

**PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTION '88**

Peace, Democracy or market economics ?
— Mervyn de Silva

LANKA

GUARDIAN

Vol. 11 No. 16 December 15, 1988 Price Rs. 5.00[—] Registered at the GPO, Sri Lanka QJ/84/NEWS/88



THE WINNING SYMBOL ?

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● **JVP on SLFP**

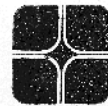
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● **Changing Regional Relations**



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TRENDS

HIGHER PROFILE

While the Nation Sleeps...
That may well have been the title picked by a more imaginative RUPAVAHINI for a short publicity feature on the Armed Forces. The feature makes a regular thrice a week appearance on national T.V. these days.

It is not entirely a starry-eyed salute to 'The Glory Boys', but it does seek to impress on the public the service the Armed Forces and Police render in these turbulent times. The soldiers on combat training does have a touch of the Green Beret - derring do. The main point of the feature however is to awaken the public to the 'silent services' which guard the nation, and safeguard peace to give the citizen a chance to go about his job.

It is in short a P. R. effort at the right time. And perfectly in order. Yet, it is also the first glimpse of what could prove a new tendency of the

State - to give the Forces a higher profile.

ENTER MONITORS

Foreign monitors and 'observer' teams represent of course a new international fashion... from Marcos' Philippines to Pinochet's Chile, via General Zia's Pakistan. Who would have thought that Sri Lanka, arguably the Third World's freeliest democracy, would be subjected to this doubtful honour?

At first, the idea, accepted officially, was abandoned by the government on the grounds that there was no time to organise a mission. The invitation was to be extended to Inter-Parliamentary Union, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and the Commonwealth Secretariat and SAARC.

Finally, they settled on S. A. A. R. C. i.e. not the S. A. A. R. C. Secretariat sending an official monitoring team

but ten 'unofficially' picked observers from Pakistan and Bangladesh (three each) India and Nepal, two each.

Sri Lanka celebrated 50 years of Adult Suffrage in 1986. Post-independence Ceylon had regular general elections in 47, 52, 56, 60 (in March and July) 1955, 1970, and 1977 sans foreign observers. Occasionally somebody yelled 'rigging'. Nobody paid much attention. The arrival of monitors opens a new chapter in Sri Lanka's democracy. The rare exception is now moving towards the Third World norm.

ALL ABOARD

Stretched to the limit, the government has sent an S.O.S. to all retired naval personnel below 55 years. The summons includes members of the Volunteer Force who are on compulsory unpaid leave. The "mobilisation" excludes retired Navy men who have been discharged for disciplinary reasons.

F. T. Z. LAMENT

Where the waves beat breakwater
The bales of toil come in
She flits to work for the M. N. C
No time to walk with him
Tall glinting palms and shadow
Sea splash to hold a whisper still
But he walks alone in the mellow
Eye, while whistles trill
calling her to work till dawn
While jobless and tame he will
Come as the mist trails the lamps at morn
To walk her home and watch her yawn
Dead beat past the Airfreight grill
When fat jets roar and the cargoes go
value added from the mill.
Lets compute again, nett Exchange gain
Plus, minus or simply nil.

— U. Karunatilaka

LEADS

GUARDIAN

Vol. 11 No. 16 December 15, 1988

Price Rs. 5.00

Published fortnightly by
Lanka Guardian Publishing Co. Ltd.

No. 246, Union Place,
COLOMBO - 2.

Editor: Mervyn de Silva
Telephone: 547584

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PRICES OR THE PRICE OF PEACE?

Mervyn de Silva

NEWS
BACKGROUND

Let the symbols speak. Not the official party "elephant" 'hand' or 'oyo', but the 'peace dove' and the pair of scales.

From the start, Mrs. Bandaranaike, the SLFP leader who entered the lists as the candidate of the newly formed Democratic Peoples Alliance, presented herself as the Sri Lankan President who could restore Peace. Her campaign strategists obviously believed that the largest constituency of the island's 9.4 million was a 'peace constituency'. Peace and Democracy or rather Peace through the restoration of Democracy and National Unity formed the principal planks of the Bandaranaike platform.

Prime Minister Premadasa put 'performance' first, or rather the UNP's Economic record, and his own Performance as Minister of Local Government and housing, the architect of GAM UDAWA, a project which has won international recognition. For the UNP candidate, Economics was in command.

'A plague on Both Your Houses' was Mr. Ossie Abeygoonesekera's line of attack as the only candidate from the broad Left. He attacked the UNP on its "open economy" policies just as vigorously as Prime Minister Premadasa, proudly parading the UNP's market economics warned the voters that a victory for Mrs. B. would mean a return to 'era of co-op queues, and ration cards' identified with the SLFP's "closed economy".

More interesting than the SLFP (USA) candidate's stand on economic was his position on the ethnic issue and the JVP. For him, both major parties were guilty of majority chauvinism and an insensitivity to minority rights,

the UNP signing the Accord only because its pursuit of a military solution was a patent failure. For him, both the UNP and SLFP candidates adopted 'a policy of appeasement' on the JVP, which to him was a 'fascist' movement. (Curiously, the S.L.M.P. line was closer to the stance of the Head of State than to the UNP candidate's or the DPA leader's).

In a common bid for the vital JVP vote, Prime Minister Premadasa opened his campaign by identifying the UNP with the JVP in 'objectives' but not on 'policies'. Mrs. Bandaranaike was no less keen on winning the JVP vote, until the JVP which had been holding 'talks' with the 7 party front for many weeks, turned its heavy cannon on Mr. B. and her family. While the PM pointed an accusing finger at the SLFP for the prevailing violence and the student unrest, Mrs. B. blamed the UNP.

It was clear from the start however that the JVP had made up its mind not to support either party or even associate itself with them. This did not nonetheless, prevent the JVP from 'leaning' one way tactically — a familiar Maoist approach, to the correct handling of contradictions. Once it could not get the President to accept its terms, even in the face of combined pressure from the clergy, the unions, the opposition parties (a brilliantly managed campaign) the JVP pulled back to pursue its own main objective — to disrupt the polls to deny the electoral result any credibility, and thus rob the new President's mandate of legitimacy. Failing everything, it would prefer the UNP to continue since a genuine regime-change would defuse tensions to some extent, and force the JVP into launching

an entirely fresh agitational campaign against the new government.

Prime Minister Premadasa was of course right in attacking the SLFP's most exposed flank — economic policy. The SLFP itself was evidently aware of its weakness months ago. The secret negotiations with the UNP Finance Minister, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, was motivated by nothing else but the perceived, self-protective need to defend this weak flank. Ronnie de Mel, "Mr. Open Economy" also served a symbolic purpose.

Still advancing on this front and attacking the "SLFP's economic policies, Mr. Premadasa unveiled his Rs. 2,500 per family per month plan as part of his "poverty alleviation" program. The SLFP, including Mr. de Mel, tried to laugh it off in the same fashion he poked fun at the 'One million Houses' project. Ten days before the polls, it was clear that the DPA's fears and anxieties over the 2,500/- offer had by no means diminished. So, on Sunday 11th, the DPA put out a long, studied critique of Mr. Premadasa's scheme.

Earlier, the DPA was on the offensive on "prices" (1977 and 1988) to be countered by a "prices vs Wages" UNP defence, pooh-poohing the "Price" argument! Just then, the campaign managers of the UNP appeared to get nervous over the possible success of Mrs. B.'s 'peace and democracy' platform. Mrs. B. promised 'peace of mind', peace among Sri Lanka's diverse communities, and peace with neighbours. Her reading of the psychology of the average Sri Lankan family seems to have convinced the SLFP leader that voters craved for peace and security rather than material welfare.

The 'dove' appeared over Prime Minister Premadasa's head in the full-page ads that the newspapers published on Sunday. The banner headline read: THE LEADER WHO CAN RESTORE PEACE.... The SLMP had a little white bird in a nest of nails.

Meanwhile, the DPA program which proposed its own "ethnic regions" solution to the 'National Question' saw an about-face in the on going propaganda battle. Mr. Gamini Disanayake, a leading architect of the 'Accord' and Mr. Lalith Achulathmudali, a prominent critic, both seized the offer of a Muslim unit and a Sinhala unit in the East as a betrayal of Sinhala interests. Topsy-turvydom was now in command. Mrs. B., regarded traditionally as

the most reliable defender of Sinhala-Buddhist interests, suddenly found herself charged with a 'sell-out' to the Tamils.

Sri Lankan students of communal politics, particularly Tamils, would have found it difficult to suppress a sardonic smile. When in doubt, wrap yourself in a pro-Sinhala flag. Yesterday's "traitors" become today's Sinhala 'heroes', while yesterday's uncompromising Sinhala champions, quick to beat the tribal drum, emerge as repentant seekers of racial amity and devolution!

Knowledgeable Tamils could afford a smile, but only for a moment. Their own politicians were split — the EPRLF-ENDLF, now

enjoying power in a North and East controlled by the IPKF, helping Ossie, the LTTE which has got such a severe bashing from the IPKF that its best friends in Colombo are those Sinhala leaders who can at least try to get the IPKF off the 'tigers' back, supports the Bandaranaike which has Kumar Ponnambalam's TC in its larger fold while the TULF at the last minute urges the Tamils to vote for Ossie!

Great disorder under the heavens — both in the higher reaches of the Political Establishment as well as on the ground where the anti-Establishment Sinhala rebel forces are locked in a bitter and bloody battle with the armed services of a beleaguered Sri Lankan state.

In Parliament

Indemnity Bill: pro and contra

National Security Minister Lalith Achulathmudali told parliament that the Indemnity Bill, passed last week, seeking to cover possibly illegal acts done by security personnel acting in good faith, was the other side of the coin of the amnesty granted to terrorists.

"In the case of the terrorists they were not asked to prove good faith; but here we are giving indemnity only to those who acted in good faith", the Minister said.

"Those who oppose this bill are not arguing a principle but extolling a double standard. The problem is that everyone understands the terrorists and are ready to pardon them, but those who have stood by their country and attempted to maintain law and order are not understood", he said.

Opposing the bill, the Communist Party's sole MP, Mr. Dew Gunasekera (Kalawana) said that the Government was proposing to end its term with another Indemnity Act in place of the bill they presented earlier but did not pursue.

The MP said: "In view of the present tense situation in the country, the people are really frightened to see what would happen after elections. By this bill the government is trying to indemnify the Minister, the Deputy Minister and all officials under the Minister for acts done by them during the whole period of eleven years.

"Another feature of this amendment is that a specific period is not given. The amendment states from August 1977 to the relevant date. No one knows what this relevant date is. So relevant date is also very relevant.

"The earlier bill referred to acts related to the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The present bill states any acts done by certain persons with a view to restoring peace in good faith. The new bill covers a wide area as it refers to the restoration of law and order. It covers almost all officials from the Minister downwards.

"My first observation on this bill is that it is grossly immoral.

"If there has been widespread disorder in the country, who is responsible for such a situation? The present amendment has to be considered in the light of the prevalent situation.

"If there are instances of acts done in good faith it is a matter that could be dealt under the existing laws, such as the penal code. Under this Act complete exoneration is being given".

N. R.

No early return home for Indian troops in Sri Lanka - Envoy says

Hugh Pain

Indian peacekeeping troops in Sri Lanka are unlikely to be sent home in the near future whoever wins the island's presidential election in 10 days' time, India's senior envoy in Colombo said on Friday.

Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa and opposition leader Sirima Bandaranaike, the main candidates in the December 19 poll, have both said they will ask India to withdraw the 50,000 troops it has in Sri Lanka.

But Joycindra Nath Dixit, Indian High Commissioner (ambassador), predicted: "Regardless of the pronouncements by the candidates, whoever comes to power will deal with what should be done in a more realistic manner."

India sent its troops to disarm Tamil rebels under an accord with Sri Lanka signed in July 1987. But the leading rebel group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), rejected the accord and forced the Indians into a bitter guerrilla war.

Nearly 700 Indian troops have died in the campaign, Dixit said.

He said the Tigers were now "marginalised militarily and politically" but that the Indians would stay on the island for at least a few months more.

"There will be no entrenched long-term military presence," he said, but the Indian contingent would go home only "after establishing its credentials as a

force which has fulfilled what it set out to do."

He said this would be when there was a stable government in the north and east where most Tamils live, when the LTTE had returned fully to the democratic process and when a devolution package giving the Tamil areas a degree of local autonomy had been fully implemented.

Premadasa has said he would ask the Indians to go home after peace was ensured, while Bandaranaike has called for the accord to be redrafted.

The Indian envoy acknowledged there was a strong likelihood of violence before and after the presidential poll.

(Continued on page 19)

EROS for peace

The Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students (EROS) widely regarded as an LTTE ally, has decided to give up arms and enter the democratic process, reports from Jaffna say.

EROS leader, S. Balakumar, told a press conference in Jaffna, on Monday, that North-East Provincial Council elections in the Eastern Province had clearly shown that the Tamil people wanted peace and EROS had decided to accept the people's verdict.

EROS earlier supported the LTTE and had decided not to contest the North-East PC elections of November 19. EROS was

the only Tamil militant group that escaped LTTE attack.

Mr. Balakumar said EROS would take the Eelam People's Democratic Front and soon register itself as a political party.

He said he would try to contact the LTTE and convince them to return to the democratic path. All other Tamil militant groups — EPRLF, ENDLF, TELO and PLOT — have accepted the Indo-Lanka Peace Accord and entered the democratic process.

Mr. Balakumar said the need of the Tamil People was normalcy and reconstruction and his group would assist in the reconstruction and rehabilitation programs.

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Excess ballot papers

Commissioner of Elections R. K. Chandrananda de Silva in a press release said that his attention has been drawn to news reports in some papers about the excess ballot papers printed for the Presidential Election.

Those press reports he says may tend to create the impression that large quantities of ballot papers have been printed in excess of requirements to serve some ulterior purpose.

Ballot papers are printed on a predetermined basis of the requirements of each polling station to which 10 per cent is added and worked out to the nearest 50 or 100.

The following is the full text of statement of the Commissioner of Elections:

My attention has been drawn to a few News Items in some Papers about the quantity of ballot papers printed at this Election. These news items may tend to create an impression

that large quantities of ballot papers have been printed in excess of the requirement to serve some ulterior purpose.

I received representations from the Election Agent of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party on the same issue. I am glad that I had the opportunity to explain the correct position to their delegation that met me last week. I wish to clarify the position for the benefit of all concerned" the Election Commissioner adds.

Ballot Papers are printed on a pre-determined basis of the requirements of each Polling Station to which 10% is added and worked out to the nearest 50 or the 100. This is meant to meet three requirements:

1. The number of ballot papers issued to a Polling Station is not exactly the same as the total number of registered electors in that Polling District. There should be extra ballot papers to meet any shortfall caused by spoilt ballot papers. Bal-

lot papers are spoilt on tearing off and the appearance of any marks on them in handling them.

2. In the issue of ballot papers to Polling Stations we cannot afford to break up ballot paper books to issue the exact number equal to the number of registered electors in a Polling Station. If that happens, every Polling Station will have two parts of two books each at the beginning and end of a series which can cause confusion and lead to errors at issues. Hence the issues are always in complete books.
3. Unforeseen situations like the experience of the Dulawa Polling Station in Matale District at the Provincial Councils Elections can also be met on the availability of such stocks.

This is a system that this Department had followed from its inception.

I will launch a mobile Presidential Service

— Premadasa

Mr. R. Premadasa, the UNP Presidential candidate speaking over the Rupavahini and the SLBC on Saturday said when he becomes the President he would visit every part of the country and not direct his activities entirely from Colombo. He said he would launch a Presidential service.

The following is the text of Mr. Premadasa's speech:

You are aware that I am the United National Party candidate for the forthcoming Presidential Election. I need your support. I want to ease your worries. I want to appease your hunger. To do this, I need your mandate. I am one of you. This is the first time I am asking for your mandate to administer this country. I hope you will give me your fullest support.

I was born and bred in an area where Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims and Burghers lived in friendship. Since my childhood I have enjoyed the association of virtuous members of the Maha Sangha and received the inspiration of the Buddha Dhamma. I received my education under Christian and Catholic clergy and at the feet of Buddhist, Hindu and Islam teachers. This

background provided me with a training for, and the habit of, looking at our people and the problems of our country with human compassion, free from any racial, religious, class or caste bias. As you know, it was our government that solved some time ago the language issue that had created serious differences of opinion since 1956. The citizenship issue is also now solved. You are also aware that those people who fished votes by stirring racial passions over these two issues are now publicly accepting the solutions found by us.

When providing employment, I will take into consideration the qualifications of applicants

and provide jobs on an ethnic ratio. I will also ensure that those already employed will continue in their positions. I am already taking action to get the participation of the people in each area in administering that area, and to devolve powers to the elected representatives of the people in the various Provinces. In granting land, priority will be given to the residents of the area.

When I become President I will visit every part of the country and not direct my activities entirely from Colombo. I will also launch a Presidential service. Some ministries will be located outside Colombo. No injustice will be caused to any citizen wherever he may live in Sri Lanka. As you know, it is difficult for a person to be fair and just to the minority. As I have earned the confidence of the majority, I can be just and fair by the minority. That is really the good fortune of the minority.

Those who swore to abolish Provincial Councils are now promising Regional Councils with more powers. This is like that promise of bringing rice from moon. These statements are only meant to win votes and not honest promises of ensuring justice. These are the same people who once clamoured for "Sinhala only" and created dissension among our people, and are today accepting the language policy adopted by us. The factual position first accepted by us is now being endorsed by them belatedly.

You will all remember that scarcities that prevailed in this country before 1977. There was no sugar for a cup of tea, flour for baking bread and even rice for a meal. Rice meals were prohibited on Tuesdays and Fridays. You will remember all these. Only two yards of kerosene-stinking cloth was issued for a whole year. We put an end to that miserable era of shortages and queues.

Today you can buy anywhere any amount of foodstuffs, clothes and other requirements. What they promised was two measures of rice free of charge. But, what happened? Even the single measure given was taken away. So, the people now know that the promise of the rice ration book does not mean promise of rice.

The masses know far better than us that if both halves of the coconut are given at -/35 cts. the local producer will get into difficulties. You know that by weakening the producer the cost of living cannot be brought down. It can be done only by strengthening the consumer. That is why we want to give Rs. 2500 per month to the 70 lakhs or more of the poor who subsist on food stamps. Of this sum Rs. 1458 is for consumption—that is, for food and drink etc. The remaining Rs. 1042 will be deposited in a bank to the credit of the family. This ensures that each family will get nutritious food, leading to good health and

immunity from disease. This would help save the vast amounts now being spent on health services.

At the same time, we will get the participation of the poor masses in production of food, clothes and other essential goods. Such production will bring down inflation, increase means of livelihood, increase jobs, increase the number of producers of food and other essential items.

As you know, the peasants of the Dry Zone—in such areas like Jaffna, Hambantota, Anuradhapura undergo immense difficulties in producing goods. Hereafter, we will be able to give them a better price for their produce. The consumer too will have money to pay for their produce.

This is not a dole that we will be giving. It is an investment on strengthening the people. So, the money saved by the poor family will add up to Rs. 25,000 in 24 months. It will be a capital for their own use. The family will rise from the ranks of the have nots to the ranks of the haves. This program will also serve to remove frustration. Thanks to the irrigation, power generation and the other development programs and the liberalizing of trade carried out by our Government during the past 11 years, we can now successfully implement this project.

D.P.A. MANIFESTO

Voting on December 19 more important than how you vote – Mrs. B

Following is the SLFP presidential candidate Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike's campaign address telecast over the Rupavahini:

Friends, on December 19th, you will have the right to elect a new president of Sri Lanka.

My first duty as the presidential candidate of the Democratic People's Alliance is to ask you, to urge you, to cast

your vote. Far more important than how you vote, is that you vote.

Make no mistake. This is your last chance, your very last chance to preserve democracy—to preserve what little is still

left of the vigorous democracy we once knew.

That democracy, the democracy of the past, the democracy of an educated people, was an example to the third world, an object of admiration by all nations. It was this democracy, not only our cultural heritage, which allowed us, all of us, to say with pride "We are Sri Lankans". We have now lost that right in the eyes of the world. We must recover that right by practising democracy, by proving that the spirit of democracy is still alive in the hearts of our people.

Today, we see the final flickering flame of democracy. If it goes out, we will be plunged into darkness, and the world will forget us.

Our democracy was built through the tireless efforts of dedicated patriotic Sri Lankans — D. S. Senanayake, S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Sir John Kotelawala, Dudley Senanayake, to name a few. It is they who left us this precious legacy.

That legacy is now the birthright of your children. If you fail to vote, you will rob them of their birthright. The generations to come will never forgive you.

Today, gun-law has replaced law and order. You and I, have no guns. Everybody else has. But your ballot is a more powerful weapon. You must have the courage to use it, and use it wisely. If threats, coercion or the climate of fear, keeps you away from the polling booth, on this the last chance to save democracy, you may have to live under the gun, all your life — live with your guilt of betraying your children and the future generations.

So, my first duty, is to appeal to you to get up early on December 19th, join other adult members of your family, perhaps your neighbours, and walk boldly in the nearest polling booth and cast your vote.

I would also like to address myself to a group of Sri Lankans who have a special responsibility... the public servants, who are the backbone of the country.

I know that you have many grievances. Political harassment and political interference is the order of the day. Promotions and privileges for the favoured, victimisation and denial of equal and fair treatment for the others.

December 19th is a historic day for you.

From the Election Commission downwards, from the IGP downwards, the people are watching you.

They expect you to act strictly according to the law. The public service and the forces must guarantee a free and fair election. Show courage. The future of the country is in your hands.

My second task tonight is to share some thoughts on election issues, and persuade you to vote for me, and the alliance.

What is the basic issue before you?

This government has been in office for eleven years — Yes, eleven years... the longest ever... a parliamentary record.

Now, it is asking you for another six years... in short, for seventeen years. Do they deserve this? What is the fairest way of answering this question? The fairest way is to let the record speak for itself.

But before that, one other matter. No MP, no district minister, no deputy minister, no minister, no prime minister can say "I am not responsible..." or "I had no power..." having shared power for eleven years, and enjoyed all its comforts... its many, many comforts... no member of the government can use that excuse. The first quality of leadership is responsibility. And, there is such a thing as "collective responsibility". The first quality of a democratic leader is to be answerable to the people. Those

who deny responsibility or refuse to be accountable to the people are not fit to lead.

Let us then look at their record. Let us start from this very day — at the end of eleven-and-a-half years. Soon, on this television screen, you will see the news, and then a report on the "security situation" and after that curfew hours.

In the north and east, there is a foreign army bigger than our own army. Indian troops are killing Tamil 'Tigers', Tamil 'Tigers' are killing Tamils, Sinhalese and Muslims. In the south, the newspapers say there are 'tigers' of other colours while the government says that Sinhalese 'subversives' and 'terrorists' are killing Sinhalese.

Those who promised you a 'free and just society', a dharmic society, have converted Sri Lanka, the dhammadeepra, into the killing fields of South Asia.

Friends, my government left you a sovereign, independent Sri Lanka. We left you a peaceful island, at peace with its neighbours. We left a Sri Lanka respected in the world, with all nations, big or small, our friends, and none an enemy. We left the people of this country a vibrant democracy, a democracy, so powerful that it reduced the ruling party, my party to eight seats!

You will soon see the "curfew hours" on this screen — north, south, east and west... curfew.

And in different parts of the island, for days and weeks, no water, no electricity, no transport, no food, no shops, banks or post offices open, hospitals hardly working. And for months and months, all universities closed. All schools shut, all examinations postponed. Your parents know what that means.

Tell me, friends, do you even the oldest among you, recall any period in our island's history, where our people have known such hardships and suffering, such senseless violence and brutality?

Yet, they ask you for six more years to govern this country! The question you must surely ask them is: "Do you call this a government?"

If you listen to their speeches or read their statements in the press, what do they say on all the important issues — the India-Sri Lanka accord and the IPKF, on the dissolution of parliament, on violence, on the JVP. Each leader says the exact opposite of his fellow leader. They may be a party. But are they united? And they ask, dare to ask you, the right to govern you for seventeen years!

The other day, after I had finished addressing an election rally, a woman with tears in her eyes, came up to me. She begged me to find her son a Middle-East job. He had passed his 'A' levels, but for 3 years he could not get a place in any university.

Looking for a job he had gone from person to person. Various politicians' clerks had given him

'chits'. Today this young man, who had worked so hard to keep this government in power, has many chits in his possession, but no job. His father, who is the only breadwinner in the family, has lost both his legs... in a bomb blast in a CTB bus.

She told me, "sometimes I think our family has been cursed".

Trying to console her, I asked whether she knew of any family that had not suffered some tragedy in these terrible times. She was silent.

My friends, a nation is also a family — a family of communities, each with its own personality, but all members of one united family.

Today, Sri Lanka is a family torn apart... a nation, bitterly divided.

Friends, sudden, senseless, brutal violence is not unknown to me. Thirty years ago, the Prime

Minister of this country, the leader who had ushered the era of the common man through the power of the ballot, was struck down by a murderer's bullet in his own house. That was my home too.

Then I faced the most agonising crisis of my life. Should I do my duty as a mother and look after three young, fatherless children?

Or, should I strive to keep alive my husband's ideals and serve the people?

I know I made the correct choice. It is that knowledge that give me strength.

Now, it is the Sri Lankan family, struck by tragedy, that looks lost and leaderless.

Once more, I know where my duty lies.

But this time, I need your support, and your blessings. Thank you.

In Vijaya's Name

We are undoubtedly capable of extricating the country from its present degrading plight. Also our parties are in a solid position to obtain the necessary foreign co-operation needed to achieve this objective. The militant organizations in the North have agreed to compromise with us to work in amity as in the past and march forward, towards a glorified national re-awakening. India and other socialist countries have placed their full confidence in our capabilities.

Our beloved leader VIJAYA KUMARATUNGE was assassinated solely, because, he was the pioneer, in building up this confidence. If he is alive today; it is an undoubted fact to which all his friends and foes will agree that the entire country would have rallied under his leadership in his unflinching endeavour in retrieving this

country out of the present predicament. Imperialist fascist terrorists; may have rejoiced over his death under the misconception that everything has ended with that tragedy. We, although flabbergasted over his death, did courageously hoist the flag fallen from him, with both our hands. So we have brought forth another valiant young man to substitute Vijaya.

OSSIE; who re-affirmed and upheld Vijaya's political ideology, as honest and brave as Vijaya is none but his political shadow and bosom friend.

He does not make false utterances of instant changes of the existing economic structure. He also rejects in toto, begging votes on the pretext of extreme racism.

OSSIE incessantly waged war against the erosion of culture

and civilization, against corruption, drugs, terror and persecution.

A change, genuine and real, is paramount to restore peace, to send back the Indian forces, to disarm the militants and ultimately to build up a solid and strong economy. No fairy tales crouched with falls promises in OSSIE's manifesto. If the 11 year reign of the U.N.P. and that of the S.L.F.P. had been on the right path, today this island would not have been inundated with blood as it really is.

On numerous occasions OSSIE being the one, who stood for "the genuine change" was also the target of bullets and bombs.

On the other hand his political opponents are engaged in disseminating made up tales to belittle him to the effect that he is inexperienced as he is

young. He marched shoulder to shoulder with Vijaya in the Presidential Election campaign of 1982, for Mr. Kobbeekaduwa and ended up in jail over the issue of rice-ration books. He accompanied Vijaya to Jaffna and India in quest of a solution for the cataclystic ethnic violence which shook the country.

OSSIE who is undoubtedly considered as one of the brilliant orators of this country, is a genuine leader capable of taking a proper perspective leading to a solution to the problems of racism, youth unrest and to that of the staggering economy. Imperialists, fascists, quite aware of his political experience and foresight are afraid to face him.

So they are in quandry, panic stricken make him the target over and over again. To change the present devastating structure.

Elect OSSIE for the Presidency. It is the name of the Nation the Religion that we remind you that the occasion for it will dawn on December 19th.

(S.L.M.P. Notice)

Resolution of the ethnic conflict

The Resolution of the Ethnic problem Unit of Devolution

- a) The concept of Devolution is accepted for Sri Lanka.
- b) There shall be a predominantly Tamil unit comprising of what is the combined Northern and Eastern Provinces but excluding the area covered by the predominantly Muslim unit.
- c) There shall be a predominantly Muslim unit comprising the predominantly Muslim areas in the Amparai District as the base and identified predominantly Muslim areas in the Batticaloa and Trincomalee Districts.
- d) The rights of all persons in each unit shall be on the basis of absolute equality.

Devolution of Power

- a) All state powers, legislative, executive and judicial, except those reserved to the centre, shall be devolved to democratically elected bodies called regions. Parliament shall, however, be able to override legislation of the regions by 2/3 majority of its whole membership.
- b) The subjects reserved to the centre shall be those subjects that are essential to ensure the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and the unity of Sri Lanka. They are:
 - (i) Defence — Army, Navy, Air Force and Police.
 - (ii) Foreign — Foreign Policy, Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade.
 - (iii) Transport — airways and airports, shipping and harbours railways water ways, highways.
 - (iv) Money — monetary policy, fiscal policy, consolidated fund, currency, customs.
 - (v) Communications — post and telecommunications, radio, television.

- (vi) Electricity
- (vii) The Supreme Court to be seized with
 - a) Constitutional matters
 - b) centre-region relations
 - c) where one of the parties is a government department or corporation.
 The Court of Appeal
- (viii) Emigration and citizenship
- (ix) Elections
- (x) Natural Resources
- (xi) National Education
- (xii) National Health
- (xiii) National Planning
- (xiv) The Sea
- (xv) Archaeological Sites.

Land

- (i) There shall be an immediate freeze on all ongoing colonisation until an acceptable principle of land allocations is put into effect.
- (ii) There shall be no state aided colonisation in such a way as to change the demographic complexion of any area.
- (iii) Where demographic imbalances have been created through schemes of land settlement since 1971, priority in future land allocations in those areas will be given to correcting such imbalances and restoring the status quo ante with regard to the demographic proportions of those areas.
- (iv) State land available for allocation will be made available to the landless of the area.
- (v) Areas from where people have been forced out of lands they have habitually inhabited (including refugees) shall be identified and such inhabitants shall be rehabilitated in those areas completely.

- (vi) All persons shall be free to purchase land, live and carry on their livelihood in any area of this country.
- (vii) A Land Commission reflecting the ethnic groups will decide on land policy and land alienation on the basis of the foregoing principles.

Citizenship

- (i) Existing legislation shall be the basis for citizenship. There shall be an immediate implementation of Acts of Parliament relevant to citizenship.
- (ii) All disabilities that exist in Law for citizens of Sri Lanka by registration shall be removed.

Law and Order

- (i) The police force in any area shall reflect the ethnic composition of the area and shall be responsible to the Chief Executive of the region.
- (ii) The Armed Forces of the country shall be enlisted strictly on the basis of ethnic proportions.
- (iii) Recruitment to the Armed Forces shall take place immediately so as to bring them to reflect the percentage of the ethnic composition of the country.

Language

- (i) Sinhala and Tamil shall be the official languages.
- (ii) English shall be national language.

Finance

The regions shall have power to obtain finances with the approval of the centre.

Representation

The distribution of Parliamentary seats shall reflect the ethnic composition of the country. The electoral system shall be reviewed to ensure this.

Constitution

The provisions under the various headings above shall be enshrined and entrenched in the Constitution and shall not be changed except with the approval of the legislatures of all Regions.

Employment

In the case of employment in the state sector, corporations and other semi-government institutions priority shall be given to the people of the area on a basis of competence. In relation to determining competence consideration shall be given to the educational facilities available in the relevant areas.

Time Frame

The above provisions shall be implemented or undertaken towards such implementation within six months.

Negotiations

Any ethnic problem which may arise hereafter shall be resolved forthwith by means of direct dialogue amongst the representatives of the ethnic groups and steps shall be taken forthwith to implement such consensus as may emerge from the said dialogue.

SLFP attempting to resurrect B-C pact – *Gamini*

The election manifesto issued by the Five-Party Alliance, headed by Mrs. Bandaranaike, is an insult to the intelligence of our people. The manifesto aims at deceiving people in the North, South, East and West, and by presenting this document to the people Mrs. Bandaranaike has proved that she is a symbol of political opportunism.

This was stated by the Minister of Lands, Land Development and Mahaweli Development Mr. Gamini Dissanayake addressing a presidential election campaign meeting at Geli Oya in the Udu Nuwara electorate on Friday.

The Minister explained that unlike the SLFP leadership,

the large mass of our voting public have a good memory. They well remember the Bandaranaike — Chelvanayakam Pact which was bitterly opposed by the Maha Sangha and all sections of the community. The late S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike abrogated this pact in the face of public protests. Now the inheritors of the Bandaranaike legacy are trying to re-introduce this pact in a devious manner.

Referring to the five party manifesto as a total sellout, Mr. Dissanayake pointed out that if Mrs. Bandaranaike is genuine about implementing the manifesto, then Sinhala people can no longer settle

down in the North and the East. The UNP on the other hand has made it very clear that the future settlement policy would be in accordance with the ethnic ratio and proportion. The Minister posed the question whether sections of the Maha Sangha, which bitterly opposed the Indo Lanka Accord, is prepared to accept Mrs. Bandaranaike's settlement policy.

The minister said that the SLFP manifesto reflects Mrs. Bandaranaike's greed for power and her willingness to sacrifice the interests of the majority community at the altar of political power. Betrayal is part and parcel of the make-up of the SLFP leadership, said Mr. Dissanayake.

The Anura-Kumar-Lalith-Tiger tangle — LTTE to support SLFP !

The LTTE has beamed a radio message calling on its cadres in the north and east to vote SLFP at the December 19 presidential election, according to a communication intercept made last morning, a senior governmental source said.

He said the message had also instructed LTTE to disrupt UNP meetings in the north.

Prime Minister R. Premadasa is due to begin his campaign in the north today. UNP officials said. Mrs. Bandaranaike too, is due in the north later this week, while Mr. Ossie Abeygoonasekera will be campaigning in the northern and eastern provinces until the campaign closes on Friday.

Security sources said there was a possibility of northern terrorists attempting to disrupt Mr. Abeygoonasekera's campaign too, in the north. He has twice escaped death when his meetings were attacked by subversives in Colombo.

On Friday, National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali told parliament that the Democratic People's Alliance (DPA) had talks early last week with the LTTE. In a statement released on Saturday, Messrs. Anura Bandaranaike and Kumar Ponnambalam confirmed this meeting, but contradicted some of the points made by the minister. (see report on this page)

Political observers noted that the LTTE, which declined to participate in the temporarily merged North-East Provincial Council Election, had made every effort to disrupt the poll in the eastern districts where the election was contested.

However, the IPKF was able to secure the election and ensure

that it was completed with a surprisingly high voter turnout in some areas, in the face of LTTE efforts to make voters keep away from the poll.

Part of the LTTE strategy then was to coerce public officials not to perform election duties and this led to the department flying officials from elsewhere to the two provinces, both for the nominations as well as the election itself.

"If the LTTE is supporting the SLFP, or anybody in the else, on December 19th, then there will be no attempt to prevent public servants from doing election duty in the north and the east," a governmental source said yesterday.

Elections Commissioner Chandranda de Silva said public servants are preparing to perform their election duties not only in the north and the east but in other parts of the country too.

Lalith on DPA — LTTE talks

Leaders of the Democratic People's Alliance (DPA) including Messrs. Anura Bandaranaike, and Kumar Ponnambalam had a meeting with the LTTE in the Vavuniya district, on December 6th, National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali told parliament.

The minister, who was speaking on the debate on the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution, said that according to intelligence reports, the LTTE had been represented at

this meeting by its deputy leader Mahendrarajah alias Mahattaya.

He said Tamil Congress leader, Kumar Ponnambalam, had arranged the meeting.

Mr. Athulathmudali said the DPA had told the LTTE that they were prepared to concede more than had been granted under the Indo-Lanka Accord—but had been unable to secure LTTE support for the DPA candidate at the Presidential

election because the Tigers were demanding a separate state.

He said discussions were continuing and, the DPA was still trying to persuade the LTTE to support its candidate.

The DPA had told the LTTE that the DPA was better prospect than the UNP.

Mr. Athulathmudali, who said that was all he knew for the moment, added that he would let the public know whatever information he had on this matter.

Anura-Kumar reply to Lalith

In a joint statement issued by Messrs. Anura Bandaranaike, Vice President of SLFP and Leader of Opposition and Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam,

General Secretary of the Tamil Congress said that while it was correct that some representatives of the Democratic People's Alliance (DPA) and representatives

of the LTTE met deep in the jungles of Vavuniya on December 6, the rest of National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali's report to Parliament on the matter was not correct.

The statement said:

Mr. Dinesh Goonewardene was not a party to this meeting. The meeting was not at Cheddikulam. There was no deputy leader of the LTTE or anyone called Jothi, present.

Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam did not arrange this meeting through Dr. A. S. Balasingham, who has not been in London, for over a month now.

The defunct Accord not the permanent merger of the North and East was discussed at that meeting. No talk of a separate state came up for discussion.

The LTTE was in possession of the DPA manifesto well before this meeting. The manifesto was prepared with a view to ensuring permanent peace in the North and East if Mrs.

Bandaranaike was elected as President. Permanent peace in the North and East could be achieved only with the participation of the LTTE and other groups. The manifesto is presented as an alternative to a separate state demand. The manifesto is now before all the people of this country and is not a secret document that the Accord was till 29th of July 1987. That is why even Athulathmudali ran away from the accord.

The statement said that the DPA was a better prospect than the UNP and that was appreciated by the mere presence of a person who had a better understanding of the situation than Mr. Athulathmudali. If this is all the information Athulathmudali can give the people of this

country from the intelligence information of this Government and if even this intelligence information can be so palpably false, then we call for the immediate resignation of Minister Athulathmudali, the statement said.

"We see nothing wrong in the people of this country talking to each other to sort out our own differences in this country without the interference of a third party. Minister Athulathmudali appreciates this point as he had agreed to meet the representatives of the LTTE with Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam in the jungles of the District of Mullaitivu after his return from India where he went with President Jayewardene and Minister Dissanayake earlier this year, the statement added.

Talks with candidates after oaths

N-E Chief Minister wins co-operation pledges

All three presidential candidates yesterday assured the North-East province chief Minister, Annamalai Varatharja Perumal, their co-operation if they win.

Mr. Perumal who took his oaths before President Jayewardene last morning, later called on the three candidates.

He told a crowded press conference: "I feel that I will have no problem from any of them. Actually they inspired me to run an efficient administration."

Wearing the national dress and exuding confidence. Mr. Perumal said he decided to call on the candidates because he has to work with one of them.

He said the meetings cleared a few vital matters: none of them planned to abrogate the Indo-Lanka Accord unilaterally; they are not going to dissolve the north-east provincial council and they are only thinking of the phased withdrawal of the

IPKF as and when the security situation in the province improves.

"I am indebted to Mr. Premadasa and Mrs. Bandaranaike for seeing me at short notice", the new chief minister said.

He said Mrs. Bandaranaike had said that she will not abrogate the Indo-Lanka Agreement unilaterally. She said that she will negotiate with India and work out a favourable solution. She also said that she was not thinking in terms of asking the IPKF to quit the day she assumes office but was thinking of working out a phased withdrawal within a definite time frame.

"In this we are not at variance with the presidential candidates. We also want the IPKF to go after strengthening our security. The question is how the IPKF should be sent and when", Mr. Perumal said.

Mrs. Bandaranaike has also told Mr. Perumal that the SLFP's formula for ethnic amity enun-

ciated in the DPA election manifesto could form the basis of negotiation for a durable solution.

Mr. Perumal met the Prime Minister at his office in parliament and Minister Gamini Dissanayake, S. Thondaman, K. W. Devanayagam, Ranil Wickremasinghe and UNP Chairman Ranjan Wijeratne were also present.

"Mr. Premadasa said that today (Thursday) is a historic day as the North-East PC has come into existence and the bill to make Tamil also an official language was passed", Mr. Perumal said.

He assured Mr. Perumal that he would give all co-operation for the North-East PC to function.

With the SLMP candidate, Mr. Ossie Abeygoonasekera, Mr. Perumal discussed arrangements for holding his meetings in the north and east and about providing security for his public meetings outside the north and east.

The EPRLF leader invited the LTTE for talks so that existing differences could be settled. He also said TULO would be soon in the provincial administration. He invited the TULF to join him to work in the administration.

He said another 400 youths

had been recruited for the citizens' volunteer force making the current total 1,200. They hoped to train about 6,000 and they would be later taken into the provincial police force.

North-East province Minister Dayan Jayatilaka, P. Kirubaka-

ran, and Abu Yusuf were associated with him at the press conference.

At the swearing ceremony at President's House the Governor, Lt. Gen. Nalin Senewiratne and leaders of the SLMP, CP, LSSP, and NSSP were present.

No involvement in peace talks claim by JVP

A statement issued by Upatissa Gamanayake of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) claimed that the Peramuna was in no way involved or connected with a discussion aimed at ushering in peace in the country as claimed by the media and reported to have been held between a three-member committee of the Maubima Surakeeme Viyaparnya, the President and several Government leaders.

The JVP also disowns any responsibility in regard to any decision or agreement arrived at in the course of such a discussion, if any.

The statement goes on to emphasise that if "real peace" was to be created in the country, the Jayewardene-Thondaman Government should implement all proposals put forward by the JVP. If as stated by the Ven. Muruttetuwe Ananda any responsible leader of the JVP took part in discussions with him he should reveal the name of such a leader.

Mr. Gamanayake also points out that the alleged agreements arrived at with Rev. Ananda are contrary to the stance of the

JVP. As such, while questioning the stand of Rev. Ananda, the statement also points out that the only person to advance similar ideas was Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, as far as the JVP was aware.

Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike's concern was not the sovereignty of the motherland or the survival of democracy. Her one objective was to pave the way for herself and her kith and kin to gain power, the statement further claims. Mrs. Bandaranaike who did not refer to general elections, discussed the topic with the President after handing over nominations solely to find ways of overcoming obstacles to her victory at the Presidential elections it said.

The statement claims, that the Maubima Surakeeme Viyaparnya and Rev. Ananda appear to have become stooges of Indian imperialism and are engaged in an exercise to instal Sirimavo Bandaranaike in power.

When a representative of the JVP went to see Rev. Ananda on the matter of enlisting the nurses' union in the strike he was holding discussions with

Indian envoy Dixit. This alone the statement claims goes to lend credence to his pro-Indian attitude.

Although Counsel, Priya Gunasekera functioned in the capacity of legal advisor to the JVP on several occasions even he had not been delegated the authority to act for the Peramuna the statement claims further.

For the conduct of fair elections the statement stresses the following steps as proposed by the JVP should be implemented

- * Cancellation of Presidential nominations.
- * Dissolution of Parliament, Provincial Councils and local bodies.
- * Creation of an atmosphere where the JVP could participate in elections.
- * Sending back foreign armies.
- * Cessation of onslaughts on deshpremis and disbanding of the attacking forces.
- * Sending back the Indian, international spies AND
- * Abrogating the Indo-Lanka Accord.

AI expresses concern

Amnesty International has appealed to President Jayewardene, National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali, the IGP, Mr. Ernest Perera and the Army Commander expressing concern about the promulgation of Emergency Regulations under which the police can bury or cremate

dead bodies without an inquest.

"The powers given to the police are similar to those given by the previous government after an armed insurrection in 1971 and by the present government facing a secessionist movement in 1983", it said in a statement released to the media.

Expressing 'deep concern' about the reintroduction of these regulations, AI has said that they could 'encourage arbitrary killings by the security forces by facilitating a cover-up of such killings.'

"As such it gives the impression that the government condones such killings" it added.

(Continued on page 28)

The new element

The eleven year rule of the UNP has brought our country as near chaos as makes little difference. It is the very nature of the rule of the UNP that we have experienced in these years, which has brought about the chaos. The present disastrous outcome of that rule is neither an accident nor the consequence of some external cause of which it was impossible for the government to take account. It is the logical outcome, however unanticipated, of the policies followed by the UNP during these eleven years.

However there are new elements which have come to prominence in the political scene which are so deleterious in themselves that have given a certain desperateness to the prevailing situation. There is one major element in particular which has never before had the decisive character it now seems to have in our politics. That element is the systematic terrorist use in politics of the assassin's gun.

This particular phenomenon has become a menace not only to any kind of democratic politics but also to the effective functioning of society and its essential services. It has already brought society to near-breakdown. Indeed society stands threatened with complete breakdown, with all the additional terrors and horrors which a breakdown of society must necessarily hold in store for the people of a country.

The threat of society's breakdown takes us beyond the most extended boundaries of even what is usually called crisis-politics. This is no mere political crisis. It is a social crisis including, of course, the political aspect as still its major element.

As for the political crisis, it manifestly involves much more than the major political parties would seem to contemplate. Their politics still moves, in the main, within the framework

of the elections question. However it should not be difficult for even these politicians to comprehend that what is in issue is not merely the likely outcome of the Presidential Elections and the possibility of compelling a General Election.

Even insofar as current politics is concerned what is at its centre is not the question of the Presidential Election. What is at the centre is the political question of terrorism and the use of the assassin's gun as a political weapon.

It must be clearly grasped that the aim of the assassin is not merely his victim. The aim of the new use of assassination as a political weapon is first and foremost the systematic terrorisation of the people into submission to the terrorists' organization and its demands and politics.

The consequence of it all is that politics itself goes on amidst a thoroughly terrorised population.

Consolidate Democratic Forces

In an obvious answer to the growing clamour for dissolving Parliament and forming an all-party interim administration, the Minister of National Security Lalith Athulathmudali had said in Parliament that the Government was ready for this even at this stage if the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna gave up violence and entered the mainstream of national politics. He has added that if all parties did not join, there could be nothing interim in such a form of government.

On the Minister's own argument, the JVP is the only obstacle for forming an interim government which would conduct the presidential election. However the Minister should know by now that the JVP has placed itself outside the pale of conventional parliamentary politics. After the proscription on it was

lifted in 1977 the JVP did come into the open. Its leader Rohana Wijeweera held a celebrated impromptu press conference at the CMU headquarters. The party staged massive May Day shows. It contested local government and Development Council elections and its leader even ran for the highest office in the land at the country's first ever presidential election.

If at this stage the JVP has placed itself outside the pale of conventional politics, the reason is that the JVP was proscribed in July 1983 by the Government.

But the very fact that the JVP has not made use of this opportunity demonstrates conclusively that it is not interested in practising conventional party politics.

(Continued on page 28)

Dirty politics

It is no secret that the root of the evil that has enveloped the nation and its peoples today is the ugly Ethnic Factor.

The current battle for the Presidency is evidently fought mainly over the ongoing disputes linked to the Indo-Lankan Accord and the deployment of Indian troops in the country. The rest of the campaign issues are dwarfed by this major political irritant.

The JVP and the DJV who are waging an anti-election offensive resorting to violent reprisals, have used the Accord as the prime target of their dissent.

The elections are in jeopardy.

Sri Lanka and its peoples who have upheld and cherished democracy for several decades and elected their governments

(Continued on page 28)

Gorbachev allays unspoken Indian fears

K. K. Sharma

During his three-day visit to India, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet President, went out of his way twice to dismiss what he called "speculative assertions" about his country's "special relationship" with India and firmly maintained there was no truth to the comment that Indo-Soviet relations had cooled.

This puzzled most Indians who have not heard of such speculation. But misgivings about a possible dilution in the "special relationship" have been expressed behind the scenes since Mr Gorbachev intimated his glasnost and perestroika reforms and it was these private fears that he was publicly dispelling. They relate mainly to trade and defence, the two areas that matter most to India.

How far these have been removed is still unknown since not much has been revealed about what happened in nearly eight hours of face-to-face talks that Mr Gorbachev held with Mr Rajiv Gandhi, India's Prime Minister.

China is one subject that is certain to have been discussed in detail because of the impending visits to that country by both leaders. However, no mention of China is to be found in the joint statement issued by both leaders at the end of the Soviet leader's visit.

Another subject not mentioned was Indian unease over the importance Mr Gorbachev is accorded East Asian countries such as Japan and Korea as well as the links he is seeking with Pakistan — despite the Afghanisthan conflict — as part of his proclaimed policy of being friends with all.

There are practical reasons for this. The Soviet Union is now more choosy about the quality of consumer goods it imports and some orders — of ready-made garments for instance — have been shifted from India to China and Pakistan. More important, Indian companies so far do not figure

in plans to develop Siberia. This was a subject raised during the Delhi summit but finds no mention in plans to enlarge Indo-Soviet economic relations.

Of equal importance is the fact that Moscow is now insisting on higher prices and harder terms for supplying its products because perestroika requires each plane to show a profit. This principle is also being applied to defence supplies which India has got used to receiving at throw-away prices.

The Soviet Union used to supply defence equipment on credits with 2.5 per cent interest and repayments spread over 15 years with a two-year grace period. It is now insisting on repayments in 10 years. Terms are also being stiffened for exports at a time when India faces a serious foreign exchange crunch.

All this really boils down to the question: where does India stand in relation to the structural and policy changes being made in the Soviet Union? Both in public and in private meetings with Mr Gandhi, Mr Gorbachev insisted that nothing had changed and the fraternal relations between the two countries could only be strengthened. Indeed, Mr Gorbachev's second visit is being interpreted as a visit to reassure the Indians.

In concrete terms, this was not difficult to show. The Roubles 3.2bn (£3bn) new credits for nuclear power stations and Soviet-aided thermal and hydro projects and other agreements signed during the visit come on top of a trade protocol for 1989 signed last week providing for an expansion of 35 per cent in mutual trade volumes. Equally important is the decision to "Intermesh" the two countries' next five-year plans to provide for each other's needs.

But it is what transpired at the private meetings between the two leaders that really counts.

Little is known about this yet but their public utterances suggest that they are keen to provide the political push that is needed to make the Indo-Soviet "special relationship" meaningful.

This could lead to some big concessions for India. For instance, under perestroika all Soviet organisations must insist on what is known as "unit-co-unit balancing", which means they must arrange for contracts to export goods of the same value they import. The Indians have said this is impeding growth of trade and so an overall balanced trade, rather than unit-level balance, should be agreed to.

If Mr Gorbachev goes along with this, it will be a significant pointer to the direction Indo-Soviet relations will take. He can also provide for a faster pace of approval of contracts that Indian businessmen are seeking in the Soviet Union (so far 55 joint ventures have been proposed but only three approved because of bureaucratic hurdles).

Mr Gorbachev is reported to have given assurances on Soviet defence supplies, on which India is heavily dependent, including sales of the latest in MIG aircraft and Soviet submarines and tanks which are the mainstay of the Indian armed forces.

Yet the big test of the durability of Indo-Soviet relations could come within the next two months when Mr Gandhi is scheduled to visit Peking. This will be followed up by a Sino-Soviet summit early next year.

Both countries are trying to build bridges with China and there could be some conflict of interest in doing so. Mr Gandhi has been given a detailed briefing on glasnost and perestroika but it is how these affect India's vital political and economic interests that will determine the country's future relations with the Soviet Union.

Indo - Pak

Help remove irritants, Rajiv tells Benazir

NEW DELHI

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, today called for friendship between India and Pakistan to inure both "against the baleful consequences of outside interference."

"We are confident that together we can make our shared subcontinent safe for us to work out our respective national destinies, in keeping with our national aspirations and the fundamental principles and ethical values from which each of us draws our moral sustenance," he said in a personal letter to Ms. Benazir Bhutto on her taking over as Prime Minister of Pakistan today. The letter was handed over to Ms Bhutto by the Indian Ambassador, Mr. S. K. Singh, in Islamabad.

"You and I are both children of an era which followed the creation of Pakistan," Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said. And, India had always valued its relations with Pakistan. "Our people share a strong bond of friendship. Affinities of history, culture, language and religion bind us together. It is important that we build a relationship between

our Governments which is commensurate with the affection which our peoples have for each other."

In this context, he referred to the Shimla Agreement, "signed by your father and my mother which provides the basis for our building together a relationship of mutual trust and friendship, which promotes peace and coop-

eration between our countries, in our time and for generations to come.

Vital element

India regarded the unity and integrity of Pakistan as a vital element for stability and progress in South Asia, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said. "We trust you reciprocate this sentiment in regard to the unity and integrity of India."

The Prime Minister looked forward to working with Ms Bhutto in every possible way to ensure that the people of India and Pakistan "live together, strive together build together to ensure peace, prosperity, and a great and glorious future for both our countries." He would like to see them setting an example of peaceful coexistence and friendly cooperation to the world.

Warmly Welcomed

The news of her assumption of office as Prime Minister had been warmly and widely welcomed throughout India. "The people of India join me in sending you our sincerest felicitations."

'Looking forward to meet Rajiv'

ISLAMABAD

Pakistan's new Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto, is looking forward to meeting her Indian counterpart, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi during the SAARC summit here this month-end.

"I hope we can work to defuse tension in the region," she told newsmen in a brief chat after being sworn in as Premier today. "I look forward to meeting Mr. Gandhi and hope the meeting will produce some results." — PTI

Benazir for Simla pact

ISLAMABAD

Pakistan's new Prime Minister, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, rejected the idea of a no-war pact with India and said she gave more importance to the Shimla agreement to resolve outstanding issues, including the Kashmir problem.

Specifically asked whether she would raise the Kashmir issue at the United Nations, Ms. Bhutto said "We believe in the Shimla agreement."

Ms. Bhutto said her father, the late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, had strongly opposed the idea of a no-war pact with India in the 1960s.

"We don't believe in a no-war pact, we believe in the Shimla agreement between two democratic governments (in 1972)" she observed.

Ms. Bhutto stressed that the Shimla pact brought the longest ever peace on the subcontinent. The fact that no war had taken place between India and Pakistan since 1972 was the greatest contribution of the agreement signed by Bhutto and the late Indra Gandhi.

The no-war pact offer to India was made by Gen. Zia-ul-Haq in 1981 and the issue was hanging fire since then despite numerous

rounds of official-level talks between the two countries.

Talking in detail about the Shimla agreement, she said it envisaged a step by step approach in resolving outstanding problems. Each positive step led to building of confidence and trust between the two neighbours.

Ms. Bhutto said she was looking forward to a meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi during the SAARC summit to be held here from December 29 and expressed the hope that their first meeting would help defuse tension in the relations between the two countries.

Bangladesh

Ershad tough on separatists

Haroon Habib

DHAKA

The Ershad Government has apparently taken a tough stand about the reported activities of the protagonists of "Swadhin Bangabhumii," the idea of a separate homeland for those who crossed over to West Bengal during the 1947 partition. Over 100 activists of the organisation have been arrested (briefly reported yesterday).

The demand for an independent country comprising several districts of Bangladesh was made known recently through wall writings and posters in different parts of the country. Unidentified persons have reportedly distributed posters urging the people to "eliminate" the anti-liberation Jamaat-e-Islami and Shibir gang (students front of the Jamaat-e-Islami).

The daily New Nation reported that the posters and leaflets were printed under the banner of the "Swadhin Bangabhumii Biplabi Parishad" and scattered in the border belts of Khulna and Jessore, probably originating from Calcutta. The latest arrests follow an increase in their activities, the newspaper quoted police as saying.

Among those arrested include leaders and workers of the Opposition Awami League and National Awami Party (NAP). It is alleged that the propaganda for "Swadhin Bangabhumii" was being carried out under leadership of Mr. Kader Siddique, a valiant freedom-fighter of the Bangladesh liberation war, who is in exile in India since the bloody political changeover of 1975. But the

Chairman of "Kader Siddique Repatriation Committee," Begum Nasrin Kader recently issued a strong statement condemning "vested quarters" for maligning her husband.

The Awami League Organising Secretary, Mr. Tafil Ahmed, has also issued a statement saying the propaganda against the League and Mr. Kader Siddique was aimed at tarnishing their image and diverting the real issue. There has been no direct allegation against Mr. Siddique from Government quarters so far. But the Jamaat-e-Islami and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) led by Begum Khaleda Zia, have recently urged the people to keep vigil about the activities of a separatist land in the border districts.

Tamil Nadu poll prospects

A Preliminary assessment of the electoral prospects in Tamil Nadu, which is expected to go to the polls next month, was made by key leaders of the National Front here.

A beaming Mr. N.T. Rama Rao, chairman of the National Front and Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, predicted that the DMK, a constituent of the Front, would emerge victorious and provide the lead in the formation of National Front Ministries in different States.

The question of seat adjustments among Front constituents and their allies in Tamil Nadu would be decided by the DMK, he said. The Front has decided that seat adjustments would be worked out by the leading constituent in each State. The National Front

leaders would visit Tamil Nadu to extend their help to the DMK, Mr. Rama Rao said.

The only other National Front constituent which is taking part in the Tamil Nadu elections is the Janata Party.

There is no unanimity in the Janata Party however on the question of seat adjustments with the DMK. A majority led by Mr. Era Sezilian is known to be in favour of cooperation and adjustment with the leftist parties but, not with the DMK.

The Congress(I) President, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, appointed a nine-member Pradesh Election Committee for Tamil Nadu headed by the PCC(I) President, Mr. G. K. Moopanar.

No early...

(Continued from page 5)

The leftwing People's Liberation Front, most of whose members are from the island's Sinhalese majority, has vowed to disrupt the voting and has described the accord as a sellout to India and the Tamils.

Dixit said India would be extremely reluctant to extend the role of its troops to deal with the Front, but did not rule out the possibility.

"We would not like to get involved in this", he said, "So far we have not planned anything of this kind."

Asked if he saw any possibility of a satisfactory compromise between the LTTE and the Front, Dixit said: "I do not think their leaderships will ever be happy — their positions are so extreme."

A thaw that will affect power balance

Batuk Gathani

LONDON

The visit of the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Qulan-Qi-Chen to Moscow must be seen against the background of moves for Sino-Soviet detente. His meeting with his Soviet counterpart, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, marked the first high-level contact between the communist giants in 30 years.

The current talks are expected to focus on the last remaining obstacles to a summit between the Soviet President, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev and the Chinese leader, Mr. Deng Xiaoping proposed in Beijing in May next year. The ground work has been laid already, so the Foreign Ministers are expected to work on the agenda for the summit, the dates for which may be finalised when Mr. Shevardnadze goes to Beijing in January.

The new relationship between the two communist powers will have the greatest impact on the strategic balance of power particularly in the Euro-Asian region. The current visit also has a significant importance for India with the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, visiting China this month. The proposed Gandhi-Deng summit has aroused considerable interest in the major European capitals. The new phase of Sino-Indian relations will give fresh clues to the latest Chinese thinking and perceptions on the South Asian region, in the background of closer Indo-Soviet ties.

More flexibility

Since the advent of Mr. Gorbachev on the Soviet scene, Kremlin has shown more flexibility on major issues with China. Since the Sino-Soviet split in the early sixties, Kremlin's deteriorating relationship with China has often been described as the single greatest setback of the Soviet foreign policy since 1945. The current Sino-Soviet thaw thus highlights the single greatest improvement in Soviet strategic position in four-and-half decades.

Ideologically, the two communist powers are now in more harmony than at any time since the early fifties. The Soviet Union and

China are currently pursuing domestic consumer-oriented reforms with a newly-found quest to dramatically improve the standard of living and the quality of life for the masses. There is determination to develop a new non-Stalinist, and more pragmatic version of socialism.

The Soviet and Chinese communist parties may also have a direct dialogue in the near future depending on the outcome of the Gorbachev-Deng summit. Both powers agree that drastic improvement in economy is indispensable for their long-term survival as socialist States.

Positive responses

It is noted that Mr. Gorbachev has accepted the Chinese position on a border dispute and has given positive responses to Beijing's version of the three 'obstacles' to normalising bilateral ties. The issues relate to the massive Soviet troops deployment along the 7,500 km long common border. Kremlin's support for the Vietnamese military presence in Kampuchea and the Afghan problem.

In recent weeks some Soviet troops have been withdrawn from along the Chinese border and military exercises in the area have been reduced. The Soviet troops are also being withdrawn from Afghanistan under a phased and agreed programme. The Soviet Union has also urged Vietnam to come to terms with the realities of the domestic political conflict in Kampuchea and negotiate a full withdrawal of troops.

The Soviets are also seen negotiating with China directly on the Kampuchean crises. This has been unprecedented so far. China's preferred solution for the pro-Vietnam government, to be replaced by a four-party coalition led by Prime Nordom Sihanouk, the former head of the Cambodian State.

China is also seen mending its diplomatic fences with Vietnam. Observers report that a few favourable news items have already started appearing on the Chinese Television. China wants a nine-month, phased withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Kampu-

chean Vietnam has not publicly agreed to these proposals, but the Chinese feel that the Soviet Union is genuinely trying to persuade Vietnam.

Significant improvement

On the economic front there is significant improvement in the Sino-Soviet trade, which is hovering around the \$3,000 millions mark. The Soviet Union is China's fifth largest trading partner today, and both countries have agreed to jointly exploit water resources of the Amur and Argun rivers. Joint Sino-Soviet ventures have been proposed for building six hydro-electric plants along the Amur and in the Soviet Far East. China may also be invited to participate in new industrial plants.

Amid the reality of a purposeful Sino-Soviet thaw, it is also suggested that both communist powers will move cautiously without endangering their independent relations with major western powers. It will be a pragmatic relationship, and devoid of much trust or intimacy—at least at this stage. The relationship may continue to mature and consolidate itself in the nineties.

Major beneficiary

A great deal about Sino-Soviet ties will depend on the outcome of the current economic, social and political reforms being pursued in both countries. Western observers are also wondering about Japan being a major beneficiary of better Sino-Soviet relations in the Far East. Apart from helping to exploit the vast mineral and natural resources of the Soviet Far East, Japan may also opt for more intimate political and economic relations with its north-eastern neighbours.

With the world's third largest military budget, the Japanese economy is growing faster than that of all other great powers. Japan's perception of the Sino-Soviet thaw could have a significant effect on the politics of the Far East regions. Japan is already a super-monetary power and history

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'Forward-looking' Beijing attitude to Rajiv's visit

K. K. Katyal

BEIJING

In what was the first authoritative, high-level enunciation of the official Beijing view on the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's visit here, the Chinese Vice-Premier, Mr. Wu Xueqian, today expressed confidence that next month's talks will enhance Sino-Indian understanding — on the basis of the improvement of relations in recent years.

During a 40-minute interview with the visiting Indian press team, the Vice-Premier also seemed to spell out the parameters of the dialogue, the first of its type after 34 years. "Of course, we cannot expect all problems to be settled" as a result of discussions during the visit, he hastened to add. This was an obvious reference to the boundary dispute which, to use the Vice-Premier's words, would require great efforts for a solution.

With Mr. Rajiv Gandhi due here in a little over a fortnight, Mr. Xueqian elaborated his earlier comment — made after the visit of the Indian officials, led by the Foreign Secretary, Mr. K. P. S. Menon, for preparatory talks — calling the forthcoming talks "historic" and "a great event in Sino-Indian relations." Certain things were bound to emerge out of it, he said.

Mentioning the Chinese Government's stand on the boundary issue, he said the problem was a leftover of history. Now that the people in the two countries were in power, it needed to be sorted out through mutual understanding and mutual accommodation through friendly discussions. This of course, was repetition of the known generality, stated every now and then in recent years.

Gentle and courteous

The bespectacled Chinese leader dealt with queries on the visit and related matters gently and cour-

teously. Not once did he raise his voice, and when he wanted to stress a point he merely stroked his fingers on the arm of his sofa. The interview was held in the elegant Zi Guan Ge, or "Light Violet Cabin" in that part of the Forbidden City, the former Imperial Palace, which now houses offices of the Government and the Chinese Communist Party.

It was in the same matter-of-fact style that he said that the Chinese side intended to adopt a forward-looking attitude in discussions with India.

It was in 1985 that the then Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Zhao Ziyang — at the time of the 40th anniversary of the U.N. in New York — invited Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to visit Beijing. "Now the visit will fructify. The Chinese Government is pleased and attaches great importance to it. Enrichment of understanding will be the basis of developing friendship. Continuing in the same tenor, he said China and India were two big countries, and it has been the Chinese policy to develop good neighbourly, friendly relations with India.

As for the agenda for the talks, he said it was for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and the Chinese Prime Minister and other leaders to decide how to go about the discussion, on ways to strengthen friendly relations between the countries. They could also take up international issues of common interest.

Common orientation

What are the chances of India and China having a common orientation on global issues, in particular those concerning South Asia? He had no doubt that the two sides would have common views on the importance of a lasting peaceful international environment so as to develop their economy. The discussions, he hinted, may cover "hot spots" in Asia and other continents and North-South questions — of economic disparities between the

industrialised and developing countries.

There was a trend towards relaxation in East-West relations but that did not mean that all the problems had been resolved, he said, implying that these issues could be taken up during Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's talks here.

"What was China's views of India's role in South Asia?" a questioner, asked drawing attention to the fact that, while both the U.S. and the Soviet Union had commended India's efforts in Sri Lanka. Beijing's stand was not known. Mr. Xueqian referred to the Chinese faith in the "Pancha Shila" and noted India's adherence to it in handling its relations appropriately with countries in South Asia.

Triangular Efforts

What is the course of the Sino-Soviet relations and what are the prospects of India, China and the Soviet Union playing a role in world affairs? If the questioner sought to draw the Vice-Premier out on the Chinese view of the possibility of joint, triangular efforts, there was no direct reply.

The Vice-Premier concluded the question-answer session with a general remark on the "independent foreign policy of China and long-term strategy for peace." On the basis of this objective, "we are ready to develop relations with others, including India and the Soviet Union."

A thaw that...

(Continued from page 20)

dictates that it also has a fascination for the vast mineral resources of the Euro Asian region.

The outcome of the Sino-Soviet Foreign Ministers talks will pave the way for the Gorbachev-Deng summit. What comes out of it all remains to be seen, but no one in Europe under-estimates the Sino-Soviet dialogue which commenced in Moscow.

Limited options open

Dilip Mukherjee

Despite the mixed outcome of the election for Pakistan's Provincial Assemblies, Benazir Bhutto's comfortable lead in the National Assembly over the rival Islamic alliance puts her in a position to make a strong claim to power. This is a turn of events that should be welcomed by India because a popular, broad-based, regime will have to give priority to the mounting problems at home.

Though Ms. Bhutto has in several encounters with the Indian and international media presented herself as a responsible leader interested in promoting stability in the region, this does not necessarily provide a reliable indication of the policies she will pursue. It is much better to go by the objective situation of the country to judge what kind of foreign policy she can afford.

As responsible Pakistanis freely acknowledge, the country is facing a severe resource crunch. This limits the elbow room in several directions, including the build-up of military capabilities. The compulsion to lower sights is evident from several recent decisions, notably for the purchase of 20-year-old British frigates instead of brand new ones for which a deal had almost been clinched several months earlier.

Ms. Bhutto is acutely aware of the financial squeeze. In an interview she gave to *The Muslim*, a Rawalpindi daily, in July, she expressed concern over the country's headlong slide into bankruptcy as a result of rising budgetary deficits and a corresponding increase in the burden of debt. Arguing that this could not go on, she pointed out that debt service was pre-empting about 90 percent of new borrowings.

GOVT SPENDING

Instead of decrying the situation, she may now be responsible for setting it right. Containing

government expenditures has long been recognised by Pakistani economic pundits as unavoidable. This is reflected in the recommendation made in the draft 7th Plan for an initial freeze on defence spending, and annual increases thereafter of 3 per cent in real terms against a growth of nearly 7 per cent in recent years. Gen. Zia-ul-Haq rejected this advice, as evident from the budget he promulgated after dismissing the Junejo Government in May.

Will Ms. Bhutto opt for a different course? She will be under great pressure to do so because of Pakistan's perilous foreign exchange situation which has obliged it to turn to the International Monetary Fund for a loan. If she continues the negotiations now under way, she will have to reckon with the usual IMF conditions, chief among them being cuts in internal and external deficits. This is what the World Bank too has been pressing for. In its latest report on the economy, the bank departs from its usual practice of avoiding sensitive political issues to point out that Pakistan is spending proportionately far more on defence than comparable countries.

Ms. Bhutto knows how important it is for her to retain the Bank's goodwill because of the weight its recommendations carry with aid-givers. With the inflow of workers' remittances falling, it is more remittances than ever to ensure a continuing access to aid.

CONSTRAINTS

Yet she cannot afford to do anything that will upset the military. The hardest part of her task is, therefore, to persuade Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg, the new Chief of Army Staff, to recognise the financial constraints the country has to live with.

In sum, she has to settle for a lower-cost foreign policy. An interview she gave to *Voice of America* last May should be seen as a recognition of this compulsion. Calling upon Indians and Pakistanis to make a choice in favour of peace and prosperity, she called for diverting resources from defence to development. Since India faces the same compulsion, New Delhi should make appropriate gestures to encourage her to live up to her professions.

New Delhi also needs to respond to the posture she is adopting on the nuclear issue. She is accusing Gen. Zia of having sabotaged the two-track programme initiated by her father — a public one for reprocessing plutonium and a clandestine one for uranium enrichment at the facility that has now come up at Kahuta.

In an interview she gave to *The Nation* of Lahore, she said that Gen. Zia's bragging had alerted the world to the potential of Kahuta. "They have barricaded the second route. So we cannot make the bomb and have it." From this she went on to make the policy recommendation against pursuing the Kahuta option.

As she put it, "It is a question of what you can have and what you cannot have something, you devise your policy accordingly. But when you can't have something and give the impression that you can have it, you invite nothing but trouble from all sides." It is noteworthy that she took the stand at a time when the nuclear programme was a very live issue because of the critical attention it was getting in the US Congress apropos of the administration's request for the approval of a second military package for Pakistan.

It is possible that Ms. Bhutto was advocating restraint to win points with the US policy-makers.

This is a likely hypothesis because she has worked hard for several years to assure the US that its interests will be just as safe in her hands as they were in Gen. Zia's. She did this to ensure that the considerable influence the US has in Pakistan was not used to tilt the balance against her in her fight with Gen. Zia.

It is obvious that no civilian Government in Pakistan can make a decision as important to Pakistan's security as that regarding the nuclear option without the military's concurrence. Both she and the military will have to weigh the financial implications because the budget cannot accommodate additional financial expenditures on this account. The military will have to decide whether it needs N-bombs badly enough to make do with less — perhaps much less — for conventional capabilities.

Many people both in India and Pakistan make the mistake of assuming that the bulk of the expenditure for a nuclear arsenal has already been made. The facilities for making bombs and a delivery system are, indeed, already in place. The question is whether both will be content to have bombs that are, in all likelihood, already in the respective basements, or will each keep trying to get one jump ahead of the other.

Given the depth of distrust between the two countries, each military establishment will be constantly afraid of being upstaged by the other. Both may, therefore, be pushed into making additional investments to upgrade their quantitative and qualitative capabilities. They will also have to take a vast range of protective measures to safeguard vital targets and areas against nuclear attack.

HIGH COSTS

To cite just two examples, all the key civilian and military decision-making centres will require underground shelters to which they would move at very short notice. Their ability to

maintain command and control will depend on having several alternative communication channels to transmit orders and obtain feedback. Likewise, front-line troops will need radiation-proof equipment. All this requires heavy expenditures — an issue which so far been ignored by advocates of the bomb in both countries.

Since India is again campaigning vigorously for a nuclear-free world, it is incumbent upon Rajiv Gandhi to take an initiative to halt the incipient arms race in the sub-continent. Since public opinion in this country will not permit foreclosing the nuclear option, solutions will have to be less drastic, and hence less fool-proof. An agreement not to attack each other's nuclear facilities would be a good one to start with.

This has been on the agenda since December 1985 when the idea was accepted in principle at a meeting in New Delhi between Mr. Gandhi and Gen. Zia. Although the details have been worked out, the signing has been held up by Indian indignation over Pakistan's aid to Punjab's ultras. With the change in the Pakistani political landscape, there is an

opportunity to break the log-jam. It should be noted that Ms. Bhutto has publicly urged Islamabad to stop playing games in Punjab, though any decision that she now makes in this regard will be contingent upon the military's wishes.

SHIMLA PACT

Ms. Bhutto has affirmed her commitment to the Shimla agreement. Although its provisions can be interpreted in various ways to justify whatever Islamabad wants to do, the concepts that neither should use force to settle disputes and that neither should interfere in the other's internal affairs are fairly unambiguous. This is why New Delhi should take Ms. Bhutto's stand on the agreement at its face value to explore what she is willing to do to meet Indian concerns.

Finally, there is the conflict of interest between New Delhi and Islamabad on the future of Afghanistan. Ms. Bhutto has carefully planned spelling out her position, although she has publicly expressed her view about the feasibility of Gen. Zia ul-Haq to instal a leader of his choice. Qutubuddin Hekmatyar, as

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Benazir 'feels great'

ISLAMABAD

In what is considered the first peaceful transfer of power in the 41-year history of Pakistan, Ms. Benazir Bhutto became its 11th Prime Minister today, taking the oath of office in Urdu and affirming to protect the Islamic ideology of the nation under the existing Constitution sponsored by Zia-ul-Haq.

With this, the 35-year-old Cambridge-educated Co-Chairperson of the Pakistan People's party (PPP) also became the second democratically-elected Prime Minister of the country after her father Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, deposed and later hanged by Gen.

Zia. All the three full-fledged party-based elections in the country, held in 1970 and 1977, and now in 1988 have seen the PPP romping home to power.

Administered the oath of office and secrecy by the acting President, Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who has given her 60 days time to prove parliamentary majority, Ms. Bhutto is the world's youngest Prime Minister and the lone woman Head of Government of an Islamic nation. She now joins two other powerful woman leaders — the Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher of the U.K. and the President, Mrs. Corason Aquino, of the Philippines.

Post-Election Changes II

Dr. Akmal Hussain

In order to develop a stake in democratic government amongst the people, they must be provided with basic social services. If 63% of the people do not have clean drinking water, if as a consequence 40% of all deaths annually are due to water-borne diseases, if more than half of the labour force is illiterate, if 40% of the people do not have adequate food and if 2 million people do not have a roof over their heads, then the majority of the people have been forced to live under inhuman conditions. This is happening in a country where the elite lives a life of ostentatious comfort. It is these conditions that accentuate regional and ethnic polarization, especially where 11 years of military dictatorship have depoliticised the oppressed. If therefore, the foundations of democracy have to be established and if the social fabric is to be restored, then at least the minimum public services must be provided to the people of Pakistan without delay. This task is well within the financial capability of a democratic government, which is committed to the people. For example, the Honourable Federal Minister for Finance has been brave enough to reveal that almost Rs 120 billion are annually misappropriated in Pakistan, by various government departments, public institutions and individuals. I have estimated that the following basic services

can be provided to the people with only one year's of saving of this annual national loss.

The table below shows that a shortage of the major public services can be overcome quickly if the new government bends its energies to this vital task.

I have written at length elsewhere on the origin and nature of our economic crisis. This crisis has two components: the deficit and the foreign exchange shortage. There is now a clear trade off between the need to provide basic public services to the people and infrastructure for future investment on the one hand and debt servicing on the other. Defusing the crisis in the short term requires the following measures:-

- (a) Reduction in administrative expenditure by decentralising administration. This would make government both accessible to the people and also efficient.
- (b) Increasing tax revenue by means of the following measures: Value-added tax, a turnover tax on trade and an agricultural income tax.
- (c) Overcoming the severe balance of payments problem requires a 5 year moratorium from the crippling debt servicing burden in which almost 87% of gross aid annually goes back in

the form of debt servicing. We can negotiate with the IMF and the World Bank to guarantee that the money saved as a result of the debt moratorium would be used to develop our real resources, i. e. education, health and employment for a more productive labour force: provision of infrastructure, such as transport, communications and energy to enable increased productivity of investment: and finally soil preservation and salinity control measures to prevent rapid desertification as cultivable land.

If a viable democratic system is to be established, then each of the four elements of the national crisis mentioned above must be dealt with in both the short term as well as the long

(Continued on page 27)

Limited options...

(Continued from page 23)

the head of a new regime in Kabul. Pointing out that Mr. Hekmatayar does not have broad enough support, she indicated her interest in exploring other possibilities. What she now dene will be guided, however, by Gos. Beg's wishes.

This still leaves room for exploring whether Pakistani decision-makers are still as willing as Gen. Zia was to cope with the consequences of a prolonged civil war across the border. Given the renewed Soviet commitment to assist its friends in Kabul — these include non-party figures like Prime Minister Mohammed Hussain Hussain Sharq, whose chances of survival are probably better than President Najibullah's — Ms. Bhutto will need to think it over. New Delhi should encourage her to do this by making it clear that it is ready to welcome any Government in Kabul as long as it is non-aligned not only vis-a-vis the two Superpowers but also the neighbours.

COST OF PROVIDING BASIC SERVICES

SERVICES	COST
1. Clean drinking water for 64 million people	Rs 17 billion
2. 5-fold Increase in the number of hospital beds	Rs 2 billion
3. Housing for 1.5 million people @ Rs 180,000 for 300 Sq. Meters of construction for six number of family	Rs 60 billion
4. 1.8 Million Jobs in small scale industries @ Rs 5625 per job	Rs 10 billion
5. School coverage for 31 million students	Rs 31 billion
Total Budget	Rs 120 billion

A memoir of Subud

from Varindra Vittachi : Subud Publications
International Ltd. 1988. 88 pages

BOOK
REVIEW

This book is also sub-titled *Bouquets for Bapak*. As no effort is made to give any biographical details of the person here addressed as Bapak, this slim publication on expensive paper looks as if it is meant only for the initiates.

Whatever may be the metaphysical reasons for the omission, the lapse remains an unforgivable journalistic sin. In one who loudly says he belongs to the journalist's trade, and doesn't let you forget it even in this book.

So, for the benefit of the dumb like me, some details of the life of the man, who is referred to also by fellow pilgrims as having been a Thaumaturge, that is a wonder-worker could have been beneficially included.

Bapak, as revealed in this book, was born Muhammad Subuh Sumohadiwidjaja in 1901. He died last year. As a young man he began to experience an unfamiliar vibration that led to involuntary movements of his body and in turn to many new mental and emotional experiences.

He was undergoing, what was later identified, as *latihan kejiwaan* a link-up with the great life-force. He was also urged by some inner force to transmit this experience to others who in turn could pass it on to others in need of setting up contact with the great life-force and in the process in-breathe a renewed life both spiritual and material.

The international community that has expanded across the globe in this vibrant manner now totals around 7000 and is called Subud, not after the man Subuh but in a kind of acronym from the Sanskrit words *Susila Budhi Dharma, Su-bud*.

Subud is a non-traditional export from Indonesia. Though the country swarms with spiritual groups, the *latihan* experience

appears to be free from spirites or any Faustian contacts with the devil. It beckons those born into traditional religions like Christianity, Islam, Shinto, Buddhist and those born as Jews, Parsis and Hindus.

Although this book is called a memoir of Subud the subject that dominates these pages is not Bapak but Varindra, the author. This maladjustment is, in a way, understandable. Bapak, as the author mentions in several places, is no teacher, not in disparagement, but because teaching is not his method. If the teacher is not teaching, then there is no reporter to report.

The author's book is thus a kind of radiation of the non-teaching of Bapak who remains a back-stage figure 'full of wise saws and modern instances' and a little like Eliot's Tiresias — And I Tiresias have foresuffered all.

But let us come back to the confessions of Varindra. All that he has achieved in life he claims is due to Bapak and the 32 years of the *latihan* he has practised. This rewarding relationship with Bapak, he says, left him with a remarkable discovery. "It has shown me to concern myself more with the responsibility of being a journalist and with eternal human values than... with the daily trivia of the passing scene."

Locking the stable doors after the horses have bolted is always a very sad thing. One only hopes that if *latihan* is so effective whether Mr. Vittachi can introduce it to some of his political contacts who are running this country so that they too can realise that responsibility and human values are more important than destroying the youth to retain power.

Readers may also have noticed that this book is by Varindra Vittachi and wondered whether there is connection with the man who writes to the Newsweek

as Varindra Tarzi Vittachi. The two are the same. The author admits there is a struggle between the two and that Tarzi is trying to grow into Varindra. But the prospects seem to be bleak. Even in this book, which one expects to be a reflection on things spiritual, the hand is the hand of Varindra but the voice — peevish, cutting and the egotistic smirk — is the voice of Tarzi.

His treatment of John Bannat, the man who helped to introduce Bapak to the West, but later withdrew every word he said about him, is indecent. *Latihan* may have softened him enough to say the usual polite things about the older man, but he is still the great back-handed player of compliments. And this in spite of the following non-teaching of Bapak:

"Another social habit, Bapak said, was the tendency to be dismissive of other people, to score easy triumphs off others, to make clever deprecating points, to put down other people by being smart and glib. Phew. That was even closer to where I lived. Allied to this, Bapak continued, was the habit of wanting to be right, which could be said to find only if the other was shown to be wrong."

But both Master and Disciple falter when it comes to politics. Varindra brings news of Martin Luther King's assassination to Bapak. Bapak reflects how a mad man with a single bullet can ruin the efforts of a man to assuage human cruelty and injustice to their fellowmen. Gandhi, John Kennedy, Robert Kennedy are some of names mentioned.

But on the other hand tyrants can't be got rid of, says Bapak, even if the attempt is mad ten times. Then he mentions Sukarno. He escaped being assassinated several times, he says, and repeats the popular belief that he

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BOOK REVIEW

by Newton Gunasinghe

PART III

Bruce Kapferer : *Legends of People; Myths of State*,

Smithsonian Institution Press,
Washington and London, 1988.

In this heavily theoretical work Professor Kapferer also takes into account, the practice of sorcery in Sri Lanka. "Envy (*irishiyava*) is the most common cause of sorcery that the Sinhalese recognize. It is believed to come from the weak to the powerful, from the poor to the rich, to flow between competitors, bringing about the failure of those who would otherwise succeed and vice versa". This concept of "*irishiyava*", which the English term "envy" cannot correctly convey, has also led to individual and factional conflicts in Sinhalese society. According to Kapferer, "Frequently (there) are Buddha *danes*, involving the chanting of protective *pirith* by local temple Buddhist monks, and sometimes the principal antisorcery *sunyam* ritual. They guard against evil, can appropriately be regarded in the context as rites of transition "What Kapferer argues in my view, is that there is no disjunction between the *danes* and *sunyam* rituals; but they are structurally co-ordinated.

Then, let us consider the ethnic intolerance in Australia, and the recent ANZAC nationalist rituals, which in my understanding also involves an exercise of inclusion and exclusion, which includes the older European migrants, while excluding the new immigrants from Eastern Europe and Asia, as well as the aboriginal Australian tribes, although hierarchically and differentially encapsulating those aboriginal groups for nationalistic ideological purposes, while displaying the symbols of the Kangaroo and aboriginal paintings. This exercise is related to a nationalistic effort to find a separate identity from Europe, even though the aboriginal tribal groups are class-wise exploited, ethnic-wise dominated and generally excluded from the mainstream of Australian social

and political existence, by the dominant White-Protestant groups.

However, in a conceptualisation of social equality, inequality, and violence, which is basically a method of overcoming these contradictions, I feel that there are three concepts that one should clearly theoretically differentiate i. e. (i) Marx's concept of class, which is related to modes of production and which in a rigorous formulation could be socially formed only through conflict; (ii) Weber's concept of social stratification; which has no need of conflict to form, and which is analysed at the level of social strata, concentrating attention on income groups, status and power, which in certain social formations may be in accord, but as in the case of ancient Hindu society in India may be discordant (a concept different from the Marxian theory of class contradictions) among the Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishya social layers in Northern India during that period, which according to Weber formed the social base from which both Buddhism and Jainism arose, which he calls heterodox religions in relation to the orthodox Vedic religion, (iii) Dumont's concept of hierarchy which in the last analysis derives from his earlier statement that no social investigation can be done in the Indian sub-continent without a solid knowledge of Indology; basically an understanding of the classical text of the Hindu — Buddhist — Jaina traditions. Dumont's definition of hierarchy is not a mere status ladder as it is in the context of empiricist sociology, but a hierarchical relationship within a social system, between social groups, which encapsulate and which are encapsulated.

I am obliged to write these comments because Professor Kapferer, while methodologically distancing himself away from

Dumont, also bases partly his methodological analysis on the important works by Louis Dumont, especially the essay dedicated to our guru Max Cluckman on South Indian kinship, and the seminal work entitled "Home Hierarchicus", on the Indian cast system.

On question of evil however, I should stress that the concept articulates itself differently in the Hindu-Buddhist tradition and the Judeo-Christian tradition. The concept of Satan in medieval Catholicism, for instance, as an incarnation of absolute evil, stands in an exclusive binary opposition to God. Whereas the concept of **Mara** as indicated in the classical Buddhist texts does not do so. Because the Buddha encapsulates **Mara** as well as Devadatta, whereas Satan is completely and irrevocably excluded from the divine domain. Both **Mara** and Devadatta, may attain **Nirvana**, the fundamental objective of classical Buddhism, under the guidance of a future Buddha, like Maitreya, whereas no such possibility is offered to our friend Lucifer who is eternally doomed to be in hell. Therefore the questions, I think should be related not to religious ideology per se, but to the social structure that underlies it, which semi-autonomously articulates it.

In this major work on violence, intolerance and political culture as expressed in two very different social formations, Professor Kapferer has coherently focussed attention on the structural commonalities and variations. He has covered a vast social area with masterly precision, which surveys the domains of the state, myths, rituals and sorcery and has also dealt with the difficult problem of comparing and contrasting Sinhalese and Australian nationalism. However, I feel that both Sinhalese nationalists as well as Australian nationalists would tend to go against the arguments presented in this book. The Sinhalese nationalists are likely to raise the question as to how they, with two-thousand five hundred year 'history' and as a social group with a moralistic religious mission, be compared

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Berenger's Last Tour

John Simkins

The further unrest this week in Sri Lanka, casting doubt on whether presidential elections will be held as planned on December 19, must have confirmed Berenger's fears that he is in for a difficult time.

Along with thousands of others, Berenger works in the tourism business, which was once the country's fourth largest foreign exchange earner, after tea, textiles and rubber, but has now collapsed. His plight differs only in degree from that of government employees who face the sack if they do not turn up for work and yet can be threatened with violence from the People's Liberation Front (JVP) if they do.

There is no sign of a return to the paradise island of Sri Lanka by tour operators who last month evacuated up to 8,000 clients amid fears for their safety just as the peak season began. By disrupting industry and the public services, the JVP, a radical Sinhalese group fanatically opposed to the accord between Sri Lanka and India giving some autonomy to the minority Tamils, forced the withdrawal of tourists from the glorious western beaches and the inland towns of the centre and south. Hotels closed and staff were laid off.

The curfews continue and there is frequently a hartal, or strike, called by the JVP. Public transport is patchy, petrol is reaching only the main towns, and the southern province is virtually at a standstill.

It was shortage of petrol, during a recent spell of paralysis in the public services, that so tested the ingenuity of Berenger, who works as chauffeur and guide to tourists who hire a car from the Colombo garage which employs him.

Berenger (not his real name) is among the one per cent of Sri Lankans who are Burgher, of Dutch descent. Unflappable and humorous, he turned up as a late replacement for a Sinhalese driver who felt himself more exposed to threats from the JVP. Not

that Berenger was unaware of the risks; he already feared a warning from the JVP for having had to work through previous hartals.

Going south from Colombo was out of the question so we headed 70 miles inland to Kandy, the picturesque former capital which boasts the Buddhist shrine, the Temple of the Tooth. The road, bedecked with red and white JVP flags, was deserted because, unknown to Berenger, there was indeed a hartal, news of which was spread by poster.

Berenger managed a smile at the sight of a talipot palm in bloom. The tree may live 75 years before flowering and dying and the phenomenon is considered very unlucky. However, the JVP does not attack tourists. It strikes at selected Sinhalese opponents and government employees and has killed more than 500.

At one of the few hotels still open in Kandy a group of Austrians, frustrated by the prospect of an early return to Colombo and an end to their holiday, consoled themselves with arrack, the local liquor. The extent of our journey depended on petrol. There was only 2 litres per car to be had in Kandy, at the end of a long queue, and Berenger judged the effort not worthwhile. We turned north, with the ancient city of Polonnaruwa, 100 miles away, our target.

Halfway, we spent the night at a rest house, as its only guests. The owner, a sad and puzzled Sinhalese, was cutting down his staff and contemplating closure. Hopes of expanding his hotel, building a swimming pool even, had been dashed.

All the agitation did not necessarily mean opposition to the Government, he said. "I've been asked to send two people to a JVP rally and my staff are welcome to go. But I won't — there have to be certain principles." As for the Tamils, he believed the Sinhalese had received an unfair press. "We let them live and work among us but there's no way they would let us do that among them in the north and east."

He lent us a motorcycle, into which Berenger siphoned some

petrol from the car and on which we reached Polonnaruwa, passing sabotaged trucks and telegraph poles and an Indian army convoy. The ruined 12th-century city of Parakramabahu the First, normally crowded with coaches, was deserted. There was nobody even to take the entrance fee.

That night the Government banned pillion riding on motorcycles to cut down the mobility of its opponents, but by then we were back in Colombo with even Berenger's resourcefulness defeated.

There had been no telephone links with Colombo and he knew his family would be relieved to see him. But it is likely their joy was tempered by the knowledge that he had probably made his last tour for some time.

Post Election...

(Continued from page 24)

term dimensions. It will require a team of the finest talent in the country to formulate and implement the policy measures required to defuse the national crisis in the short term. The implementation of the long term policy measures requires party organisations with grass roots support that can set up the institutional framework for a progressive modern democratic State.

Book Review...

(Continued from page 26)

with a "notion" that merely possesses two hundred years of existence, composed of recent European migrants. The Australian nationalists would probably take exception to the fact that they have been compared with an underdeveloped Asian country where ethnic conflict has taken utterly violent forms of expression. Nevertheless, the problematic that Kapferer formulates and the questions that he raises in relation to that and conclusions that he arrives at remain methodologically accurate in the analysis of social structure and nationalist ideology.

(Concluded)

Al expresses . . .

(Continued from Page 15)

Amnesty International reports adds:

"On November 9, 1988 the government also issued orders to the security forces to shoot curfew violators and demonstrators on sight. These orders were given at a time of mounting and often violent opposition to the government in southern areas of the island. The government has blamed the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP, People's Liberation Front) for orchestrating widespread strikes and demonstrations in violation of curfew restrictions. It has also held the JVP or the related Deshapremi Janatha Viyaparaya (DJV, People's Patriotic Movement) responsible for over 500 political killings, and widespread intimidation, in the last year and a half. The JVP or DJV have issued death threats to the ruling United National Party organisers and to individuals known for their support of the July 1987 Indo-Sri Lankan accord. They have also used intimidation in calling strikes.

"Amnesty International has received reports that at least 15 demonstrators were killed by security forces on November 10, 1988 in several incidents. Reports indicate that six people were killed at Tissamaharama, five were killed at Tangalle after two soldiers were shot, and four were killed at Badalkumbura after they stoned the security forces. Although some of the demonstrators are reported to have used violence, Amnesty International is concerned that those shot could include unarmed demonstrators. It is also concerned that the broad powers given to the security forces to shoot people on sight and to dispose of the bodies of those killed without inquest or postmortem could facilitate further extra judicial killings of suspected political activists, including unarmed and peaceful demonstrators".

Consolidate . . .

(Continued from page 16)

It is therefore futile to expect the JVP to enter an interim all-party administration. Neither will the absence of the JVP make such an administration unrepresentative. What is necessary is that the democratic forces should be strengthened to combat the attempts to subvert the existing order from wherever such attempts may emanate. Such a situation will lead to isolating the forces of violence and subversion.

Dirty . . .

(Continued from page 16)

they rightly deserved are today the captives of the "imperialism of terror". They face the cross-fire of gun law living dangerously in the "no man's land" where urban guerillas and the armed forces of the state are waging an internecine war of attrition.

What did go wrong in this land which once boasted of being the fountain head of righteousness?

As the country moved speedily into the blazing fires of ethnic conflict politicians hardly hesitated to add fuel to the inferno.

The ruling party and the opposition remained hostile to each other thus failing to achieve a consensus in resolving the thorny ethnic issues. This invariably enabled the aliens to gain a coveted foothold on this sovereign land.

False promises of abrogating the Accord are now being bandied around by the protagonists.

Every conceivable political chicanery is being perpetrated on the people once again by their politicians.

Politicians seem not to learn from past mistakes.

They continue to play their dirty tricks as the nation is bled to death. That then is the agony of Sri Lanka.

— SUN

A memoir . . .

(Continued from page 25)

carried a charm in his mouth which saved him always.

But he did not need that, says Bapak in his non-teaching manner. The lower forces took care of it.

As I have heard it, the usual practice of the non-teacher or the holy man is to preserve a dignified indifference before the vagaries of politics and politicians of all shades.

Of the spiritual experiences Varindra writes about and even about the special qualities of Bapak about which he goes into raptures, I have no right to comment. It has been said that to see the beauty of Laila it requires the eyes of Majnun. So I shall leave it that.

But about some of his lesser 'spiritual' experiences he writes of like being threatened with political assassination for his writings these seem to be the work of his ego which appears to have indulged in delusions of self-grandeur.

This would be true about a writer living in Sri Lanka today after the landmark year 1977 because journalists have died in mysterious accidents, have had their homes bombed and summoned to the Fourth Floor for questioning. But anybody who thinks that these were the realities of the late fifties and the very early sixties must be joking.

Seeing what is going on today most people are praying for those days when we imagined that Flybynight strode the journalistic world like a Dean Swift when all the time, to judge him from what he is saying, he was ducking the assassin's bullet and lowering the brim of his hat darkly over his eyes.

P. V.

Part IV of 'Kipling's Homage to Buddhism' will be carried in our next issue.

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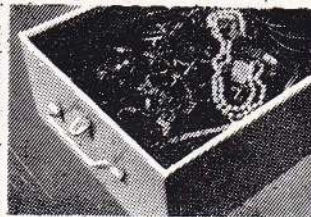
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