

TRIBUNE

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✻ End of Communal Politics in Sri Lanka? FALLOUT FROM KACHCHATIVU?

MINISTER FELIX R. DIAS BANDARANAIKE'S recent visit to Jaffna and the statements he had made in the Assembly and elsewhere lately seem to indicate that the hard core of the SLFP have found the necessary political courage to say things which might bring an end to one phase of communal politics in this country. To the credit of the Government, it must be said, that in the last few months it has adopted measures which have paved the way to enable Sinhala politicians to begin a dialogue with the Tamil people.

The Tamil leaders, especially the leaders of the TUF, still stand apart, suspicious and angry, having been humiliated by the Government in

many ways. The measure of the Government's statesmanship will be demonstrated only if it is able to enter into a dialogue with the TUF without being sidetracked by the vociferous crowd of pro-UF and pro-SLFP Tamil activists who think they can win the complete confidence of the Tamil people by distributing the crumbs that fall from the table. Just as much as the TUF cannot be immediately eliminated and replaced by the pro-LSSP-CP-SLFP organisations to represent the Tamil peoples, it is also not realistic to expect the Tamil people to discard Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam and accept Mr. Alfred Thuralappah as their leader.

It is also necessary that TUF leaders, who for years, have been drifting will-nilly without any substantial economic or political programmes, sustained only by emotional slogans based on race and language should now begin to adopt realistic and pragmatic policies and attitudes in order to solve the problems of the Tamil people through amicable talks and negotiations with Sinhala leaders who really represent the Sinhalese people. The TUF has so far tried bombast and bluff, threatening satyagraha and civil disobedience, (whilst its MPS secretly fought for the plums and crumbs of government patronage), to win even partial acceptance from the Sinhalese for its emotional slogans overcharged with a divisive tinge of greater dra-vidastan politicking.

The settlement arrived at regarding Kachchativu, and which has (very wisely) been accepted by the TUF, is clear indication that the Central Government of India will not permit the emotional sloganising of the DMK in Tamil Nadu, to stand in the way of peaceful relations with neighbouring countries—no doubt in the wider national interests of the Indian Union. The Kachchativu settlement has also convinced the Sinhalese people that India was not inclined to use the Tamil speaking population in Sri Lanka (in the North and East and in the Hill country plantations) as a kind of fifth column to interfere in domestic politics or to pander to the chauvinism of the DMK, Jan Sangh and other diehard rightwing organisations in India. Further the Indian Government has been wise enough to arrive at a settlement which is advantageous to Sri Lanka,

INSIDE:

- **TRIBUNANIA**
—Defections: UNP, FP
- **INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**
—Canada, USA
- **CHRONICLE**
—July 6—July 12
- **INANIA**
—The Belt of Misery
- **IS IT TRUE?**
—The Foreign Office

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and thereby make it impossible for the chauvinists and jingoists among the Sinhalese to accuse the UF Government, led Mrs. Bandaranaike, of having sold the country to India. This agreement also cuts the ground under the feet of the Maoist lobby in Sri Lanka, which is for ever harping on the cry that India was "expansionist", ready to swallow every little country on its orders.

Whilst all the constituent parties of the TUF (including the CWC) have welcomed the Kachchativu agreement thus creating a new atmosphere in Sinhalese-Tamil relations, the UNP and its leader J. R. Jayawardene have not made any comment on the Agreement. Up to the time of writing these notes, JR has only said he was happy that Kachchativu was Sri Lanka's, but he reserved his comments on the agreement itself because he wanted to study the full Agreement. Just as the DMK and the Jan Sangh in India have begun to contest the Kachchativu Agreement on the ground that Mrs. Indira Gandhi's government had given too much away to Sri Lanka, the UNP is now awaiting an opportunity to say that Mrs. Bandaranaike's government has sold Sri Lanka down the line in the matter of fishing, mineral and other rights in the Palk Strait—all for a barren rock. Just as the Jan Sangh and the DMK have begun shouting that Mrs. Gandhi has foolishly given away Indian territory to appease Mrs. Bandaranaike, the UNP will undoubtedly soon begin to shout that Mrs. Bandaranaike has given away the undersea wealth of Palk Straits to India for a mess of pottage in the form of a barren Kachchativu.

Such criticisms are today inevitable in respect of any negotiated settlement—from the extreme Right as well as the extreme Left—but the mainstream of public opinion will carry these agreements forward. The *detente* between the USA and USSR, and each set of new agreements by the two countries, bring criticism from the extreme Right (that Nixon was selling out to Brezhnev) and from the extreme Left (that it was a two super-power conspiracy for world hegemony), but the overwhelming majority of the people in the world prefer a state of peaceful co-existence stemming from *detente* to the dangerous possibilities of a nuclear war born of

continuing cold war confrontations and unresolved small hot wars in different parts of the world.

THE *DETENTE*, initiated by Mrs. Gandhi and Mrs. Bandaranaike, in two Summits in the last eighteen months to settle all outstanding disputes and problems between India and Sri Lanka, has borne ample fruit. A part from problems connected with the stateless being resolved in an amicable way, the acrimonious disputes about Kachchativu has been settled. But more than all this, a programme of economic collaboration on a wide scale has been set in motion.

One of the most important consequences, if not the most important, is that this Indo-Sri Lanka *detente* has cleared the atmosphere for better Sinhalese-Tamil relations in Sri Lanka. The fear in Sinhalese minds, that the TUF was talking big (and which it was) because of the support the TUF expected to get from India, has now begun to disappear. The illusion, which had unfortunately plagued the minds of TUF leaders that the Tamils of Sri Lanka could expect political and other support from India has been shattered. And it is important that nothing should be done to bring back these fears, on the one hand, and the illusions on the other, into the arena of our domestic politics—although extremists from the Right as well as the Left will do every thing to bring old confrontations between India and Sri Lanka into the forefront of our domestic politics.

IT IS IN THIS BACKGROUND and setting that one must view the initiative taken by Minister Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike to open a dialogue in Jaffna. There is no doubt, though it was not visible on the surface, that certain TUF leaders welcomed this move by Mr. Bandaranaike who is one of the few Sinhalese leaders who will be able to evaluate the possibilities of persuading the Tamils to accept Mr. Alfred Thuraiappah as their leader—in spite of the fact that Mr. Thuraiappah was in constant attendance on Mr. Bandaranaike.

As a prelude to this journey to Jaffna, Mr. Bandaranaike took the opportunity in the National State Assembly, in answer to a question at adjournment, to say:

"The age of communalism is dead in this country as far as this Government is concerned. Every person had a right to live and enjoy the fruits of the freedom of this land.

It was Mr. K. W. Devanayagam (UNP Kalkudah) who had said that an ugly situation had arisen at the Hardy Technical Institute at Amparal last week. The Institute had 180 Sinhalese students and 56 Tamils on its role. One night last week the Sinhalese students had put out the lights and had allegedly assaulted the Tamil students mercilessly.

"Mr. Bandaranaike said he was shocked to hear that an incident of that nature had taken place. It certainly did not receive the blessings of this Government especially in this country where every man, woman and child had a right to live without fear. In raising the matter during the adjournment Mr. Devanayagam had said there had been an association formed by Sinhala Buddhist students of the Institute and the Tamil students had formed another Association. The Tamil students who had been assaulted had fled to the woods for fear of their lives.

"Mr. Bandaranaike had said he agreed with Mr. Devanayagam that incidents of this nature should not be condoned. He regretted the incident very much as communalism should not be condoned from whichever quarter it came.

"The days when Communalism held sway were fast vanishing. The Government did not want communalism to pervade in any part of the country. He said that this type of communalism had ceased in the south, particularly after persons like K. M. P. Rajaratne who rode his communal hobby horse, vanished from the scene. He said that he would bring this matter to the notice of the authorities concerned for necessary action."

It must be remembered that a categorical statement condemning communalism among Sinhalese students would not have been forthcoming from any SLFP Minister even a few weeks ago. In fact, it can be said that this statement would not have been made before the Kachchativu agreement. All that would have been said would be no more than that the Govern-

ment would institute investigations into the incident and the report of the inquiry would be made available later. And, after that, the matter would be forgotten. SLFP and UF Ministers have been always ready and eager to condemn communalism among the Tamils, but over the years it is difficult to recall any serious condemnation of Sinhalese communalism —because Sinhalese communalism had come to be regarded as the unwritten bedrock of UF politics. Even the marxist proletarian parties had never dared to condemn Sinhala communalism lest they tread the chauvinist toes among the Sinhalese. The Left Parties had therefore followed the path of political expediency by only condemning only Tamil communalism. The Left, which has consistently tailed behind the SLFP on this question, will now no doubt feel strong enough to revert to their earlier proletarian policies on the communal question.

About the same time as he had made the statement in the Assembly, Mr. Bandaranaike had addressed the Rotary Club of Colombo. A report of the speech he made at the Club gave a hint as to what was he going to say in Jaffna.

The report from the *Daily Mirror* is set out below: "Communalism which bestrode the south of Sri Lanka like a colossus sometime back is now extinct. So observed the Minister of Public Administration, Local Government, Home Affairs and Justice, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, at the 8th Induction dinner meeting of the Rotary Club of Colombo North held at the Hotel Taprobane on Wednesday (July 3).

"Mr. Bandaranaike said that he believed that even in the North, communalism was on the way out. The people there were prosperous now. Jaffna not only had large number of pensioners, but also had been generating new agricultural incomes. These incomes had reached large dimensions. The palmyrah fences were coming down and new tiled roofs were coming up. New policies adopted by the United Front Government had paid rich dividends, he emphasised.

"Mr. Bandaranaike said that voluntary organisations could do a great deal to better the lot of the little man.

"He emphasised it was not a question of financial contributions but an honest and human endeavour to help remove the disparity. It was important that people should be treated like human beings and not components like nuts and bolts. He also recalled that pavements hawkers were cleared from the city pavements, but they were found alternate places. Colombo North was now devoid of squalor.

"Mr. Bandranaike added that when the Kachchativu issue was amicably settled by the Prime Ministers of India and Ceylon all political parties in this country welcomed the settlement wholeheartedly.

Even the Federal Party leader, Mr. Chelvanayakam had warmly welcomed it."

Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike had a rousing reception in Jaffna. Though FP and TUC leaders were not present at the reported functions, it was significant that they did not call upon the people either to boycott the Minister's visit or to carry black flags as a mark of protest. Nor did Mr. Bandaranaike make the mistake of attacking FP and TUF leaders, as had been the custom in the recent past by UF Ministers on visits to the North. Mr. Bandaranaike made many speeches in Jaffna but his theme was one and his "line" was consistent. A report in the *Times of Ceylon* by S. G. N. Pushparatnam was probably the best report of his main speech which has appeared in the daily press. What he said is undoubtedly a basis for a dialogue.

"He had come to Jaffna not only as a representative of the Government but also as a true friend of the Tamils in the North. He had come not to ask for votes or to canvass their politicians to cross over to the Government. He had not come to talk politics either. The purpose of his visit was to seek their friendship and co-operation to build a United Sri Lanka where all the people, irrespective of their community, language or religion would be equal and enjoy equal rights. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Public Administration. Local Government Home Affairs and Justice, said so at a public meeting held at the open air theatre in Jaffna last night.

"He said he agreed with those people who said that the Tamils

had several of their problems unsolved yet. But these problems could be solved if both communities establish contact with each other and discussed their problems with a view to solving them. By having discussions and explaining mutual difficulties the long-standing problems including the language question could be solved easily. By mutual understanding and creating an atmosphere of friendship all the problem that confronted both com-



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munities could be settled once and for all. Instead of doing that some politicians in the North were trying to wage war against the Government and issued threats occasionally.

"A concrete example of how problems could be solved by means of discussion was the solution of the Indo-Ceylon problems and the recent settlement of the dispute over the ownership of Kachchativu. He was happy that some of the Tamil politicians, including Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam who once said that Kachchativu belonged to South India, had now expressed joy and satisfaction as regards the recent agreement.

"That agreement was made by the Prime Minister not with any political motive, but to help the people of the North, especially the fishermen who used the island and pilgrims from the North. The administration of the island would now come within the purview of the Delft local authorities. Communalism which once bestrode the southern and northern parts of Sri Lanka was now on the way out. The people on both sides of the Elephant Pass had begun to think of a united nation. As a result communal politicians like Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratne and his counterparts in the North had been pushed to the background. He was happy to see that the people of Jaffna too, had realised that communal politics would not help them solve their problems.

"The Jaffna farmers had proved in recent times that they were superior to their counterparts in the South in all respects. That was mainly due to the agricultural policy of the Government and it had helped the Jaffna farmers to become very rich. Farmers in the South had expressed their willingness to learn from the Tamil farmers and to adopt some of their methods.

Four Times Two

Mrs. Howard Morris of Richmond, U.S.A., has given birth to twins for the fourth consecutive time. The odds of four sets of twins being born consecutively to the same mother are one in 65,610,000.

"Referring to the language of the Courts, the Minister said he had made Tamil the language of the courts in the Tamil areas because he felt that it would not be fair if the Tamils were forced to conduct the affairs of the Courts in a language other than their own. He had provided all the facilities for Tamil litigants to conduct their cases in Tamil in their courts and it was now left to them to make use of them."

It is clear, from the references Mr. Bandaranaike made to the Kachchativu settlement and the fact that the TUF had welcomed it, that this major transformation in SLFP and government attitude to the Tamil question is due in no small measure to the fact that the Indian Government had arrived at a reasonable settlement of the Kachchativu dispute and other issues—without paying any consideration to the wishes and sentiments of the Tamil-speaking peoples in Sri Lanka. It was unfortunate that in the past, even in the days of Jawaharlal Nehru, negotiations in the questions of the stateless and even other matters in dispute were preceded by discussions in New Delhi with representatives of the Tamil peoples, especially the plantation workers. This had always been resented by the Sinhalese and had been one contributing factor in the creation of fears and apprehensions about India's intentions in Sri Lanka. Viewed in retrospect even the entertainment of representations from the Tamils and plantation workers both in New Delhi and Madras, whilst sensitive discussions were going on, was tantamount to interference in the domestic affairs of the island.

The current negotiations during the last 18 months was done, as it should always have been done, on a government-to-government basis, without Tamil parties and individuals making pilgrimages to New Delhi and Madras to make representations on behalf of sectional interests. The resulting agreements which have worked out compromise solutions on every major issue in dispute have not only laid the foundations for better understanding and friendship between the two countries but have also contributed substantially towards defusing Sinhalese-Tamil tensions in this country.

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* DEFECTIONS AND DESERTIONS: UNP AND FP

IN OUR LAST ISSUE, we had made some comments about the Mustapha defection from the UNP, but even before the ink was dry on the words we had written, the city of Colombo was flooded with a spate of rumours that other UNP defections were around the corner. When defection becomes an avalanche the proper word to use is desertion, but words do not matter when a new polarisation of forces seems imminent.

Even before the words in this column are before our readers during the weekend, some of these defections, or desertions, may have materialised into reality. Or they may not for sometime—with people watching as to what would happen in the Mustapha case. The air is now thick with rumours: that four UNP MPs, three from the Eastern Province and one from the Up-country, and two Federal Party MPs, also from the Eastern Province, were on the verge of deserting their parties. In addition, there are hushed whispers that a former Minister of the UNP (not an MP now) was also on the brink of deserting the ranks of UNP stalwarts because of differences of opinion with J. R. Jayawardene over policy matters and strategic plans. The name of also another top flight UNP Minister is also mentioned as being fed up with JR's leadership.

What all these portend is that there is a new ferment in the UNP as a result of the disastrous policies which had been followed by the Party under J.R.

Tribune has consistently pointed out that the negative and futile policies of the UNP, revolving around nihilistic attempts to stage satyagraha and civil disobedience, would lead the party into a point of no return in the never never land of political oblivion. What we had anticipated has now begun to take place.

The same thing can happen to the FP also which still seems to think, in that style and manner of DMK adventurism which has lost its momentum even in Tamil Nadu, that big talk, political threats and sectarian blackmail was the best way of winning and maintaining electoral support and the emotional confidence of the people it sought to represent. The FP, like the UNP, has no policies—especially on economic matters. To run with hare and hunt with the hounds among the Tamils, the FP has no economic programme—and on the strength of its emotional slogans it has so far evaded such questions. But it cannot do so anymore.

The FP took a realistic view of the Kachchativu settlement and supported an agreement—which it was in no position to oppose. The FP had probably realised that the DMK was no longer the sole political force in Tamil Nadu and that its image was fast losing all the charisma it once had. But the FP refuses to enter the next stage of holding a dialogue with the Government without sprinkling its path with threats of various kinds—no doubt to impress the voters that it has “forced” the Government to recognise the need for coming to terms with the FP. In the past these threats had not brought success to the FP, but the FP has continued to retain the confidence of the Tamil people. But now, and in the future, with the Government adopting more realistic and flexible policies to win over the Tamil people, the FP leadership, if it persists in such stale tactics, will soon find itself in a worse plight than what the JR leadership now has to contend with inside the UNP.

The latest issue of the FP journal, *Sutantiran*, has a hint that there was growing move among the people of Jaffna to boycott the visit of the PM to the North to open the University Campus. What this means is that the FP has threatened a boycott, a hartal, and a black flag procession—which it is still in a position to organise with some degree of strength in Jaffna—as a threat to induce the PM to enter into a dialogue with the FP (and the TUF) on an exclusive basis in order to rehabilitate itself as the sole political voice of the Tamil people.

If the PM takes serious heed of this threat—as she and the Government had often done in the past—and either cancels her visit to Jaffna or even puts off the opening of the campus, the FP would have added one more scalp to the long list of FP scalplings which have been the bane of Tamil politics in this country. For the FP to maintain its hold on the Tamil people, it must succeed in preventing any satisfactory settlement of outstanding issues so that the emotional slogans about discrimination and the like would continue to evoke support. If the grievances of the Tamils are removed, then the FP cannot thrive on its emotional and jingoistic slogans, and in the absence of any economic programme it would vanish into thin air.

FP circles are now planting stories that the Government should revive the Bandaranaike—Chelvanayakam Agreement as a precondition for FP support for the PM's visit to the North. It is further suggested that unless PM and the Government agreed to this, the FP would make it impossible for the PM to visit the North. It will be recalled that during the fifteen years and more, each time any Government which could deliver the goods was on the verge of entering a dialogue with the Tamils, the FP would beat its big drums and issue the customary threats—mainly to show that it was FP truculence and aggressiveness which had produced results. And every time this has happened in the last 15 years, the Government has retreated and thereby left the Tamil people to the mercies of the FP.

What the Government will now do is not clear, but many Tamil people who have never been enamoured of FP politicking are hoping that the UF government will call off FP bluff as it has successfully called off UNP bluff. Only when such stuntism and tamasha politics have been laid to rest, will it be possible to place national politics on a firm and realistic basis where economic and political programmes would constitute the bedrock of national development.

The FP has in recent weeks also added another sting to its game of bluff. The *Sutantiran* has had red ink covered issues commemorating the death of Sivakumar

who had committed suicide when caught by the Police. He had been wanted in connection with bomb outrages and he had been on the run for sometime. But he had emerged from the underground and whilst his gang was at some rural bank in Jaffna (the police believe that they had gone there to rob the bank), the police had got wind of this and surrounded the place. Sivakumar had tried to “capture” a gun from a policeman and when he failed had swallowed some cyanide poison he had carried (in Mafia style and not like a political revolutionary). The FP is now seeking to make Sivakumar a Tamil hero in order to win over the rebellious Tamil youth who have no use for FP anymore and who were drifting slowly to the established Left Parties and even the Tamil wing of the proscribed JVP. This attempt by the FP to capture the support of the potential insurgent youth in the North is on par with its customary policy of stuntism. How far this will take the FP is yet to be seen, but much will depend on the way the Government deals with this phase of FP adventurism.

IN THE MEANTIME, the established Left Parties are perturbed by the defections from the UNP to the SLFP. They are no doubt pleasurably happy that these defections are taking place marking a demoralisation in the ranks of the UNP, but the Left parties are worried what the impact of such defectors and deserters being welcomed into the SLFP would be. The Nation, 12/7/74, had a front page lead entitled INCREASING DESERTIONS: RUMBLINGS OF MAJOR UNP DISASTER. For the record, we reprint the article in full.

“UNP circles are apprehensive that the resignation of Nintavur MP, M. M. Mustapha, from their Party and his application for admission into the S.L.F.P. will commence a landslide of earth-shaking proportions. It is already being rumoured that two more U.N.P. M.P.'s representing neighbouring constituencies in the Eastern province have already decided to abandon the sinking ship of their once-powerful political party and clamber aboard the Prime Minister's skillfully steered ocean liner. But even this is not the end of the U.N.P.'s bourgeoning calamity. Further rumour

has is that one of the highly publicised bright-sparks of the U.N.P. whose volubility has outdone the waterfalls in his Up-Country constituency, and a Minority Community veteran whose speeches in the House generally receive attention, are also bitterly resentful of the leadership that has brought down the roof of their expensively constructed political refuge. They are reported to have expressed the opinion that its ruins are beyond salvage.

"It should not be assumed that the collapsing regions in the UNP's structure are confined to its parliamentary pillars. The **Journal** (formerly the **U.N.P. Journal**—why the abbreviation?) attempts to dismiss MP Mustapha's desertion by reference to his earlier somersaults. Mustapha, it says, was an Independent in 1952, an FP-er in 1956, an SLFP-er in 1959, a Dahanayake man in 1960 and a UNP-er in 1965. The **Nation** could go further and say that the Eastern Province is the unstable patch in our otherwise mature political voting pattern. But for that reason the Eastern Province is our most dependable weathercock. After an election or before an election, that is the best location for knowing how the wind blows.

"The **Nation**, ever since the manifestation at Kandy on the occasion of the United Front meeting in early June, has referred repeatedly to signs of mass desertions of middle-class supporters of the UNP in the provincial towns and rural areas in the direction of the United Front, especially the SLFP. These people may be said to constitute the very foundations of the UNP. If true, the true-blue party of the privileged classes is in the throes of disintegration. It is necessary to examine this probability. JR's substitution of 'clever tactics' for patient class strategy and his capitulation to the fascistic impatience of Niyathapala and Premadasa have very likely brought this about.

"Fascism, we have pointed out several times, is the politics of a middle-class run mad. And madness is the escape route of desperate people. The UNP attracted the middle classes to its standard, but they were disciplined by the class interests of the capitalists and imperialists who ran the party. It was a party of rather sedate old people who, like all prudens and

moralisers, used the whip or the gur to keep the common people under their heel. The infection of fascistic madness was clear evidence that the resistance of the capitalist class had been severely impaired by the UF Government's four years of rule. The Land Reform had, particularly, dealt them a cruel blow.

"But the deserters that now clamber abroad the United Front platform are still the same people who till yesterday were passionate supporters of the UNP and bitter antagonists of the UF. This is the new situation of danger that confronts the UF and the country. Capitalism and the imperialist stranglehold have not yet been destroyed in the country. Large strata of our people retain their old attitudes and illusions. They come with this same reactionary baggage into our ranks when they abandon their now collapsing UNP platform. While the capitalist class and the imperialist stranglehold remain, these deserters may well bring along with them classical Trojan horse. Deserters must be regarded as deserters, therefore. To the extent that they throw up their hands, they must be treated with kindness and courtesy. But they must not be regarded as reliable allies. The battle is far from won as yet. The major battles with imperialism and the hard core of the capitalist class still lie ahead. Until then, let us be wary about the Greeks and the bearers of political gifts."

There is fear, no doubt, that the SLFP would be submerged with a new surge of rightwing dead weight. The demand in the SLFP Working Committee that leftwing factions like the Janavegaya should not be permitted to function under cover of the SLFP also seems to have caused some fresh thinking in Left circles.

Last week, a new "organisations", which calls itself VAMA SAMA-SAMAJAYA had come into public notice by staging a protest demonstration in Colombo "against fascism" under the banner of University students. But the larger part of the impressive crowd were school children from certain outstations who had hired buses and lorries to come to Colombo. The three most prominent leaders of this demonstration were Vasudeva Nanayakkara (LSSP), Sarath Muttetugama (CP) and Ratne Deshapriya

Senanayaka (SLFP). Vama means left and what it signifies is that the MPs concerned want an organisation to the "left" of the established parties in the UF. This is an indirect revolt against the old leadership of the UF parties. And the *Vama Samasamajaya* group, no doubt, want to make a bid for the support of the "insurgent youth".

Where all this will end is not very clear yet, but there these are unmistakable signs of a new polarisation of political forces in this country.

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IN THE CANADIAN GENERAL ELECTIONS held on July 8, Prime Minister Mr. Trudeau's Liberal Party scored an astounding victory upsetting all predictions that the results would leave Canada with a minority government having to depend on an uncertain coalition. The Liberals have won a clear majority in the 264-seat in Canada's House of Commons and have also given Canada its third majority government in the last 20 years or so. In the last Parliament elected in 1972, the Liberals had only 109 seats and they had to have a cliff-hanger existence for 20 months with the 30-member New Democratic Party. But the coalition broke down when the NDP withdrew their support on budgetary matters and voted with the Conservatives.

The results of the Canadian election have surprised all observers because the ruling party has been given an increased majority at a time when the country was afflicted by the worst inflation in its history—11%. The Conservatives, led by Robert Stanfield, had concentrated on the inflation issue and hoped to beat Trudeau's Liberal Party with the Conservatives, panacea of a wage-price freeze. But the electors seem to have rejected this solution because of its failure elsewhere, particularly in the USA and Britain. Though Stanfield has retained his own seat, it is likely that this election will end his leadership of the Conservative Party. This election seems to have also caused a serious setback to the political career of David Lewis, the leader of the New Democratic party, who lost his own seat to a Liberal in the election.

Interpretative analysts attribute Trudeau's victory primarily to his success in persuading the voters that that the Conservative charge that he had led the country into inflation was wrong by arguing that the inflationary situation was

not homegrown or peculiar to Canada but was international in scope. He also no doubt succeeded in making them believe that inflation could not be curbed by changing horses in midstream—but by putting their trust in his own as yet untried solutions. Further, it is said, that in 1972, Trudeau had approached the voters with the patronising aloofness of an intellectual, but this time he had entered vigorously into the fray in the best manner and style of a rough and tumble politician. The charisma of Trudeaumania, which had first swept the country in 1968, and which many thought had waned never to return, has once again asserted itself bringing together different parts of the electorate—from the east and west, from the rural and the urban and from the French as well as the English-speaking. It is considered significant that Trudeau's Liberals had scored heavily not only in their power-base of French dominated Quebec but also in the English-speaking Ontario province cutting strongly into the strongholds of the Conservatives and the NDP.

After his 1968 victory, Trudeau had given Canadian foreign policy a hallmark of independence from the dominance of the United States and the NATO. This was, however, curbed, by his electoral reverse in 1972 when he led a minority government. Now that he has an absolute majority once again, observers have suggested that he would be able to have a stronger bargaining position *vis a vis* the much weaker administration in the USA especially in economic issues. It must be recalled that Trudeau had come into power in 1968 because he very subtly had suggested that it was possible for Canada to become "independent" of the USA.

The Canadians, who had long felt misused by a politically and economically dominating southern neighbour, found Mr. Trudeau's determination to make Canada a truly independent entity, and his less than polite way of going about it stimulating—referring to the US he once told a Washington audience of newsmen: "The trouble with sleeping next to an elephant is that every time the beast grunts, its bed-mate gets the jitters."

Further, as a bilingual French-Canadian, Mr. Trudeau was also

able, during his earlier years in office, to mute the divisive and parochial instincts of French and English-speaking Canadians—under him there were fewer cries for a Free Quebec, and no more sounds of terrorist bombs exploding in the heart of Montreal. In foreign policy, long before the US set the stamp of approval on Communist China, Mr. Trudeau recognised Peking, established closer rapport with the leaders in the Kremlin, and followed a hemispheric policy, not dependent on nods of approval from Washington.

The 1968 victory and the support his policies seemed to have evoked had led Trudeau into thinking that his political future was a cocksure certainty—at least when he had faced the voters in 1972. This had led him into a *cul-de-sac* where he had assumed that the charisma of Trudeaumania would prevail at all times, but he had been disappointed. Now he seems to have learnt his lesson, but it is worthwhile recalling some salient landmarks in recent Canadian political history.

In the last 16 years Canada has had five coalition governments, led either by the Progressive Conservatives or the Liberals, so when the Liberals won an absolute majority of 155 seats in the 264-member House of Commons in 1968, Mr. Trudeau seemed to have set a new political pattern.

But what was regarded as his political irresistibility was shattered when, in the 1972 election, the Liberals could only scrape together 109 seats to the Conservatives' 106 seats. But even as political pundits, who had begun to grow disillusioned with Mr. Trudeau's management of the country, were beginning to write his political obituary and predicting another immediate election to get a more decisive verdict, Mr. Trudeau confounded his critics by staying on in power with the tacit support of the socialist-oriented New Democrat Party. It was a precarious existence from the start, and Mr. Trudeau knew it—since 1972 he has had a poster nailed to the door of his office in Parliament building which showed a nimble treedog hanging from a limb by its tail. A caption underneath it said. "Hang in there, baby."

And Mr. Trudeau did hang on as the head of a minority government for 19 long months, until the axe finally fell when the NDP pulled the chair from under Mr. Trudeau and voted with the Opposition Conservatives and the Social Credit Party to topple his government and precipitate a new general election. The immediate cause was the 1974 budget proposed by Mr. Trudeau, which the Opposition charged did little to cope with galloping inflation and soaring living costs. This was inexplicable to the Canadians because unlike other industrial countries, plagued by inflation, Canada is short of neither food, fuel, or fibre, the current cause of global inflation.

The 31-strong New Democrats had, during the last 19 months, extracted a series of concessions from the Liberals as the price of their political support in Parliament. Reluctantly Mr. Trudeau had gone along with many of their socialist measures, but he drew the line when the NDP's latest demand called for a soak-the-rich tax policy which Mr. Trudeau could not concede without alienating the huge corporations in Toronto and Montreal—the latter being Mr. Trudeau's own political base. The Rightwing parties on the other hand, wanted wage-price controls to keep inflation down and Mr. Trudeau could not concede to them without admitting that his own, as yet untried economic measures, were inadequate. So the right and the left-wing parties decided they had had enough of Mr. Trudeau.

Though economic issues had dominated the elections Trudeau's charisma was once again on test, and it

seems clear that Canada's 13 million voters are still attracted by Trudeau's charm, although Trudeau is no longer a favourite of the staid members of the Anglo-Saxon establishment or the Empire Club in Canada. When the latest election campaign had begun it was predicted that Trudeau could not win anything but a small lead over the other parties, but the predictions have all gone wrong. As the election was mainly fought on economic issues, it was also felt that David Lewis and the New Democratic would score heavily at the expense of the Liberals as well as the Conservatives. This too has not happened.

Finally, Canada likes to regard itself as a multi-ethnic society where all citizens are considered equal whether they migrated last year, or in the last century. Canadians of Indian origin are a small minority, but in recent years, as their numbers have grown, there has been a feeling among them that they are becoming subject to discrimination and prejudice. They believe that step-fatherly treatment at the hands of government officials, or the denial of deserved advancement in the industries they are employed in, is often due to racial basis. Trudeau, has been able to win support from all ethnic elements in Canada to score his election victory.

Trudeau with his new style of politics for one of the richer Atlantic Community countries has always had a strong appeal for people in Sri Lanka. His re-election to power with a clear majority has been welcomed in this country with hopes that he will be able to invest the policies and actions of the western world with a new realism towards Third World countries.

THE UNITED STATES to the immediate South of Canada had for long dominated the economic (and, in many ways, the political) life of Canada. Trudeau was the first Prime Minister of Canada who had succeeded in charting a policy somewhat independent of the USA. And, where Canada had gone in the matter of establishing close ties with China, the USA had followed with a Kissingerian detente which has taken the Americans only half way to meet the Chinese. But it is not merely in foreign policy that the differences

with the USA have been sharp. In economic issues there have been major questions of policy differences particularly in regard to US investments in Canada.

With the Nixon Administration in a beleaguered condition, and the USA beset with the uncertainties arising from the growing threat of impeachment, Trudeau is certainly in a better bargaining position than ever before. The crucial turning point in the possible impeachment of Nixon is expected to stem from the matters now being canvassed before the Supreme Court: first as to whether Nixon as President could withhold the tapes wanted by the Watergate prosecutor and second in regard to the question whether a Grand Jury could hold the President to be an "unindicted accused" in one of the Watergate conspiracies.

In the meantime, one of Nixon's top aides, Ehrlichman, has been found guilty of authorising an illegal burglary by a team of so-called White House plumbers. The twelve man panel also found three of his codefendants guilty. The main charge was they had all conspired to violate the civil rights of Pentagon papers defendant Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist. Ehrlichman was also found guilty of lying to the FBI and also to a Grand Jury. He faces up to twenty five years in jail. This is another serious blow to the defence Nixon has been seeking to build up—because Ehrlichman was one of those closest to him.

News agency reports from Washington in recent weeks disclosed that there were major discrepancies in the version about the tapes as presented by White House. President Nixon was more involved in discussions about the Watergate cover-up and the handing out of hush-money than has been previously disclosed, new tape transcripts have revealed. The House of Representatives Judiciary Committee on July 9th released its own versions of eight presidential recordings which differed significantly in many places from edited White House transcripts made public on April 30. The Committee, now in the closing stages of its investigation on whether Mr. Nixon should be impeached, issued the transcripts as the first instalment of its mounds of evidence.

The Real Hero

The Rome Police recently staged a charity show for the Red Cross. In one of the numbers a policeman on a motorcycle soared over 27 colleagues lying side by side. The spectators applauded the courageous cyclist. But the one who thought himself the bravest of the lot and really deserving applause was the last man in line, who watched with horror as the rear wheel of the motorcycle landed just a few inches from his face.

The transcripts showed: Strong indications that Mr. Nixon was aware of plans to coverup the break-in into the Democratic Party headquarters in Watergate building, before his re-election campaign in 1972; that he at least gave tacit approval to buying the silence of Watergate conspirator E. Howard Hunt that he suggested to aides that they refuse to answer questions put by the Senate Watergate Committee during its investigations last year.

The Committee published a 218-page booklet containing its version of the transcripts made with more sophisticated electronic equipment than used by the White House. It also issued a 131-page document comparing, side-by-side, how its version differed from that of the White House in key passages. The Committee's transcript put back some of the expletives, which the White House had deleted.

Judging from the Committee's version, one of Mr. Nixon's favourite expressions is "God damned" but they also include "For Christ's sake," "Jesus Christ", "Son of a bitch", "Bastards" and "Shit". (When the White House made public in April its edited version, the transcripts omitted presidential swear words. The notation "expletive deleted" became overnight a household expression and material for every television comedian. At one time Mr. Nixon blasted "The God damned Republicans" who, he said, were being highly moral over the Watergate affair and contrasted them with the Democrats who were saying "Oh, Christ fun and games.")

The expletives appeared milder than some people had expected. But the frequency of the profanities may rekindle expressions of disgust, made by many Americans at the time the White House first released the transcripts. Among the most significant discrepancies was a March 22 segment of a conversation published by the Committee which did not appear in what the White House had released.

Most of the conversation—between Mr. Nixon and his aides—that day had been devoted to how to deal with the forthcoming Senate Watergate committee hearings. Mr. Nixon referred to a scandal during the Eisenhower administration in which White

House aide Sherman Adams was forced to resign after disclosures that he had accepted favours from an industrialist. "...What happened to Adams", said Mr. Nixon, "I don't want it to happen with Watergate—the Watergate matter. I think he made a mistake, but he shouldn't have been sacked. And, uh, for that reason, am perfectly willing to—I don't give a shit what happens. I want you all to stonewall it, let them plead the Fifth Amendments, (protection against self-incriminating evidence), cover up or anything else, if it'll save it, save the plan. That's the whole point."

The "plan" to which Mr. Nixon refers comes a few minutes earlier in the same conversation. There, he says: "But now—what—all that John Mitchell is arguing, then, is that now we, we use flexibility in order to get on with the cover-up plan." At one point in the talk with Dean, Mr. Nixon is quoted in the White House transcript as saying: "Hunt...is the most vulnerable in my opinion, might blow the whistle and his price is pretty high, but at least we can buy the time on that." The Committee version has Mr. Nixon saying "...His price is pretty high but at least, uh, we should, we should buy the time on that..."

The Committee also published portions of a Sept. 15 1972 transcript which the White House omitted. In that conversation, Mr. Nixon is telling Dean that the Washington Post—which had been running stories linking the Watergate break in to Mr. Nixon's re-election committee—would have "damnable, damnable problems" once the election was over. Mr. Nixon is also quoted as vowing revenge against the Post Attorney Edward Bennett Williams, a prominent Democrat and raising the prospect of blocking renewal of the licences of television stations owned by the Post.

Mr. Nixon's chief spokesman, Mr. Ronald Ziegler reacted sharply to the release of the evidence, accusing the committee of "dribbling out" its impeachment evidence in a "public relations campaign... "They have chosen the public relations route which will focus the news media only on one section of the tapes". This was not "an

orderly way to proceed", Mr. Ziegler had said.

While the Americans are busy dissecting the reputation and credibility of their President, the world is not as worried about the impeachment issue as the economic policies and conduct of the USA in the face of the economic recession, (or indeed a depression) which now confronted the world.

x x x x

Corp losses have to be reimbursed. Seven in the red; 7 others show profit

Losses incurred by seven Corporations totalling around Rs. 220 million will have to be reimbursed by the government. According to figures available the National Milk Board has incurred one of the biggest losses, losing around Rs. 8 million a month. The main reason for this is the increased cost of imports of milk powder. The Ceylon Fertiliser Corporation is estimated to incur a loss of Rs. 90 million this year. The main cause of the loss is the increased cost of fertiliser. The government has not passed on the increased cost of fertiliser imports to the farmer merely because it does not want to cause any setback to the government's food production drive. Fertiliser prices have increased all over the world as a consequence of the oil price increase. Other corporations that have suffered losses are the Oil and Fats—Rs. 14 million; Plywoods —Rs. 9.5 million; Fisheries —Rs. 43 million; Hardware—Rs. 4 million; and Leather Products —Rs. 3 million. The corporations that have been working very profitably as commercial units are the Petroleum, State Gem, Ceramics, Mineral Sands, Eastern Paper Mills, Paranthan Chemicals and Steel. The Tyre Corporation incurred losses for the first time in 1973.

— Daily News, 11/7/74

CHRONICLE

July 6 – July 13

A Diary of Events in Sri Lanka and the World compiled from English-language dailies published in Colombo.

SATURDAY, JULY 6: According to the *Daily News* an official trade mission headed by the Secretary to the Ministry of Foreign and Internal Trade will leave tomorrow for Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria: the main purpose of the visit was to identify the commodities that could be traded between Sri Lanka and these East European countries and to strengthen the bi-lateral trading now taking place. According to the *Daily Mirror*, assistance from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to Sri Lanka will be increased from the present rate of Rs. 20 million a year to Rs. 40 million a year in the programme cycle 1977-81. Mr. M. M. Mustapha, M.P. who resigned from the United National Party has applied for membership of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. Eighteen land acquisition matters in which the Supreme Court had issued notice on the plaintiffs-petitioners to show cause why the injunction orders issued by some High Courts and District Courts should not be set aside will come up for hearing before a nine-judge Bench of the Supreme Court on Monday. According to the *Daily News* Sri Lanka has once more stressed the urgency for a world fertiliser fund claiming that fertiliser has become the most strategically vital commodity for developing countries, next to food itself: at an Advisory Committee meeting of the ECAFE's Permanent Representatives, in Bangkok last week, Sri Lanka called for an international agreement on export and imports of fertiliser which could be sponsored by the fertiliser fund. Prospective film makers will have to prove their competence in future before they are given raw stock by the State Film Corporation: an oral test will be held for prospective directors to establish their knowledge in the industry before they are registered for the issue of raw film. Japan has notified the United Nations of its readiness to supply at least 100 millions US dollars over the next year as emergency aid to the developing countries most seriously affected by the oil crisis. United States Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, assured America's European allies that no secret deals were made at this week's summit meeting between President Nixon and Soviet Communist Party chief, Leonid Brezhnev.

SUNDAY, JULY 7: According to the *Sunday Observer*, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, and the United Front leaders were warmly welcomed by the mammoth crowd that gathered at Amparai public grounds yesterday to participate in the ninth United Front rally intended to explain the policies of the Government to the people: the former United National Party MP, Mr. M. M. Mustapha of Nintavur, was on the rostrum along with the UF speakers and was cheered by the crowds. According to the *Sunday Times*, the

Ceylon Transport Board has decided to use the breathalyser to detect drunkenness among its staff mainly drivers while on duty: a streamlined plan is now in operation in all parts of the island especially on long-distance routes. The Minister of Home Affairs, Public Administration, Local Government and Justice, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, starts his three day official visit to Jaffna today. According to the *Sunday Observer* onehundred rural water supply schemes will shortly be started by the Ministry of Irrigation Power and Highways in collaboration with the UNICEF and the World Health Organisation: the schemes which will serve as pilot projects will be implemented by the Department of Water Supply and Drainage with the technical advice of the World Health Organisation. The total revenue from business turn-over tax and income tax for 1973 amounted to Rs. 1,243.4 million: this is the highest for any year. A Japanese firm, Nippon Electric Company has been awarded the Rs. 40 million tender for the setting up of a satellite earth station in Sri Lanka. According to the *Sunday Observer*, the Sri Lanka Narcotics Advisory Board led by Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Deputy Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs, is considering the possibility of having a government owned ganja plantation for the benefit of the Ayurvedic Drugs Corporation. Sri Lanka's Postal Services have been rated the fifth best in the world: this has been announced at the 17th Congress of the Universal Postal Union now being held at Lausanne, Switzerland. The Communist Party of India welcomed the agreement between India and Sri Lanka on Kachchativu and soundly criticised the stand of the Tamil Nadu D.M.K. and the Jana Sangh on the issue. Chinese Prime Minister, Chou En-lai, who has been ill for nearly two months met the visiting American Senator Henry Jackson at hospital.

MONDAY, JULY 8: According to the *Daily News*, the increased local production of a wide variety of food items has placed Sri Lanka's food situation on a comfortable footing: adequate stocks of food items have been ensured till the end of the year. According to the *Daily Mirror*, the lid on various malpractices occurring in several stores of the Food Commissioner's Department in various parts of Colombo and in the outstations has been blown off: large stocks of ration rice, flour and sugar have been found to have pilfered from stores: the Minister of Foreign and Internal Trade, Mr. T. B. Illangaratne, has ordered an immediate investigation into these alleged frauds after the Government Clerical Service Union had placed before him what it termed 'inside happenings' in various stores of the Food Department. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, addressing the mass United Front rally at Amparai on Saturday said that the people have realised the correctness of the UF policies, and so they are rallying round the United Front even though they have to face certain hardships and difficulties. According to the *Daily News* Sri Lanka will receive an outright grant of £ 80,000 from the British Ministry of Overseas Development to establish an institute of Advance Applied Sciences at the Katubedda Campus of the University of Sri Lanka. According to the *Daily Mirror*, the Minister of Public Administration, Local Government, Home Affairs and Justice, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, was given a rousing welcome when he arrived at the Palaly airport yesterday on his three-day official visit to the

North. The Chinese people were told yesterday for the first time that Prime Minister Chou En-lai was receiving hospital treatment for unspecified illness: this is the first official announcement about the Premier's illness since his hospitalisation two months ago: What his condition has not been disclosed. Australian Solicitor General told the World Court in The Hague that Australia has convincing evidence of psychological damage caused to its people by French nuclear tests in the Pacific. West Germany has assured Egypt 83 million sterling in West German development aid to Egypt. West German beat Holland to win the World Cup soccer finals in Munich yesterday.

TUESDAY, JULY 9: According to the *Daily News*, with the first stage of the land reform work nearing completion the Government is planning the crucial phase of land distribution and use: the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, has told the *Daily News* that the Government planned to set up boards in each district to examine the available land and prepare it for its best use: the Prime Minister and the Minister of Agriculture and Lands are due to discuss the establishment of these boards sometime this week. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Public Administration, Local Government, Home Affairs and Justice, speaking at a public meeting in Jaffna said that the purpose of his visit to the North was to solicit the friendship and co-operation of the Tamil to build a united Sri Lanka where all the people irrespective of community they belonged to or the language they spoke, or the religion they professed, will be equal and enjoy the same rights. According to the *Daily News*, several leading Tamil citizens and organisations in the North have commended the Government for the establishment of a University Campus in the North. The two big plantation unions the Ceylon Workers' Congress and the Democratic Workers' Congress reached accord on a memorandum to be sent to the Prime Minister urging her to grant a monthly pay to estate workers. According to the *Daily Mirror* Airlines have withdrawn free coach travel facilities to passengers to and from the Bandaranaike International Airport: this was due to the high cost of fuel. An agreement was signed on Friday between the National Textile Corporation and the People's Republic of China for the setting up of spinning mill at Minneriya and a finishing mill at Pugoda with Chinese aid. According to the *Daily News* shipping conference serving the export trade of Sri Lanka have announced reduction in bunker charges covering destinations such as U.K. Continental ports, U.S.A., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, South America, East, West, and South Africa, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. A writ petition seeking to restrain the Government of India from ceding Kachchativu to Sri Lanka under the recent Indo-Sri Lanka Pact without the approval of Parliament and without proper amendment of the constitution was filed in the Madras High Court on Thursday: the petitioner is Mr. K. Krishnamurthy, Secretary of the Tamil Nadu unit of the Jan Sangh, which is a right-wing extremist party in Opposition. The U.S. Supreme Court met yesterday for a public hearing that could decide Nixon's political fate and future power of Presidency.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 10: According to the *Daily News*, the Ministerial sub-committee on the 'brain

drain' is awaiting the report of a committee of officials appointed to study the representations made by delegations of top technical and professional associations recently. The Minister of Education, Dr. Alhaj Badiudin Mahmud, yesterday announced that the Jaffna Campus of the University of Ceylon will be declared open by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, in the first week of October. According to the *Daily News*, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan yesterday received Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues, and had cordial discussions: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, is scheduled to visit Pakistan in the first week of September. A four-member trade team from North Korea headed by the Deputy Minister of Trade arrived in the island yesterday. The Minister of Education, Dr. Alhaj Badiudin Mahmud, at a high-powered conference of Buddhist dignitaries and educationists announced that he has ordered the re-drafting of the new Privena Education Bill. Mr. Pierre Trudeau's Liberal Party won Canada's general election with a clear majority necessary to form the Government. Watergate prosecutors on Monday urged the Supreme Court to force President Nixon to hand over 64 tape recordings in a historic case which could have a major bearing on the President's chances of staving off impeachment and Senate trial: it was the first time that the Supreme Court had entered the Watergate, arena. Bangladesh Prime Minister, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, announced a reshuffled Cabinet following the resignation of three Ministers and six members. Israeli naval units raided three Lebanese ports in what appeared to be a warning against possible sea-borne attack by Palestinian guerillas. The Cambodian Government offered to hold unconditional peace negotiations with anybody representing the country's Communist-led forces.

THURSDAY, JULY 11: The Cabinet yesterday decided to abolish the subsidy on fertiliser and instead to raise the guaranteed price of paddy from Rs. 30 to Rs. 33 per bushel: the price of rice on the ration (other than the free half measure) will be increased by ten cents a pound or half measure: it has also been decided to pay a grant of Rs. 500 per acre for owners of undeveloped lands who cultivate such land: a scheme for ensuring minimum regular earnings for workers on estates over 100 acres in extent was also accepted: according to the new prices the income tax payer will now have to pay Rs. 2.50 for the first measure: the present price is Rs. 2.30 a measure: for the second half measure the income tax payer will have to pay Rs. 1.25 the present price is Rs. 1.15: non-income tax payers will continue to get the first half measure free but they will have to pay 10 cents more for the second half measure: the new price scheme will be effective from next Monday: according to the *Daily News* the new proposals will not bring in the Government any new revenue: it will enable the government to recoup the increased price for a bushel of paddy from the consumer. According to the *Daily News*, the Co-operative Wholesale Establishment yesterday took over the principal distribution and advertising for five major State sponsored industrial corporations: accordingly, Tyre Corporation, Leather Corporation, Eastern Paper Mills Corporation, Oils and Fats Corporation, and Cement Corporation will in future handover the distribution

and advertising of their products to the C.W.E. According to the *Daily Mirror* legislation will shortly be introduced to enable an employee to claim his dues from the legal heirs of a deceased employer. According to the *Daily Mirror*, there is a sharp increase in the number of cholera cases after the recent religious festivals held in many parts of the country. According to the *Daily News*, the Ministry of Foreign and Internal Trade is seeking the views of various ministries on which companies doing business in Sri Lanka would be exempted from the provisions of the Company (Special Provision) Law which has been passed by the National State Assembly. Portuguese Prime Minister Adelino da Pala Carlos and four other centrists Ministers in the Cabinet resigned yesterday.

FRIDAY, JULY 12: According to the *Daily News*, leaders of the Joint Council of Trade Union Organisations controlled by the United Front meet the Prime Minister on Wednesday to discuss 28 demands the JCTUO has presented to the Prime Minister. According to the *Daily Mirror*, the Ministry of Foreign and Internal Trade has increased stern disciplinary action against officials who had been nabbed for shortages detected at several Food Department stores. The ban on the holding of school functions, competitions, excursions and athletics meets has been lifted. Thirteen local bodies including one municipal and two urban councils were dissolved on grounds of mismanagement and incompetence by the Ministry of Local Government last year: the Minister of Local Government, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, also ordered the removal from office of seven chairmen of local bodies on charges of mismanagement. According to the *Daily News*, several reputed international firms are willing to supply Sri Lanka with logs to manufacture tea chests and export surplus plywood and furniture made from them. The Land Reform Commission will acquire 17,051 acres of land in the Bandarawela and Haputale districts during the weekend: Agriculture and Lands Minister, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, will be present at the official acquisition. Republican Senator Edward Gurney who achieved national fame on the Senate Watergate Committee in Washington when he defended President Nixon, was yesterday charged with taking bribes: Senator Gurney was alleged to have accepted bribes from builders in exchange for helping them in dealing with a Government agency. Soviet diplomats are dropping hints about reopening diplomatic ties with Israel but not have made any formal approach so far. The United States and the Soviet Union both set off underground nuclear explosions on Wednesday—one week after signing an agreement to limit such tests. According to a report released by the Senate Committee inquiring into the Watergate affair, Republican election campaign funds were channelled through one of President Nixon's close friends for the President's personal use.

SATURDAY, JULY 13: According to the *Daily Mirror*, elaborate arrangements are being made by Pakistan for the forthcoming visit to that country by Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike: this is the first time a Prime Minister of Sri Lanka is making an official visit to Pakistan. According to the *Daily Mirror*, the All Ceylon Educational Federation has called on the Minister of Education, Al Haj Dr. Badiudin Mahmud

to scrap the proposed NCGE examination which, it states, had been hastily formulated, and contain fundamental flaws which could well precipitate a mass education crisis. According to the *Daily News*, protocol was signed yesterday between the People's Republic of China and Sri Lanka providing for Chinese assistance for effecting flood protection in the Gin Ganga basin: the project will cost around 100 million rupees. Diplomatic relations at embassy level will be established between Sri Lanka and Guyana from Monday. According to the *Daily Mirror* a series of changes in Sri Lanka's embassies abroad will take place shortly. The number of Cholera cases detected since the outbreak of the disease in October to date is 1700: of these 150 persons died. Mr. H. N. G. Fernando, Chairman of the Criminal Justice Commission (Insurgency) told yesterday that if the Commission were to convict any of the suspects, it will not be because the law compels them to do so, but on the evidence placed before the Commission. According to a Wall Street journal, the major problem facing the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) is not whether to raise or lower petrol prices but rather how to keep oil prices from crumbling without drastically cutting production. Portuguese President dismissed his two-month-old provisional civilian Government and is returning the country to military rule: President Spínola summoned the entire Cabinet before the dismissal. Deputy Prime Minister of Japan, Takeo Miki, resigned to devote more time and renovate the Liberal Democratic Party. President Nixon's chief Watergate accuser, John Dean and the President's lawyer clashed angrily before congressional impeachment investigators over the key issue of whether Mr. Nixon knew of hush money payments.

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Inania of this, that and the other

THE BELT OF MISERY

by INNA

The present catholic Pope wrote a Letter to Cardinal Roy which observers say will be studied even till the year two-thousand after Christ. Written in May 1971, it is a passionate plea for the richer countries of the world to take a second look at their lack of interior liberation. In it he mentions the "belt of misery" growing around the cities, that steady, silent agglomeration of the voiceless poor who huddle around cities to get even the crumbs that fall from the tables and the bread that they help to make from early dawn to late evening. There they trek from less affluent, positively poor rural areas, to gather in hope around waterfronts and maritime-port cities.

TIME was when groups of school-children, with a teacher or an elder visited slums to help them and to talk to the confused, befuddled strangers therein. The real strangers looked quite at home with their cocksure looks and their patronizing attitudes from "Colombo 3 to 7", while the slum-dwellers (strangers in their own surroundings, for the Almighty never meant that they should eke out a whole existence, or subsistence (?) in such squalid surroundings) yearned in hope for a better world, a bit more than Lombardi-style. Legion workers or apostolic workers some of them were called, and they went away quite happy having ticked off on a list "their work for the weekly report".

In the sixties, a priest worked hard with the workers. Some did not like him; his name went into the Hansard, and to save face, the authorities bumped him off. Another issued a leaflet organising rightful trade-unions. He was asked not to come back, as documents would show. And all in the holy name of justice! Still another agitated for true reform. He too went the way of all flesh.

In 1967, on the 11th of June, the following lines were written in a News Service from Trincomalee.

"The so-called Church of the Poor apparently has failed to share in a real way the poverty of the people in slum and backward

areas. Some prolonged experience of living and working in the slums should be built into the future-priest's and religious pastoral training so that all his training will be oriented towards social as well as spiritual reform. Seminaries are setting up 'branch houses' in the heart of towns and villages... Five Jesuit scholastics and a priest are living and working in a slum since last summer (1966) while pursuing their full course of studies at St. Louis University." (p. 14, News Service, Trinco, n. 33, June 11th, 1967)

I WAS TOLD that former seminary training was on a deductive principle, from principles to practice. Since 1973, it appears that the bishop of Kandy is trying out with the help of the students themselves (five of them) an inductive method, from situations and practice to principles and conclusions. Two of them live in a Colombo 'slum': (they even hate to use the word for it is an undue lessening and lowering of the dignity of man, and didn't Gandhiji say that "human dignity is as important as bread"?) They say it is much better than a sporadic occasional visit.

Like John Griffin who wrote *Black Like Me*, after changing his skin from white-american to black-american, they want to have, if even for a while an inner in-carnational glimpse (the word is theirs, I found in an interview) of the difficult lives of these people, our

brethren. What now of Sisters vowed to be poor and to live poor? Where are they helping women in slums? Or is there no message from Christ for them? By being born in a stable did He not share Man's squalor?

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SHAMBA

How Long Can It Last?

by Anatory Bukoba

June 26,

The family is not doing at all badly. They are seeing much of the head of the family, and it is he who is providing for them; I just help out. The physical changes on the *Shamba* are nil. I am still awaiting that companion, that elusive one. I may have found him when I was waiting for a bus this afternoon. If I have, then it will have been providential, for I might so easily have not have found him. My instructions to him were to manage till I get back. I shall feed him when I am on the *Shamba*; when I am not, he will shift for himself, manage as he is doing now. Well, I shall have to see what has happened when I get back. It is time this *Shamba* really became what I want it to be, and that is a place where a number of self-supporting men live together the good life. I have used the word men in its generic sense which includes women.

If it rains, the inside of the house will certainly get wet. The centre of the roof of the main room, and that is the part of the roof where the gable is, is all but off. My last words to the housewife were to get a young man to repair it. He will just have to move some of the *cadjans* back into place, thread-bare though some of those *cadjans* are. The new man may do it; I had not even time to take him along to the *Shamba* to introduce him to it. If he is the right sort of man, he will see what has to be done and do it.

Another may join us on the 3rd, the one whom I have already introduced as a friend to the reader, and who has already been on the *Shamba* thrice, but who has done no work to speak of, yet. He I shall support him if he comes, and I am afraid I am not anxious to do it. Up to now, feeding him has been an unnecessary drain on my resources as events proved, but yet, not quite, for a man's mere presence can be a help.

The passion fruit plant is still surviving. My jungly-looking *Shamba* as it is just now, does not look at all bad. Even the house looks better, old though the *cadjans* are. Just now we are having much wind, great bursts of it.

July 2,

The bus I caught was the last bus, and delayed an hour it was through an electrical fault, so I got to the *Shamba* at nearly midnight. Before coming there, I had learnt at the top of the hill that all was as it should be, at the *Shamba* and so I found it.

The house was neatly swept out. There was a very large cobweb just this side of the *massa* bed, but closer inspection of the room revealed that that was but the work of a few hours. The tiny bottle lamp, standing inside an empty condensed milk tin for safety, was full of oil, and there was a box of matches beside it. That was a kind thought, and an exquisite act of courtesy on the part of the housewife. The bed was tidily made with gunny sacks covering the rather scraggy *cadjans*. I entered the room. A child's dress or two neatly hung on the *cadjan* walls, and these indicated that there had been no general exodus. The family was still in occupation though not there just then. The chatty pots and plates were not in bad order. My favourite drinking cup, made of chatty, was ready on the table should I want it. The *kalla-geddi* had water, and its mouth was covered up. The copy of the picture of Mary, which is at All Saints, was there. No one has yet tried to remove it. It was brought and left by a lad who stayed no more than three days and it was his present to me. The picture has served us well, at least we are still on the *Shamba* after a year and five months. So I did what I usually do before going to bed. When I was ready for bed, I placed my pack against my head, so that I would know should it be moved, and I lay down and went to sleep. Whenever I woke, I turned round and went off to sleep again promptly. The family turned up in the morning.

When I was passing a house this morning, I was called in, on to the

verandah. One man was busy with a picture and some colours. He may have been touching it up. A man was sitting beside him. A youth walked in with a bundle of *pol-palla*. He went straight into the house and started to cut up the bundle by slices, starting with the roots, and he used a sharp-bladed knife. He was going to make a *cander* of it, and I was surprised he was going to use so much *pol-palla*. I always find that *cander* is like a thick soup. The fourth, also a young man, sauntered out from the verandah into the yard before the house, and he carried on a task of making bricks. He used a wooden frame, but no cement; each brick came out nicely. There was no cement used, nor were the bricks baked. The house, for which these bricks were being made, had already risen from its foundations. A tidy job it was. He worked unhurried.

The man, I had been hoping would start here, has gone home. The morning was spent in my trying to organize people in his place. Time alone will tell how successful I was.

This evening I may have had to face again those elephants I saw about a week or two ago, but some miles from where I met them. I fought shy of the encounter, through fear, fatigue and hunger. I assuaged the last two and then wrote these notes. I had had to wait three hours to catch a bus, and that was what delayed me. By giving in to my weakness I may have messed up the whole point of my outing. Anyway, I have been able to write these notes not half overcome with sleep as I usually am.

Today I learnt that the old brand name *Lux* will not be on the market for a while. The particular scent which is used in the soap cannot be procured.

The two children on the *Shamba* certainly look well. The youngest girl has twice now ventured far from her mother, and on both occasions to meet me at the river. Accompanied by her sister she came to call me for a meal. Her walk was literally a triumph, and it showed in the broad grin on her face. To see her emerge from the elephant grass that towered over her can be a never forgotten sight,

The One-Acre Farm

as well as to see her climb on all four the path by which she had descended. The triumph still showed on her face each time we got back to the house.

July 3.

For once I seem to have nothing to do. It is night, and the housewife has suggested I get on with these notes, instead of leaving them till bed-time. I must have walked nearly ten miles today. Just as I wrote this, in walked a friend, a relation. This lad is a—well, never mind. There was a *mapila* two feet from my head. The housewife and he saw it first. I said, perhaps quite unnecessarily, *do not hit it until you are sure of disabling it*. There is a cadjan wall at the head of my bed. My back was turned to it, and when I saw the *mapila*, for the first time, it was already disappearing into the cadjan roof.

Our visitor managed to give it a shot on the head, with my favourite stick, and then he held the snake by its tail, this stopped it from climbing further into the cadjans. He could not pull the snake out without the risk of being bitten. He could not get another shot in at the head. It was an interesting tussle. We all stood close by holding torches, and I held the nearest lamp in case it upset and put the house on fire. Even the children got in the way. Inch by inch the *mapila* was edged out backward. The cadjans were not firm enough to give the snake's head a good thrust with a stick. The body was transfixed on a thorn which the housewife brought. By infinite patience our visitor managed to kill the snake, without letting go of it and losing it altogether, or pulling it violently out and being being bitten.

July 4.

Family Planning, by Cardinal Cooray, I have just read. First out in 1960, I saw it for the first time not a week ago, in its new edition out this year. The only changes in the book are, I think, the addition of the Billings Method of family control, and a new forward. Powerful reading is the main part of this book, which is pamphlet size. I read it in a part of an evening. Advocates of family planning, or Family Health, the new disginse

for Birth control should feel they have not a leg to stand on after reading this. Nonetheless, I suppose the international conspiracy, to which successive governments have lent their aid, to control our population, aided and abetted by man who are reputed to have reached great intellectual heights, as they no doubt have, goes on.

The Queen's Government, by Sir Ivor Jennings, Ceylon's first Vice-Chancellor of her University, I picked up yesterday. Good reading, too, this book, and it illustrates Sir Ivor's fine mind. He is dead now. He was Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, too. I am not through the book yet, and I have just finished the section on Parliament as sovereign. The judges are the great bastion of the freedom of the citizen against Parliament, but the section I read has not about this. It will probably come latter, but there was more than one hint, more than one implied reference to parliament coming under the law, as it were.

Our two and a half year old was down at the river again this morning braving, what I have called elephant grass in relation to her height and from the triumph registered on her face, she may have just returned from woman's first visit to the moon. She and her sister took their places beside me on a rock and waited patiently while I finished what I was doing. The business of the axes, the lost ones is three-quarters in sight of its end. One was returned some time ago; the other has been traced and will be returned in a few days. That occupied all the morning, and I was not able to go on a long walk I had planned. It was as well, for one of my feet is swollen, around the ankle, too, and it needed a rest.

Our evening are lively. The children make the fun. The youngest is in a perpetual state of what I can only describe from triumph. She is obviously very satisfied with life. Yet if any of the great advocates of family planning came down here, he would not sit, as I am doing, on some rough gunny sacks on a *lea* or wooden bed made of poles, in a cadjan house which is past its best

he would not be here to stay the night, and listen to the fun and nonsense. Instead he would see same near naked children by daylight, hear the mother complain, perhaps, of the shortage of food, put the children down as undernourished by FAO standards, and conclude that it would have been better for the children if they had not been born; for that is exactly how the argument for family planning runs. I shall not labour the point.

We are becoming more like a town than a village. In a village you will at least know everyone else. It is not so here. I am constantly seeing new faces, the faces of working people, very often in working dress or, it would, perhaps be more correct to say, in the way they wear their dress when they are about their work in working hours. off duty, as it were, they would be more tidily got up.

Here am I, still waiting for that break to get this *Shamba* on its feet. Meanwhile, I think I have more to learn from my failures, these last few months most certainly. The *Iliad* and the *Aeneid* were certainly not unmitigated success stories.



Cheaper

Pan American World Airways had been plagued by thefts of blank flight tickets which in one way or another found their way to passengers, causing the company considerable losses. Since police investigations led to the arrest of only a few small fry while the key principals in the case eluded nationwide search, the company contacted the gang through intermediaries and bought back approximately 2,000 ticket blanks for about \$ 70,000. Replying to criticism and protests from other airlines, Pan American officials defended the decision in businesslike terms, saying that if the company had not bought them back, the net loss would have run to at least \$ 2 million.

SOMETHING TO
WORRY ABOUT

Nuclear Weapons And International Terrorism

by K. Subrahmanyam

Director, Institute for Defence Studies & Analyses

The recent alert in various airports of Europe against the threat of terroristic use of a surface-to-air missile on a civil airliner brings into focus the increasing risk the world is running with the proliferation of sophisticated weaponry in industrialised countries and their pilferage or unauthorised transfers to various non-governmental organisations. What applies today to a *Strela* missile may as well extend tomorrow to nuclear weapons and radio-active material which can be put to terroristic use.

The recent Arab-Israeli war and its aftermath showed that notwithstanding the so-called Non-Proliferation Treaty, the nuclear threat still hangs over the world like the sword of Damocles held only by a very fragile thread. On October 25 last, the United States placed its forces, including the nuclear forces, on 'alert number three'. Though it is sought to be explained away, the fact remains that a totally uncalled for nuclear alert was resorted to in the game of political intimidation by an Executive, whose ability to act entirely in a rational and balanced manner is being increasingly questioned at home and abroad. It was perhaps an indication of their own doubts in regard to the rationality of the action they initiated that they found it necessary to ignore their allies in whose territories they had stationed their forces.

CONCURRENTLY, there is increasing mention in the Press about the Israelis having fissionable nuclear weapons or weapons that will spew radio-active waste. There are inspired leaks about Israel seeking from the United States the nuclear-tipped *Lance* tactical missile. Similarly, there are reports about the Soviet Union having shipped *Scud* surface-to-surface missiles to Egypt and considerable speculation whether nuclear warheads have also been sent to Egypt and kept there in Soviet custody. Presumably, the underlying thesis is that these are meant to deter the Israeli nuclear missiles. At the time of the recent Algiers summit of Arab Heads of State, the editor of *Al Ahram* pleaded for Arabs investing heavily in nuclear weapons research. He also revealed that in the past there were unsuccessful attempts by the Arab states to purchase nuclear weapons. It has also been reported that during his recent discussions with the French President Pompidou, the Libyan President Colonel Gaddafi sought nuclear weapons against the promise of oil and massive investments. Presumably he did not succeed.

Now comes a report in the *International Herald Tribune* (18, December 1973) that the United States proposes to modernise its tactical nuclear weapons, 7,000 in number, stationed in Europe. The new generation of 'mini nukes', as the tactical nuclear weapons are fondly called, will be "cleaner" (will have less radio-activity and more of blast and heat effects) and easier to control. It is proposed to instal in them new electronic control devices to ensure that they would not explode if used unauthorisedly. It is claimed that the installation of the safeguards involves virtually rebuilding a weapon. Earlier in June 1973, a U.S. Army plan to rebuild the thousands of atomic artillery shells stored in western Europe and other areas was ordered to be terminated by the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. The action of the Committee was interpreted as a sign of growing scepticism in Congress about the security and effectiveness of tactical nuclear weapons. In an interview in December last, Maj. Gen. Edward B. Giller, the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission's Assistant General

Manager for National Security, indicated that the Congressional Committee's action had slowed down, but not halted, the programme to equip tactical nuclear weapons with advanced safeguards against unauthorised use.

THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION has been assuring the world that its tactical nuclear weapons are under a very effective system of safeguards and control and cannot be used except under specific and personal authorisation of the U.S. President. The news item quoted above throws some doubts as to the credibility of these assurances since even the U.S. Congressional Committee does not appear to be satisfied about the safeguards system. In fact, the U.S. safeguard system has never been explained in sufficient detail nor has it been subjected to independent verification. This applies to the safeguards systems of other nuclear weapons countries as well. While the three nuclear weapon countries, the U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and Britain, have made much of the need for safeguards, inspection and accounting of fissile material produced in the reactors of non-nuclear weapons countries, no credible system of safeguards in regard to safety in custody and effective counter measures to prevent the pilferage of weapons has been established to reassure the world. No doubt, countries concerned will claim that in their own interests they have developed effective safeguards and that the data on these must remain classified.

If one looks back, one comes across cases where pilots of one country, in spite of all precautions, have taken out their aircraft and delivered them to an enemy power for a consideration. Even in those cases the countries concerned had taken some steps in their own interests to prevent such unauthorised transfer of weapons. But the measures did not prove to be one hundred per cent effective. Similarly, in the case of nuclear weapons too, it is difficult to say whether the undisclosed measures adopted to safeguard the weapons are really tamper-proof. Earlier some countries had offered attractive sums of money for pilots to bring out their aircraft and some of these offers did produce results in regard to North Korea,

People's Republic of China, Lebanon etc.

Now, some of the countries with vast sums of money at their disposal, are in a position to make very lucrative offers of money as well as political asylum to those who are prepared to deliver a few tactical nuclear weapons to them. Aircraft with nuclear weapons during routine training missions can be taken across. The weapons may be pilfered from depots and smuggled across frontiers by any one of the international smuggling networks collaborating with military men who have access to weapons. In the United States Navy during 1971-72 there were fights on board aircraft carriers between black and white sailors. Some of their carriers are known to carry nuclear weapons on board. Similar occurrences could develop in ballistic missile submarines or missile silos. Since compulsory draft to the army has been abolished in U.S.A., there is an expectation that the percentage of negroes in the U.S. forces is likely to increase with efflux of time. In those circumstances, the possibility of nuclear weapons falling into the hands of a small group of persons, alienated from the country's ruling establishment, cannot be ruled out.

IN THE ADVANCED industrialised countries, a number of power reactors have been set up and in a country like the United States very large quantities of plutonium are being produced by these reactors. Though there are elaborate material accounting systems. Within the limits of error of material unaccounted for, it is still possible to pilfer adequate quantities of plutonium to be fabricated into a weapon. While no doubt this risk is there in respect of all nations that operate reactors, it is very much more in the case of countries like the United States for several reasons.

Firstly, the USA handles fissile material many times more than other countries. Secondly, scientific personnel familiar with nuclear weapons technology are available in larger numbers in the U.S.A. than in other countries. Thirdly, various components, parts and materials required to fabricate a weapon, are more readily available off the shelf in the U.S.A. than elsewhere. Fourthly, organised criminal net-

works like Mafia with enormous resources both in personnel and finances operate in the U.S.A. Therefore the probability of pilferage of fissile materials and its fabrication into a weapon with a view to sell it to a third party or use it for black mail is much higher in the U.S.A. than in other countries.

As the number of weapons multiply and the number of reactors increase, the threats to international security from them increase proportionately. However, unlike the case of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the lobby for which was orchestrated by the super powers in their own interest,

this real and ever growing threat is not discussed by peace research institutions, strategists and armed controllers. Though the Ford Foundation financed a study on the subject, the U.S. Government presumably does not consider it in its interests to make it public. The Non-Proliferation Treaty is due to come up for review in 1975, five years after it came into force. This is an appropriate opportunity to demand an effective system of safeguards of weapons as well as fissile materials in the nuclear weapon countries.

— F.N.F.

A VIEW FROM NEW DELHI

Neighbours and the Test

— complexities of Asian geopolitics —

by Urmila Phadnis

THE REACTION of the sub-continental nations of South Asia to the Indian nuclear test of May 18 has ranged from total denunciation to a tacit acceptance of a development. If President Bhutto has perceived it as 'nuclear blackmail' and a threat to Pakistan's national security, the Government of Bangladesh, though officially silent so far on the subject has, by seeking India's co-operation in the setting up of a nuclear reactor, implicitly endorsed India's dedication to the exclusively peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

On the other hand, Nepal has tended to be discreet. As a signatory to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) as well as of the Test Ban Treaty it reaffirmed, soon after the explosion it is opposed to the nuclear test as such but has in the same breath preferred to accept Mrs. Gandhi's assurance that, committed as India had been to harnessing the atom for peaceful purposes, the test was only for the furtherance of nuclear energy for technological experiments as an aid to economic development.

AS REGARDS Sri Lanka, soon after the explosion, the government-controlled Ceylon Daily News adopted a non-committal stand in an editorial in which it maintained that in the cold world of realpolitik, a nuclear status "bestows on a nation certain prestige and invites respect, however grudging or concealed, from friends, neutrals and adversaries alike."

Unlike the editorial comment which bore overtones of cynicism about India's intentions, the offi-

cial reaction to the test was diplomatically 'correct' though unequivocal. Replying to an opposition member's question on the issue in Parliament, Sri Lanka's Deputy Foreign Minister, Lakshman Jayakody, declared that Sri Lanka accepted Mrs. Gandhi's assurance to Mrs. Bandaranaike that the test had been carried out for the advancement of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

IT IS PERHAPS more than a coincidence that Mr. Jayakody's reply more or less coincided with the remarks of the Chinese Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping that China would not make an 'issue' of India's nuclear explosion.

Unlike an almost immediate response of the Nepalese Government it took the United Front government of Sri Lanka, 18 days to react officially. And even this response was largely wrested by the opposition.

Though blandly accepting India's stance at face value, the official position did not seem inclined to

be over-enthusiastic about the Indian achievement. The government did not respond to the suggestion of a member of the Tamil Federal Party (which had already welcomed India's nuclear explosion) who wanted Parliament to adopt a resolution praising India's notable success in the nuclear field.

IN THE CONTEXT of the international moves in the Indian Ocean, the reactions of Sri Lanka and Nepal stand differentiated. If Nepal, a landlocked country, far away from the ocean, has not been too excited over the moves in this area, not so Sri Lanka. While both the countries are signatories to the NPT, Sri Lanka has taken the more active role of campaigning to keep the Ocean a nuclear-free zone. The detonation of a nuclear device by India is an overt rejection of the approach consistently adopted by Sri Lanka for some years.

Thus, the proposal of declaring the Indian Ocean as a nuclear free zone figured prominently in the resolution adopted at the Lusaka Conference in September 1970, and was recalled in the 1971 session of the UN General Assembly. Initially it was directed to the nuclear powers which were capable of deploying nuclear weapons in the Indian Ocean. However, adumbrations of the proposal by Mr. Shirley Amarasinghe, the representative of Sri Lanka at the UN, also envisaged the renunciation of nuclear weapons by zonal powers.

In a 'position paper' presented by the High Commissioner of Sri Lanka at a Delhi Seminar on the Indian Ocean in February 1974, this official position was reiterated as follows: "As far as the countries in the region are concerned, they will have to commit themselves to a policy of de-nuclearisation, which would entail the permanent renunciation by them of nuclear weapons..."

IN SPITE of its earlier views on the subject, the UF government, like Nepal, has adopted a 'soft' approach towards India which contrasts with the extreme stance of Mr. Bhutto for several reasons. Firstly, unlike Indo-Pakistan relations, the nature and tenor of

India-Sri Lanka relations has been marked by an increasing degree of co-operation and conciliation. In fact, during the past few years, attempts have been made from both sides to find solution to the major irritant, i.e., the status of the stateless persons of Indian origin in the island. Further, greater collaboration is envisaged in bilateral economic relations and several joint ventures are in the pipeline with a view of sharing resources and technology to further economic development and mitigating the unfavourable balance of trade which has always been in favour of India by more than Rs. 10 crores.

Moreover, with the steadily worsening economic situation and troubled political conditions in the island, the UF government has been trying to diversify its economic military dependence as much as possible. If its move to seek military assistance simultaneously from several countries at the time of the insurgency crisis of 1971 was symbolic of its adroit mani-

pulation of collective security as a non-aligned country, its efforts to seek economic assistance from various sources is a move towards a similar goal. In any strategy which Sri Lanka has evolved for 'diversified dependence', India's role has been significant in the past and is bound to be more so, in future.

In fact, the smaller States of the sub-continent like Sri Lanka may find solace in the fact that the power equilibrium in the region, which was rudely shaken in 1962, has been more or less restored. This affords them an opportunity to play effectively the game of conventional non-aligned diplomacy between the two regional powers—India and China—till both of them mutually agree on their respective 'spheres of influence' in the sub continent and beyond—perhaps a return to the fifties when there was a tacit understanding of their respective power status in the area.

—Hindustan Times, 15/6/74

NATIONALIZATION IN VENEZUELA

The Venezuelan government has announced that it proposes to nationalize the oil and iron ore mining industries. The significance of the move for the Venezuelan economy may be judged by the fact that the country is the world's third biggest exporter of oil and its iron ore exports last year exceeded 23 million tons. According to a statement issued by President Carlos Andres Perez, Venezuela processes only three per cent of the ore mined and in 24 years received only 2,700 million bolivars for its ore exports, or less than it paid for imported steel and only one-third as much as the profit pocketed by foreign concerns. Venezuela, the statement said, was fully in a position to establish its own iron and steel industry. The President also said that the country proposed to create its own tanker fleet. A national steel council was officially set up on May 22 and on the following day a commission on oil nationalization began functioning in Caracas.

—New Times

MILLIONAIRES, INTELLECTUALS WISH TO SETTLE DOWN IN SRI LANKA

Several millionaires and persons of high intellectual standing from a number of countries have expressed a desire to make Sri Lanka their future home. This is revealed in the reports received by the Government from our missions abroad, particularly from London, Washington and Bonn, Finance Ministry sources said yesterday. The Finance Minister, Dr. N. M. Perera, in his last Budget Speech announced that the Government would allow certain categories of foreigners to settle down in Sri Lanka under specific conditions. The conditions approved by government include:

A total prohibition on the remittance of monies from Sri Lanka: a total dependence on income from abroad: foreign assets of such residents will not be liable to income tax in Sri Lanka. For this purpose the Inland Revenue Act may be amended. Finance Ministry sources said that as soon as the final arrangements are made with regard to the conditions under which these foreigners would be allowed to settle down in Sri Lanka, the applicants will be informed of the details.

—Ceylon Daily News, 1/7/74

INTERNATIONAL POST GRADUATE COURSE

In the Exploration and Development Resources

October 27, 1974—April 8, 1975

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

HEBREW UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF APPLIED SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY CENTRE FOR GROUNDWATER RESEARCH

STATE OF ISRAEL MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS DIVISION FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Objectives: The course covers the techniques and methods relevant to the development of ground water resources, including the geological considerations for well-siting, geophysical methods, drilling techniques, techniques of pumping tests, methods of drawing up water balances, interpretation of chemical data, use of radioactive isotopes, etc. Special attention is devoted to geological groundwater investigations which form the basis of practical work in the developing countries. On completion of the course, graduates are fully qua-

lified to engage in all phases of groundwater investigations.

Requirements for Admission:

Applicants must have at least a B.Sc. or equivalent degree in Geology, Engineering, Geography, Physics, or Agriculture, and must provide proof of proficiency in English. Preferably, applicants should have some working experience. Diploma Written examinations are held in the two major topics—groundwater geology and groundwater hydrology. In all other subjects the students' attainments are

ascertained by short tests and/or exercises. The student is asked to prepare a short diploma-paper and participate in a colloquium based on it. Students passing these requirements are awarded a diploma by the Faculty of Science of the Hebrew University. Most universities accept this diploma as part of their requirements for an M.Sc. degree (about 35 credit points). Preparations are now under way to extend the course into a full-scale M.Sc. course.

Accommodations Tuition Fees

Scholarship: A limited number of accommodations for single students are available in the dormitories on the Hebrew University campus (two students per room). Tuition fees and living expenses total about \$ 500 per month. The Government of Israel, through the Division for international Co-operation of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, offers a number of full and partial scholarships intended primarily for candidates from developing countries.

Further Information: For information on academic matters, please apply to the Secretary, Centre for Groundwater Research, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel. For information regarding scholarships and for application forms, apply to the nearest Israel mission.

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IS IT TRUE?

Sherlock Holmes

✿ More And More About The Foreign Office

IS IT NOT TRUE that the Foreign Office still continues to be very much in the news? That this is no doubt because the new broom in Tissa Wijeyaratne is still busy cleaning out the cobwebs in the FO? That it was not merely in cleaning out the dirt that Tissa Wijeyaratne (TW) seems to be busy about? That he seems to be greatly pre-occupied in bringing about a transformation in the FO in a positive direction? That TW, according to reliable reports, arrives at the FO at 7 am in the morning? That he duly signs the book? That this extra hour in the morning is purely voluntary? That unless for official work his lunch interval has been restricted to half an hour? That he signs the book for the evening after 5.15 pm? That in addition to setting a personal example he has persuaded the six latest recruits to the Diplomatic Service to participate in a Crash Programme "to enable them to face the challenge in their new assignments"? That each of these six new recruits arrive at the office and sign the Attendance Register before 7.15 am? That they take only half an hour for their lunch break? That they work until 5.15 pm each evening? That after 5.15 pm these six officers have started language classes at their own expense? That they have programmed their work to cover 60 separate lessons in their particular assigned languages? That these six newcomers to the Diplomatic Service had never been abroad? That they are now being prepared for posting in Sri Lanka missions abroad?

That the Crash Programme requires these Officers to read the political reports of our Ambassadors abroad for the last 15 years? That each officer has been asked to familiarise himself with the files dealing with the Missions to which they will be posted? That these include the files dealing with admini-

strative matters? That they will also study the commercial relations between Sri Lanka and their new postings? That each officer will work for sometime in the Overseas Administration Division? That they have been instructed not merely to work alongside clerks but in fact to do the work of clerks themselves on separate files and be supervised by the clerks while they are at their work? That all six officers will be sent to their new posting after 4 or 5 months? That the next batch of officers are due to leave Sri Lanka only after 3½-4 years? That a much broader varied and more intensive training is envisaged for the next batch of officers? That two of the present batch are specialising in Hindi? That one is learning French and Arabic? That another is doing German and Swedish? That yet another is studying Italian? And that the sixth was learning Japanese?

IS IT NOT A FACT that this kind of Crash Programme will equip the officers being posted to our Missions abroad in such a way as to enable them to discharge their functions properly? That in the past new recruits sent, out to our Missions abroad, were generally at a loss as to what they should do? They were a liability to the Heads of Missions until they learnt the rudiments of what was expected of them? That they were generally in the hands of their "subject" clerks regarding the nature of the duties they had to perform? That many of them were under the belief that their main function was to create a good image of themselves on the cocktail circuit and thereby project a good image of their own country in the host country? That the drudgery of routine in preparing reports, in ensuring good administration, in the performance of consular and chancery work, were matters on

which the new recruits had never been adequately trained? That whatever they picked up during their careers was generally on a hit-and-run basis and the experience they gained was by trial-and-error? That this is the reason why so many of our career diplomats had fallen down on their jobs? That whilst many of them are star ornaments in the cocktail circuit, at home and abroad, they are of little use to the country?

That if one referred to the files of the *Tribune* from its inception one will be able to read references to the activities of not only our politically appointed diplomats but also our career diplomats? That whilst political appointees came and went, our career diplomats are with us until they retired owing to reasons of old age? That the first batch of these career officers appointed after the country became Independent are still with us—all alive and kicking? That some of them have spent the better part of their service careers abroad? That many of them believe that their personal views on foreign affairs on politics and on men and matters were the views of the government of Sri Lanka? That in the days of the UNP the personal views of some of these career diplomats accorded with the views of the Government? But with the coming of SLFP and thereafter, the UF the views of some of these diplomats were anachronistic and antidiluvian? That when *Tribune* had pointed out some of these wayward remarks and actions of these officers, they had declared war on this paper? That some of these officers are past masters in the art of carrying on a cold war through innuendo and whisper campaigns not only on the cocktail circuit but also in the corridors and offices of the FO? That events are now vindicating what the *Tribune* had said? That this paper had been even critical of the UF government for having too long tolerated the activities of some of these career officers both whilst in Sri Lanka and also whilst abroad? That it seems that, with the reforms now being initiated by Tissa Wijeyaratne, it was likely that some radical change will soon overtake our FO? That in the meantime *Tribune* is prepared for a new onslaught from diehard of Foreign Office bureaucracy? That privileged vested interests fight to the last ditch?

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