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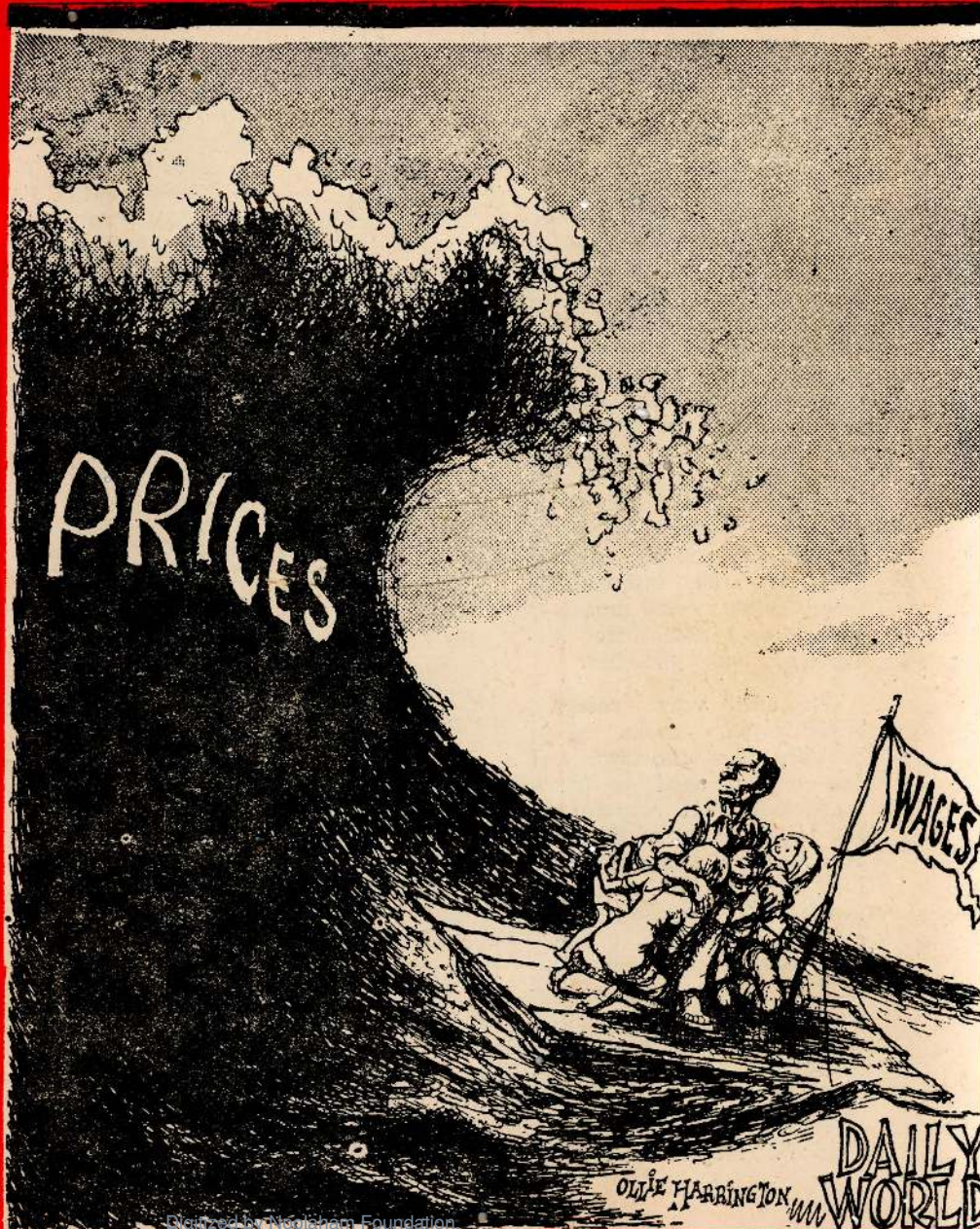
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OFFICIAL QUARTERS in Sri Lanka have at long last awoken to the fact that there is a world food shortage, that food prices throughout the world have doubled and trebled and that this country's future was at stake if more food was not produced here within a short time. It is unfortunate that government of this country has followed an ostrich-like policy in this matter. There had been ample warnings during the last three years and more that the world was running short of food primarily because population was increasing at a rate totally disproportionate to the food that was produced. The natural calamities of the last three years, the political upheavals of this era and the disruption of the international trade, currency and monetary system only accentuated the shortages and difficulties.

But until very recently, anybody who spoke about possible food shortages and the urgent need to grow more food were regarded by the United Front as disguised reactionary elements harking back to the virtues of Dudley Senanayake's *grow-more-food* campaign. There was cool self-complacency that a socialist government would be able to meet all the needs of the common masses by the simple expedient of dispossessing the

richer classes and expropriating the wealth of the capitalists. Dudley Senanayake's *grow-more-food* campaign was derided as a reactionary conspiracy to keep this country as a backward agricultural country and thus by-pass the popular desire to make Sri Lanka a socialist country with an advanced industrial sector. The United Front government wanted a vigorous *peasant-co-operative-collective* structure for agriculture coupled with a dynamic public sector industry—the private sector in both spheres was only tolerated because it was not possible to liquidate the whole of it at one go and because it was easier to destroy it piecemeal. This policy has been assiduously and fairly successfully followed in the hope and belief that it would usher in a socialist millenium. It was wishfully believed that if the "progressive measures" adumbrated in the UF Common Programme, were adopted, the blessings of socialism would be automatically bestowed on the people and that evils of poverty and unemployment, which were thought the inevitable hallmark of capitalism, would disappear.

Three years of the United Front regime have gone by. The rich have been dispossessed, but the poor have not become any richer. Capitalists have been denigrated, but neither the workers nor the peasants have become the owners of the means of production anxious to bring in the prosperity and plenty of socialism. Until the drastic radical reforms were adopted, people were

told to wait patiently until the "progressive" measures were made law—and that delays had been caused by UNP reactionaries and left-wing insurgents. Now, all the policies to introduce the socialist millenia have been placed on the Statute Book, but there is no appreciable progress towards a better life. On the contrary, the situation is much worse than ever before. Unemployment has soared to heights never known before. Though there are no statistics about under-employment, there is no doubt that it has increased in the most significant manner. Prices have shot up skyhigh. Shortages of basic goods have become universal. Wages have not kept pace with increased prices—in fact wages have been virtually frozen.

TO EXPLAIN the glaring gap between United Front promises and the hard reality of actual achievements, *official propaganda*, realising that it can no longer flog the UNP nor the insurgency to persuade people that the Government was not to blame for the disasters which had overtaken the country, has fallen back upon the conditions prevailing in the rest of the world to explain why the United Front government has not done better. All the current shortages and high prices are now conveniently attributed to doubling and trebling of the prices of commodities like rice, wheat, dhal, and sugar. It is true that world prices of food crops have soared, but Ceylon is not the country which should complain about this. Except for wheat, this

country could grow rice, sugarcane, dhal and a whole heap of other food crops in quantities* with adequate exportable surpluses.

It is true that all governments since Independence have failed to make this country an agricultural paradise. There has been a great deal of confused thinking about the need to industrialise the country which led to the virtual neglect of agriculture.* The Senanayake agricultural policies of the 1947 to 1967 period, which the SLFP had religiously followed, were motivated by political considerations rather than economic ones. In 1967, Dudley Senanayake had thought it necessary to change the emphasis from politics to economics in agriculture, but his grow-more-food campaign was hamstrung by bureaucratic bungling by officials buried deep in the earlier policies. Some little headway was made by him, but the whole campaign brought to an abrupt halt when the United Front came to power in 1970.

A new start was made by this Government late in 1972. It was not called a grow-more-food campaign because it would mean accepting a UNP slogan. Various other names were coined to describe a new effort to grow more food. But whatever the name, it was clear that the new Land Reform Act, the Agricultural Productivity Act, the Ceiling on Incomes and Compulsory Savings Law had created a new structural base for such productive effort. Great reliance was placed, and is still placed,

on cooperative farms and even psuedo collective farms, apart from state farms, to deliver the goods and make this country self-sufficient in food.

Nature has not been particularly helpful during the last two years, and it is now made out it was that the drought which was responsible for the decreased production of agricultural output of food crops in 1972 and even in the first half of 1973. Though drought had much to do with the decrease in food production, it was not the only factor which contributed to the depressing lowering of food production. A whole combination of factors have contributed to the present stagnancy in food production, and we have often drawn attention to them in the *Tribune*.

It would be better for the Government to face these problems squarely rather than take refuge behind the difficulties caused by the high prices prevailing in the world. If we have normal rains for this Maha, it would be interesting to find out whether the "radical" measures implemented by the Government would induce greater productive effort on the part of the common masses of Sri Lanka. This is the challenge before the Government.

IN THE MEANTIME, prices are soaring to dizzier and dizzier heights in every part of the world. Countries which are in a position to get the benefit of these high prices are better able to withstand this inflationary spiral than countries which had let their productive machine slip into

the abyss of stagnant under-production. Sri Lanka, which is one of those countries which could have minted countless millions in foreign exchange by selling food crops — if she had followed correct agricultural policies during the last 25 years — has now to go begging for credit to buy food. On the cover, we have a drawing of the plight of a working man who is threatened by an overwhelming upthrust of swelling prices. This is indeed

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THE CHILD

Taking My Name in Vain

By CANAX

FOR reasons unknown to me, my name seems to have figured rather prominently in my child's education up to now without my even knowing it. Great believer though I am in collective responsibility when it comes to bringing up one's offspring, I'm equally strong about sharing that responsibility right down the middle, fifty-fifty. If you'll give me a moment I'll show how eminently fair I am.

I believe, for instance, that a mother's share of the job is relatively minor in that she has only to wake up the child in time, wash her, feed her, dress her and have her ready for school in time. A father's share, by far the major one and one which I accept and shoulder gladly, is to see that she gets to school safely and

the plight of most working people in practically every country of the world. In Sri Lanka, it is no different.

In this issue we have an article by Lester R. Brown on the global food situation. Although he seems to place some hope on population control and a Global Food Reserve Bank, it is obvious by what he says that population has very nearly reached saturation point in terms of available food resources. And as affluence grows, people want more of high calorie and high protein foods, and this causes greater shortages of vital foodstuffs. *Have we to go back to Malthus?*

gets back likewise. It's perhaps not exactly 'down the middle' but, believe me, I don't mind that at all.

That's the general division of labour each morning, and the missus has all of an hour-and-a-half, between 5.30 and 7 a.m., to attend to those little details, so she's not really rushed in any sense. If she is, it is only because she is rushing it of her own free will, wanting to get things over and done with quicker than is necessary. Or desirable. But you won't catch me complaining, because I never do.

In the evenings too I look after the tricky darts of the job. I insist she handles the easy ones, like helping out with the homework, maybe *doing* it herself once in a while, then feeding and washing the child and finally getting her ready for bed.

OF COURSE, should she need help she can count on me every time, which is about twice a week when I'm home early enough to be of assistance. But I've noticed that every time I do give her a hand with her part of the job, it hurts me more than it hurts the kid, though you wouldn't believe it from the way she bawls after a spanking.

As I was saying, I believe in clearly delegating responsibility. Now, seeing to the child's education was one given away to my better half

from the very start. Since I didn't hear anything about it I naturally assumed my wife was doing a good job of it.

It was quite by accident I learned just how good a job she was making of it. I was home early on one of those rare evenings when my daughter comes over to ask, "Daddy, are you a bachelor?"

"Of course not, darling," I say softly. "I married your mother, but don't ask me why."

"I know about you and Mommy," she says, "but why are you still a bachelor?"

Ignorance can be so appealing at times, so I laugh it off, saying, "You've got it all wrong, but you'll understand when you're older." Curiosity prompted me, though to ask, "Who told you so?"

"Mommy."

"Mommy?" I repeat in surprise. "Why would she tell you a silly thing like that?"

"Why is it silly, Daddy?"

"Well, do I behave like a bachelor?" I ask in earnest.

"No," she says simply and, in my broad paternal view, readily rising to her father's defence.

"There you are!" I cry elatedly. "Now you tell Daddy why you think so."

"Because I don't know."

"Don't know what?"

"What it is to behave like a bachelor."

I don't seem to be getting any where, so I say, "Mommy must have said it for fun, so don't worry about it."

"But I have this sentence to translate!" she cries. WHAT she has to translate, it transpires, is this: 'Daddy married Mommy many years ago, but he is still a bachelor'.

"I don't know what it means," I say, "so go ask Mommy."

"I asked."

"And she doesn't know, either?"

"No Mommy says you are still a bachelor because you stay out late with your friends most of the week."

"Your mother doesn't know anything about bachelors," I retort.

"Bachelors stay out late all week, not just for most of it."

"She says you should have married your friends."

"Don't listen to everything Mommy says, darling," I advise, "She's silly sometimes."

"Is it silly to marry your friends?"

"Yes, and in any case, I can't."

"Why, Daddy?"

"Because they're already married, and Mommy knows it."

THAT chance encounter led me to suspect the quality of the education my child was being given at home. The only way to find out was to take a look at what the child had been taught so far, so I did. The education seemed to have been confined largely to grammar exercises, with sentences for translation. Some examples:

* Daddy is almost six feet tall, but some of the stories he tells suggest he hasn't stopped growing yet.

* Daddy hates to be disturbed when he is telling a story to visitors, especially if the interruption is only to tell the truth.

* At 'Temple Trees' guards stand at the entrance. The ones who stand in front of our house are called creditors.

* There are a lot of poor people, but Daddy thinks the world can do with some more and is trying hard to become one himself. If successful, he'll end up adding three to the grand total, not one.

* Daddy earns much more than the average in Sri Lanka, and has a lot of empty bottles to show for it.

* The Government has not solved any problems since May 1970 because they're all the previous Governments' problems. It has still not finished creating its own, but there is plenty of time. Daddy says Rome was not ruined in a day.

* The American astronauts used solid fuel to get into orbit. Daddy prefers the other kind and says it gets him off the ground in a jiffy and at a fraction of the cost.

* The UNP polled almost two million votes at the General Election of 1970. Nobody knew until then just how many fools there were in the country. The next official count is due to be held in 1976.

* Daddy says a fool and his vote are soon parted. Mommy says its even quicker in the case of money. Daddy says 'You can't take it with you.'

I was tempted to hold a full inquiry to find out who

was responsible for taking my name in vain, but decided against it because I already knew. I next felt like probing the necessity for dragging me in to teach grammar. I was getting all steamed up when it suddenly occurred to ask myself, "Well, is it true?"

I wonder why I'd ask myself such a silly question. I think I'll probe that instead.

Credits for Developing Countries

The socialist countries' International Investment Bank has decided to establish a special fund for crediting economic and technical assistance to developing countries. The sum envisaged for this purpose is 1,000 million transferable rubles. The Bank will start granting credits on January 1, 1974, for periods of up to fifteen years. The developing countries can use the money to build, rebuild and modernize industrial enterprises and farms or invest it in any other branches of the economy.

The establishment of the fund is designed to improve the present forms of co-operation between the member states of the Bank and the developing countries, expand the sphere of operation of the transferable ruble and enhance its role in international settlements. The fund is also open to all other countries agreeing with the purposes and principles of the agreement on its establishment.

SAFARI

ON THE NEGOMBO ROAD

By

ALKARDI MUGANA

June 29-30.

It was 1.15 a.m. the scheduled time for the bus, but when it came at 2 a.m. it did not stop. Before the 3 a.m. bus could come along a lorry gave me a lift to the next town and charged me nothing for it, and so I was able to catch the bus which started from there at 4 a.m. So I had a seat, and it was sleep all the way to where I got down and changed buses, Negombo. The connection was half an hour late.

Hoppers had gone up from seven cents to ten cents, as I had found earlier. These hoppers are served hot; you eat them as they are made and they are made right in front of you. It is salt which gives the hopper its taste, and if the right quantity has been added, you can eat the hopper plain and enjoy it.

Salt, one reads in Leonard Woolf, I think it was, used to be an expensive commodity, and I think it would have been that which caused our people to turn to chilli. Chilli can lend itself to very lazy cooking. To people who like chilli, if there has been enough chilli cooked with the meal, it will cover up almost every other shortcoming in the cooking just as a good chutney or pickle will make any unpalatable curry and rice eatable. A few years ago, a man who

thought himself a good cook used to serve me a "special," as he called it, a meal cooked with less chilli, and I used to throw most of it away (we had ducks and hens, gobbling up out left-overs) as it was awful. That sort of thing cannot happen now. People are better cooks, it is the shortage of chilli which has made them so.

IN THOSE days we never cooked without chilli powder, kaha or saffron and pepper, and I could never eat the stuff it was cooked with. Now we buy none of these three. It is straight chilli we use when we get it and every meal is a good one. It is the better cooking that has done it. What I see on these safaris provides me pegs on which to hang these thoughts of mine. It was now coconut country all the way. Certain people are getting very excited about growing subsidiary crops on coconut land. Cultivation Committees are being appointed, graduates are appointed to them, and it looks to me as if people, who have never had responsibility for any cultivation themselves, are going to start telling that who have what to do, and backed by the full authority of the law. There is a better way of doing it, but I suppose the Government will have to learn by trial and error, but not until a lot of hearts have been broken.

People may say what they like, but I think that the de Mel estates on the Kurunegala-Dambulla road look like some of the best managed that I have seen, at least until I saw them last, which was about two years ago. While I think the government is right in following the Dudley Senanayake policies about increased food production I think that the precise form this should take should be left to the owner. If the owner can grow only what he is told to grow, I really do not see the point of owning land at all. He might as well become a paid servant. That kind of policy will take all initiative away from people. Now this was precisely what was going to happen in the Mahaveli Project, as might well still be the case, and I disliked the Senanayake policy in this respect.

IT WAS my privilege to be in Thailand some years ago, just after the last war, and it looked beautiful in those days, the towns as well as the countryside. I do not know what the position is now under the American occupation. Except for the brief Japanese occupation, Thailand had always been independent. We must want this country to be beautiful and while I am all for a certain amount of development, so that we be truly independent, our politicians not succumbing to either bribes or threats. We should never sacrifice what beauty there remains in this country for the sake of development, and we must try to make beautiful what is not. One requi-

site for this is that the chenas be converted into holdings.

Our villages are cleaner now than they used to be. I cannot say that this goes for the principal towns. Look at the *kaddays* near the Chilaw and Negombo bus stands and you will see what I mean. Look particularly at the gutters, or drains as they are called in Ceylon. Look at the cannals in Colombo, there are any number of them everywhere, but off the beaten track, and you will wonder why they are never cleaned up.

On Giriulla-Negombo road, well known coconut country, you do not see any really big houses at all. They are all buried deep in their estates, like the houses of the new rich in England a few centuries ago, for the older tradition was that houses should be by the main roads. I am talking of country houses, of course. Well it was not so along the road to the North of Negombo. One saw there, from the road, many fine houses, parti-

cularly so at Kochchikade- and even further north at Wennappuwa. These houses stretched all the way, easily visible from the road, and each in its own garden, all five houses, modern, big, all different and all very pleasing to the eye, and looking as if they belonged to prosperous people—there was no let-up in the number of these houses, all that way. It was only after we had left Wennappuwa well behind that these houses disappeared from our ken. By Marawila, I think the scene had changed to like that of the older coconut country, where the country—seats of the well-to-do are just not visible.

NEGOMBO is both a fine place and a dirty one. The region of the bus stand is appalling. What is fine about Negombo is its shopping centre. I saw some fine agricultural implements on display for sale, and they seemed quite cheap, too, by any standard, but really cheap when you considered their good quality.

The Negombo people, if you have friends among them, are very hospitable, and the fisherfolk are very tough. The tourists seem to be having an unfortunate effect on our people, by making them shout, and I was never quite sure whether the shouters were drunk or just fierce. Fishing is going on apace inspite of the monsoon. These people seem to regard flowing rivers as more dangerous and fearsome than the sea. They are very modest about their fishing, saying that they do not know much about fishing in rivers, and that it is an art in itself, especially the dexterity required in the circular net.

The Negombo-Chilaw road seems well served by buses, all slow ones, except for the Expresses that come from Colombo and Anuradhapura. Yet, I saw a very crowded bus about 5 p.m. Curry and rice, at the place where I ate it, to the North of Chilaw, was Rs. 1/75. There was no "rices and half rices", it was all one. In Negombo I had

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COLOMBO-2.

bought a pound of red onions for ninety cents. The larger red onions were more expensive.

People go to sleep in buses very easily, and I am one of those. If you really want to see people sleep in buses, you must join a Jaffna-Batticaloa express. The passengers really make themselves comfortable, and you might almost think they came equipped to sleep the journey through. When the passengers sleep so easily, you will wonder how the driver and the conductor keep awake. Of course they are keeping awake, at night at this and other jobs all the world. I have done it myself. Our farmers do it while they thresh, but when they thresh they do manage forty winks at some time or other.

The traffic on the Puttalam-Anuradhapura road is quite heavy these days at night. By day, by contrast, the traffic seems very light. I hear there is not much growing at this time of the year. It is not the season, for there is hardly any rain.

BEGGARS' UNION

A beggars' union has been set up in the capital of Brazil. According to France Presse, the founder and president of the union, Indio Estevo Cunha, said the aim of the organization was to give every beggar his own beat so as to prevent clashes. Asked why Brasilia had been chosen as the venue of the union's headquarters, Cunha said: "Because the best alms are given here."

BATTICOTTA SEMINARY -- 6

Religious Freedom?: Funds for the Mission and the Seminary

by James T. Rutnam

This is the sixth instalment in the series on Batticotta Seminary which was the forerunner of the now well-known institution known as Jaffna College. The Seminary commemorated the 150th anniversary of its founding on July 22 this year.

XV

THE COURSE of study at the Seminary at the beginning extended for six years. Tennent who was closely acquainted with the Seminary says in his *Christianity in Ceylon* that the "course of education is so comprehensive as to extend over a period of eight years of study." The course he was referring to perhaps included a post-graduate course. Tennent describes the curriculum as "embracing all the ordinary branches of historical and classical learning, and all the other higher departments of mathematical and physical science combined with the most intimate familiarization with the great principles and evidences of the Christian Religion."

"The Students", Tennent states, "reside uninterruptedly under the same roof with their instructors; and although no renunciation of idolatry and no formal declaration of Christian belief is insisted on as a preliminary to admission, still each inmate is required, as a matter of discipline, to

be present at the morning and evening devotions of the school and to attend to Christian worship in the chapel of the College.

"To participate in the religious observances of the Hindus", Tennent continues, "is regarded in the student as a disciplinary offence; and so far from the regulation being looked upon as a despotic interference with religious freedom, it is regarded by the students as only a well-understood condition of their admission to a Christian institute, and one which they voluntarily comply in order to secure a participation in all the advantages of the college."

It should be noted that no renunciation of one's own religion was demanded or insisted upon; but a willingness to live in a wholly Christian environment (which could not be fundamentally repugnant to any other religious environment) was insisted upon, and this demand could not be considered, even under modern standards and concepts of religious freedom, as asking too much of a child who voluntarily enters a Christian College with the approval of his parents. True, the child is bound to be influenced by his exemplars, but the undoubted liberal education imparted would have equally influenced the child to decide for himself the path he should take on

leaving College. The Batticotta Seminary, for these reasons, has not only produced good Christians but also good Hindus, as the results have clearly shown.

XVI

J. H. MARTYN in his "Notes on Jaffna" states, "the expenses of the Seminary were defrayed by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which is also called the Foreign Missionary Society of the American Congregational Churches. Most of the pupils were supported by patrons in the United States after whom they were called and who made specific yearly donations of not less than twenty dollars for their beneficiaries."

Tennent too says that "it is part of the system to apply the annual contribution of some friend of the Mission if it amounts to the stipulated sum (which was £4/3/0 per annum) to the exclusive education of one individual who, on admission assumes, in addition to his own name that of the distant benefactor to whom he is indebted for his presentation". This is the genesis of the abundance of American names in such a far-away place as Jaffna. Most of the names came from Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Maryland.

Many friends from Ceylon and India had contributed funds for this Seminary. Although Governor Barnes had frowned on the idea, Sir Richard Ottley, a puisne Judge and later Chief Justice of Ceylon, held quite opposite views on the matter. Ottley contributed a substantial sum, and had justified the honour

FRENCH VIEWPOINT

Nuclear Tests in South Pacific

WITH ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS to the New Delhi periodical *Weekly Round Table*, of June 24, 1973, we reproduce the background note it published on the question of Nuclear Tests in the South Pacific together with one of the articles in the symposium, written by Michel Cadol, Charge d'Affaire of the Embassy of France in India. The others who had contributed to the symposium were Senator Lionel Murphy, Attorney General of Australia, Prof. R. P. Anand, Head of the Department of International Law, Jawaharlal University and Dr. Swadesh M. Rana, Institute of Defense Studies and Analyses. We have published the article setting out the French viewpoint because in the emotional hysteria stemming from the political fallout from Murora the French viewpoint has been ignored.

done to him by Poor who named the chief building in the Seminary as Ottley Hall. This hall continues to bear Ottley's name, and is now part of Jaffna College. Mr. Mooyart, a grandson of a Dutch Governor, the Missionaries Carey and Marshman of Serampore College and the Hindu religious and social reformer Raja Ram Mohan Roy, were among the subscribers.

Within a period of nine years over £1,300/- was collected from individuals for the Seminary. This was spent on the buildings. Chelliah reports that the support of students, the wages of teachers, the salary of the Principal, the expense of books, apparatus etc. were all paid from mission funds. The sum so spent for the years 1830-1832 was over £2,558/- According to L.J. Gratiaen, author of the book on the *Founding of Mission Schools* the expense of the Institution at the time, including the Principal's salary, amounted to £650/- per year.

(To be continued)

FRANCE exploded some nuclear devices on June 5, June 12, July 14, Aug. 8 and Aug. 14, 1971 in the Mururoa Atoll in the South Pacific. The tests were aimed at perfecting France's latest thermonuclear device. The 1971 June 5 test was France's fourth hydrogen bomb explosion, since 1968 and her 44th nuclear test since 1960. Further tests were suspended in an announcement on Sept. 1, "for lack of further objectives". Observers attributed the testing halt to unfavourable repercussions abroad, particularly in Peru. Peruvian President Juan Velasco Alvarado had threatened to sever diplomatic relations with France (Aug. 17). Japan had issued protests to France in 1971 on June 6, Aug. 9 and Aug. 17. Officials of Australia, New Zealand and the South Pacific islands of Tonga, Nauru, Fiji, Western Samoa and Cook Island, in a communique on Aug. 7, 1972, had also called for suspension of the tests.

IN 1972, France again held atomic tests in Mururoa Atoll

on June 25 and 30 despite protests. The Foreign Ministers of Australia and New Zealand, Nigel Brown and Sir Kieth Holyoake, respectively, joined by the US Secretary of State William P. Rogers, condemned the June 25, 1972 French test in a statement issued by the three-nation ANZUS council meeting in Canberra. The Foreign Ministers of Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru, meeting in Lima on June 19, 1972, had condemned the imminent French blasts and demanded an immediate halt to preparations for the series.

Australia, New Zealand and Peru formally protested to the Geneva Disarmament conference over the planned tests on June 20, 1972. Japan and Canada urged cancellation of the tests at the conference on June 22, 1972. A Canadian protest yacht, Greenpeace 3, had sailed to the test site before the tests. According to reports, the yacht was seized by France. However, France, in a note published on June 29, 1972 in Ottawa, denied she had seized the yacht. The note said the yacht had left the test site on its own on June 21, 1972. The yacht returned to Mururoa on July 2 after repairs of damage sustained in a collision with a minesweeper.

THIS YEAR again France has announced nuclear tests at the same place, though no dates have been given. World protests have been mounting. The United Nations has been moved and the World Court at The Hague has been seized of

the problem. A yacht, FREE, has moved into the test area.

The first successful realization of a fission-chain reaction in the graphite pile, built in a converted squash court of the University of Chicago's Stagg Field was achieved on December 2, 1942. It led to the construction of a gigantic plant at Hanford on the banks of Columbia, for the production of plutonium. A plant for the production of uranium 235 was set up later at Oak Ridge. By the middle of 1945 three atomic bombs had been prepared. One was tested on the ground at Alamogordo Sands (USA) on July 16, 1945. The other two were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, respectively. The first Soviet atomic explosion took

place in August, 1953. On March 1, 1954 the USA set off a powerful thermo-nuclear explosion at Bik'ini Atoll (equivalent to 15 million tons TNT). On May 21, 1956 the USA conducted her first air-burst thermo-nuclear test explosion. The UK had her first test of fission weapon explosion in October, 1952 at Monte Bello Islands (Australia) in October, 1952. The UK's first hydrogen bomb was tested off Christmas Island in the Pacific in May, 1957.

China entered the nuclear club on October 16, 1964 with the explosion of a Hiroshima type (20 kiloton) atomic device (based on uranium 235). She exploded her first hydrogen bomb, a three megaton device, on June 17, 1967.

"Much Ado About Nothing"

By Michel Cadol,

Charge d' Affaires Embassy of France, New Delhi.

BECAUSE of confusion of minds, fostered by manifest misconceptions, omissions or even lies which sometimes show through official speeches and Press comments, it is necessary to bring forward a few basic facts.

Since the emergence of nuclear weapons, only the countries which possess them are in a position to face all the threats to their security. In making her choice, way back in 1954, France's only purpose has been to possess a deterrent. In a recent television broadcast, the President of France reaffirmed this stand (Feb. 8, 1973): "We do not pretend, through our

efforts, to be able to stop any kind of aggression. We only hope that they will discourage the aggressor. In other words, we are trying to preserve peace and not to win a war". French atomic force is defensive and aims at avoiding an attack against France.

Limited in scope and pacific in intention as this deterrent is, it can be considered as efficient. No country would take the risk of destroying another country if the latter is in a position to retaliate by destroying even two of its main cities. Such a force is necessary for keeping away from hegemonies

and enabling France to retain her independence so long as all the atomic powers will not accept complete and controlled disarmament. The Moscow Treaty of 1963, so often invoked against France, does not serve that purpose. Its only result is to permit the USSR and the USA to go on experimenting and accumulating nuclear weapons. Since 1963, the USA has made 241 tests and the USSR 107. This clearly indicates that the two super-powers have not stopped developing their armaments. They have now turned to underground tests. France will eventually do the same. To question the rightness of the French choice is to ignore political and military realities and plead for absolute and utopian pacifism. The question of radio-active fallout, due to its highly ambiguous nature, is often prone to easy exploitation. Scientifically it is not possible to prove that there is absolutely no risk whatsoever. But until a clear proof to the contrary is given, the risks must be considered negligible. Such is the case with the French tests due to the precautions taken.

CURIOUSLY, the main precaution is the object of the most common criticism: the choice of Mururoa as the site of the tests. This atoll is located at a distance of 6,500 kms. from Australia and South America 5,000 kms. from New Zealand and 3,000 kms. from the Fiji Islands. It is far away from any densely populated centre. Tahiti is 1,200 kms. away. One should keep in mind that

Nevada, where 91 atmospheric explosions took place, is 120 kms. from Las Vegas, 400 kms. from Los Angeles (8 million inhabitants): over ten million people live in the area within a radius of 500 kms. Besides, 142 atmospheric tests have taken place in the USSR especially at the Semi Palatinsk site: within 900 kms. of the site live 1,220,000 persons. As far as the Chinese site of Lop Nor is concerned—in Sinkiang with a population of 6 million—it is only 500 kms. from Urumchi (200,000 inhabitants). Whatever arguments may be produced, the fact that these different tests have taken place without any human damage is the incontestable experimental proof, that the French tests in the Pacific create no danger.

As far as our 1973 tests are concerned, the British Prime Minister has stated that he was entertaining no fear whatsoever for the safety of the population of Pitcairn Islands, located 990 kms. from Mururoa. Australia and New Zealand are protesting while they are located 5,000 to 6,500 kms. away from the tests site. India is much nearer to Russian and Chinese sites, which, in turn, are not farther from Australia than Mururoa. Moreover the location of the French site makes it possible to disturb very little the normal flights of commercial planes and to benefit from the best meteorological conditions.

Anyway, the effects of the French tests have been strictly measured and the results submitted to the international bodies concerned. They show

that the French tests in the Pacific generate only one-thousandth of the radio-active doses considered acceptable by the International Committee for Protection against Radiation and by the United Nations Ionizing Radiation Committee.

COMPARED to natural radioactivity (cosmic rays, granite soils, etc.) amounting normally to 100 millirems a year (1,600 millirems is the state of Minas Geraes in Brazil, 2,500 millirems in Kerala), the fallout from all the nuclear tests is 2 to 5 millirems a year in the Northern hemisphere, 1 millirem in the Southern hemisphere. The French tests in the Pacific account for only 0.2 millirem of this last figure. Due to cosmic rays,

INSURANCE

Lloyd's, the biggest insurance company in Britain, has introduced a new line. Any Englishman buying, say, a villa abroad can now insure it with the company not only against fire and destruction by the elements but against financial and socio-political upheavals. The insurance policy lists compensation for damage suffered through confiscation, sequestration, expropriation and deliberate destruction of real estate on orders of the government or the local authorities. The insurance rates depend on the stability of the political situation in the given country.

a single flight from Oceania to Paris creates, for instance, 10 millirems, i.e. 50 times the yearly dose caused in Australia by French tests. All these figures refer to the genetic doses measured in accordance with the norms fixed by the United Nations Ionizing Radiation Committee. The International Committee for Radiological Protection has moreover, estimated at 179 millirems the maximum annual amount bearable for the population.

These comparative figures lead to one conclusion only; fall-out from Frances' tests in Polynesia must be considered as without any consequence for the health of mankind. In other words, as the American scientist Pauling, Counsellor of the Australian Government, said "an X Ray-is about as harmful as the French tests."

Mr. Victor Garland came also to the same conclusion when he repeatedly emphasized in 1971 that fall-out from French tests "presented no significant danger for the Australian population". His opinion was based on a report published by the Aus-

tralian "Atomic Energy Weapons Tests Safety Committee" (report AWTSC no. 1—Feb. 1971).

Mr. Marshall acknowledged the same conclusion, in July 1972, after studying the report of the National Radiation Laboratory (NRL F 43) and stated: "Experts are categorical in affirming that the fall-out from French tests is much less than what resulted from previous American or Soviet tests and creates no risk for the health"

It is necessary to stress that Mr. Garland was Minister of Supply in the Australian Government and Mr. Marshall was Prime Minister of New Zealand.

BUT TRUTH as told may be sometimes onesided. How could the French tests, innocuous a few months back, have today become a danger for the health of thousands of people? The same country which today, under its new leadership, cries out its indignation and protests against tests which take place 6,500 kms. away had not voiced any objection when the British Government was using its soil for a series of atmos-

pheric tests while everybody admits that precautions taken at the time were much less efficient than those taken by France today.

The action of some countries in fact seem to be inspired more by political reasons than by any preoccupation with preserving the environment, which, it has been scientifically demonstrated, is not threatened. This is an emotional issue, based on psychological and irrational reaction, which can be easily exploited to serve domestic political aims. But in modern times, it is not conceivable to ignore scientific facts.

Let me conclude with two views expressed by two prominent Australian personalities. Sir Leslie Munro, former President of the United Nations Assembly, has recently underlined that France, after being twice liberated from foreign occupation, is entitled not to rely on her allies for her defence. Sir Macfarlane Burnet, winner of Nobel prize for Medicine, has denounced on his part, in May "the unjustified and truly historical noise" made in his country about tests which are so little harmful.

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A GLOBAL PROBLEM

The Changing Face of Food Scarcity

By

LESTER R. BROWN

Lester R. Brown is a senior fellow with the Overseas Development Council, a private Washington D.C. organization devoted to increasing American understanding of problems facing developing nations. He was formerly Administrator of the International Agricultural Development Service and served as Policy Adviser to the U.S. Secretary of Agriculture on world food needs and agricultural development abroad.

Recognized as a leading authority on the world food problems while still in his late twenties, he received the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Superior Service Award in 1965. In 1966 Mr. Brown was commended for his work in anticipating the 1965 crop failure in India early enough to initiate a massive food rescue effort.

Besides writing articles for scholarly and popular magazines, Mr. Brown is the author of *man and food* (usda, 1963); *the seeds of change: The green revolution and development in the seventies* (1970) and *world without borders* (1972).

This year's sharp increases in food prices have alerted consumers throughout the world to some surprising changes that are taking place in world food demand and supply. Many factors including the poor rice harvest in Asia, the shortfall in the Soviet wheat crop and the disappearance of the *Anchoveta* off the coast of Peru have combined to dramatize the world food situation this year. But today's shortages and rising prices also reflect long-term trends and should not be viewed as merely temporary phenomena.

Although many developing nations in Asia—the great food importers of the past—are now producing a much greater share of their own food needs, economically advanced nations such as the Soviet Union and Japan are now the leading food importers. These two countries alone imported 28 million and 17 million tons in grains respectively this past year compared to India's imports of just under ten million tons during the food crisis years of 1966 and 1967. In addition to global population growth, rising affluence has emerged as a major factor in the burgeoning world demand for food.

These changing trends are building a strong case for

stepping up international efforts to aid the agricultural development of the poor countries. Over the next decade, there is far greater unrealized potential for achieving large, relatively low-cost increases in agricultural production in many developing countries than there is in the more agriculturally advanced nations. With appropriate organization, economic incentives, and agricultural inputs, food production in such key countries as Brazil, India, Indonesia, and Nigeria could be greatly expanded to help meet the increased demand.

POPULATION AND AFFLUENCE. During the 1960's, the world food problem was perceived as a food—population problem—as a race between food and people. At the global level, it remains the dominant cause of increasing demand for food; merely maintaining current per capita consumption levels will require a doubling of food production over the next generation. But beyond this pressure of population on supply rising affluence is also emerging as a major new claimant on world food resources.

This impact of rising affluence on demand for food can best be illustrated by its effect on consumption of cereals, which dominate the world food economy. In the poor countries, annual consumption of grain averages about 400 pounds (181 kilograms) per person. Virtually all of this small amount must be consumed directly to meet minimum

energy needs. In the United States and Canada, by contrast, per capita grain use is approaching one ton per year. All but 150 pounds (68 kilograms) of this per capita total is consumed indirectly in the form of meat, milk, and eggs. In the case of beef alone, annual per capita consumption in the United States has grown from 55 pounds (25 kilograms) in 1940 to 117 pounds (53 kilograms) in 1972. During the same period, the American population has expanded by 57 percent. Altogether, national beef consumption has tripled, making the United States a leading beef importer.

In the northern tier of industrial countries, stretching from Western Europe through the Soviet Union to Japan, dietary habits now more or less approximate to those of the United States in 1940. As incomes continue to rise in

MOSQUITO ON THE MEDAL

A special medal for military and civic valour has been struck in Sierra Leone. Depicted on it is the anopheles mosquito so honoured for its "belliosity" as a carrier of malaria. This mosquito, it is claimed in Sierra Leone, was a serious obstacle to the penetration of the country by European colonialists. True enough, malaria was once so widespread there that Sierra Leone was referred to in Europe as the "White Man's Grave."

this group of countries a sizable share of the additional income is being converted into demand for livestock products, particularly beef. Many of these countries lack the capacity to satisfy the growth in demand for livestock products entirely from indigenous resources. As a result, they are importing increasing amounts of livestock products, or of feedgrains and soybeans with which to expand their livestock production.

CONSTRAINTS ON EXPANDING THE WORLD FOOD SUPPLY. As world demand climbs, due to both population growth and rising affluence, several important constraints on further expansion of efforts to expand global food production become increasingly apparent. The traditional approach to increasing production expanding the area under cultivation - has only limited scope for the future. Some more densely populated countries, such as Japan and several Western European countries, have been experiencing a reduction in the land used for crop production, while other parts of the world have been losing disturbingly large acreages of cropland each year because of severe erosion.

An even more important constraint in the future may be the shortage of water for agricultural purposes. In many regions of the world, fertile agricultural land is available if water can be found to make it productive. Yet most of the rivers that lend themselves to damming and to irrigation have already

been developed. Future efforts to expand fresh water supplies for agricultural purposes will increasingly focus on such techniques as the diversion of rivers (as in the Soviet Union), desalting sea water, and the manipulation of rainfall patterns.

One of the key questions concerning future gains in agricultural production is: can the more advanced countries sustain the trend of rising per acre (hectare) yields of cereals? In some countries, increases in per acre yields are beginning to slow down, and the capital investments required for each additional increase may now start to climb sharply. In agriculturally advanced countries such as Japan, the Netherlands, and the United States, the cost per increment of yield per acre is rising for some crops. What impact the energy crisis will have on food production costs and trends also remains to be seen. Rising energy costs may cause farmers engaged in high-energy agriculture, as in the United States, to hold down future production increases.

CONSTRAINTS ON PROTEIN PRODUCTION In looking ahead, there is reason for particular concern about the difficulties of expanding the world protein supply to meet the projected rapid growth in demand.

Two major constraints are operative in the case of beef. Agricultural scientists have not been able to devise any commercially viable means of getting more than one calf

per cow per year. For every animal that goes into the beef production process, one adult must be fed and otherwise maintained for a full year. The other constraint on beef production is that the grazing capacity of much of the world's pasture land is now almost fully utilized. This is true for example, in most of the U.S. Great Plains area, in East Africa, and in parts of Australia.

A further potentially serious constraint on efforts to expand supplies of high quality protein is the inability of scientists to achieve a breakthrough in per acre yields of soybeans. Soybeans are a major source of high quality protein for livestock and poultry throughout much of the world and are consumed directly as food by more than 1,000 million people throughout densely populated East Asia.

In the United States, which now produces two-thirds of the world's Soybean crop and supplies about 90 percent of all soybeans entering the world market, soybean yields per acre have increased by about one per cent per year since 1950; corn yields, on the other hand, have increased by nearly 4 per cent per year. One reason why soybean yields have not climbed very rapidly is that the soybean, being a legume with a built-in nitrogen supply, is not very responsive to nitrogen fertilizer. Close to 85 percent of the dramatic fourfold increase in the U.S. soybean crop since 1950 has come from expanding the area devoted to it—a process which cannot continue indefinitely.

The oceans are our third major source of protein. In 1969, 20 years of sustained growth in the world fish catch was interrupted by a sudden decline. The catch has since been fluctuating rather unpredictably, while the amounts of time and money expended to bring it in continue to rise every year. Many marine biologists now feel that the global catch of table grade fish is at or near the maximum sustainable level. If, as currently seems probable, the global fish catch does not continue rising, in the next decades as it did during the last two, the pressures on land-based protein sources can be expected to increase substantially.

Although there are substantial opportunities for expanding the world's protein supply, it now seems likely that the supply of animal protein will lag behind growth in demand for some time to come, resulting in significantly higher prices for livestock products during the 1970s than prevailed during the 1960s.

We may be witnessing the transformation of the world protein market from a buyer's market to a seller's market, much as the world energy market has been transformed over the past few years.

DEPLETED GLOBAL RESERVES. Since World War Two, the world has been fortunate to have, in effect, two major food reserves. One was in the form of grain reserves in the principal exporting countries and the other in the form of reserve cropland idled under farm

programs in the United States. As world consumption expands, so should the size of global grain reserves, but the trend over the past decade has been one of dwindling reserves and climbing consumption.

One-seventh of U.S. cropland, or roughly 50 million acres (20 million hectares) out of 350 million acres, (242 million hectares) been idled under farm programs for more than a decade. Though not as quickly available as the grain reserves, most of this acreage can be brought back into production within 12 to 18 months once the decision is made to do so.

In recent years, the need to draw down grain reserves and to utilize the reserve of idled cropland has occurred with increasing frequency. This first happened during the food crisis years of 1966 and 1967, and again in 1971 as a result of the corn blight in the United States. In 1973, in response to growing food scarcities, world grain reserves once more declined, and the United States again resorted to cultivating its idled cropland. But to a much greater degree than on either of the two previous occasions. Government decisions in early 1973 permitted at least two-thirds of the idled cropland to come back into production, and the Government announced plans to eliminate all payments on the idled cropland in the 1973/74 crop year. In the years ahead, world food reserves may become chronically low, and the idled crop acreage in the United States may sharply or even disappear entirely. Consequently there

is the prospect of very volatile world prices for the important food commodities. **SOME POLICY IMPLICATIONS:** The possibility of a chronic global scarcity of food resulting from growing pressures on available food resources underlines the need to stabilize and eventually halt population growth in as short a period of time as possible. Current demographic trends suggest that this conceivably may take place in the industrial countries. In the poor countries, however, it will be much more difficult to achieve. For one thing, the historical record indicates that birth rates do not usually decline in the absence of a certain improvement in well-being—a reasonable standard of living, an assured food supply, a reduced infant mortality rate, literacy, and health services.

Population-induced pressures on the global food supply will continue to increase if

substantial economic and social progress is not made. Populations that double every 24 years—as many are doing in poor nations—multiply 16-fold in scarcely three generations! It may well be in the self-interest of affluent societies, such as the United States, to launch an attack on global poverty not only to narrow the economic gap between rich and poor nations, but also to meet the basic social needs of people throughout the world in an effort to provide incentives for lowering birth rates.

These population trends, together with the emerging constraints on food production, also call for serious consideration of the creation of an internationally — managed World Food Bank, as the FAO has proposed, to maintain some semblance of order and stability in the world food economy. Just as the U.S. Dollar can no longer serve as the foundation of the international monetary system, so U.S. agriculture may no longer have sufficient excess capacity to ensure reasonable stability in the world food economy.

A world reserve could be built up in times of relative abundance and drawn down in times of acute scarcity. In effect, the cushion that surplus American agricultural capacity has provided for a generation would be provided at least partially by a World Food Bank. A system of global food reserves would provide a measure of price stability in the world food economy that would be in the self-interest of all nations. The world community of course

also has a basic humanitarian interest in ensuring that famine does not occur in the densely populated low-income countries following a poor crop year—an assurance the affluent nations may be less able* to provide in the future if the current system of autonomous, nationally oriented planning is allowed to continue without modification.

A close examination of the extent of — over fishing and stock depletion in many of the world's fisheries also underlines the urgency of evolving a cooperative global approach to the management of oceanic fisheries. Failure to do this may result in soaring seafood prices that will make those of the early 1970's seem modest by comparison. It is in this context that all nations have a direct interest in the success of the upcoming U.N.* Law of the Sea conference.

THE POTENTIAL OF THE POOR COUNTRIES. One of the most immediate means of expanding the food supply clearly is the return of idled U.S. cropland to production. Over the longer run, however, the greatest opportunities for increased production are in the developing countries. The world's greatest reservoir of untapped food production potential.

The changing nature of global food scarcity and the diminishing capacity of the international community to respond to food emergencies both build a convincing case for strengthened support of agricultural development in such populous food-short

DRUG VICTIM

A strange sight greeted policemen on duty at the seaside park at Liandudno, North Wales. Swinging from a tree, beating his chest and yodelling like Tarzan was a naked boy of about 14, it was a difficult job getting him down—he continued to behave like a savage. It turned out that to prove his "mettle," the boy wanted to take LSD but had swallowed by mistake a large dose of STP, an even more dangerous drug. Fortunately, he recovered after being given special treatment.

Countries as Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, and Nigeria. One important step in this direction is a bipartisan legislative proposal introduced to the US Congress in 1973 that would restructure the US Agency for International Development and increase by 50 percent the support it provides for agricultural and rural development in the years immediately ahead. This proposal seeks to capitalize on the unique capacity of the United States to lead an enlarged effort to expand the world's food supply.

In those countries having the appropriate organization, economic incentives, fertilizer, water, and other necessary agricultural inputs, the introduction of new wheat and rice varieties has increased production substantially. The jump in per acre yields in developing countries appears dramatic largely because their yields traditionally have been so low relative to the potential. But today rice yields per acre in India and Nigeria still are only one-third those of Japan, and corn yields in Thailand and Brazil are less than one-third those of the United States. Large increases in food supply are possible in these countries at far less cost than in agriculturally advanced nations if farmers are given the necessary economic incentives and the requisite inputs.

Concentrating efforts on expanding food production in the poor countries could reduce upward pressure on world food prices, create additional employment in countries where continuously rising unemployment poses a serious threat to political

INDONESIA

LAW, DEMOCRACY AND OPPOSITION

From A Correspondent

Singapore.

PRESIDENT SUHARTO told participants at the inaugural sessions of the 3rd LAWASIA Conference of lawyers from Asian and West Pacific countries held in Jakarta in mid-July that "Indonesia is a law abiding country. Therefore I welcome with pleasure the fact that Indonesia has been selected as a meeting ground to discuss various problems." The President said that each problem of the law was closely related to their social problems and was linked with the development problems of a nation. According to the President, Indonesian law was based on universal principles, but at the same time specific characteristics of Indonesian law were embodied in them. He said: "One can say that today is a significant day in the development of Law in Indonesia. There has, to my knowledge, never been such a large assembly in Indonesia of distinguished lawyers from various countries as witnessed here right now. Indonesia being a country based on law and not on power—as categorically stated in our Consti-

—
stability, and raise income, and improve nutrition for the poorest portion of humanity—the people living in rural areas of the developing countries.

tution—I therefore welcome with pleasure the fact that Indonesia has been selected as a meeting ground to discuss various law problems.

"It is needless to remind you that law problems do not stand alone. Each law problem is closely related to other social problems and law problems are first and foremost linked with the development problems of a nation. I have, as a matter of fact, hereby touched upon the spirit and direction of the development of law in Indonesia such as we would like to promote on the basis of the universal principles of law while maintaining the specific characteristics of Indonesian law. The basic fabric of these Indonesian characteristics is our social ideals and philosophy, *Panchacila*, *Panchacila* encompasses these basic values we venerate and which form our cultural heritage. *Belief in God*, just and civilised *Humanity*, the unity of Indonesia or *Nationalism*, *Democracy*, and *Social Justice*, for the whole of the Indonesian people. *Panchacila* also reflects our awareness that man's life will only acquire a deeper meaning if it contains adjustment between individual interests and the interests of the society, between Man and Nature, between the pursuit of happiness in this world and the

happiness in the hereafter, between material progress and spiritual advancement, between the individual interests of each country and the common welfare of all nations...."

Though President Suharto spoke so enthusiastically about law in Indonesia, it is rather difficult to answer the question of what kind of democracy Indonesia has.

After 1965 when Gen. Suharto's military administration came to power in the country, the establishment of a "new order" was proclaimed. The first two years the "new order", which formally united various political trends in Indonesia, pursued only one goal: to make short work of the Communists and groupings friendly to them. At that time, quite naturally, there was no talk about democracy.

IN SUBSEQUENT YEARS, up to July 1971 when the general elections took place in the country, democracy was mentioned only in connection with acute political struggle. Herein, the term "new order" was rarely used. More often one could hear about the desire of the military to dominate in all spheres of Indonesia's political and economic life. To achieve their aim the military shunned at nothing. Split of political parties, blackmail, arrests and even murders of political rivals, generous financing of unofficial Sekber Golkar political party (Functional Groups), alliance with rich local Chinese, and falsifications during the poll of votes

at the elections—this list of "democratic" methods used by the military to ensure themselves complete victory at the elections, is far from being complete.

The essence of the "Indonesian democracy" during the pre-elections period and in the course of the elections was fully disclosed by one of the former leaders of the Muslim Nahdatul Ulama party Subhan who perished under mysterious circumstances in a car accident. Commenting upon President Suharto's statement that the elections took place in a quite and democratic atmosphere, he announced his intention to send a message on behalf of Indonesian Muslims to the UN Secretary General, saying how the military abuse their power. True, the message was not sent, and the "Indonesian democracy" was "saved".

The military won seats at the elections having driven into a corner their principal rivals—the Muslims and nationalists. Under prevailing circumstances the military and their allies began to

manipulate democracy more freely. Paradoxical as it may seem, most of the statements by military administration's spokesmen were based on the declaration of the former Indonesian Vice-President Dr. Hatta to the effect that "democracy in Indonesia is far from being ideal." The whole paradox is that in recent years Hatta almost openly sympathized with the Muslims and wanted to become Vice-President again. The military, however, abstained from this dangerous experiment. They preferred to enlist the services of Sultan Hamengku Buwono, who is not very popular politically.

Meanwhile, Dr. Hatta's statement induced the military to carry out measures to "extend democracy". To summarize their meaning, they are aimed at defending and justifying the stay in power of the military. If we want to grasp their trend, we, perhaps, are to deal, in some detail with the March (1973) session of the People's Consultative Congress (MPR) and with the military's attitude towards the opposition. And again, it is better to

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consider these problems in the light of the Indonesian democracy.

THE PRINCIPAL task of the MPR session was to elect the president and adopt program documents on Indonesia's home and foreign policies. The Official preparations were marked by a special stress on the necessity to observe all democratic principles. This, however, was done with due regard that nobody was able to compete with the military since the elections had brought them majority of seats in the Parliament and the MPR. Besides, they so arranged that only one person was nominated for presidency—Gen. Suharto again. His re-election was mere formality although it was referred to as the culmination of democracy.

But this is not only the matter of electing a President. The Indonesian public considers the problem of democracy in a much broader sense and primarily from the point of view of a possible creation of a civil opposition to Gen. Suharto's administration. Numerous local press-releases make it clear how problematical is now this aim for Indonesian political parties.

These press reports were stimulated by the recent statement by Gen. Panggabean, Minister of Defence, that "in Indonesia the armed forces are not the only social political force." According to the *Merdeka* newspapers which carried early last May an editorial "Progress of democracy": These words make happy the Indonesian public. However, going on with the

analysis of the arrangement of political forces in the country *Merdeka* comes to a conclusion that due to various reasons there is not a single party left in the country which could compete with the military. The newspaper expresses a wish that for the sake of democracy the country should be led not solely by the army but by other social political forces as well.

The majority of the country's politicians see the outcome in the creation of a civil opposition. The military, however, treat the problem otherwise. In point of fact their conception was set forth in detail back in the beginning of this year by the *Angkatan Bersenjata* newspaper.

A series of articles entitled 'The Destiny of Opposition in Indonesia' kept to the idea that the Indonesian democracy needs no opposition to the government at all. What made the authors of this conception come to this conclusion?

First of all, they try to prove that neither liberal forms of the Western democracy, nor the more rigid democracy of the East, nor the "directed democracy" of President Sukarno's time fits Indonesia. According to them, nowadays the democracy based on the five *Panchasila* principles, is most optimum. As President Suharto said in his official statement on August 16, 1967, the *Panchasila* democracy "does not know opposition which exists under liberal democracy. It is only acquainted with the

practice of parliamentary consultations with a view of reaching general accord". If one takes into account that the parliament is fully controlled by the military it seems to be not difficult for them to achieve the desired accord.

AS FOR the other forms of democracy which allow opposition, the military regard them as sources of riots, coups d'etat and antagonistic contradictions in a society. In this connection the military call on their political rivals striving for power to renounce the idea of creating an opposition and "as true democratic honestly and humbly admit their defeat."

Herein the military authorities do not confine themselves to appeals. They never ceased in venting various preventive measures. One of such measures is the system of "renovation of the political structure". It boils down to the reduction of the number of political parties, restriction of their activities among the people at large and emasculation of their ideological basis.

After a long period of pressurizing political parties, the military managed to form two groupings. One, called the *Unity Party*, included the Muslim parties Nahdatul Ulama, PSII (The Union of Indonesian Muslims), PERTI (The Party for Muslim Education) and PARMUSI (The Muslim Party). The nationalist parties—National, Catholic, Christian and the Murba Party—formed the other grouping called the *Democratic Party*.

C.P. RIFT WIDENS

C.F.T.U. SESSIONS SOFTLINERS FOREGATHER

by Kubera

The Communist-led Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions held their 18th Sessions at the Navaranghala from 16th to 18th August. This Sessions assumed a special importance in view of the wide rift that still separates the 'hardliners' from the 'softliners' in the local Communist Party.

As is well known, it is round the CFTU that the 'softliners' have gathered together after the 'hardliners' captured power at the CP's Eighth Congress just a year ago. To help in their campaign they resuscitated the CFTU organ *Satan Maga* (Path of Struggle) to rival the *Aththa*, the mouthpiece of their political rivals inside the same party.

THIS became possible because both the CFTU's leading officials—its President Pieter

Keuneman, General Secretary M. G. Mendis, Deputy General Secretary L. W. Panditha—are all 'softliners'. After the expulsion of Panditha and Samarawickrema from the CP, the importance of the CFTU and *Satan Maga* to this section in their inner-party squabbles became almost indispensable. Its importance has even increased after the latest series of expulsions including M. G. Mendis etc.

On the face of it such amalgamation might contribute towards consolidation of the parties and, possibly, creation of an opposition. The point is, however, that the amalgamated parties have different political platforms and for a long time have been in conflict. Capitalizing upon the prevailing situation, the military have forbidden the parties to popularize their ideology and demanded that they focus their activities on the fulfilment of the government's economic plans.

Thus, the political parties dispose of a very limited field of action and the opposition problem was resolved in a way favourable for the military. It is interesting to know where will this development of Indonesian democracy lead to? Are the military going to further vest it in their uniform, or will they at last realize the necessity to transfer, at least partly, their power to the civilian?

The strengthening of the positions of the CFTU and the CP as the organisations controlled by the 'softliners' and 'hardliners' respectively became complete when the CFTU in turn expelled from its ranks the few remaining 'hardliners' left like K. A. E. Britto and Indika Gunawardena.

This aspect of the present role of the CFTU was clearly brought out in the main (political) resolution adopted by the recent Sessions. Not only did this resolution expressly swear by the political positions adopted by the Eighth Congress of the CP

last year, it went out of its way to categorise the SLFP-LSSP-CP United Front as the mainstream of the progressive movement and brand as ultra-Left deviation and adventurism any attempt to create a 'third force' in opposition to both the UNP and the United Front. The resolution bluntly stated that ultra-Leftists and extreme Rightists seek the same end from different directions when they level attacks against the United Front Government.

The Presidential Address of Pieter Keuneman also took the same line, dotting the i's and crossing the t's in the political resolution and elaborating at greater length on certain points that were only referred to briefly in the resolution.

The main deliberations at the recent CFTU Sessions seem to have centred round the 28 demands. These demands are not confined to the CFTU alone but have been hammered out by it in consultation with the trade union federations sponsored by the SLFP and LSSP and other pro-United Front federations. They were adopted after deliberations by representatives of these federations organised within the Joint Committee of Trade Union Organisations at an earlier conference at the Navaranghala on 22nd July.

THE MAIN demands centre round the prohibition of the repatriation of capital, profits and dividends, the nationalisation of foreign banks and government control over agency houses. Demands relating to the workers them-

selves include one for a minimum monthly wage of Rs. 200 for workers in government service, state corporations, local government and the private sector, a minimum wage of Rs. 142 for estate workers, and the grant of a special cost of living allowance calculated at Rs. 2.50 for every unit rise in the cost of living index.

M. G. Mendis in his General Secretary's report to the Sessions stated that "through the campaign for these 28 demands, a united working class movement can be built, the Right-wing and reaction defeated, the Left strengthened and the country's progress accelerated." This campaign is scheduled to begin soon by the CFTU in association with its other trade union allies represented in the JCTUO.

AN INNOVATION that the CFTU appears to have made recently is to affiliate to itself trade unions in the public sector also. Hitherto both the CP and the LSSP had two separate federations for their workers in the public and private sectors. The LSSP had the Ceylon Federation of Labour (for the private sector) and the Government Worker's Trade Union Federation for government employees. The corresponding CP federations were the CFTU and the Public Service Trade Union Federation.

One is kept wondering whether the decision of the CFTU to unify both these organisations now is motivated by a desire for greater trade union unity or is another manifestation of the 'hard-soft' dispute. The PSTUF,

is known, is controlled by the hardliners in the CP led by Adipola, J. A. K. Perera and others.

EQUALLY ENIGMATIC is the slogan issued by the recent CFTU Sessions for the creation of a single trade union centre for the whole island. A new bulletin issued by the CFTU says that in pursuance of this long-cherished goal (of trade union unity) they have decided to "to forge further national working, class unity by increased joint activities through the JCTUO." Whether this is the only way in which trade union unity is sought or whether new organisational forms are envisaged is not made clear.

Among the achievements recorded for the CFTU for the period under review in the General Secretary's report is the collective agreement arrived at with the Employer's Federation. This collective agreement is said to have won higher wages for about 80,000 workers in the private sector and been the first to have won wage increases with retrospective effect. The report goes on to compare this agreement with the one reached with the Employers' Federation by the CMU of Bala Tampoe which, it says, had many shortcomings and in some respects adversely affected the conditions of the workers.

The CFTU also lists a number of gains they have won for employees in the state corporations as well as wage increases for workers in the bakeries and the coconut and cinnamon trades. It also claims to have dislodged,

acting in concert with the SLFP and LSSP trade union federations, Mr. Thondaman from his position as sole representative of the workers of Sri Lanka in the ILO.

AFTER ENUMERATING their achievements, the CFTU goes on to pinpoint certain shortcomings in the Ministry of Labour and the Labour Department. While thanking the United Front Government for fulfilling many of its election pledges relating to the revision of antiquated labour laws to bring them into line with contemporary conditions, it also points out the many more things that still remain to be done.

"The activities of the Labour Department," it says, "are in a sorry state", adversely affecting the reputation of the United Front Government. It particularly mentions the Industrial Courts where work has ground to a halt due to lack of clear-cut directives from the Ministry as well as a shortage of labour officers, clerks and typists in the district labour offices.

A notable feature of the recent CFTU Sessions was the total absence of any foreign delegates. Former CFTU Sessions were always attended by representatives from the World Federation of Trade Unions and the trade union centres of the Soviet Union, GDR and other socialist countries. This time, though invitations are known to have been sent to them all and even accepted by some, there was not a single foreign fraternal delegate to grace the CFTU Session.

THE INDIAN OCEAN

China's Diplomatic Thrust-2

South Asia and South East Asia

by S. K. Ghosh

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CHINA'S INTEREST in **South Asia**, particularly in the Indian subcontinent, is well known. Explaining China's objectives in this area in an interview with a Yugoslav editor in August 1971, Prime Minister Chou En-lai referred to China's struggle to keep the Indian subcontinent and the Indian Ocean free from Super Power domination. That the Super Power China was mainly concerned with was the **Soviet Union** was amply demonstrated by the various Chinese statements during the Bangladesh crisis and by its complete

Informed political observers believe that this is a sign of foreign displeasure at the growing rift inside the CP with the party proper and the CFTU acting as two rival organisations. They are known to be pressing hard for a reasonable settlement without allowing things to drift further and making the creation of another Communist Party inevitable.

Local CP-watchers will be on the look-out to see how things develop, now that the CFTU Session is over. Those in the know think that a final decision will be made soon as things cannot continue much longer as they are at present.

silence over the essay of the US Seventh Fleet task force led by the nuclear powered carrier Enterprise into the Bay of Bengal in mid-December 1971.

Speaking at the UN Security Council debate on 6 December 1971, the Chinese Ambassador, Huang Hua, said that the "secure boundaries" of the Soviet Union had all of a sudden been extended to the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and the Indian Ocean. "The aim of the Soviet leaders is to gain control over the subcontinent, encircle China and strengthen its position in contending with the other Super Power for world hegemony." There were similar statements inside and outside the UN forum during the Bangladesh liberation movement, the Indo-Pak conflict of December 1971 and even thereafter.

Considering China's interests in the affairs of the **Indian** subcontinent and its keen desire to regain influence in this area, if possible at the expense of the Soviet Union, one fails to comprehend why China should even now persist with its one-time expedient policy of backing the Islamabad regime and ignore altogether the realities in and the reconstruction of the

power structure in the subcontinent. Probably Peking is waiting for the resolution of the Islamabad-Dacca "tangle" and the POWS issue before making any new move. But it may be too late then, since the Soviets have already enhanced their prestige and influence enormously in this part of the subcontinent, by their judicious support to the cause of the Indian backed Bangladesh liberation movement and thereafter to the consolidation of the new Republic.

HOWEVER, China's influence in **Pakistan** appears to have increased further with the opening, in February 1971, of the Karakoram Highway and the reiteration of its continued military and economic aid during and after the Bangladesh crisis. The opening of the 400-mile karakoram highway linking Kashgar in Sinkiang with Pakistan's road network in Gilgit (in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir) across the 16,000-foot high Khurjerab pass marked an important landmark in Sino-Pakistan relationship. This strategic roadlink, which is claimed to be fit for 5 tonners and all-weather, apart from being militarily useful in the event of any possible Sino-Pakistan combined thrust towards Leh, may serve as a major Chinese outlet to the Indian Ocean. In January 1973 the PIA opened a direct and shorter air route linking Karachi, Islamabad and Peking across the Karakorams.

China and Pakistan were drawn closer to each other soon after the Chinese aggression of October 1962, and

relations between the two countries began to warm up over the years in inverse ratio to the deteriorating Sino-Indian relations. The two countries signed a border agreement in 1963 and the first economic aid agreement between them was signed in 1964. China's military aid programme was extended to Pakistan in 1965 in the wake of the Indo-Pakistan war in September of that year. China's economic aid commitments to Islamabad till now totalled \$309 mn. So far as military aid is concerned, Pakistan is the largest recipient in the non-communist world.

Between September 1965 and the end of 1968, China had supplied Pakistan with complete equipment for three infantry divisions, about 250 T-59 medium tanks and 120 Mig-19s. In April 1970, a fresh consignment of 100 T-59 tanks were reported to have been delivered to Pakistan. During his visit to Peking early in 1972 President Bhutto was believed to have received commitments of some more military supplies.

According to a London report, China had agreed to help Pakistan only to the extent of replacing equipment and aircraft that had been supplied in the past and lost in the December war. Some of this equipment is reported to have been shipped by the middle of 1972. Recently China has also transferred a few fast patrol boats to Pakistan to strengthen its naval defences badly shattered in the December war. According to

Jane's Fighting Ships 1972-73, four of these boats are likely to be "converted for missile firing in the Karachi dock-yard." The total value of Chinese arms aid between September 1965 and December 1971 is estimated at about \$ 200 mn by a US intelligence survey.

IN CEYLON (Sri Lanka) Peking has been trying to win the friendship of the Sirimavo Bandaranaike government first by denouncing the "Che Guevarist" movement there and then by offering liberal economic aid. (During 1970-72, China granted three interest-free longterm loans, aggregating over \$48 mn to Ceylon; about \$25.2 mn of these loans were to be aid in sterling). Sino-Sri Lanka relations reached the high water-mark in June-July 1972 when Prime Minister Bandaranaike paid an 11-day visit to Peking and received China's "resolute support" for Sri Lanka's "just proposition" to keep the Indian Ocean "a zone of peace." (China also gave its support to the formal declaration in the UN Assembly on 23 April 1973 about making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and also agreed to participate in the 15-member Committee, headed by Sri Lanka, appointed by the UN to evolve practical measures in this regard). Already, China was Sri Lanka's second largest trading partner after Britain in consequence of the 1952 rice-rubber barter trade pact between the two countries. Economic ties have been further strengthened during the Bandaranaike visit.

Soon after the visit there were reports to indicate that China was interested in obtaining naval base facilities at Trincomalee. One report said that the Chinese naval expansion programme had been speeded up and that it was considered probable that Peking would like to establish its presence in the Indian Ocean to emphasise its new international status. "Trincomalee could be a major factor in this strategy", the report added. Sri Lanka authorities denied that there was any move in this direction. There is, however, a shipping agreement between the two countries which permits Chinese freighters to use port facilities in Colombo. Lately, China has also extended its military aid programme to Sri Lanka. Last year (1972), it supplied five patrol boats to Sri Lanka's Navy and gave Rs. 22.5 mn-worth of military equipment to the island's Armed Forces.

(To be continued)

NOT FOR HUMANS

The centenary of South Africa's Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was marked with the issue of a stamp symbolizing, as it were, peace and universal concord: it depicts two cats, one black and one white, side by side. Paul Oestreicher, a London vicar campaigning against apartheid, commented: "Two human beings in South Africa—one black, one white one lying, one sitting, in such physical proximity would be risking arrest under the immorality Act."

TRIBUNE, August 25, 1973

IS IT TRUE?

Sherlock Holmes

* MAY DAY FLOATS

* FIBRE BOARD * TREACLE

IS IT NOT A FACT that questions are being asked in knowledgeable circles about the expenditure incurred by several state corporations for the floats and other decorations used on the last May Day rally? That though certain government departments and corporations had employed their own men to make these floats, certain other corporations had got private contractors to do the job? That the Sri Lanka Sugar Corporation had paid a private contractor Rs. 24,800 for the float and other decorations? That according to the Financial Regulations any job for more than Rs. 5000 can be handed over to a private contractor only after calling for tenders? That the Sugar Corporation did not think it was necessary to follow this procedure? That the Sugar Corporation had also sold sugar packed in polythene bags from the floats and that these polythene bags had been bought for Rs. 3375 from a private party—when the Corporation could have easily made them from polythene sheets? That the Fisheries

Corporation, the People's Bank and the Building Materials' Corporation had also got private contractors to make the floats which were paraded on the streets? That it is strange that workers in these Corporations were not induced to make the floats and decorations? That even if some bonus was paid to them, it would have been far cheaper than handing over the job to private contractors? That many assert that a government which was seeking to eliminate private trade, private property (above ceilings for the moment) and private profit should not have resorted to private contractors to make these floats?

IS IT NOT A FACT that the Auditor General has pinpointed several irregularities in the working of the government's finances? That one glaring instance of waste was in regard to an operation by the Coconut Fibre Board? That this Board had purchased a land of 2½ acres at Dankotuwa for Rs. 23,561 for

a laboratory site? That, subsequently, buildings were constructed at a cost of Rs. 91,295 on this land? That only after purchasing the land and constructing the building did the Board find out that the place was unsuitable for a laboratory? That thereafter the Board decided to sell the land and building and construct a new laboratory at the Industrial Estate at Ekala? That no buyer was willing to purchase the Dankotuwa site and building for a sum anywhere near what the Government had spent? That there was really no buyer at all? That at present the Rs. 91,295 building seems to have been let out for a song to some coconut mill owners in the locality as a store?

IS IT NOT A FACT that one District Development Council, under the Government's Five Year Plan, has already spent over Rs. 4000 on a treacle project and that up to date its production has consisted of two bottles of treacle? That this project was designed to produce treacle, a commodity with export possibilities? That this fantastic feat of producing two bottles after an expenditure of Rs. 4000 has been under the aegis of the Wellawa District Development Council? That the main reason for the failure of this project was due to employing untrained personnel? That this treacle industry under this Council has already ceased to exist? That favourites of MPs who are found employment, cannot deliver the goods?