

● **George Bush – Profile of a President** ●

— John Balzar

**LANKA**

# **GUARDIAN**

Vol. 11 No. 14 November 15, 1988 Price Rs. 5.00 Registered at the GPO, Sri Lanka, QJ/84/NEWS/88

**Colombo under seige – JVP's encirclement strategy** — *Mervyn de Silva*

**Sri Lanka – South Block's worst disaster**  
— *Dilip Bobb*

● ***Newton Gunasinghe: the Marxist as pioneer researcher*** — *Jayadeva Uyangoda*

● ***Kapferer on Nationalism, legend and myth*** — *Newton Gunasinghe*

**After Maldives: Gandhi as regional gendarme**  
— *Alok Mukherjee, David Ross*

**Gorbachev's Glasnost** — *Charles Z. Wick*

## **Buddhism and Western Literature**

● ***The 'Seeker' and the renewal myth***  
— *Izeth Hussain*

● ***Eliot, Reincarnation and Nirvana***  
— *H. L. D. Mahindapala*

● **U. Karunatilake's 'Open Economy'**

● **Rajiv's China trip**





## *How To Ensure That Your Stylish Clothes Stay Sewn*


Insist they are sewn with  
Astra Spun Polyester Thread  
- Strong and colourfast



**astra**  
spun polyester thread  
- a product of  
The Tootal Group



SCL

 **TOOTAL THREAD  
COLOMBO  
(PRIVATE) LTD.,**  
P. O. Box 1122  
33, Staples Street, Colombo 2.  
Telephone : 21380/549575



## TRENDS

### A CHIEF MINISTER RESIGNS

Sabaragamuwa's Chief Minister G.V. Punchinilame resigned on November 3. After handing in his letter to President Jayewardene, the former chief minister said that he had resigned voluntarily as his son had been remanded in connection with the deaths of

a medical student and two others. Mr. Punchinilame said that he did not wish to continue in a position which gave him certain powers over the police, as that might inhibit the investigation.

The former chief minister's son Susantha Punchinilame and five other suspects were due to be produced before the Ratnapura Magistrate's court on

November 7, but they were not produced 'for security reasons', the police said, producing a letter from the Superintendent of the Mahara Prison.

Magistrate Tudor Gunaratne told open court that the 'B' Report filed by the police was completely misleading the court, and ordered that the suspects be produced on November 21.

LANKA

## GUARDIAN

Vol. 11 No. 14 November 15, 1988

Price Rs. 5.00

Published fortnightly by  
Lenka Guardian Publishing Co. Ltd.

No. 248, Union Place,  
COLOMBO — 2.

Editor: Marvyn de Silva  
Telephone: 547584

### CONTENTS

News Background	3
The Region	9
Foreign News	13
Dr. Newton Gunasinghe — A Tribute	16
Book Review	20
Poem	20
Kipling — II	21
T. S. Elliot — III	22

Printed by Ananda Press  
82/3, Wolfendhal Street, Colombo 13.  
Telephone: 35975

### IN MEMORIAM

This issue of the LANKA GUARDIAN is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Newton Gunasinghe, a gifted Sri Lankan scholar and a regular contributor to this journal. We are privileged to publish in this number a review essay, one of his last efforts, together with an assessment of his achievements as teacher and social scientist by a Colombo Univ. colleague.

**Ace Radio Cab—the city's only radio controlled cab service.**

- \* Computerised meters \* Can be summoned to your doorstep
- \* No call up charge within city limits \* Vehicle access from selected stands
- \* Receipts issued on request \* Company credit available

Call 501502, 501503 or 501504

 **Aset Ltd** 

Another Aitken Spence Service





# What **FINANCE** is to **BUSINESS** **MCL** is to **FINANCE**

We are the pioneers of Lease Purchase. An innovative funding option that gives you outright ownership on finer terms together with the advantage of claiming depreciation allowance and finance costs, advantageous for the acquisition of vehicles and for plant and machinery.

We give you the most attractive terms for Hire Purchase funding. The lowest service charge. And the lowest initial deposit.

We are specialists in leasing, Trade Finance, Insurance, Security, Financial Broking, Produce Broking, Engineering, Shipping, Travel and Tourism.

In short we are to finance, what finance is to business.

We are MCL.

More than just a Finance Company.

**MERCANTILE  
CREDIT  
LIMITED**



55, Janadhipathi Mawatha,  
Colombo 1. Tel: 266119-9

**City Office,**  
185/2, Dharmapala Mawatha,  
Colombo 7. Tel: 599267/8/9

**Regional Office:** Kandy

**Branches:** Anuradhapura,  
Bandarawela, Gampaha,  
Jaffna, Kurunegala, Kalmunai,  
Klutara, Matara, Negombo,  
and Ratnapura.



# FEAR IS THE KEY

Mervyn de Silva

The curfew hours in 'greater' Colombo lengthened, while the curfew in the Hambantota district exceeded 24 hours in the critical week commencing Monday 7th. The Badulla and Moneragala districts were also placed under a prolonged curfew. And then the Kesbewa, Piliyandala, Homagama, and Hanwella circle. Quickly, towns in the NCP, right up to Anuradhapura, with extensive curfew in the Kurunegala area too. And of course, Kandy and its environs. Badulla, Kegalle and Matale are also areas of persistent turbulence.

Time and space told the story. So did the city, with no public transport (except the 'private' coaches) all shops, banks, government offices, and hotels closed, and by Wednesday, ever-lengthening queues of vehicles waiting for a few gallons of petrol. The capital immobilised, life elsewhere brought to a virtual standstill. A creeping "insurgency" with hardly a shot fired had Colombo encircled, reducing the administration to an all-too visible condition of helplessness.

Was the government holding its hand or had it run out of options, including the obvious, the military response?

It seemed so when the final blow was struck. (See "TOURISM"). Just when a partially paralysed post-1983 Tourist Industry was showing signs of recovery, tourists from the beach resorts of the South — the only active area — were ferried back to Colombo, sent back home within days, and all scheduled charters cancelled. With factories, business houses and banks closed, day after day, week after week, by lightning "hatefuls", sponsored by the JVP and its allied organisations. Sri Lanka appeared to be teetering at the edge of economic collapse.

More damaging, psychologically, was the public image of a government struggling to perform its basic, elementary duties — govern.

It was not just the JVP's stunningly successful economic warfare, a familiar weapon of unconventional war, that reduced the administration to such a pathetic condition. It was the time factor, and the nature of the government itself. This "long (11 years old) Parliament" has exhausted itself. The UNP government had gradually, and then as the troubles mounted, lost legitimacy in the eyes of the electorate. It had extended its term of office (Referendum 1982) and carried on. But now, suddenly, it was so clear that it had over-stayed its welcome. There is no other explanation otherwise for the frenzied debate on what has emerged as the main issue of the moment — the dissolution of Parliament.

Ironically, the issue provoked an even more divisive controversy in the ranks of the ruling party than the selection of a Presidential candidate — President, Prime Minister, Lands Minister or National Security Minister. The resignation of Mr. Shelton Ranaraja, Acting Minister of Justice and North-East Governor-designate came soon after the spirited case he made for the immediate dissolution of Parliament. The Honourable Acting Justice Minister was universally regarded as an honorable man.

What was the President doing? That was the question on everybody's lips, specially so since the President JR is considered a strong leader. As opposition forces, led or guided by the JVP, launched attack after attack on an evidently embattled regime, placing both the UNP and capital under siege, the Presidency seemed immobilised. Complaints about inaction and delay were heard within the UNP's inner councils.

Looking at these developments now, it is possible that President JR's dilatoriness was deliberate. He was preparing for a crackdown, mapping out his own counter-attack, and letting things fall into place, or making moves on all fronts to back up his planned offensive. Attack is the best form of defence.

People forget what President JR told the London Times. He decided on the 'Accord' (i.e. close the northern front) when intelligence reports alerted him to a growing JVP-led revolt in the South. The Sri Lankan army cannot wage a two-front war. He grasped that essential point.

But one cannot launch an 'undeclared' war on one's own people (Sinhalese) when a proscribed political party is organising a anti-Indian 'patriotic' struggle on their behalf. It is not the same thing as waging war against Tamil separatists. To undertake such a campaign, the pre-condition was a Sinhala or a two-party consensus. Thus, the popular cry for a 'National government' increasingly heard in the national press.

Second, he had to neutralise the JVP-led anti-regime opinion, and ideally create a climate of opinion which would allow him to launch an anti-JVP offensive.

The protracted negotiations and talks with the "democratic" Opposition, represented by the 7 party front, the exchanges with the Mahanayakes, the insistence on JVP participation in any caretaker, government and the final meeting with Mrs. Bandaranaike were all part of that crucial preparatory exercise. (See Exchange of Letters). Mrs. Bandaranaike, twice prime minister and a Sinhala-Buddhist leader of unimpeachable respectability was the key

(Continued on page 6)



# UNP, SLFP leaders meet

Urged by the Mahanayakes of the three Nikayas, the two leaders of the UNP and the SLFP met at President's House on November 5. A Government communique issued after the meeting said this:

"The Vn. Mahanayakes of the three Nikayas viz the Venerable Mahanayake of the Malwatte Chapter of the Siyam Nikaya, the Venerable Mahanayake of the Asgiriya Chapter of the Siyam Nikaya, the Venerable Mahanayake of the Amarapura Sangha Sabha and the Venerable Mahanayake of the Ramanne Nikaya made a request to the President and Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, leader of the SLFP, to meet and discuss the present situation in the country and what steps should be taken to protect the nation.

"Accordingly, the President met Mrs. Bandaranaike at Janadhipathi Mandiraya on Saturday November 5th and discussed the ten points which had been put forward by the seven party delegation which met the President on three occasions earlier. They also discussed the implementation of these points in order to hold free and fair elections and the cessation of political violence.

"Subsequently the President met Senior Members of the Cabinet and informed them of the discussions he has had with Mrs. Bandaranaike.

"The President informed Mrs. Bandaranaike that her request to dissolve Parliament will be considered. If Mr. Rohana Wijeweera, leader of the Janata Vimukti Peramuna, agrees to serve in the proposed Interim Cabinet consequent to the dissolution of Parliament.

"This is the same position expressed by the President to the Venerable Mahanayakes of the three Nikayas".

In a letter to President Jayawardene, released to the press Mrs. Bandaranaike said this:

## THE TEN PROPOSALS

1. The release of all political prisoners.
2. The release of all students held in custody.
3. Immediate end to all military operations (including those of the IPKF) directed at the civilian population.
4. Immediate dissolution of Parliament and an immediate end to the State of Emergency.
5. Announcement of the dates for the Presidential and Parliamentary elections.
6. Appointment of an Interim council of representatives of recognised political parties to govern the country until conclusion of both elections.
7. Suspension of the North-East Provincial Council elections.
8. Disbanding of all para military organisations.
9. Suspension of all powers of the Provincial Councils until after the conclusion of the elections.
10. Dissolution of all local bodies whose terms have been arbitrarily extended.

## THE FOUR POINTS

1. The immediate resignation of all Deputy Ministers, District Ministers and other ministers outside the Cabinet before the dissolution of Parliament.
2. A Caretaker government to be constituted immediately thereafter with any of the Ministers and representatives of the Opposition political parties in Parliament.
3. That soon after the constitution of the Caretaker government Parliament shall stand dissolved.
4. A Cabinet Committee to be appointed forthwith to be in charge of all matters concerning national security and the conduct of free and fair elections.

"In response to the letter from the four Venerable Mahanayakes dated 4.11.88 and delivered to me on 5.11.88, I met you at your office on 5.11.88 at 5.30 p.m.

"Our discussions were based on the implementation of the Ten Proposals submitted to you by the seven parties by their letter dated 17.10.88 and in

particular the four points raised in their letter of 4.11.88.

"While accepting the Ten Proposals you undertook to dissolve Parliament, to form an Interim Parallel Cabinet and to entrust such a Cabinet with these responsibilities specified in the Seven Party letter of 4.11.88, which would ensure a free and fair election.



"You will recall that you stated that an announcement on the dissolution of Parliament will be made on the following day (6.11.88) and the dates of Nomination and Parliamentary Elections also announced.

"While stating that all recognised political parties would be invited to serve in this Interim Cabinet, you inquired from me what I thought would be the reaction of the JVP. I replied that I was in no position to speak on behalf of the JVP.

"In that context it is relevant to recall that I also emphasised that much of the problem seems to arise from the JVP's total lack of trust in your Government, and in the credibility of its pledges. This is the view now shared by the seven parties as a result of a delay in the implementation of your assurances to them.

"I did say that full and genuine implementation of the Ten Proposals however, could create a political environment that may prove conducive to a JVP response.

"Our discussions ended at about 7.15 p.m.

"To my astonishment, you telephoned me about one and a half hours later to inform me that after talking to the Prime Minister and some other Ministers you were no longer able to fulfill the undertaking you gave me a short while before, unless the JVP agreed to serve in the Interim Cabinet.

"Since I had met you in deference to the Venerable Mahanayakes I felt it my duty to promptly inform the Venerable Mahanayake of Asgiriya of what had transpired. I requested the Venerable Mahanayake to kindly convey this information to the other Venerable Mahanayakes who were signatories to the aforementioned letter.

"I also took the first opportunity on the 6th morning, to inform the leaders of the seven parties.

"Considering the gravity of the present situation, I feel the people of this country also have a right to know these facts. I am, therefore, releasing this letter to the media".

While these somewhat differing reports of what transpired at the summit meeting were being aired by the two leaders, the Sun of November 7 printed a statement purported to be from JVP General Secretary Upatissa Gamanayake which reiterated the call for the immediate resignation of President J. R. Jayawardene, the dissolving of Parliament, the abrogation of the Indo-Lanka Peace Accord, the withdrawal of the IPKF, the disbanding of para-military forces including the STF and Homoguards, and a climate free of hindrances for participation in the electoral process.

The statement, dated November 1, also called for the abolishing of Provincial Councils, set up under the terms of the Indo Lanka Accord, and the dissolving of local government bodies, as well as the expulsion of security officials who have been promoted without seniority or merit.

"The people need peace, but it should not be a peace achieved at the cost of the country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity or by betrayal to foreign powers. It should not be a peace where the civic rights of the people have been destroyed. The people need an honourable, just and dignified peace," the statement said.

Any election held without granting these main demands will not be accepted by the JVP which also calls on the people to reject whatever the result of such elections, it added. The statement also said: Failure to grant any of them would mean that people will not obtain an honourable peace. The forthcoming presidential election can be an impartial one only if president Jayawardene resigns immediately and appoints a senior member of the Supreme Court, and a caretaker administration is appointed to supervise the election.

The people could not repose confidence in a Government which recently declared a unilateral ceasefire but yet carried out the killings of five youths in the Uva Province and three others at Ratnapura, the statement said.

---

## Israelis to be sent away

Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the SLFP Leader, told the party's Colombo District Muslim League Conference last week that she would shut the Israeli Interests Section and send the Israelis away from Sri Lanka, once elected President.

Mr. Haleem Ishak, Third MP for Colombo Central, said that the Israelis were brought here by the UNP Government primarily because the Americans wanted them here.

---

## Prison riots

Prisoners rioted in Wellkeda and Negombo prisons in a jail break attempt on November 7. Two prisoners at the Wellkeda prison in Colombo died when security personnel opened fire. Army commandos, under air cover, quelled the riot in about half an hour. But the prisoners had already caused several million rupees worth of damage by setting fire to prison buildings.

Earlier reports that up to fifteen prisoners had died when the riot was put down was discounted by prison authorities. About thirty however were seriously injured and hospitalised.

There were no casualties reported from the riot at the Negombo prison.



# Body Blow to Southern Tourism

The staff in the city's luxury hotels were smiling... after years of despair and despondency. The rooms were almost full following a sudden influx of West European and Japanese tourists. It looked as if the upbeat expectations of the major tour operators and the best hopes of Tourist Board Chairman Mr. Asoka Moolasagoon were coming true. "There is a tourist boom in South-east Asia and Sri Lanka, having fallen back in the recent past, is trying to catch up."

"For the Nov-April season our hotels have well booked—from 50% to 80%," said Mr. R. Selvaratnam of Aitken Spence Travels, adding that the company had 7-B charter flights per week.

"A 15 to 20 percent increase in bookings for the winter season this year was reported by

Walkers Tours Managing Director Mr. Mohideen.

But the Italians, West Germans, and Scandinavians who crowded Colombo's 4 and 5-star hotels last fortnight were in fact victims of political unrest and violence in South Sri Lanka and neighbouring Maldives.

On Wednesday, Nov. 9, the government told tourist operators to evacuate foreign holiday-makers from the South, where the JVP declared 3 day hartal was accompanied by large anti-UNP demonstrations. Some charter operators cancelled scheduled flights from Europe.

These emergency measures which followed a meeting of tour operators and Board officials addressed by President Jayawardene, were

a nervous response to a sudden walk-out by hotel staff in the Bentota resort area. According to the Tourist Board, hotel workers received threats reported from the JVP. In some hotels, Europeans went without food for a day, while in others they were told that only Sri Lankan food would be served. Besides, tourist coaches ferrying large groups of new arrivals were unable to re-fuel on account of the breakdown of supplies in Colombo, and the poor distribution system.

The well-directed blow at a tourist industry just showing signs of recovery hurt the government economically while confirming the impression of the government's unpopularity and helplessness in the eyes of foreign visitors who would of course disseminate this view abroad.

## HARTAL

The Port of Colombo and the Petroleum Corporation were declared essential services by the Government on November 8. Other institutions were added to the list later. Armed services were deployed to keep fuel supplies moving, but most petrol filling stations were dry and long queues of vehicles formed outside them, expecting supplies to arrive.

Trains were not running and many bus depots of the state owned Sri Lanka Transport Board were on strike. Banks in many parts of the country remained closed. In the port 20,000 workers were reported to be demonstrating in support of political demands according to sources within, while twentyone ships awaited unloading. Among the demands was one calling for an immediate dissolution of parliament.

Acting on intelligence reports of moves to launch a hartal last week, the Government issued a communique calling for public co-operation to defeat these moves by "certain subversive elements".

The communique said that the activities of the subversives could not be defeated by the Government alone. The plans of the subversive elements to disrupt normalcy "are only forerunners in a planned attempt to disrupt the presidential and parliamentary elections and deny the people the right to vote", the Government said.

Leaflets signed by Deshapremi Janata Viysparaya (DJV), believed to be the military wing of the Janata Vimukti Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front) said that Thursday, November 3 was to be a day of hartal in protest against the killing of three students at Wellawaya and another member of the movement at Nattandiya. Shops did not open throughout the day and trains and buses did not run. Attendance at government offices and private sector establishments was minimal.

The disruption of normalcy continued into the following week when port workers, transport workers and bank employees struck work making economic demands to which political demands were also added.

## FEAR IS...

(Continued from page 3)

piece in this jig-saw. She was so necessarily not only for domestic consumption (the Sinhala-Buddhist and democratic constituency together with the vital middle-class and business groups) but the vital international community, whose importance the regime discovered when fighting the 'war in the north'.

Secondly, mass opinion, from lower-middle private or public sector employee, the working class and the rural voter. At that point will the prolonged 'harcals' place intolerable economic and physical burdens on these social strata?

When the tourists were pulled out from the South, it was obvious to most observers that the decks were being cleared. Draconian measures, including death penalty for new offences, military judges, summary trials, were a prelude to 'shoot on sight' orders, and then the military operation in the South.



# Sri Lanka — no white X'mas for Rajiv

Dilip Bobb

America had its Vietnam. The Soviet Union its Afghanistan. Two months from now, by all current indications, there will be one more diplomatic and military disaster to add to that ignominious list — India's Sri Lanka. Just 15 months after the signing of the Indo-Sri Lankan accord—and exactly one year after an Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) flew into the island's northern province to bring peace and supervise a laying down of arms by Tamil militants—the options are now so limited for New Delhi that only a miracle can save South Block from its biggest foreign policy embarrassment in 41 years.

But in the present surcharged atmosphere in Sri Lanka, miracles are no longer in currency. Consider the facts. The IPKF, having initially promised to tame the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) within a matter of days is still a long distance from that objective one year later, having lost 700 soldiers in the process. Tiger leader Pirabhakaran has evaded the IPKF's cordon-and-search operations with almost childish ease. The local Tamil population in the north now views the IPKF

with suspicion and even hostility. Last fortnight the Indian Government was forced to release 157 LTTE members from detention in Tamil Nadu, including former Jaffna commander Kittu, and fly them to Jaffna when Kittu threatened to go on a fast unto death.

Even more disconcerting for New Delhi is the dramatic change in Sri Lanka's domestic politics. On December 19, the country will elect a new President to replace Junius Richard Jayewardene who has dominated the political scene for the last 11 years. The choice, the ruling United National Party (UNP) candidate, Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa, the country's most conscientious India baiter and a vociferous critic of the accord. Or, even more likely, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the common candidate for an eight-party opposition alliance, who has publicly pledged to abrogate the accord and demand the withdrawal of the IPKF "within 24 hours of being elected".

Last fortnight, both candidates kicked off their campaigns with a string of public meetings all across the southern part of the island where it was obvious that the single biggest election issue is, and will increasingly be, the

presence of 60,000 Indian troops on the island. There is not a single Sinhalese today, however moderate or liberal, who does not believe that the IPKF is deliberately not trying to kill or capture Tiger leader Pirabhakaran. With him out of the way, the LTTE's back would be broken and that would possibly put pressure on the IPKF to stage a withdrawal.

In fact, the most telling example of the widespread suspicion of India's intentions and the emotional resistance to the presence of the IPKF is how various sections of society view the area under control of the "occupation forces". Extreme elements say that "one-third of the island is in Indian hands". The Sinhala chauvinists say that "60 per cent of the coastline" is occupied by India while the moderates' version is that "two out of nine provinces" are controlled by India.

And however much the anti-Indian rhetoric on the campaign trail may be election-related, the snowballing public resistance to the accord and the IPKF presence is certain to ensure that come Christmas, New Delhi will find itself with its tail in an ever-narrowing crack.

(India Today)

## Tamil Eelam only answer — Swamy

MADRAS

India should start making contingency plans for the establishment of Tamil Eelam now that both the Presidential candidates of Sri Lanka have come out against the presence of Indian Peace-Keeping Force in that country, Janata Dal leader Subramanian Swamy said at press conference here.

Mr. Swamy threatened to launch a nation-wide agitation if India failed to make it clear to the Sri Lankan Government that it would have no alternative but to create Tamil Eelam if the IPKF was asked to return home.

He said the statements of the Presidential candidates, Mr. R.

Premadasa of the United National Party and Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, that they would ask the IPKF to go back if they were elected President showed that the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement had only hardened the attitude of the Sinhalese.

He said such a demand was being made despite the fact that over 700 IPKF personnel had lost their lives and over 2000 were injured in the fight against the Tamil militants. The IPKF had given the Sri Lankan army, whose job it was to fight Tamil militancy, "rest and recuperation" India had also borne the expenditure on the IPKF.

## Moral Responsibility

Mr. Swamy said now that the federal solution envisaged in the agreement had failed to arrest the polarisation of the island on ethnic lines, now that the Sinhalese leaders had clearly shown that they were not willing to share power with the Tamils, India had a moral responsibility to protect the Tamils especially since it had destroyed their militant arm. Withdrawal of the IPKF would leave the Tamils defenceless and lead to renewed genocide. It would be a betrayal of the Tamils, India had already tossed the patience of the Tamils. It should no more deprive them of their right to a separate State. "Eelam is the only viable solution," he said.



# Mercenaries and mini-states

David Ross

NAIROBI

The Indian Ocean's sleepy, palm-fringed islands tempt soldiers of fortune as well as tourists.

Diplomats say on Thursday's failed attempt by 400 mercenaries to take over the Maldives showed how vulnerable the mini-states are and are likely to remain.

"If they can get away with it in the Maldives, no small state in the Pacific, in the Caribbean, in the Indian Ocean is safe from the kind of mercenary insurgency and incursion," Commonwealth secretary general Sir Shridath Ramphal said.

Mercenaries have already staged a successful coup in the region, taking over the Comoros in 1978. Three years later they tried to overthrow the president of the Seychelles who had taken power in the 115-island chain with the support of men armed and trained in Tanzania.

Like the Maldives, which crushed the coup with the help of 1,600 Indian para troopers, the island state of Mauritius, the Seychelles and the Comoros have little military muscle.

But they have a major military attraction. They are half way between Europe and the Far East and provide an ideal staging point for the superpowers' armed forces.

The United States already has a naval base on the British-owned island of Diego Garcia while the Soviet Union has tried to lease Gan Island, a former British air-base in the Maldives.

"We have a considerable interest in the stability of these islands... We are very interested in their stability from a geo-political point of view," said one Western diplomat based in Mauritius.

"They are easy targets, sparsely populated and spread out over large areas," he said.

At the Commonwealth Secretariat in London, Ramphal has sug-

gested that the United Nations should help protect mini states.

"Communities of 250,000 or less... cannot be expected to protect themselves by arms or armies. They must be helped," he said.

The threat is real. The attempted coup in the Maldives was the third since President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom took power in 1978.

That same year, about 50 European soldiers of fortune led by the Frenchman Bob Denard overthrew the radical government of Comoros President Ali Soilih on behalf of the man Soilih deposed three years earlier, Ahmed Abdallah.

A group of mainly South African mercenaries tried to do the same in the Seychelles in 1981 but they were thwarted at the airport customs point just after arriving on a scheduled airliner.

Six were captured but 44 high-jacked another airliner to South Africa.

Seychelles President Albert Rene came to power in a 1977 coup with the support of 60 men armed and trained in Tanzania.

He called in Tanzanian troops to crush a mutiny of 100 soldiers in 1982 and there are now about 40 North Korean soldiers stationed in the islands.

Rene, who crushed attempted coups or plots in 1978, 1979, 1982 and 1983, has a 1,000-man army and 100 men each in the navy and air force. There is also a 900-strong militia.

Late last year Abdallah recalled some of the European mercenaries who brought him to power in the Comoros after a revolt within his 300-strong Presidential Guard in November 1987.

Travellers report that about 30 mercenaries now command the Guard which is being supplied with equipment from South Africa. The Comoros army is 800 strong.

Mauritius has no army but has also independence in 1968. It relies on its police force for its secu-

rity, including a 1,000-man special mobile force strategically placed midway between the capital City-ore, an hour's drive away.

Mauritius decided against renewing a defence agreement with Britain in 1976 and has made creation of a so-called "zone of peace" in the Indian Ocean a foreign policy priority.

In Madagascar, the giant island which lies off the southeastern African coast, President Didier Ratsiraka has held office since the military took power in 1975.

Unlike the other Indian Ocean states, Madagascar has a large military and security establishment. With 21,100 men in its armed forces and an 8,000-strong gendarmerie.

## SUBSCRIPTION RATES

### Air Mail

Canada / U.S.A. for 1 copy L/G  
US\$ 50.00 for 1 year  
US\$ 30.00 for 6 months

\* \* \*

U.K., Germany, New Zealand  
Australia, Netherlands, France,  
Japan, Holland, Philippines, Aus-  
tria, Norway, Sweden, China,  
Ireland, Switzerland, Nigeria,  
Belgium, Denmark, Paris, London  
US\$ 40.00 for 1 year,  
US\$ 25.00 for 6 months

\* \* \*

Hong Kong, Saudi Arabia, Du-  
bai, Bahrain, Arabian Gulf  
Syria, Singapore.  
US\$ 35.00 for 1 year  
US\$ 20.00 for 6 months

\* \* \*

India, Pakistan.  
US\$ 30.00 for 1 year  
US\$ 17.00 for 6 months

\* \* \*

Local  
Rs. 140/- for 1 year  
Rs. 75/- for 6 months



# Mercenaries disturb Maldivian paradise

Forget Salman Rushdie. Is there an Indian Frederick Forsyth around? Or a Bombay movie-mogul in search of a script for the debut of a RAW double-O-seven (007)? What better location than the Maldives, an Indian Ocean Archipelago of two thousand islands, with just two hundred thousand people, a tourist paradise crowded with Japanese, German and Scandinavian holiday-makers, and India as its nearest neighbour?

Consider the ideal ingredients for the melodrama. The sixty-two (62) year old President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom has been re-elected President of the Republic for a third term by the Mallis (parliament). The only candidate he is declared the winner on a ninety three percent (93%) vote. He is awaiting his formal inauguration.

Despite his apparent popularity, he counts many enemies, some old, unforgiving and others new, secret challengers, demanding genuine democracy and justice. The old foes represent a small but well-knit conservative elite which traditionally enjoyed a monopoly of political-economic power in the Maldives. Its only viable exchange-earning industry is fishing. The other traditional, if non-formal, source was smuggling, especially to and from India. A leading figure of this old elite, its power effectively eroded by the perestroika policies of the moderating Gayoom, is the former President and Gayoom rival, Ibrahim Nasir. He is a millionaire, in exile. His new home, Singapore.

The key figure is Abdullah Loufai, a widely travelled Maldivian businessman, who has been visiting Sri Lanka with increasing frequency this year — ostensibly for medical reasons. In fact, he

has been hiring mercenaries. First reports said they were LTTE rebels, then drop-outs and stragglers from other militant groups. As the story came out, including Loufai's confession, the finger pointed to the P. L. O. T. E.

But where did he get the money — at least 2 to 3 million US dollars? The world press zoomed in on former Maldivian President Ibrahim Nasir, a millionaire in exile now in Singapore. He has denied any connection with the plotters and threatened to sue the press.

Let Mr. Gandhi take up the story. He told Parliament:

"Yesterday, we received reports that the capital of our friendly neighbour, the Maldives was under attack from a group of mercenaries apparently recruited by disgruntled, expatriate Maldivian citizens. These mercenaries arrived by ship. After landing in the capital, Male, at about four in the morning yesterday, they quickly captured some key Government buildings, including the radio station, the TV station and the communications centre. They also surrounded the presidential palace. They were reported to have taken hostage one senior government Minister and a large number of civilians. The objective of the operation clearly, was to overthrow the democratically elected Government of Maldives.

President Gayoom managed to elude the attacks and took refuge in an area outside the Presidential Palace. Shortly thereafter we received a formal appeal for urgent military assistance to put down this plot. This request was repeated by Maldivian emissaries in Colombo and New York. According to reports, that we were

receiving at regular intervals, the situation was critical.

Maldives is also one of our closest and friendliest neighbours. It appealed to us in desperation in its grave hour of need. After carefully considering this appeal, we felt that we must respond positively and go to the aid of a friendly neighbour facing a threat to its sovereignty and its democratic order.

I am proud to report that our troops have carried out their assigned task in an exemplary fashion in the highest traditions of the Indian armed forces. They successfully completed their major mission by around 2.30 this morning. The safety of the President and senior members of the government were ensured. The operations have been carried out in an extremely tight time frame without a single Indian casualty till now. More troops have landed in the Maldives during the early hours of this morning to ensure the availability of an adequate force to meet any contingency. Some armed rebels have been captured. Mopping up operations are continuing. We would like to withdraw our troops at the earliest. We are in touch with President Gayoom and hope that the withdrawal can begin today.

Our response to developments in the Maldives is a clear manifestation of our commitment to the promotion of peace and stability in our region. It is in keeping with our belief that countries in the region can resolve their problems in a spirit of friendship and cooperation, free of outside influences. We have kept in touch with a number of friendly countries on these developments."

M.



## Regional force idea revived

Alok Mukherjee

MALE

**A**long with the immediate task of coping with the situation created by the coup attempt last week, the Government of Maldives has launched an operation to investigate how deep-rooted was the plot to overthrow the regime of Moumoon Abdul Gayoom. While the interrogation of Abdullah Lutfi and Shagar Nasir, the two disgruntled 'businessmen' who were in the forefront of the covert operation last week, is expected to lead to some conclusion, the immediate concern of the Government is the fact that such attempts over the years are getting increasingly sophisticated and if the rebels learn the proper lessons from this attempt, the Government may not be so lucky the next time round.

People in Male are also sceptical about the possibility of Lutfi and Shagar Nasir being the principal persons behind the coup attempt though many eyewitnesses saw them leading the mercenaries. Lutfi is described as a businessman with 'no clear line of business.' 'In fact most of it seems to be illegal. He is said to be in the smuggling business,' one senior journalist said. Shagar

Nasir is said to be a petty businessman, so small that the journalist dismissed him by saying 'I don't know much about him.'

### Popular leader

The suspected political ambitions of the opponents of Mr. Gayoom do not seem to be a likely motive behind the coup attempt. There seems little doubt that Mr. Gayoom is popular with the general population.

### Disparate elements

The one major fallout of the covert operation has been the realisation by the Government of the vulnerability of the nation to disparate elements opposed to the regime. Maldives, as it is, could be an easy target for any organised action since control over the small island of Male could ensure control of the country spread out over some 1,992 islands, under 200 of them having human habitation. The people and even the militia, the National Security Service (NSS), can hardly stand up against organised violence, conditioned by the fact that the country, till last week, had not seen armed intrusion for nearly 300 years. The NSS, though well

armed, does not have much training for combat and this showed up prominently last week.

About the future, we will have to assess the potential dangers and take appropriate steps, the Foreign Minister said. 'We will do that in detail after the immediate problems are taken care of. Then we will apply our mind seriously. The possibilities of raising a trained defence force could be contemplated but as the Minister pointed out, 'in no case can a defence system ensure protection from this kind of action, unless there is a very elaborate system. For that a lot of resources are required and we have to take all these into consideration.'

'There are a lot of lessons to be learnt from this action, not only for Maldives but for the international community. It has dimensions of peace, of security, of terrorism and of the vulnerability of the smaller States,' Mr. Jamil said. 'A regional force has been suggested in the past at various fora, but we will have to give thought to it and discussions have to continue,' he added.

## Rajiv's China visit will be a major event: Zhao

BEIJING

**E**ven if the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's December visit to China fails to bring about a solution to the Sino-Indian border dispute, the two countries will have many other things to discuss, according to the Chinese Communist Party General Secretary, Mr. Zhao Ziyang.

It would certainly be fine if the visit helps bring about a solution to the Sino-Indian border question, Mr. Zhao said during a meeting yesterday with a group of Japanese participants in a Sino-Japanese economic seminar.

Mr. Zhao said Mr. Gandhi's visit would be 'a major event in Sino-Indian relations'.

China hopes Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's visit will give a big push to the development of the friendly ties between the two countries, he added.

Mr. Zhao also said a Sino-Soviet summit would be possible in Beijing in the first half of next year.

Mr. Zhao's remarks on Sino-Indian and Sino-Soviet relations are the most significant indications from him on the two subjects in recent months.

**Sino-Soviet summit likely:** This is the first time a Chinese leader has spoken of the possibility of failure of border talks during Mr. Gandhi's visit and also the first indication that the Sino-Soviet summit would take place in Beijing.

Senior leader, Mr. Deng Xiaoping, had been giving increasingly clear indications in meetings with visiting leaders in recent weeks that a Sino-Soviet summit would materialise sooner rather than later.

Mr. Zhao said yesterday that the prospect of a Sino-Soviet summit was determined by the

{Continued on page 15}



# Benazir asks voters to ignore ID card rule

MULTAN

Tens of thousands of cheering Pakistanis mobbed Opposition leader Benazir Bhutto's train on Monday as she began a whistle-stop election tour.

Chanting slogans and waving the red, black and green flag of the Pakistan People's Party, they swamped stations along the line to hear her speak.

Benazir set out from Karachi on Sunday evening on what she termed a "journey for justice" to seek votes for the November 16 polls.

"Vote for the arrow," she told the crowds, estimated by journalists travelling with her at up to 50,000 at some halts.

"Yes we will vote for the arrow," they roared back, referring to the PPP's election symbol.

By the time her train reached Multan in southern Punjab it had made 30 stops and was six hours behind schedule.

## TWO KILLED

Two enthusiastic supporters who climbed on top of a carriage

were killed when the train ran under a low bridge.

Benazir, whose election campaigning was delayed by a week by ill-health, told the crowds the people had been repressed for 11 years under late President Zia-ul-Haq.

"It is a struggle for justice, we have not come to break anybody's neck, we have come to restore justice," she said at Llaquacpur, in south-east Punjab.

She drew a particularly large crowd in Bahawalpur, near the site of the plane crash which killed Zia in August.

She denounced electoral authorities for making production of identity cards a condition for voting.

Benazir told the crowds to go to polling stations where their names were on the electoral lists even if they did not have identity cards and try to cast their votes.

She claimed that only 30 per cent of the eligible voters had been issued national identity cards and her party was going to be

badly hit by the Government decision.

The Government claims that it had issued cards to 100 per cent of eligible voters in Punjab and 90 per cent in Sind.

About 97 per cent women voters may not be able to exercise their franchise because only 3 per cent of them have their identity cards.

It is generally believed the PPP's bulk vote bank is among the women.

## NARROW ESCAPE

The head of the anti-PPP alliance, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, narrowly escaped injury while campaigning in his constituency in Central Sind, a spokesman said in Karachi.

Jatoi's driver swerved sharply to avoid a truck, but 22 people were injured, four of them seriously, when it collided with four following vehicles.

Jatoi, a former Bhutto ally who quarrelled with Benazir, is standing in his home district of Moro, some 500 km by road from Karachi.

## Bloodshed feared if Pak. polls rigged

PESHAWAR

Awami National Party leader Khan Abdul Wali Khan fears bloodshed in Pakistan if the coming elections are rigged.

Addressing an election meeting here on Sunday, the Pathan leader said the coming elections were a matter of life and death for the people of the frontier provinces.

Mr. Wali Khan's statement comes amid Opposition parties' apprehensions that the present rulers will rig the elections to continue in power. This fear has been strengthened by the condition that every voter must possess his identity card.

The Opposition parties allege that voters not supporting the

present caretaker Government are being denied identity cards, and want this condition removed.

In his speech, Mr. Wali Khan again urged acting President Ghulam Ishaq Khan to ensure free and fair elections by removing the caretaker Governments. "In the presence of partisan Governments the claim of fair, free and impartial polls would be a cruel joke," he said.

## MARTIAL LAW

But it seemed Mr. Ishaq Khan himself was aligned with the Chief Ministers who did not want a peaceful transfer of power, he said. Conditions were being created for the reimposition of martial law, according to Mr. Wali Khan.

Mr. Wali Khan also criticised those who were exploiting Islam to get votes. His party believed "in the Islam of the holy Prophet and not in what the Jamaat-ul-Islami was preaching," he said.

The leader said only two per cent jobs in the federal services were given to the youths of the frontier province although Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto promised that 25 per cent jobs would be given to them and one quarter of the national resources would be given to this province.

Mr. Wali Khan asked the gathering to defeat those who were fighting the elections in the name of Zia and his system.



**BUY**

**REYNOLDS**

**Ball Point Pens**

**For Fine Writing instruments**

**Penpals Limited**

545, Sri Sangaraja Mawatha,  
Colombo - 10.

Tel: Nos. 547717 — 21668 - 9



# The Russians are letting the message get through

Charles Z. Wick

WASHINGTON

In late September I completed three days of talks with high-level Soviet officials in Moscow on information and cultural relations. I came away with a strong belief that extraordinary changes are occurring in U.S.-Soviet information relations.

Such talks should be a regular and frequent occurrence. And Alexander Yakovlev, the Politburo member, and Valentin Falin, then chairman of the Novosti press agency and now head of the Communist Party Central Committee's International department told me they agree.

The fact that I was able to take to these talks a delegation of 68 American government and private-sector leaders from the book, cultural, film, newspaper, magazine, radio and television communities underscores the depth of these changes.

As Mr. Yakovlev noted, "before the 1985 Geneva meeting, the idea of a meeting of this kind would have been inconceivable."

A few of the results we achieved:

- Mr. Falin, who headed the Soviet delegation, presented the accreditation for the first Moscow bureau chief of Voice of America. VOA broadcasts to the Soviet Union were jammed as recently as May 1987.

- Major agreements were signed between the Motion Picture Export Association of America Inc., the U.S. film delegation at the talks, and the Soviet State Committee on Cinematography. These will prohibit film piracy and permit U.S. distributors to lease and share in box-office receipts of Soviet theaters, and establish a process for co-production so expenses could be paid in rubles.

*The writer is director of the U.S. Information Agency.*

- An agreement was reached for a U.S.-Soviet journalists exchange.

- An offer was made by representatives of Time, Newsweek, the International Herald Tribune and the Washingtonian magazine to sell their publications in the Soviet Union for rubles, provided timely distribution can be expanded significantly. The Herald Tribune has already signed an agreement for a small increase in sales.

- A commitment was made to begin negotiations in early 1989 to establish an American cultural center in the Soviet Union and a Soviet cultural center in the United States.

- An agreement was reached between U.S. and Soviet officials to establish better mechanisms for clarifying differences and correcting alleged errors in information disseminated by the other side.

This "early-warning" approach would include the ability of U.S. officials in Moscow or Washington to talk directly with Soviet officials regarding information that is considered incorrect, using phone, computer or facsimile services.

The genesis of the talks came in December during the Washington summit meeting. Mikhail Gorbachev told me he had told his advisers he did not want "politicians creating all these tensions with disinformation anymore." I suggested to him and to Mr. Yakovlev that media representatives could be brought together to improve communication and reduce tensions. They agreed.

The first fruits of the December meeting came in April, when the first round of U.S.-Soviet

information talks took place in Washington. The stage was set for our Moscow visit.

We have truly achieved greater communication: On Sept. 27 the first American bookstore opened in the Soviet Union; on Oct. 27 the first in a series of video dialogues between the U.S. Information Agency's Worldnet and Soviet television took place. The groundwork has been laid for the next administration in the U.S.-Soviet information relationship.

There is still much to do. As in other realms, profound differences exist in the two countries' media systems. The Soviets still jam Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe and the VOA's Afghan-language service.

U.S. officials still do not enjoy the kind of timely access to Soviet media and public opinion that Soviets have in the United States. The Soviets still disseminate disinformation abroad, and Western journalists are still not permitted to investigate and report on the most controversial areas in the Soviet Union as the news breaks.

Yet we have come a long way, even since 1986, when I met in Moscow with the chief of the International Information department, Leonid Zamyatin. After our meeting his deputy, Vicall Kobyshev, said he had never attended a meeting — "and I have been attending them for 30 years" — at which the issues of information exchange were discussed so broadly.

We are patient but determined. At least we are talking now. We will continue to chip away at the restraints to the free flow of information. And that is progress.

— The Washington Post,



# Bush — the man of many different things

John Balzar

He has been so many things—so many different things during more than a half-century in hot pursuit of the American dream, Son of privilege and Texas wild-catter, travelling salesman and global diplomat, pro scholar and teenage warrior, George Bush went to Congress, ran the Central Intelligence Agency, Served at the United Nations and chaired the GOP.

And along the way, there were so many helping hands. Shot down in World War II, a saving hand pulled him from enemy waters. A family hand grubstaked his business venture. A fatherly hand directed him to the right schools and helped him with right connections. A President handed him a job. Another President handed him another job. A third handed him the vice-Presidency.

Now, he moves beyond reach of helping hands.

Now, George Herbert Walker Bush steps out on his own.

To a roar of partisan Republican approval, Mr. Bush will stride onto the podium to defend America's Status quo and undertake the battle with Democrat Michael S. Dukakis for that last glorious rung on the ladder of dreams.

As Mr. Bush sees it, he has spent his lifetime preparing for this one colossal job.

But every inch of the way, every move on the path from freezing lows to sweltering New Orleans, Mr. Bush has come up against a stereotype so compelling and so unflattering that he has become one of the least favourably viewed men to earn his party's nomination in contemporary times.

It remains his burden, after years of effort, to carry a cross as someone else's yes man.

The campaign argot describing Mr. Bush's predicament has become worn. He is merely a resume, they say. All hat and no cattle, to borrow a Texasism. For a while, it was fashionable to call him a wimp. Now, you hear how

he has failed to "define" himself or his vision for America.

"Oh, the vision thing" Mr. Bush once said by way of waving off the whole subject.

"What do the critics know? he asks. "They've never run for sheriff."

George Bush is an easy man to underestimate. The doubters do not seem to want to ask: If he is such easy pickings, how did he get this far?

Mr. Bush says he thinks the public simply does not know him. Because he has been overshadowed by those above him during his climb to the top, he believes there has been little chance for people to come to appreciate him.

Pollsters often tell it differently. Voters feel they do know him, and more dislike him than like him.

In the weeks leading up to the Republican National Convention in New Orleans, he made himself available for extensive interviews to try to warm up his image of remoteness, personal and cultural.

He sat for endless pictures at home, he took reporters fishing in his ocean-going speed boat in the Atlantic off the coast of Maine. He gathered his whole family recently in Kennebunkport, Maine, to pose for television commercials.

What is he trying to show?

"Who I really am, where I've been all my life. It's not fake. It's real. I hope you people realise that. It's real but people don't know that," he said.

How does one man get so far?

Out there at the windswept family compound along Walker's Point in Kennebunkport is an answer straight from a glib storybook. Old money, protestant New England roots support a plentiful and well-connected clan. Here, your parents and your children get married in the same church. Here, your wife does not dye her hair.

Here, boys go to prep schools like Phillips Academy and to universities like Yale, where they

are pumped full of confidence and connections.

But here, too, are the roots of the pejoratives that entangle Mr. Bush: patrician, remote, elitist, prepito.

On a recent weekend retreat to Maine, photographers are invited to the compound to take pictures of the family.

But, clumsily, they are told not to take panoramas of the luxurious setting. That draws attention to the privileged life the Bushes lead, and their nervousness about how it will be received in the rest of the country. U. S. News World Report carries a photo of the grounds with the caption: "This is a picture Bush didn't want taken."

Almost in the same breath, though, Mr. Bush can show himself to be at peace and not a material striver.

Trolling for fish in his boat "Fidelity," the Vice-President is alerted to the sight of a huge approaching speedboat almost twice as big and luxurious as his well-used, slightly fading 28-footer.

Through the ages, men in smaller boats have looked up in awe or envy at men in bigger boats. But Mr. Bush is not interested. It's the fishing and the water and the doing, not the length or the shine on the boat.

"He's never worried about how high his stacks is. He's never worried about counting his chips," says his son, George. "All these stories about class have as much to do with reports as us."

At 10, Mr. Bush was the youngest man to wear the wings of a naval aviator. He flew torpedo bombers off a carrier in the Pacific.

Mr. Bush enjoys the story how he almost became lunch instead of President.

Shot down, his two crewmen killed, he floated in a raft off the Japanese-occupied island of Chichi Jima. After being rescued by a submarine, he learned that

(Continued on page 15)



# Bush: Indo-US ties have improved

NEW YORK

**M**r. George Bush, U.S., Vice-President who is well placed to be elected President next month, has said that Indo-US ties were no longer "characterised by strong swings from warmth to coolness" and had improved substantially from the "low level" in 1980.

Affirming that the Reagan Administration views its relationship with India "very positively", Mr. Bush said that as Vice-President he had been personally involved in working to improve the relationship "from the low level at which we found it in 1980".

The relationship is no longer characterised by strong swings from warmth to coolness. Instead we have worked together with India to build on areas in which have honest differences of opinion differing interests. This strategy has had substantial successes", he said in answers to questions from *India Worldwide* magazine, published here.

Listing the successes in Indo-U.S. ties in recent years, Mr. Bush said that close, personal relations existed between the leaders of the two countries. "I have visited India, and had the pleasure of accompanying Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on a trip to Texas during his 1985 trip", he added.

The U.S. is no longer helping India get by, but is helping India to thrive and to demonstrate its capacity to develop technological and military leadership, just as it succeeded in the green revolution", he told the monthly magazine published by Mr. Kamal Dardona, Chairman of the Indian National Congress of America.

Bilateral trade, Mr. Bush said, was at an all-time high and was improving. US ventures in India are increasing rapidly and Indian investment in the US is beginning to reach substantial proportions, he added.

The Vice-President also mentioned that India and the US were cooperating in the area of curbing terrorism.

Regarding US — Pakistan relations, Mr. Bush said that Washington's policy towards Islamabad is part of its long-term objectives for the Indian sub-continent.

## CENTRAL RULE

Pakistan played a central role in getting the Soviet Union out of Afghanistan by acting as a sanctuary for refugees and by supporting the Afghan people, he added.

"India", Mr. Bush said, "may not agree with us on this issue, but we have made no secret of our position, and neither this nor any other difference of view has been allowed by either India or the US to interfere in the steady improvements in our relationship".

A commitment to the territorial integrity of States, a continued effort to control and limit illegal activities, particularly those involving drugs and terrorism, and a programme of nuclear non-proliferation agreed to by India, Pakistan and other potential nuclear powers, were other long-term objectives outlined by Mr. Bush.

## Bush — the...

(Continued from page 14)

two officers on the island were accused of cannibalism.

"My liver could have been hors d'oeuvres," he says.

After the war and college, his family was still behind him but Mr. Bush went his own way—heading west to build an oil business.

When there was not much to it, he became part of the Republican establishment in Texas. He won two terms in the House of Representatives from Houston.

But Mr. Bush lost two Senate races in Texas. And he has not won office on his own since he left the House of Representatives in 1970.

Then, at the midpoint of his life, Mr. Bush veered sharply.

Unlike more traditional political leaders, he found advancement

as a career political appointee: Ambassador to the United Nations, Republican Party Chairman, Envoy to China, Director of the CIA. Presidents Nixon and Ford reportedly considered him for the Vice-Presidency before Mr. Reagan finally chose him in 1980.

"The unique thing about Bush is that he is more in the mould of European leaders who gained their experience in the bureaucracy, who worked their way up from inside," says political science professor John Petrocik of the University of California, Los Angeles.

— Los Angeles Times.

## Rajiv's China...

(Continued from page 10)

progress of the discussion between the two sides on the solution to the Kampuchean problem.

He noted that the Foreign Ministers of China and the Soviet

Union would exchange visits at the end of this year and the beginning of next year.

The possibility of a Sino-Soviet summit would depend on the smooth exchange of visits between the two Ministers, he was quoted as saying by official Xinhua news agency.

Mr. Zhao noted that at present the Soviet Union hopes Vietnam would withdraw its troops from Kampuchea at an early date and was willing to do its part in this regard.

If the exchange of the Foreign Ministers visits succeeded, a Sino-Soviet summit "could be held in Beijing", for the Soviet President Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev was very keen to meet Mr. Deng, he said.

Mr. Zhao reiterated that there would be no alliance with the Soviets even after normalisation of relations. — PTI



# Dr. Newton Gunasinghe — a tribute to a scholar

Jayadeva Uyangoda

**D**r. Newton Gunasinghe, a senior lecturer in Sociology at the University of Colombo, passed away on the 31st of October at the Jayawardenapura Hospital after a brief illness. With his untimely death, Sri Lanka lost one of its finest intellects, the University of Colombo a brilliant teacher, and his friends an inspiring colleague.

Dr. Gunasinghe was born in Nawalapitiya on April 5, 1946. Having received his primary education at Nawalapitiya and secondary education at the Wickramabahu Central College at Gampola, he entered the University of Peradeniya in 1963. There he studied Sociology and Anthropology under Professors Ralph Peiris, Gananath Obeyesekere and Lukie Jayasuriya. After graduating in 1967, he worked at the National Commission for Higher Education as the research officer to its chairman, Professor Gunapala Malalasekera. For about a year, he was also a visiting lecturer at the Vidyodaya University. In 1973 he received his Master's degree in Sociology from the University of Monash, Australia. Thereafter he proceeded to England for his doctoral studies. He first joined the Manchester University where such outstanding scholars as Max Gluckman and Peter Worsley occupied chairs in Social Anthropology and Sociology. Later he moved to the University of Sussex and completed his D. Phil in 1979. At Sussex, in the graduate seminar room as well as at the faculty bar, he enjoyed the company of radical scholars from the First World, the Third World and Eastern Europe. There he won acclaim as a first rate scholar and an entertaining and inspiring conversationalist.

The brief but remarkably prolific career of Dr. Gunasinghe is truly a unique one. He is the first Marxist anthropologist produced

by Sri Lanka. It is Dr. Gunasinghe who initiated the tradition of rigorous Marxist scholarship in this country. In Sri Lanka he was also the first and best representative of the intellectual generation which synthesized, creatively and productively, Marxism with the great tradition of European Sociology and Anthropology. In nearly two decades of his unparalleled intellectual career, his contribution to Sri Lankan sociology is seminal. Gifted with a refined and well trained theoretical mind, Dr. Gunasinghe pioneered what is generally described as agrarian studies in Sri Lanka. His doctoral dissertation, yet to be published, on the Kandyan rural society is a path-breaking event in the Social Science scholarship in our country.

The hallmark of Dr. Gunasinghe's academic life is the creative synthesis of his political convictions and intellectual training as a social scientist. During his school days at Nawalapitiya in the early sixties, he was attracted to radical politics of the Communist Party. His conversion to the Maoist variety of Marxism after 1963 was perhaps a turning point in his life. At the university he was a student leader and activist of the Communist Party (Peking Wing), led by N. Shanmugathasan. The mid-sixties were particularly significant years in our universities. A generation of radicalized students found themselves in the midst of intensely theoretical polemics. The Sino-Soviet debate, the new wave of radical Trotskyism, and the political fall-out of the SLFP-LSSP coalition of 1964 were but a few episodes that characterized the student radicalism in our own decade of the sixties. Newton Gunasinghe was then a student leader as well as a trade union activist in the Kandy-Nawalapitiya working class belt.

Being a working class educator and a student at the same time at the Peradeniya Sociology Department in the illustrious sixties

was indeed a privilege for the young scholar in the making. For he was exposed to two powerful intellectual streams simultaneously, Marxism and Western Sociology, the latter being represented by such leading personalities as Ralph Peiris and Gananath Obeyesekere. This obviously laid foundations for Dr. Gunasinghe's unique intellectual journey, enabling him to converse, with equal ease, with Marx and Weber.

It is in his Manchester and Sussex years that Dr. Gunasinghe really became what he was to be in his mature intellectual life. At Manchester he came, as he himself put it a few months before his death, under the dominating influence of Professor Max Gluckman — the leading Marxist Anthropologist on Southern Africa. Still Marxism had not received much attention in the rather conservative Anthropology establishment in English universities. Nevertheless, Gunasinghe looked beyond conservative English academia and reached out to the continent and elsewhere, where a rigorous Marxist Social Science scholarship had already gained ground. Louis Althusser, Nicos Poulantzas, Maurice Godolier, Samir Amin, Gunder Frank and Ernesto Laclau were some of the leading lights of that most creative decade of the post-war Marxist scholarship. When Dr. Gunasinghe moved to Sussex from Manchester, still as a graduate student, he was no longer an anthropologist in the orthodox sense of the discipline. He was a political-economist as well.

It is at the Sussex University that Dr. Gunasinghe's intellectual creativity began to flourish. The atmosphere at Manchester where the Sociologists and Social Anthropologists fought a bitter battle over disciplinary supremacy was perhaps not to his liking. Sussex, in contrast, was much more conducive to creative experimentation of ideas in radical Social

(Dr. Uyngoda is a lecturer at the Colombo University)



Science theory as well as social research. There he came into contact with some of the best elements of young radical students from the Third World. Sussex was then the undisputed center of radical intellectual fermentation among English universities. There he did his graduate work under Scarlet Epstein, Dudley Seers and Richard Jolly.

Dr. Gunasinghe's doctoral dissertation on the production relations in the Kandyan countryside was based on his research conducted while he was a research scholar at the Sussex University. Dr. Gunasinghe's decision to focus his research attention on Sri Lanka was taken against the wishes of his academic father-figure, Professor Max Gluckman. Professor Gluckman wanted his brilliant student to be a specialist on Africa, as he himself was, and was even willing to offer him the prestigious Rhodes-Livingston fellowship. However, it was Dr. Gunasinghe's meeting with Professor E. R. Leach at Cambridge that finally set his mind firmly on anthropological research in Sri Lanka. He initially wanted to do a new study on Pul Eliya — the village in the North Central province which Professor Leach himself had earlier studied. However, at Sussex he appears to have decided to move to the countryside in Udunuwara, an area which he already knew fairly well.

Although it still remains unpublished, Dr. Gunasinghe's doctoral dissertation marks the beginning of rigorous Marxist scholarship on Sri Lankan society. Until then, concrete studies on Sri Lankan society were not the strong point in our Marxist tradition. Sri Lankan Marxism had produced only theoreticians of the classical mould. They were, as Lerski once put it, princes of pamphleteering, and not scholars in an academic sense. Anthropological and sociological scholarship, meanwhile, had remained the exclusive domain of the liberal tradition. Raghavan, Ralph Petris, Leach, Obeyesekere and some others had already established a pre-Marxist scholarship on Sri Lankan society. Dr. Gunasinghe's doctoral study

marked the beginning of a new stream of academic practice. He was the first Sri Lankan scholar to combine Marxist theory with intensive field research method. His dissertation was also the first attempt to study concretely, production relations and class formation in rural Sri Lankan society.

The intellectual backdrop against which Dr. Gunasinghe formulated his theoretical ideas, as developed in his doctoral work, warrants some comments. The Seventies were the years when a great debate occurred among Marxist scholars all over the world. The focal point of that debate was the nature of capitalist development in Third World societies, or in peripheral capitalist formations, as it is put in the neo-Marxist discourse. The origins of this controversy are rooted in the formulation of the Dependency school of post-war Marxism, as represented particularly by Cunder Frank's writings in the late sixties. The view of the Dependist as was that imperialism had imposed the capitalist mode of production all over the world, through the mechanism of underdevelopment and unequal exchange. Ernesto Laclau challenged this thesis in 1972, arguing that the Dependency thesis of Frank and others was theoretically flawed, since it treated capitalism not at the level of production, but at the level of exchange and circulation. This led to an intense and spirited debate among Marxist academic lore as the "Mode of Production Debate". It set the tone for many social science research studies in economics, history, political science, sociology and anthropology. The only Sri Lankan contribution to this worldwide debate was made by Dr. Gunasinghe in his dissertation and in some of his essays on agrarian relation in Sri Lanka. Although it may now sound somewhat a familiar position, Dr. Gunasinghe developed the thesis that peripheral capitalism is specific in that it reproduces, under the hegemony of capital, production relations of earlier pre-capitalist modes. He developed a special theoretical formulation to express

this phenomenon, namely "the re-activation of archaic production relations in peasant agriculture under the conditions of peripheral capitalism." This, indeed, is a significant contribution to the contemporary Marxist theory on social change.

Dr. Gunasinghe was a truly innovative Social Scientist. His creative mind was largely shaped by his thorough familiarity with the classical as well as modern social and political theory. Similarly, his preoccupation with theory emanated from the recognition that even a partial understanding of the profound complexity of social phenomena required not mere platitudes, but sharpened and refined analytical tools. In this regard, Dr. Gunasinghe stood far above most of his fellow practitioners of Sri Lanka sociology. When it came to theory, he didn't possess a closed or sectarian mind. As he always told his colleagues and students, one has to fill the gaps in Marx's theory by drawing from other Masters as well. And he was ever willing to enrich his own theoretical premises with ideas from Machiavelli, Kautsky, Weber, Durkheim, Pareto, Louis Dumont, Umberto Eco and even from the science fiction of Frank Herbert. While doing his detailed field studies on the Kandyan social formation, he perhaps noticed some lacunae in the classical Marxist social theory. Then he moved towards one of the most creative Marxist thinkers in the Twentieth century—Antonio Gramsci. He employed the Gramscian notion of 'Agrarian Bloc' to grapple with some complex areas in the articulation of Kandyan Social formation.

Louis Althusser and Antonio Gramsci were, indeed, to have a decisive influence on Dr. Gunasinghe's theoretical mind. Althusser, like Dr. Gunasinghe himself, was thoroughly dissatisfied with the official Marxism of Communist Parties. Althusser was also an intellectual rebel within the French Communist Party of which he was a Central Committee Member. The fresh Mar-



xist theoretical wind that swept across the post-68 Europe partly originated at Ecole Normal de Paris where Althusser held the chair in Philosophy. It is Althusser's magisterial work *Reading Capital* that had an inspiring influence on Dr. Gunasinghe. Friends will remember how Dr. Gunasinghe used to quote from memory the opening paragraph of *Reading Capital*, with his own emphasis on certain key phrases of Althusser's beautiful text. From Althusser, Newton Gunasinghe and an entire generation of young Marxist scholars learned how to read and re-read Marx's magnum opus in a new spirit of critical hermeneutics. Indeed, Dr. Gunasinghe used to describe himself a structuralist—Marxist of the Althusserian mould. For Dr. Gunasinghe's own structuralism, I think, there was another source: the French structuralist anthropology, particularly that of Louis Dumont.

The creative synthesis of Marx, Althusser and Gramsci that Dr. Gunasinghe developed in his theoretical mediations was best applied to the study of social formations, the state and ideology. Two key Althusserian concepts were notably present in his thinking—the 'epistemological rupture' and the 'overdetermination of contradictions.' They were complemented by the Gramscian concept of 'hegemony.'

The most productive application of this theoretical framework is found in Dr. Gunasinghe's short, but brilliant, pieces which he wrote on ethnicity and ideology. The turbulent years in Sri Lanka after 1983 presented a formidable challenge to Social Science scholars particularly because of the violent eruption of ethnic feelings among Sinhala and Tamil communities. In this crisis, intellectual mediocrity and simpleness led some Sri Lankan social scientists to parade demagoguery as scholarship, slogans as theory, and witch-hunt as commitment. Or they were simply anti-theoretical, a position emanated from a peculiarly fundamentalist state of mind. Dr. Gunasinghe's refined cam-

perament, meanwhile, enabled him to stand far above the politics and ideology of ethnic frenzy. In several essays which he published in the *London Guardian*, he examined how ethnicity had an overdetermining impact on political structures. In a masterly deployment of the Althusserian concept of overdetermination of contradictions, he diagnosed the hegemonic grip which the nationalist ideology has had over the Sinhalese society as the key to the understanding of post-independence Sri Lankan politics.

Religious ideology, social structures and the state are a collective theme that drew the constant attention of this multifaceted scholar. His first serious work on sociology of Buddhism is his Master's thesis submitted to the Monash University. He was equally familiar with Buddhism and Christianity, Hinduism and Islam. Although he hadn't published any major essays on religion, he was planning shortly before his death, to launch a major study on heresy and orthodoxy as expressed in the social and intellectual history of Buddhism and Christianity. Professor Bruce Kapferer, his colleague at Manchester and now Professor of Anthropology at London University, was to co-author this work. Incidentally, the section on Christianity was to be written by Dr. Gunasinghe who, as Professor Kapferer is reported to have commented, had a thorough knowledge of medieval Christian theology. Friends of Dr. Gunasinghe know how he was in the process of formulating a theoretical framework for this much anticipated study. A few months prior to his death, he came to revise one of his earlier theoretical formulations so that the articulation of religious ideology and social structure could be better explained. His earlier position was that ideology at certain conjunctures overdetermined social processes. After surveying the history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka, Thailand and Burma, he came to the theoretical conclusion that it is the social structures that determine, in the final analysis,

ideological formations and transformations.

The above theoretical position is not a mere moving back to the old Master, Marx. It was also a result of an intense examination of the relationship between Buddhism, social classes, ideology and the state in Sri Lanka in pre-capitalist and capitalist modes of production. In his fascinating intellectual odyssey Dr. Gunasinghe appears to have moved away from Althusser in the last couple of years and returned to Marx via Max Gluckman and Louis Dumont. Perhaps, he realized that the Althusserian hermeneutical framework de-emphasized the role of social structures in shaping the logic of long historical processes. Along with Gramsci, he noticed the power of religious ideologies in their ability to transform themselves and survive under different modes of production. The question that Dr. Gunasinghe posed and sought clarification however, is whether ideologies are just subjected to an autonomous logic of self-transformation, or are they responding to the changes of the social structure. One of the sharpest observations he made in this regard, just two months before his death, is connected with the question of heresy in the Sinhalese Buddhist tradition. In regular conversation, he asserted, in his characteristically forceful way, that the categories 'sacred' and 'profane' were not a mere question of theology, but a mode of hierarchical ordering of social relations.

Two review essays that Dr. Gunasinghe wrote within the last six months of his life are particularly indicative of his new thinking in interpretative explorations. One is a review of Gananath Obeyesekere's essay 'Mediations on Conscience', and the other on Bruce Kapferer's recent book, *Legends of People—Myths of State*. Underlying the framework of analysis in these two essays is his reaffirmation of the centrality of social relations—classes, groups, and hierarchically-defined strata—in the articulation of ideologies.



Colleagues noticed the re-activation of Dr. Gunasinghe's mind and in the last stage of his life, although no one realised that time was catching up on him. In June this year he wrote a paper entitled 'Notes Towards a Sub-Continental Social Structural Perspective on South Asia.' In terms of the analytical framework suggested in it, this short paper is a landmark in Dr. Gunasinghe's intellectual career. Dr. Gunasinghe in this paper makes a case for 'a macro-social theory' covering the entire South Asian-region. Noting that such a theory is yet to emerge, he attempted to establish a methodological perspective for it. To do justice to Dr. Gunasinghe's complex theoretical formulation, may I quote a key paragraph from his essay:

Here my objective in this note is to identify both variation and structural similarities in the South Asian social formations, but not necessarily within the confines of the territories of the modern "national states" as they are defined in the late-eighties of the twentieth century. To proceed further, along the lines laid down by Duménil, one should attempt to arrive at a macro-theory capable of encapsulating social processes at work in the South Asian region as a whole, while theoretically coupling it with sub-theories applicable to various ethnic segmentations in the region, such as the Sinhala, Tamils, Bengalis, Gujaratis etc. Now, I shall return to an identification of elements of structural commonalities in South Asian social formations without overlooking the fact that these commonalities may articulate themselves in different or even contradictory forms.

To appreciate Dr. Gunasinghe's attempt to construct a Sub-Continental social theory, one must take into account the political and polemical climate that provided a backdrop to this important exercise of his intellect. The ethnic crisis and its aftermath had witnessed a narcissistic drift towards self-destruction of our society. Almost all the intellectual resources of this society were being marshalled to re-affirm our isolation as an island nation. The latter-day apostles of Sinhala nationalism were advocating an obscurantist vision of salvation reducing the profound complexity of our

society into a utterly simple category of the Sinhala Buddhist village. These apostles were rejecting everything beyond the shores of the island, with the exception of opportunities for well paid employment in the hands of the 'nasty Westerners'. Hypocrisy apart, they were making an entire generation of young intellectuals to believe that isolationist nationalism promises the panacea to all our social maladies. Dr. Gunasinghe's essay, by contrast, is an intervention which envisioned intellectual internationalism. 'You will never understand Sri Lanka, until you understand South Asia as a totality,' that is the simple message of that complex theoretical piece.

Dr. Gunasinghe's contribution to social science research in Sri Lanka during the past decade warrants special acknowledgement. Since 1980, he was the chief researcher of the Social Scientists' Association and its secretary for the past two years. He was responsible in directing a major research project on agrarian structures in Sri Lanka. The monograph, *Capital and Peasant Production* which he edited with Charles Abeyasekera is a result of his research efforts. *Facets of Ethnicity*, an anthology of research papers on the ethnic question, is the product of a collective effort of a group of concerned academics. Including Dr. Gunasinghe. He also co-authored a book on the International Economic Order and the Sri Lankan Economy.

A few months before his death, Dr. Gunasinghe, in collaboration with his colleagues here and abroad, finalized the editing of a major anthology of ethnographic research on Sri Lanka. The learned introduction which he wrote to that volume is perhaps the first major review of ethnographic literature concerning Sri Lankan society.

Besides his academic practice as a researcher, scholar and a university teacher, Dr. Gunasinghe was actively involved in trade union work, popular education, and human rights activities. He was the founder of the Workers and Peasants Institute in Kandy,

an organization devoted to popular education. Through the WPI, he organized and conducted seminars for working class and peasant cadres on social and political issues. The series of lectures which he delivered on Gramsci to trade union representatives is the first attempt in Sri Lanka to introduce that great Marxist thinker to the Sinhala educated intelligentsia. Later he published those lectures as a booklet. His thorough grasp of the Marxist theory, coupled with his mastery of a rich and evocative Sinhalese idiom, enabled him to explain clearly to working class cadres even highly complex theoretical problems. Dr. Gunasinghe's trade union base was Kandy where he grew up as a young political activist. For the past several years, he was the President of the Lanka General Services Union, a plantation based trade union in Kandy. His involvement in human rights activities has a considerably long record. When the Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality was formed in 1979 as a body committed to ethnic peace and human rights, he was one of its founder leaders.

The unique intellectual generosity of Dr. Gunasinghe is without doubt an integral part of his warm and lovable personality. Gifted with a fine sense of humour, and an ability to carry on a spirited conversation for hours, his genial company was always inspiring and educative. The fact that he never utilized his talents for monetary accumulation is indeed a rare quality for an academic in post-1977 Sri Lanka. He was a humanist and a visionary, who always stood for peace, democracy and socialism in this country. His extremely sensitive mind was greatly disturbed by the destructive chaos to which our society has plunged. He indeed foresaw, long before many of us did, the social and political catastrophe that was unfolding in our society. Perhaps, Dr. Gunasinghe died a less painful death. The void left by Dr. Gunasinghe, as an intellectual with great human qualities may never be filled.



**Bruce Kapferer: *Legends of People, Myths of State*,  
Smithsonian Institution Press,  
Washington and London, 1988.**

Is it possible to conceptualise in an all-embracing method of social analysis, ethno-nationalisms in two utterly different social formations, i. e. Sri Lanka and Australia? The problem is made more complex because one of the social formations under analysis (i. e. Australia), is an advanced capitalist society, while the other (i. e. Sri Lanka), is an underdeveloped capitalist formation, retaining various archaic social structural features, under the dominance of capital.

It is this difficult theoretical exercise, that Bruce Kapferer, Professor of Social Anthropology at the University College, London, has undertaken. Professor Kapferer, who possesses nearly twenty years of field work experience in Sri Lanka, mainly concentrating on the Southern province, has made major analytical contributions to Sri Lankan ethnography and theoretical analysis of the Sinhala social organisation. He commenced his anthropological investigations in Africa with a significant work on industrial sociology, dealing with the Indian management and African workers in Zambia. With the benefit of the intellectual influence of Max Gluckman, then the doyen of British social anthropology and Clyde Mitchell, the renowned African scholar noted for his "net-work" theory of social analysis, (this book is dedicated to him.) Kapferer based himself methodologically on Chandra Jayawardena at Sydney, his early teacher, and probably one of the few Marxist-oriented social anthropologists of his generation. In the work quoted above on Zambia, Professor Kapferer was able to produce a rigorous analysis relating to the African industrial social field covering both the class dialectic between the managers and workers, as well as the ethnic contradictions, between mainly Gujarati Indians and African tribal groups.

Professor Kapferer's field-work experience in Sri Lanka has

probably helped him to re-locate himself from the field of industrial sociology to the field of religious ideology, rituals and ethnicity. Indeed, how could I forget the spirited debates and discussions which we used to have at the University of Manchester, under the dominating intellectual presence of Max Gluckman, in the early seventies, when Kapferer first commenced the analysis of his social anthropological data relating to Sinhala rituals in the Southern province? Kapferer's theoretical essays led to a number of significant contributions to our understanding of the Sinhala ritual processes, finally culminating in his major work on "The Celebration of Demons". Without merely dealing with the dynamics pertaining to the ritual

domain, it couples these with the social structural contradictions that underlie these processes, correctly concentrating attention on **Class** and **Caste** conflicts. So the entire ritual process (Thevil in this case) is analysed not merely as an archaic process of ritual practice, derived from a traditional society, but as a powerful expression of modern social contradictions, which find expression in a traditional garb. He thus distanced himself methodologically from certain paths of social-psychological analysis, while solidly situating the problem at the level of social structure.

I would myself like to place Kapferer's current discourse on Sinhala and Australian nationalisms, within the context of those antecedent intellectual roots. It is very necessary to locate this book in the context of these previous investigations and the theoretical

(Continued on page 24)

## OPEN ECONOMY

When we first set out past the chocolate factory  
At Divitotawala, you were,  
A newly retired gentleman,  
Pushing past the glass door under the honey suckle  
To buy chocolates for the grand children,  
You caught the coloured silver wrappers,  
Touching with your hands their own joy.

When you are old  
We return the same way,  
You say with feigned eagerness  
"Shall we buy some chocolates?"  
We know you are weary  
you would prefer,  
To stay in the back of the car,  
But you stagger out,  
Refusing the arms of these laughing lasses  
Your grand children now grown,  
To love you more than they ever loved the chocolates.

Too late, I think,  
Too sad to know,  
While this early evening chill still holds  
The scents of a village afternoon  
That you will soon be gone  
While the factory continues to churn out its shining sweets.

So I thought,  
But a decade later  
You are there with your stick, under a August bronzed gum  
While those factory wheels, are still, and do not hum.

— U. Karunatilake



# Kipling's Homage to Buddhism

Izeth Hussain

**W**e have to account for the power of this book, its wide and almost universal appeal. Obviously it is not just a boy's adventure story, an entertaining picaresque tale, or homage to India which would make it no more than superlative travelogue in fictional form. Part of its appeal derives from its belonging to the genre of the Bildungsroman, the novel of growing into adulthood. Kim, the waif of the Lahore Bazaar, lives in a world of prelapsarian innocence until the discovery of his identity as an Irish boy and his "fall" into the army cantonment school, a process of breaking in from which he wants to break out by resuming his Indian identity. He alternates uneasily between two worlds, the Indian and the British, but he comes to understand the need for education and finally accepts initiation into the Service. At the end of the book he has grown up.

As is appropriate to the Bildungsroman, there are parent figures and rites of passage. Kim the waif finds several father figures in Mahbub Ali, Hurnee, Creighton, Lurgan, Fr. Victor and above all the Lama. They are all thoroughly benign figures, but the women are somewhat different. The old Ranee whom Kim regards as the mother who saved his life, is a great-hearted mother-figure but is also a garrulous and cantankerous haridan. Lispeth, the polyandrous hill-woman who dominates her husbands and offers herself to Kim, is woman seen as entanglement, threatening an erosion of the male universe in which Kim wants to live. But the women are also associated with rites of passage in this book, and they seem to symbolize renewal of life. Significantly, Kim resumes his Indian identity through the mislustration of females, a courtesan, and later Huneefa the blind exorcist who is in touch with evil powers. Towards the end of the book, Kim is restored

to health by the massage administered by the Ranee and another old woman, who leave the rest of the cure to "Mother Earth", suggesting an association of the female with telluric power. The power of this book as Bildungsroman can be explained in such terms.

The appeal of this novel can also be explained in terms of the theme of the Seeker, of coming through and achieving fulfilment, something like the Pilgrim's Progress which was one of Kipling's favourite books. It is to be noted that the Lama achieves spiritual progress in the course of the book. At the beginning he has already progressed from Tibetan Buddhism to an understanding that the Excellent Law is all that matters. In the course of the book, he gives up his notion that he will come to the end of his search when he comes to a particular river at a particular place, and comes to understand that the river is a symbolic one which will break out at his feet when he is ready for enlightenment. Before that happens he experiences back-slidings through his distracting attachment to Kim, his delight in life, pride in his strength while in the mountains, and the lapse into a moment of hate when he is struck by the Russian spy. This theme of the Seeker, which in this book is of course an explicitly religious one, also appeals to the secular mind as it ties up with the myth of renewal.

This reading of the book, in terms of the Bildungsroman and the theme of the Seeker and the myth of renewal, could explain its power for most readers but has to be regarded as incomplete, and therefore unsatisfactory, as it ignores the Buddhism that pervades the book almost in its entirety. The Lama is there right from the beginning to the end, except for a few episodes, and even when he is not at centre-stage he is never remote from Kim's preoccupations. And all

the time he is relentlessly expounding Buddhist doctrine and Buddhist morality. Buddhism is central to the book, but this has not been recognized for the most part and certainly not dealt with adequately.

Ellot in writing of this book states that Kipling's relation to India determines that about him which is the most important thing about a man, his religious attitude, which in Kipling's case is one of comprehensive tolerance. But Ellot does not mention Buddhism in connection with Kim. Edmund Wilson, in a seminal important article written when he was still a great critic, referred to Kipling's "homeless religious sense" and claimed that Kipling who had no real religion exploited in his writings the mythology and the symbols of a number of religions as mere properties. But he did recognize the importance of Buddhism in Kim by stating that we cannot but suspect that in that book "Kipling had been seriously influenced by the Buddhism which he had imbibed with his first language in boyhood." This kind of recognition is rare as can be gathered from the many books on Kipling available at present.

Evidently the critics find it difficult to associate the other-worldly religion of Buddhism with Kipling the laureate of Empire, who extolled the man of action and the people who did the world's work against the artist and the intellectual and the contemplative, and who in one of his most striking poems showed his sympathy for the tolling sons of Martha against the sons of the Mary who chose the better part by receiving the benediction of Christ. Furthermore, Buddhism does not seem to have preoccupied Kipling except in Kim and just one notable poem, the extremely poignant Buddha at Kamakura, one of his best poems which was unaccountably omitted from Ellot's selection of his verse. It might appear therefore that the Buddhism in Kim was just a passing fad, not to be taken too seriously.

(To be Continued)



# T. S. Eliot — The Buddhist

H. L. D. Mahindapala

Of course, like all great works of art and thought *THE WASTE LAND* lends itself to many interpretations. It has been viewed as the modern version of Dante's *INFERNO*. Others, averred that it represented the sterile desert created by our industrial and corrupt civilisation; or a personal autobiography (one undergraduate even wrote a thesis attributing homosexual tendencies to Eliot); or, as in the recurring fertility myths, where the 'the land becomes Waste, and the task of the hero is that of restoration' — a mythic theme that repeats itself in the Resurrection of Christ or in the legend of the Holy Grail. But the internal evidence in the text of the poem suggests strongly that Eliot was in the Buddhist phase when he wrote it. Perhaps, I should paid greater attention to what Spender wrote in 1967: "In deciding, for example, whether *THE WASTE LAND* adumbrates a Christian orthodoxy which became clarified in the *FOUR QUARTETS*, (? — see quote from *LITTLE GIDDING*) I.A. Richards' view (put forward in 1926) that it was a poetry 'severed from all beliefs' should be taken into account just as much as the view of someone today who using hindsight sees *THE WASTE LAND* almost as a Christian poem. A different evolution of Eliot's ideas was possible, and if it had happened, would have made Richards right. Incidentally, if Eliot's own views are to be considered, I once heard him say to the Chilean poet Gabriela Mistral that at the time when he was writing *THE WASTE LAND*, he seriously considered becoming a Buddhist. A Buddhist is as immanent as a Christian in *THE WASTE LAND*." (T. S. ELIOT: THE MAN AND HIS WORK — Stephen Spender.)

The text of *THE WASTE LAND* reveals how close he was to Buddhism at the time he wrote it. It contains direct references to Buddhism and in *THE FIRE SERMON*, the title of the third movement in *THE WASTE LAND*

based on Buddha's *FIRE SERMON*, he develops the theme of the consuming passions that destroy the spiritual being.<sup>2</sup> One significant aspect to note is the way he synthesises the asceticism of Buddhism and Christianity. This art of synthesising was one of Eliot's gifted techniques.

Eliot wrote three footnotes to the agonising cries of St. Augustine which ends *THE FIRE SERMON*. Two of those notes refer to St. Augustine's *CONFESSIONS* and one to Buddha's *FIRE SERMON*. The lines which he footnoted are:

"To Carthage then I came"  
Burning burning burning  
burning"  
O Lord Thou pluckest me out"  
O Lord Thou pluckest  
burning."

Reading the footnotes together gives a clearer glimpse of Eliot's Buddhist phase. Though there were many objections to Eliot's Notes to *THE WASTE LAND* "Some of the more general references in the Notes help to sharpen the outlines of Eliot's structure," wrote F. O. Matthiessen in his essay on the *THE ACHIEVEMENT OF T. S. ELIOT*. Here Matthiessen refers particularly to Eliot's footnotes on *THE FIRE SERMON*.<sup>1</sup> "V. St. Augustine's *CONFESSIONS*: 'to Carthage then I came, where a cauldron of unholy love sang all about mine ears.'<sup>2</sup> "The complete text of the Buddha's *Fire Sermon* (which corresponds in importance to the *Sermon on the Mount*) from which these words are taken, will be found translated in the late Henry Clarke Warren's *BUDHISM IN TRANSLATION* (Harvard Oriental Series). Mr. Warren was one of the great pioneers of Buddhist studies in the Occident."<sup>3</sup> "From St. Augustine's *CONFESSIONS* again. The collocation of these two representatives of eastern and western asceticism, as the culmination of this part of the poem, is not an accident."

One way of approaching this last note is to accept the meaning which emphasises that the presence of Buddhist thought "is not an accident". In fact notes (1) and (3) are there to stress the relevance and the meaning of note (2) — i. e. *THE FIRE SERMON*. His main poetic concern here is to introduce Buddhist concepts to a non-Buddhist Western culture through familiar Christian images. In other words, St. Augustine's *CONFESSIONS* — the first person account of a young man recounting his wild youth in Carthage which he repents in every page — is living proof of Buddha's theoretical *FIRE SERMON*. St. Augustine, the culturally acceptable symbol, becomes the 'objective correlative' (1) of Eliot's poetic technique. The third movement culminates in Eliot's attempt to give the equivalent of Buddhist thought in poetic feeling. Eliot is not saying, in passing as it were, that "a Buddhist is as immanent as a Christian in passing as it were, that "a Buddhist is as immanent as a Christian in *THE WASTE LAND*," as Spender had stated. I think the emphasis goes beyond that and is clear: Eliot is consciously conveying his intellectual affinities with Buddhism through Christian images.

It would have been only natural for a man of Eliot's intellectual breadth and passion for organising and synthesising knowledge to search for the roots of thoughts and to express it in the mythic tradition of his audience. A part of Eliot's great achievement is his ability to find the most apt poetic correlative for the abstract thoughts that determined his thinking. It would be rather difficult to disown his bold imagination that visualised St. Augustine as the perfect correlative to exemplify Buddha's doctrine in *THE FIRE SERMON*. A brief glance at Buddha's *FIRE SERMON* (reproduced here from *THE NORTON ANTHOLOGY OF POETRY*) will throw more light on Eliot's art and thought: In Buddha's *FIRE SERMON* he preached that "all things are on fire \* \* \* with the fire of passion, \* \* \* with the fire of hatred, with the fire of



infatuation; with birth, old age, death, sorrow, lamentation, misery, grief, and despair are then on fire," and that the disciple must conceive "an aversion for the eye," for all the senses, "for impressions received by the mind; and whatever sensation, pleasant, unpleasant, or indifferent, originates in dependence on the impressions received by the mind," so that he may become divested of passion and hence be free and know that he is free and that "he is no more of this world". There isn't a better known figure in Christian literature who could represent these Buddhist thoughts than St. Augustine as seen in his *CONFESSIONS*. Buddha and St. Augustine (of the *CONFESSIONS*) are agreed that the ultimate "freedom-fighter" finds his eventual liberation in divesting himself from the burning passions of the world. It is exact opposite of liberation theologians who project a politicised Christ promising the Third World a paradise overflowing with worldly goods, preferably the imported luxury items!

Clearly, Eliot's concept of freedom was in liberating himself from the burning passions, expounded so lucidly by the Buddha. He did not invest much faith in political ideologies. He yearned for order — classical order — and discipline. Peter Ackroyd sums it up nicely when he says: "He was a writer who attempted to create order and coherence, and yet his central vision was of 'the Void'." (p. 335) It is logical for a man haunted by the chaos of 'the Void' to look for order and coherence. What is suggested here is that in one phase of his life he found that coherence and order in "the absolutism of Buddhism". The 'impersonality' of his tone, it could be argued, is a classical trait he developed from his early Buddhism and later refined by other writers like the philosopher A. F. Bradley. He also would have read Irving Babbitt's essay on *BUDDHA AND THE OCCIDENT*, which stressed that "the temper of the Buddhist is more impersonal than that of the Christian". This, argues Peter Ackroyd, "may well be connected

with the aloofness and invulnerability which Babbitt's notion of 'impersonality' suggests — an aspect of that shuddering disaffection towards the ordinary world which was to emerge in Eliot's early poetry." (p. 37)

A brief note on Bradley too is important because Eliot eventually labelled himself as a "Bradleyan". Peter Ackroyd states that "it was an influence which, unlike others, he never wished to discard and in order to understand Eliot's prose writings it is also necessary to understand Bradley" (p. 49). Some of the principal ideas propounded by Francis Herbert Bradley (1846-1924) are:

— "The distinction between primary (sensed) qualities of physical objects and secondary (structural) qualities is based on appearance; in reality there is no such distinction.

— "Upon analysis it turns out that space, time, objects, and selves are appearances, not realities; the concepts do not stand up because alleged differences vanish when it is discovered that definitions are circular, empty, or inconsistent.

— "The logical character of reality is that it does not contradict itself; the metaphysical character of reality is that it is one; and the epistemological character of reality is that it is experience.

— "Reality, or the Absolute, must be because appearances are the appearances of reality... etc" (*MASTERPIECES OF WORLD PHILOSOPHY* — p.706)

These basic concepts indicate that the Bradleyan stream of thought is not alien to Buddhism. In fact it runs as a close parallel, if not as an extension of Buddhist philosophy. Theodore Stcherbatsky, an eminent Buddhistologist from Russia's St. Petersburg School of Indology, in his book *THE CONCEPTION OF BUDDHIST NIRVANA* commented on the "remarkable coincidences" between Nagarjuna — a Buddhist philosopher of the second century A. D. who is rated as one of the few original thinkers of the world — and Bradley. Stcher-

batsky says: "There are remarkable coincidences between Nagarjuna's negativism and Bradley's condemnation of the concepts of things, and qualities, relations, space and time, change, causation, motion, the self etc. Bradley must be characterised as a genuine *Madhyamika*" (Nagarjuna concentrated on Buddha's characterisation of his teachings as *madhyamapratipad* and developed his philosophy on the central concept of *madhyamaparsipad*. Consequently, the followers of Nagarjuna's system based on *madhyamapratipad* were known as *Madhyamikas*.) Stcherbatsky also adds: "All that Nagarjuna was at pains to show was that logic was incapable of giving us an idea of the Absolute, and that we can have knowledge of the Absolute only by direct mystic intuition." (p.73). Intellectually and emotionally Eliot was wedded to this concept. He confirmed this need for intuition when he declared in one of his seminars: "You can't understand me. To understand me you have to believe in me first." (p.61)

Eliot's *WASTELAND* — by and large the poetic soul and masterpiece of this century — has been the subject of a vast literary industry. Craig Raine, the poet, stated in a recent T. V. interview on Eliot that the three main strands running through *THE WASTELAND* are 1) anthropological, 2) Christian and 3) Buddhist. Buddhism, though acknowledged in passing, has not been given due attention. Craig Raine went on to suggest that *WASTELAND* is a poem that bears out the two great parallels in Buddhism: reincarnation and Nirvana. Which is it going to be — Nirvana which abides in the still centre or reincarnation with all the attendant frustrations and failures of Procrustes and the multitude of characters that haunt the *WASTELAND*? Perhaps, Eliot's cry for "shantih" rejects reincarnation. Then the question is: Was "shantih" Eliot's equivalent of Nirvana?

In this brief essay I have attempted to focus only on Eliot's Buddhist connections. Of course, it is difficult to map the entire spiritual and intellectual progress of Eliot in such a brief outline.



He was born into a Unitarian Church and then craved through many influences, ranging from Charles Maurras (who first pronounced the holy trinity which Eliot was to embrace later — i.e. "classique, catholique, monarchique"), Henri Bergson, Bradley, French Symbolism, in particular Jules Laforgue, Buddhism and Anglo-Catholicism. Once, when he was in Rome, he went down on his knees before Michael Angelo's PIETA. And his Christian commitment grew with years. Despite him keeping faith with the Christian Church it appears that Eliot intellect was strongly attached to Buddhist thinking. The Buddhist influence ran in two phases. Initially conscious commitment which had a direct impact ending probably in *THE WASTE LAND*. Latterly, it became an indirect, life-long attachment through Bradleyan philosophy — a philosophy that could have been easily superimposed upon his original Buddhist base without fear of contradicting each other or losing the validity of either. However, the last word on this subject must be left to Eliot himself. In the *ATLANTIC MONTHLY* of May 1965 Lawrence

Durrell states that he once suggested to Eliot that he was not a Christian but more of a Buddhist

or even a primitive. To which Eliot replied cryptically: "Perhaps, they haven't found me out yet?"

2. Miss J. Weston, *FROM RITUAL TO ROMANCE*, p.21.

3. A deeper study of Eliot's writings from the Buddhist perspective is necessary to understand the impact of Buddhism on Eliot's thoughts. It is a study worth pursuing, particularly in relation to 'Bradleyan' philosophy. Perhaps, an interdisciplinary approach may produce a more meaningful insight into Eliot's Buddhist thinking and its impact on his poetry. The strong undercurrent of Buddhism could be seen in all phases of his poetry, ranging from his playful lines in *THE NAMING OF CATS* or in his more serious lines from *LITTLE GIDDING*:

"There are three conditions which often look alike  
Yet differ completely, flourish in the same hedgerow:  
Attachment to self and to things and to persons, detachment,  
From the self and from things and from person; and, growing  
between them, indifference  
Which resembles the others as death resemble life,  
Being between two lives — unflowering, between  
The live and the dead nettle. This is the use of memory:  
For liberation — not less of love but expanding  
Of love beyond desire, and so liberation  
From the future as well as the past.....  
..... See, now they vanish,  
The faces and places, with the self which, as it could, loved them,  
To become renowned, tragified, in another pattern."

4. On this Eliot wrote in his essay on *HAMLET*: "The only way of expressing emotion in the form of art is by finding an 'objective correlative'; in other words, a set of objects, a situation, a chain of events which shall be the formula of that particular emotion; such that when the external facts, which must terminate in sensory experience, are given, the emotion is immediately evoked."

## Book Review...

(Continued from page 20)

and methodological framework that informed them. What Kapferer argues in this wide-ranging work, on bifurcated nationalisms can briefly be summarised as follows: (i) Sinhala Buddhist ethno-nationalism expresses itself from a social structure that is basically ideologically hierarchical; it is encapsulated in a statist ideology, articulated itself hierarchically internally and externally in relation to itself and other ethnic formations; (ii) Australian nationalism on the other hand articulates itself, essentially within a context of an "imagined community" — to use Benedict Anderson's concept — which is thought to be an egalitarian community, in the view of the dominant populist ideology, which runs counter to the state as it is imagined at the level of popular consciousness. Yet, Kapferer does not fail to

outline some basic structural commonalities between these two ethno-nationalisms, while laying emphasis on ideological differences.

To quote Professor Kapferer:

(a) "Broadly, I consider that in Sinhalese Buddhist nationalist cosmology, the nation and the state compose a unity. In cosmological conception the state protectively encloses the nation of Sinhalese Buddhists, whose integrity as persons is dependent on this encompassment. The state in such a conception encloses other peoples or nations who are not Sinhalese Buddhists. But critical here is that these peoples are maintained in hierarchical subordination to Sinhalese Buddhists".

(b) "Australian nationalist cosmology places the nation and the state in an ambivalent relation. In the populist traditions of Australian nationalists the nation includes the state. The state achieves its integrity in the

will of the nation and the people. The integrity of persons as autonomous and discrete individuals is a property of individuals per se. Indeed, the ordering power of the state potentially disorders the integrity of persons... Australian identity is not founded in an Australian state, as it is in Sinhalese Buddhist nationalism, but in the Australian nation conceived as separate from the state... Ideally, I suggest, in Australian nationalism the power of the state mediates between nations, peoples and persons. Australian identity is not founded in an Australian state, as it is in Sinhalese Buddhist nationalism, but in the Australian nation conceived as separate from the state."

The important point he advances is that while Sinhala nationalism is state-concentrated, Australian nationalism is not.

(To be continued)



# Tall and proud... Our legacy for tomorrow

Trees... the very core of existence...  
Pulsating life force of nature... so vital for  
our survival.

Destruction of Trees... Ultimate  
inevitable price of progress as technology  
strides ahead of nature, shattering the  
delicate ecological balance.

Our contribution - Responding to  
the call and need of our country, we have  
launched a massive, systematic and  
scientific reforestation scheme. We have  
already planted 975,000 trees at

Naula, Bowlana and Walapane on land  
unsuitable for cropping.

Our target - A breathtaking two  
million four hundred thousand trees,  
covering 2,000 acres by 1987.

Our objective - Preserving... Re-  
establishing the life cycle of nature...  
Bridging the gap between progress and  
nature... Planning... Planting... Gently  
nurturing... for tomorrow's world today...  
Giving back to nature what progress  
takes out.



**Ceylon Tobacco Company Limited**

Sharing and caring - for our land and her people.

TAL



**WE ARE A DIFFERENT KIND OF GUARDIAN TO YOU !**

*There are a multitude of guardians during your lifetime*

- They who guard the freedom of speech & expression
- They who protect the basic human rights of mankind
- They who guard the democratic freedoms to which each of us are entitled to as citizens

*Each of us is a guardian to others who view us for their  
dependency in day to day life*

**BUT THE DIFFERENCE IN OUR GUARDIANSHIP  
RESTS ON OUR DEEP CONCERN FOR YOUR FUTURE  
WE ARE TRUSTED GUARDIANS OF YOUR HARD-EARNED  
MONEY, GUIDING YOU ON HOW TO SPEND AND HOW TO SAVE  
FOR YOU AND YOUR DEPENDENTS' TOMORROWS**

**SO REACH OUT TODAY  
FOR YOUR LIFE-LONG GUARDIAN**



**PEOPLE'S BANK**

***A Different Kind Of Guardian For You***