to exclude them from the system.

Last year, the US suspended Paraguay, Nicaragua, and Romania but gave Chile a years grace.

The arrest last October of several prominent Chilean labour

leaders made continued Chilean participation in GSP unacceptable, a US official said.

Among the Chilean exports affected are those of plywood, copper, fish and assorted fruit and vegetable.

In an effort to remain consistent, the US State Department has stepped up its criticism of Chile's human rights record so as to balance its

attacks, on similar grounds, on the left-wing Sandinista regime in Nicaragua.

However, several governments, including that of the UK, were unhappy about Washington's pressure early this month to postpone a decision to approve the \$250m World Bank loan, the last phase of a structural adjustment loan.

— Financial Times

Soviet press attacks US on SDI

Catherine Micilhenny

The Soviet Union increased its weapons spending in the early 1980s, according to a new estimate by Nato officials, writes David Buchan.

Nato experts attribute the pick-up to the start of air craft and missile programmes begun under the former leaders Mr Yuri Andropov and Mr Konstantin Chernenko rather than to any decision by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev.

Nato estimates Soviet defence spending rose from about 14 per cent of gross domestic product at the start of the 1980s to about 16 per cent by the middle of the decade.

MOSCOW

The Soviet newspaper Pravda recently underlined the differences with Washington over the Star Wars programme, accusing the United States of undermining trust between the superpowers through test of laser weapons.

The attack on the tests, which Pravda said would undercut the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty, followed an earlier comment to *Izvestia* by Major General Boris Surikov. He said the US space missile defence programme would not be able to stop future Soviet weapons, and suggested that Moscow could develop an equivalent to Star Wars in 10 to 15 years.

Although US officials initially suggested that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev had accepted the US position on SDI at the Washington summit, it has since

become clear the Moscow still wants limits on SDI before agreeing to cuts in ballistic missiles.

Pravda said: "Much has been spoken about trust in Washington but when the chime of undermining trust arises, one can be sure that in the American interpretation, it is not Washington who is to blame for it".

The Article was prompted by a December 23 test of a laser beam under the Star Wars programme.

"The alpha (laser) is too low-powered to be used against any grand task except one — it undermining the ABM treaty," Pravda said.

The newspaper said the weapons would be "useless against a massed missile attack" but would be able to hit a single target in space. Moscow concedes that is a violation of the 1972 treaty.

The *Izvestia* report criticised the logic underlying the Star Wars programme, warning that the future of the world could

depend on the accuracy of the computer programmes controlling the anti-missile weapons.

Gen. Surikov, who was described as a government expert on new types of systems of mass destruction, said the Pentagon could feed into computer programmes the present Soviet missile capabilities, the characteristics of decoys and countermeasures such as their existing space mines.

"But their error is that the advocates of the Star Wars programme do not and cannot know what counter weapons we would be able to develop in 10-15 years from now. And it would be developed quicker than SDI could be implemented."

The Soviet Union has altered elements of its opposition to Star Wars, dropping its initial attempt to block the entire programme. However, its current request is for a guaranteed extension of the ABM treaty, with a strict interpretation of what Star Wars research could be carried out.

— Financial Times

Gorbachev looks South

The Soviet Union will be increasingly concerned in 1988 with its relations with the Third World, and will seek stronger participation in the international institutions. It may press again to join Gatt, the trade agency, and may even explore firmer contacts with the World Bank and IMF.

A strong signal of the new thinking on development issues came last November in General

Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's report to the joint meeting of the central committee of the CPSU, the Supreme Soviets, and the Russian Federation, on the 70th anniversary of the revolution.

His significant remarks on North-South relations have been largely ignored outside the Soviet Union. He told his audience that the USSR's new foreign policy concept "proceeds

from the idea that for all the profound contradictions of the contemporary world, for all the radical differences among the countries that comprise it, it is interrelated, interdependent and integral."

Although lambasting the capitalist North's "inequitable, exploitative relations with the developing countries," Gorbachev painted a more complex picture of the South than has been usual in the past. The "impulse essential to the new, current stage of the Third World's development (is) only nascent. One has to be aware of this and refrain from yielding to pessimism". There is a "powerful economic process which sometimes takes on paradoxical forms. For instance, certain countries while retaining some features of backwardness, are attaining a great-power level in world politics."

Gorbachev referred to the "wrath bred by dramatic polarisation of poverty and wealth, and the contrast between possibilities and realities."

"An urge for national identity and initiatives makes itself increasingly felt in the organisations reflecting the processes of interstate consolidation among developing countries."

Gorbachev listed several regional and international organisations for South-South cooperation and solidarity that to some degree underlined these trends. "They represent a wide spectrum of conflicting interests, needs, aspirations, ideologies, claims, and prejudices typical of just this stage."

"Although they have already turned into a noticeable factor in world politics, none of them has yet fully revealed its potentialities. But the potentialities are colossal, and it is hard even to predict what they will yield in the coming 50 years."

"One thing is clear: this is a world of its own, seeking organisational forms for effective and equitable participation in solving problems common to humankind. It stands for 2½ billion people."

"One can envision the gigantic

stride it will make not only in exerting its influence on world politics, but also in playing an original role in shaping the world economy of the future."

"Inequitable trade (between the South and the capitalist North) remains a fact that will eventually culminate in an explosion. It appears that the western leaders are beginning to understand that this outcome is a distinct possibility..."

"Indeed, the novelty of the international economic and

In a Rush . . .

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army vehicles. Bodies were rarely found after a mine blast. A 45-tonne T-72 literally exploded into pieces as the mine set off a concussion that blasted the ammunition inside the tank. Its turret, weighing more than 12 tonnes, jumped 15 ft. Colonel Sarzon's BMP, weighing 20 tonnes, jumped 30 ft and its doors, weighing more than 250 kg each, were found more than a hundred yards away. Harassed, the army stopped power supply in the peninsula to counter the mine-menace. And when power was restored on December 24, a truck of 5 Parns was promptly blown up along with six jawans near Chavakacheri.

But now that the army has paid its price it is also wiser. If it needs to stop tanks in a war with Pakistan some of the approaches will indeed be proffered with such undecorable minds. "No one has learnt more from Jaffna than us. This was our first real lesson in FIBJA (Fighting in Build-up areas)," says a senior officer. A team of experts led by Brigadier Ravi Elpe from the College of Combat at Mhow is already in Jaffna to analyse the battle.

The army is also experimenting. Jaffna has given them an ideal opportunity to try out tactics. And almost the entire range of modern equipment is on trial—electronic warfare to attack helicopters, and from T-72 tanks to the Maruti Gypsy jeep, a trial model of which Major General Harkirat Singh rides.

As Singh points out, the

political processes of our time has not yet been fully grasped...

"Yes this will have to be done because the ongoing processes have the force of an objective law: either a disaster or a joint quest for a new economic order taking into account the interests of all on an equal basis. The way to establishing such an order... has become discernible: it is through implementing the 'disarmament for development concept'". —South

campaign has had many firsts. It was the first time that the army, navy and air force launched joint operations; the first time India used helicopter gunships in actual combat; and also the first time that guns from a navy ship were fired in support of land operations—to blast the ELTT bunkers that held up a paracommandos squad on the causeway linking Jaffna with Karaiyivu Island. This was also the first use of the naval Landing Ship Transports to put armor directly in combat. And vitally for India, the T-72 tank, which is its mainstay against Pakistan, was exposed to RPG fire. "Now we know where the tank is strong and where weak," says a general.

Also on the positive side, the Indian Air Force (IAF) displayed an awesome airlift capability in managing what is now considered the largest post-World War II airborne operation. The IAF and Indian Airlines flew a total of 4,100 transport sorties in just a fortnight to maintain the Jaffna-Madras air bridge. The taxi cracks at Jaffna and the air strip at Vavuniya caved in under the weight of the effort.

Now that the pace in Sri Lanka has relaxed other experiments are on. Electronic aids are being used to bug LTTE communication and Jaguars have been used on photo-reconnaissance missions. But more than anything else, the Indian defence machinery is learning the all-important lesson of not taking any motivated and reasonably well-armed adversary lightly. For as the soldiers themselves say, if God made men, Khashaikov made them equal.

Harnessing the sun to generate electricity

Camillus Liyanage

Photovoltaic cells convert sunlight directly to electricity a phenomenon observed by a French physicist in 1839, made workable by U. S. researchers in the 1950s, and given practicality by the 1974 decision of the OPEC oil cartel to begin raising the price of crude. The U. S. space programme has used solar cells to power its satellites since 1958, but as an industry with commercial potential, solar photovoltaics is barely nine years old, and it is still sorting itself out. PHOTOVOLTAICS (PV), the direct conversion of sunlight to electricity, works wherever the sun shines. The word photovoltaic comes from 'Photo' meaning light and 'Voltaic' for voltage. Photovoltaic cells are manufactured from light-sensitive materials. Each cell can produce about one watt of electrical power. Cells can be converted into modules, and then into groups of modules, which produce direct current (DC) electricity. Arrays of modules can be connected to batteries to store solar electricity for use at night or on days with too little sunlight. Photovoltaics can be used as an energy source for applications requiring electricity. Current uses for PV systems are quite diverse and have proven to be most beneficial and popular in applications where conventional energy sources are impractical or simply not available.

The value of photovoltaic devices lies in their ability to utilize free and renewable sunshine. Photovoltaic systems are environmentally safe because they require no fuel, contain no fluids or gases, and produce no noise or pollutants during operation. In addition, photovoltaic systems are easy to design, install, and operate.

Paradoxically, photovoltaic cells are more affordable in poor countries than in the developed world. But a small photovoltaic power system in each village turns out to be cheaper still, even at today's prices for solar cells. There are two ways to reduce the cost of

electrical power produced by solar cells. More efficient cells would help.

Today's solar cells typically convert less than 15% of the sunlight that hits them into electricity. Efficiencies of 17% or 18% are possible with cells made from single crystals of silicon, the most widely used cell material, and more complex cells may someday reach efficiencies of almost 40%. But even if they converted 100% of the incident sunlight to electricity, today's solar cells couldn't compete with power companies.

The only way to make solar generated electricity competitive is to lower dramatically the cost of the cells, and that means lowering the cost of materials from which the cells are made. There are no economies of scales with solar cells. Individual cells are only a few centimeters in diameter. A large number of them are usually connected electrically and sealed between glass or plastic into photovoltaic modules.

In turn, any number of modules can be combined into a roof top of free-standing array of solar cells and falling oil prices don't make major corporations any more eager to commit funds to photovoltaic development. The most dramatic progress involves the ever-increasing realization that PV can provide concrete, long-term solutions within the reality of developing-nation economies. Way to playing a leading role in helping the developing world upgrade life in rural areas. But perhaps PV's strongest suit is its almost total absence of operating expenses. This is an enormous advantage in the developing-nation setting, where aid projects fund only capital costs, and operating expenses must come from limited local resources. PV's modularity and flexibility also recommend it for rural development projects. "Photovoltaics is the most exciting development in energy that we have seen in

this century" observed Michael S. Dukakis — Governor of the State of Massachusetts. While the Secretary of Energy Resources in U. S. Sharon M. Pollard remarked that "Energy Independence is a shared goal of developed and developing nations P. V.'s is the technology to achieve that end.

Though the World Bank and the regional development banks have devoted 20 percent of their total leading to electricity development, 1.7 billion people in developing world villages are without lights, appliances or other benefits of electricity despite the availability of technologies for smaller plants hydro power, biogas, solar, wind — many of which are now more economical than large conventional power plants.

The problem-solving capability of photovoltaics is now well accepted throughout the network of aid and development organizations, and PV is being increasingly chosen over alternative technologies for that very reason. PV's up-front capital costs have historically been higher than its most frequent competitor in the developing world — the diesel generating set. Power systems has enhanced the quality of life by providing lighting, refrigeration and communications — all basic elements of rural development. Moreover, it has brought these amenities into the rural setting with no disruption of the local way of life.

But when photovoltaics is bought, fuel, maintenance and parts are essentially free — because they don't exist. A PV system does not consume precious hard currency in its operation, nor is it subject to the vagaries of the local or international economy. It will continue to function even in worsening economic times.

PV is completely unobtrusive — absolutely silent and pollution-free. Thus, a photovoltaic-powered village can enjoy the basic amenities electricity provides

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Foreign Policy as first Line of Defence

You wanted to invoke the Britain defence pact. Did You get any response? I once asked a very high UK official about that pact. He smiled and told me, it must be gathering dust in some Whitehall archives.

You say that if Mr. Bandaranaike had not taken back the bases, Trinco Colombo, British troops would have defended us, Sir, somebody here, I recall vaguely, (or was it in the press?) described the MP for Kaduwela (Paul Perera) a brilliant study of history... is it Portuguese history or ancient history... have you never heard of Harold Wilson's seat of Suez's policy of 25 years ago? Do you know of any British forces any where in Asia that can defend the country against a big neighbour can British troops defend Hong Kong from China...?

I speak about foreign policy and defence, Sir, because "Annexure" as I said, covers both aspects — foreign policy and security.

What did you do? You sought military protectors all over the world U.S, U.K, Pakistan, China, Israel... everywhere. Of course some of them were willing to sell your arms — for hard cash, as President Jayawardene himself admitted. So you bought arms, even from South Africa... and we don't blame you for that because you had to fight the 'Tigers', with modern weapons.

Of course, a lot of people, your close friends, made a lot of money. We now have new class — arms dealers.

But nobody was ready to come to your defence. That's a fact, you can't deny it. Why? Because they were not prepared to antagonise India. As simple as that.

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party had a different concept of de-

fence — our foreign policy was our first line of defence. We were non-aligned we had good relations with both the US and Soviet Union. We were friendly with all our neighbours. But we were always conscious that we must not follow a policy hostile to India.

Did this mean we were subservient to India. Far from it. In 1971, Pakistan appealed to Mrs. Bandaranaike's government for permission to use Colombo to fly their planes from West Pakistan to East Pakistan to bring back officers who were wounded in the fighting in the East. We gave them the permission on condition that no arms were carried in those planes — only military personnel, and a certain number, and we inspected the planes. India was not happy but we were independent enough to help a neighbour.

In the April insurgency, we got help (military equipment) from US, USSR, UK, China, India, Pakistan and Yugoslavia and Egypt — please look at that list: 2 superpowers, one western power, one Asian power; two founder members of N. A. M. and our two big neighbours. Of course, you will reply — but that was an internal problem; the JVP insurrection; this was an ethnic conflict, which had an external dimension — you will say that. But who helped externalise it. It was in August 1983, that Mrs. Gandhi sent Parthasarthy and he produced Annexure 'C'. What was the argument she gave to take a direct interest in our internal conflict — meaning 128,000 Tamil refugees (like the millions of refugees from East Pakistan who fled to West Bengal). The refugees problem which allowed Mrs. G., the right to claim an Interventionist role, came after July 1983. It affected Tamilnadu, Delhi said,

and claimed the right of humanitarian intervention.

Who created July 1983. You said it was the JVP, the CP, and Vasudeva's NSSP, and proscribed them. The Tamils in Colombo said it was the J. S. S., whose members came with lists of house numbers, and names — the Tamils in Jaffna said you were punishing them for voting against the Referendum. You created this mess and Sri Lanka has to pay the price.

Let me conclude, Mr. Speaker with a few comments on the actual situation, the situation on the ground.

Whatever the aims and objectives of Indian policy, short term or long term, Mr. Gandhi must recognise (and so must we) that he has 30 to 40,000 troops in Sri Lanka today, a military presence larger than our own regular armed services.

Secondly, the Indian government must ask itself how the agreement it signed with President Jayawardene has been received by the people of Sri Lanka. Has it earned the goodwill of the Sri Lankan people or has it provoked the anger and hostility of our people? How have the three main communities in this island, the Sinhalese, the Tamils and the Muslims reacted to the presence and operations of the I. P. K. F.?

The Indian Prime Minister should not find it difficult to learn of the reactions of the Sinhalese and the Muslims for thousands of families from these communities have fled their homes and become destitute and helpless — all refugees scattered in various places. But what of the Tamils?

Mr. Gandhi keeps speaking of the aspirations of the Tamil people. As politicians we understand his concern over political sentiment in the state of Tamilnadu, especially after his Congress party has suffered a series of electoral defeats, and only won Nagaland the other day by a one-seat majority. But are the Sri Lankan Tamils happy, grateful, or appreciative? Even the T. U. L. F. leaders still living in India not to mention those in Sri Lanka will be able to inform him on the feelings of their community.

The principal task of the IPKF under the Gandhi Jayawardene pact was to achieve and supervise the surrender of arms of the 'Tigers' and other armed groups. The Tigers continue to kill and destroy and Prabhakaran is still at large freely conducting his barbarous activities. In fact so many Indian troops have been killed and so many months have passed since the pact, that questions are now being asked whether Sri Lanka would be India's Vietnam or Afghanistan.

Sri Lanka, does not wish to be anybody's Vietnam and at least on this our sincerest desires and those of the Indian government are the same. The sooner the IPKF achieves its own declared aim of getting the LTTE to surrender arms the better and the sooner the IPKF starts a quick phased-out withdrawal from Sri Lanka, the more surely will relations between the people of Sri Lanka and India, return to normal and hopefully become cordial.

Mr. Speaker, may I draw your attention and the attention of this House to a statement of the President of the Sri Lanka Freedom party Published recently in the Sunday newspapers.

—What then are our tasks and responsibilities in the current national crisis?

The tasks before us are basically the following.

Firstly the recovery of the sovereignty we have lost so that

we can once more live with all our neighbours on the basis of equality mutual trust goodwill and respect. Secondly national reconciliation and communal harmony and as importantly the restoration of our once vibrant democracy."

I feel it my bounden duty. Not only as a member of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and Leader of the Opposition but as a Sri Lankan who has the highest regard and admiration for the great Indian heritage and the remarkable achievements of its people and its Leader, in every walk of life, to invite the Indian Parliament, the present Indian government, and the Indian intelligentsia to pause for a moment and reflect on the question that I shall now pose.

Why is it that of all India's neighbours, it is Sri Lanka with which India in this post independence period, has maintained the most stable and friendly relations? Is it because we Sri Lankans, owe so much of our cultural heritage to India — the teachings of the Lord Buddha being our most priceless possession? Of course, the answer is "yes". Is it because so many of our leaders, in the distant and immediate past, drew so much inspiration from the illustrious sons and daughters of India? The answer again must be "yes".

Is there not however, another, perhaps equally strong, bond of friendship and understanding?

My own answer, once more, is "yes". Both our peoples reposed their trust in political system and its institution, which we together regard as "parliamentary democracy", a mode of government that is founded on the freely expressed consent of the people.

Agreements, accords and pacts, may be signed, but these cannot survive unless they draw strength from the will of the people. Equally, all our present trials, problems, conflicts or disagreements, can be easily resolved if the two governments can truly claim to

speak for and on behalf of their peoples.

I look forward to such a day when these conditions exist in Sri Lanka, and Indo-Sri Lankan understanding and cooperation once gain rest on the solid foundation of a free and sovereign Sri Lankan people addressing the Indian people through a freely elected, independent and sovereign Parliament.

Continuing Mr. Bandaranaike said "Don't Dangle your foreign policy because you got a dam". He said Sri Lanka may vote against India at any forum, but these won't be of any use to India, for they have kept you in your place.

He added that the Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew had issued some improper statements about the late Mr. Bandaranaike and Mrs. Bandaranaike. But Mr. Lee should understand that Sri Lanka was a functioning democracy unlike Singapore.

(Concluded)

Harnessing . . .

(Continued from page 26)

while retaining the character of its rural setting. Photovoltaics is highly cost effective technology for rural development, its versatility and modularity make it adaptable to any need, and it will deliver reliable power for years with a bare minimum of operating costs. And whether the problem involves power, health care, water pumping, or rural communications, PV offers long-term, solid solutions rather than short term, stop-gap ones which, in the end, may be more costly. Estimate of future world demand of solar P. V is as follows;

1984 - 21.4 MWP
1995 - 1560 MWP.

Utilization of solar energy is very important and is one of our most hopeful alternative energy sources to petroleum, on establishment of future energy plans in Sri Lanka.

(To be continued)

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