

\* **EYE-WITNESS IN IRAQ** \* Ramsay Clark

**LANKA**

# **GUARDIAN**

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**Political 'terrorism' invades Parliament**

**POLITICS: Hotting up, suddenly**  
— Mervyn de Silva

**Shades of B'desh after Thursday's brawl**

**Farouk Kadoumi  
N. Ram  
Bertram Bastiampillai  
Kumar Rupesinghe  
Prabhu Chawla**

**MEDIA WARS**

Sunday 24th February, 1991

**On political  
tolerance**



**Black Knight**  
It's your move

## Trends

### INDIA'S ANTI-LTTE MOVES

Indian Customs and Police seized 25 boats from Sri Lankan Tamil militants on the Tamil Nadu coast. In an intensified drive since the sacking of the state government of Mr Karunanidhi, 8000 metres of fuse wire and 15000 litres of petrol and diesel have also been seized.

### RE-FUELLING ISSUE

While India has stopped refuelling US aircraft engaged in the Gulf war Sri Lanka has agreed to pump fuel for all comers — except those transporting war materials. But the planes will not be searched; a 'certificate of honour' will be accepted.

Iraqi representatives in Colombo described the re-

fuelling in Colombo as 'an unfriendly act'.

### IMF'S BACK

An IMF team was due end February in Colombo to discuss Sri Lanka's request for an enhanced structural adjustment facility worth about 500 million US dollars. Reduced remittances from expatriate workers in the Middle East and depressed tea exports have forced Sri Lanka to ask for this assistance. Informed sources believe that the facility will be given, but with strings such as curtailed free education and health care.

A top level team of bankers from Malaysia was also due in Colombo, to discuss investment. The leader was expected to be Y. B. Tan Sri Dato, Chairman of the Public Bank Berhad of Malaysia.

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### CONTENTS

News Background	3
Foreign Affairs	8
Gulf War	11
The Disappearing Boundaries Between Internal and External Conflicts	19
The Pope's Scud	24

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## Briefly...

### MOTHERS ON THE MARCH

● Slain journalist Richard de Zoysa's mother (Dr Mrs Manorani Saravanamuttu) told a large rally of other mothers who had also lost their sons that they were not alone in their struggle for justice. She told the rally in Nugegoda on February 19 that she had visited several countries and mothers all over the world had pledged their support to the Sri Lanka Mother's Front.

● Opposition Leader Mrs Sirimavo Bandranaike who also addressed the rally said: "Why cannot the government tell the mothers that their children had been killed, so that the mothers could give almsgivings and also obtain death certificates. Tell those weeping mothers that their children were no more. Some mothers are aware of the tragic fate that befell their beloved children as they had seen them being brutally slain and burnt on pyres".

## MURDER IN THE CATHEDRAL

After pattern bombing Belgium  
Sleep came easy on Hiroshima  
Friendly Allies or unfriendly Injuns  
With dispensable percentages dispensed  
The survivors always swarmed out of the craters  
For food (and flags to wave the conquering heroes in)  
And the Big White Chief's chewing  
Either gum or cigars on V. O. A. or B. B. C.  
Solemnly invoked God, in layman's language  
And get away with it.

More finesse comes with theology at Oxford  
Practice at Funerals and Coronations. Orations  
And the soft touch of lace at Palace parties  
Jamming all Imperial connotation  
From benign and plausible intonation  
With Cathedral choir in the background  
(Or Abbey acoustics)  
Intepreting Divinity's complexity,  
Why the Bourgeois first groom Dictators  
Arm then with High Tech precision  
(Pin point, not Pattern), Provide  
Free Market Collaboration on Gas Chambers (and factories)  
Then invoke the Mystique of the Dragon  
To despatch Youth from Recession to Heaven.

U. Karunatilake

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# Violence: pressures on the system

Mervyn de Silva

To the student of political violence, a chronic Third World condition, Sri Lanka today offers an intellectually challenging example of an in-between society under increasing pressure. As threats to the State, the armed struggles in the North and the South, appeared to acquire some similarities in the high-pressure year of 1988-89. Even the best of analysts were tempted too often to forget that one was a separatist challenge, a threat to territorial integrity, and the other a daring bid for State power. It is not that such analysts were not sufficiently alive to the basic difference but they were so overwhelmed by the phenomenon of violence that important dissimilarities were casually ignored or willfully neglected.

Now that the JVP guns have gone silent and burnt-out corpses are no longer a frequent sight on our main roads, both Sri Lankan and foreign observers, academic and non-academic seem to have accepted as a major premise the idea that "violence" has been subdued or effectively contained, in the South. And since the "South" is seven provinces, acts of political violence excite the human rights activist (or the politician alive to the new human rights dimension) rather than the political scientist.

The truth is that the end of anti-systemic violence has seen violence infiltrate the system. In the more traditional pattern, violence assumed two recognisable forms — pre-election violence (knives, bombs and guns seeking to influence the result) or post-polls violence where the electorally beaten got another beating physical.

And now a recurrent pattern of fisticuffs, pandemonium and free-for-all in the chamber has led to such a scandalous exhibition of rowdy behaviour that the Opposition has decided to boycott Parliament until the Speaker "resolves the problem" says the Opposition Whip, Mr. Richard Pathirana. (See Opp. on "Parliament") Earlier, Mrs. Bandaranaike, the Opposition Leader, said it was not possible for the Opposition MP's to attend Parliament unless the Hon. the Speaker, guaranteed their personal safety and security.

The violence within the 'holy of holies', the chamber of Parliament, and the evident intensification of the inter-party contest for power, has been widely interpreted as a sign of an accelerating polarisation of politics. Why such a polarisation? Why the intensification hardly half way through the presidential term?

More significant than polarisation, in my view, is the impact of an increasingly fragmented society on the traditional party system. In the first instance, this is the direct result of the two Tamil and Sinhala, North-South insurgencies, the second more frenzied though shorter, more widespread and destructive in terms of settled political practice and the values, institutions and agencies which regulate it. As a result, the major Opposition party, the SLFP, and the other parties, all much smaller or community-based, search for new forms of self-expression, within and outside the old structures e.g. the Mother's Front, an obvious attempt to capitalise on the Human Rights issue, and its supportive constituencies abroad.

Accompanying the quest for new modes of protest and agi-

tational activism is the emergence of new, sometimes strange, alignments.

While the UNP and the SLFP remain the hard centre of the two formations that continue to dominate Sri Lankan politics, once the Marxist Left lost all its grand illusions of the "force of future" and more humbler "Third Force", it is the behaviour of the "minority" parties rather than the Sinhala-led smaller parties, which is the more revealing. In this, the LTTE, remains the great exception. Once it stood up to the IPKF and survived, its tactical understanding with President Premadasa, helped the LTTE to get the IPKF off its back, while helping the UNP to weaken the JVP's main appeal to the *deshapremi*, the (anti-Indian) patriots.

The year-long tactical cooperation could not possibly contain the basic tensions between the State and a militarily mature separatist movement. The armed conflict was resumed with the Sri Lankan forces, shaping policy on the LTTE. Within months, the Premadasa government, assisted by political developments on the Indian scene, was rewarded handsomely — the dissolution of the DMK-controlled administration in Tamilnadu and crackdown on the LTTE, its hideouts on the Tamilnadu coasts, its cadres in Madras, and the cross-border traffic in weapons, and essential supplies.

The LTTE spots a new opening in the South — the emerging Oppositional 'alliance' and the increasing Government-Opposition tensions. The LTTE sends a message to the Mothers Front rally. And the government's agit-prop department goes into action. Mrs. Bandaranaike and the SLFP in particular are

NEWS  
BACKGROUND

## Media Wars

traditionally the staunchest champions of Sinhala-Buddhist interests, And so the LTTE's message is seized by the UNP spokesmen and the pro-government press as proof that the SLFP is now consorting with the "Eelam" Tigers. What is more, the message by the 'Tigers' — a clever if mischievous, move — is over-interpreted by the UNP publicists as convincing evidence that the Opposition has 'betrayed' the patriotic Armed Forces, lately an influential, if not formally involved, factor in the island's politics.

By the same logic, the pro-UNP polemicists, denounced the behind-the-scenes champions of the 'Mothers Front' as sympathisers of the JVP 'terrorists' and, once again, as cliques ungrateful to the armed services that saved the nation from the JVP barbarians' and 'terrorists'.

If the 'Human Rights' aspect introduced the western donor groups (mainly the Europeans and the Commonwealth) into the picture, the presence at the Opposition rally of pro-India Tamil militant groups, especially the EPRLF and other anti-LTTE organisations, all of whom actively cooperate with the State in the fight against the LTTE, was generally interpreted as a preparatory Indian diplomatic move. Elections may be held in India soon. Both the V. P. Singh and the Chandra Sekhar governments have worked hard to remove irritants in the Delhi-Colombo post-J. R. relationship. But Delhi must arm itself with some weapons of pressure to stay in the game and "control" the general drift of events on Tamil question, which now means, influencing the government. How much the western initiative vis-a-vis the Opposition, and the Indian diplomatic moves run parallel and how far these converge is a matter that is not entirely clear right now. The post-Gulf American foreign policy on major regions, and important regional powers, and the Indian role in such a scheme of power diffusion, will provide the answers.

As the UNP-Opposition battle grows more acrimonious each passing month, the fight spreads to the press world, with Mr. Ranjan Wijeratna reminding Parliament that the ISLAND group, where Dr. Seevali Ratwatte, Mrs. Bandarnayake's brother is the Chairman, owes State-owned banks millions. It was a warning to the ISLAND to behave itself, as the government-owned Lake House and the ISLAND locked horns.

The editorials and the political commentaries reflect the rising tempo of confrontational politics, as these excerpts indicate:

### Political Tolerance

*(Editorial)*

On one hand the mobilisation of a wide range of opposition political parties has signalled a new phase of political militancy. On the other hand the Government has expressed its apprehensions that such a mobilisation of opposition political opinion can lead to a resurgence of the unrest, anarchy and societal chaos which characterised the 1987-89 period. The polarisation of these two lines of thinking and action was best reflected in the ugly scenes in Parliament last Thursday when MPs physically fought each other in the well of the House in what was manifestly the greatest occurrence of disorder within the chamber.

These are developments which neither party can be happy about. It must be said at the very outset that any comments which we make are not prompted by any sense of political partisanship which this newspaper group has been accused of but rather out of a sense of sorrow at the societal crisis so starkly symbolised by the collapse of shared certainties.

That the chair of Mr. Speaker should have been occupied, that the MP who occupied that chair was not dealt with by recourse to the proper procedures reserved for such eventualities, and all the other attendant consequences of this incident, are all tragic features which cannot

enhance Sri Lanka's reputation as a parliamentary democracy.

What is necessary now is not to split hairs on how it started or who started it but to resolve that no room is left for such incidents to occur again.

On a broader canvas, however the question is one of political tolerance. A democracy can work only if the various contending parties are ready to extend a degree of political tolerance towards others who are not of the same opinion as them.

No political party in Sri Lanka can say that it is entirely innocent when it comes to tolerating opposition. Opposition demonstrations have been banned and opposition newspapers have been sealed by both the UNP and the SLFP under various leaderships. To find out who is more guilty will be an exercise in selfdefeating futility. A feature of parliamentary politics is that the advocates of political freedom in opposition become their executioners in office by the same process of transmutation by which yesterday's flaming votaries of liberty become today's mealy-mouthed apologists for authoritarianism. Whoever practises such methods they are reprehensible in a free society.

We do not think that there is any fundamental disagreement between the Government and the Opposition about the fact that Sri Lanka is going through perhaps the most decisive phase of what looks tra-

gically like a delayed and arrested political growing up. If that is so elder statesmen on both sides must realise that it is only by respecting the views of the other party and allowing them the freedom of expressing them within the limits of legitimate political protest that the country can be salvaged. The people particularly the youth are watching them. To the youth the whole system has become discredited as a result of the political chicanery of the elite of all political complexion. If any lesson has to be learnt from last week's episode it is that the system has come close to collapse and it is only by going back to our democratic roots that the institutions which have held the country together so far can be salvaged.

*(Sunday Island)*

\* \* \*

Mr. Adikari says that she is allowing the unparliamentary behaviour to develop into a dangerous pattern which threatens all traditions of the House. He argues that the SLFP has always been an indisciplined party.

Whether in the Government or in Opposition SLFP has never been able to maintain discipline "I remember," says Mr. Adikari, "how Mr. Ariyadasa and Mr. Sooriyaratchi — fought on the floor of the House. The newspapers headlined it saying "Ari and Soori fight. "I have seen some of her Party MP's staggering into House and falling in front of her. The plain fact is that Mrs. Bandaranaike is unable to give leadership and maintain discipline in the Party. Members of the UNP, I remember were given a solid training in how to conduct themselves in Parliament and maintain parliamentary traditions at a special session conducted by experts. Our leadership has always emphasised the preservation of Parliamentary traditions. If our members have fought it has been to protect and preserve

those sacred tradition and not to ridicule or undermine the dignity of the House."

Mr. R. Premachandra, Minister of Labour, went further to state that unlike other parties UNP has faced the most serious threats from JVP terrorists. "No other party," he says "has sacrificed so many members in the fight to preserve Parliament and parliamentary democracy. Having won that battle why should we surrender to a handful of parliamentary "terrorists" who do not believe in democratic institutions or goals? We fought it out there to preserve the right of the people to elect their government and we will fight inside too to preserve that right. We won't be cowed down by "terrorists" inside the House."

Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe, Minister for Industries had the last word: "It is time for Mrs. Bandaranaike to go and hand over the leadership to someone who is young, talented, articular and is capable of giving leadership to her party. Either she is very weak as a leader or she does not command respect. A parliament fails if he or she permits the destruction of the dignity of the House. Why does she want to hang on if she can't carry on?"

When asked whether he was referring to Mr. Anura Bandaranaike he shrugged his shoulders and said "You said it. Not I!"

*Commentary — Sunday Observer*

\* \* \*

## **Boycott**

For the government too, it is not an altogether rosy picture. The Government needs to pass the 17th Amendment to the Constitution but for that to be a 2/3rd majority is needed and

therefore opposition support. Internationally too it will not augur well for Sri Lanka to have a one party Parliament.

In fact, Mr. Mahinda Rajapakse, Secretary of the Opposition Parliamentarians for Human Rights is at the moment in Geneva attending the UN Human Rights sessions. Thus the developments in Parliament may well give him fuel to add to a fire he is hoping to set going.

Some opposition members also see the weeks's developments as a springboard for mass protest against the Government.

As one Parliamentary Opposition Party Leader told this column, "We are prepared to boycott Parliament and carry out a campaign like in Bangladesh".

*(Sunday Times)*

\* \* \*

## **Forty five soldiers killed**

Forty five soldiers, including two officers, were killed and eight were wounded by Tamil Tigers in an ambush at Kondachchi in the Manner district on February 17. The Tigers (LTTE) are believed to have come from Vavuniya and had concealed themselves in paddy fields.

The military authorities clamped down a curfew in the district and mounted a search operation on the ground with air support. A large number of fleeing Tigers were reported killed in attacks from the air.

## Casino operators hail Joe Sim's exit

Nisthar Cassim

The local casino operators welcomed the government decision to deport 'Casino King' of Sri Lanka Joe Sim and suggested that an independent inquiry be held and his assets frozen.

They said that he should not be allowed to go 'scot free' since he had carried out illegal activities while repatriating millions of rupees out of the country.

Joe Sim's deportation alone does not solve the problem and the ruin he has caused to society and economy of the country. But steps should be taken to evaluate his assets and charge him before a court of law by appointing an independent committee of inquiry, the jubilant local operators said.

These businessmen who had been demanding an end to foreign involvement in, casinos were

relieved and equally overjoyed over the bold decision taken by the government. Mr. Sim was deported for several reasons ranging from drug trafficking and smuggling, to prostitution. Says Mr. D. C. Abeywardene, a leading local casino operator, "His deportation is a blessing to Sri Lanka and its people".

While the Casino King' of Sri Lanka's deportation shook the foreign casino operators and the business industry as a whole, it also made several VIPs seemingly panicky and breathless.

It is also learnt that the authorities had been working on Mr. Sim's case for at least three months before taking a final decision to deport him.

He had four casinos and a chain of restaurants while having a gem mining plant at Ratnapura in addition to several other

business unofficially. However, officials were unable to estimate his total foreign investment in these ventures and the total repatriation of foreign exchange from Sri Lanka.

Although the government has vowed not to allow Mr. Sim to return, it is alleged that his aides and a selected few along with his wife are running the show. However, his casinos and most of his restaurants were reported closed.

Questions have been raised by the industry as to what course of action the government would take about his existing business ventures and those operating them locally.

The industry is of the view that government is not sleeping on the issue and expect several more surprise moves in the coming weeks.

## Police arrest 16 foreigners after raid

Shamindra Ferdinando

Armed policemen from the Bureau of Special Police Operations arrested at least sixteen foreigners when they raided all five-star hotels casinos and street casinos, a senior police officer said. The raids were carried out simultaneously he added.

The officer directly linked the crackdown with the government's decision to deport Mr. Joe Sim described by the Colombo's elite as Sri Lanka's controversial casino king. The arrested foreigners were described by him as Singaporean, Malaysian, Chinese, Hong Kong and Thai nationals who had overstayed here or had forged documents. Later, they were

taken to the offices of the Bureau of Special Operations, police said.

The simultaneous raids on all five star hotels and street casinos were carried out by policemen under the directions of Deputy Inspector General (DIG) Premadasa Udugampola who is the head of the Bureau of Special Operations formed by State Minister for Defence Ranjan Wijeratna last year.

Police sources said that apart from the foreigners, they had arrested nearly ten persons including some Colombo lawyers who allegedly helped these foreigners to get forged documents such as resident visas. Sources said that

these persons had earned millions by providing forged documents to these people.

Senior police officers claimed that the arrested locals had confessed that they were responsible for providing these documents and even helping the foreigners to break the law.

Police said that the foreigners would be deported after investigations. "They will be not allowed to return to Colombo again", one officer said.

The crackdown against casinos came just two days after the deportation of Joe Sim who controlled casinos at Colombo Taj, Oberoi, and Intercontinental.



## Election Mode

Parties gear up for polls

— Prabhu Chawla

If the Congress(I) and its ally, the AIADMK, were looking for a short cut to power, then Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar seems to have provided them one on a platter. Last fortnight, as the countdown for the assembly elections began, it was clear that the Congress(I)-AIADMK combine was behaving as if it had already taken over the reins of the state.

Not only had Congress(I) and AIADMK activists swarmed the state secretariat with people's petitions, they were also mounting pressure on the governor and other higher-ups to replace key officials with their own sympathisers. Predictably then, when AIADMK supremo Jayalalitha returned from her triumphant three-day tour of New Delhi after M. Karunanidhi's dismissal she was welcomed by over 1,000 party workers and taken to her house in a huge procession. That the glamorous petrel of Tamil Nadu politics was riding a fresh high was evident from the fact that she went to the extent of demanding the recall of Governor Surjit Singh Barnala as he had opposed the DMK government's dismissal.

Not that Barnala's protestations had counted for much. In fact, the prime minister set a new precedent when after a gap of almost 20 years he dismissed the two-year-old DMK government without even obtaining the token report of adverse conditions from the governor. Nor did President R. Venkataraman cover himself with glory when he overlooked the customary governor's recommendation.

Inevitably, as the warring parties gear up for elections, the issue is less the performance of the DMK government and more the manner and cause for its dismissal. The DMK and its electoral ally,

the V. P. Singh-led National Front are clear about one part of their platform: to seek a mandate against the right of the Central Government to dismiss an elected government midterm and on flimsy grounds. The President dismissed the DMK government on the ground that it was unable to deal firmly with the LTTE militants in the state. Surprisingly, Shekhar who believes in an open government did not make the undesirable activities of the DMK government public.

With Barnala disagreeing with President's Rule, the DMK and its supporters charge the prime minister with succumbing to the pressure tactics of the AIADMK and the Congress(I). Says Murasoli Maran, former Union minister and DMK functionary: "We will expose this sinister conspiracy of the Congress(I) which cannot tolerate any government other than its own or that of its allies." The hawks in the DMK have begun talking in terms of waging a casteist war against the Central Government. Charges Nanjil Manoharan. "The DMK government has been dismissed for the second time only because of pressure from the brahminical political and upper caste cult which rules the Centre and the Congress(I)."

Karunanidhi has launched a campaign along these lines. He has begun his electioneering by accusing the Central bureaucracy and the President of being intolerant of the DMK government which was dominated by the backwards, minorities and Harijans. He is even demanding the resignation of the President. The DMK cadres have also hit the streets. In particular their ire is directed against Commerce Minister Subramanian Swamy. President Venkataraman, IB chief M. K. Narayanan, former Union minister P. Chidambaram and Jayalalitha, because they all belong to the coveted upper castes.

But Karunanidhi's arch foe is no pushover. Though Jayalalitha's main election plan will

be the "anti-national activities" of the DMK government, her foremost strength remains her formidable charisma. And she is expecting to romp home with the support of the Congress (I). In fact, in the last general election the Congress(I)-AIADMK combine won 38 of the 39 Lok Sabha seats. A year earlier, pitted against each other in the assembly polls, they had fared badly.

But this time they are going it together. And with Rajiv Gandhi out of power, Jayalalitha has been able to extract 168 assembly seats out of 234 leaving a mere 66 for the Congress(I). The Congress(I) also appears to have surrendered all envisaged spoils, what with AICC (I) General Secretary H.K.I., Bhagat announcing that the AIADMK would form the government on its own. Surprisingly, in this Rajiv did not even consult local leaders like G.K. Moopanar, leader of the opposition in the dissolved assembly. The TNCC (I) chief K. Ramamurthy of course defended this decision, saying: "We have conceded that the AIADMK is the dominant party in the state and Jayalalitha is the only leader who can along with Rajiv Gandhi win the polls for us." And Jayalalitha has been quick off the blocks. She has begun inviting applications for seat nominations. Like the last time she is asking for Rs. 2,000 with each application and expects to collect over Rs 2 crore, almost the same amount she had done last time.

But currently the DMK is riding a sympathy wave, as was evident by the success of the bandh and the 25,000-odd people who courted arrest. Emboldened by Singh's successful tour of Kerala where the LDF defeated the Congress (I)-led UDF in the district council elections, it has roped in the former prime minister as its main campaigner. But if the battle boils down to a match between Jayalalitha's glamorous appeal and Karunanidhi's political astuteness, the former chief minister may well find himself on sticky wicket.

# **Moscow reviews the Mid-east**

**— Farouk Kadoumi**

“The Soviet Union is re-assessing its policies, both internal and external because Mr Gorbachev and the leadership have realised that under the guise of assisting perestroika, which is a fine idea, the United States and other western nations have been pursuing a deliberate policy of economic sabotage and de-stabilisation” said Mr. Farouk Kadoumi, foreign Minister of Palestine in an exclusive forty minute interview (Parts of the conversation, it was understood, would be treated as off-the-record).

**Q.** Does that include Soviet Union's policy on the current conflict in the Gulf?

**A.** Most certainly. When they supported the UN Security Council resolutions, their understanding of the US strategy in the Middle-East and its policy on Soviet reform was different. Perestroika is indeed a progressive idea but we wonder whether the Communist Party, as it is now constituted, is the best or even the correct instrument for implementing structural reform. But that's one aspect of the problem. The other is the systematic US and Western effort to exploit the problems created by the transitional changes to weaken the Soviet Union and reduce it to a third-rate power. At the same time the Soviet leadership began to realise the true nature of American strategy, the Gulf conflict erupted. I am referring to the Iraqi action and Kuwait. The Soviet Union went along with the US, UK and France to condemn Iraq and to demand its unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait. We too reject the idea of military intervention, but whenever there have been serious disputes within

the Arab world, we have not rushed to the UN, we have always tried to resolve these within the Arab League...

**Q.** Are you saying that the Soviet Union will now follow another line...?

**A.** Already it is doing so. It has understood the American game, the war that is being waged against Iran by the so-called “coalition”. Not only the Soviet Union but the whole world has begun to see that this is not just an attempt to “liberate Kuwait” but to crush Saddam Hussein, to destroy Iraq, to wipe out its military strength because Iraq under Saddam is a threat to the military might of Israel and the military preeminence in the region, not to protect itself only, but to be the regional thug, serving the American cause. When the Soviet Union understood this, that is the attempt by the US to establish total military supremacy in this area, this strategic area, so close to the Soviet Union, then the Soviet leadership began to see the connection between economic sabotage and de-stabilisation inside the Soviet Union, and the powerful, aggressive American military thrust into the region, using the liberation of Kuwait, as a pretext. Even a schoolboy can see that this huge military presence, the greatest since that last World War, is not meant to liberate Kuwait but to use this opportunity, in the region and the collapse of the Soviet economy, to re-establish American military-political domination... that is, imperial design... in the Middle East... the imperialism which had to retreat in the past thirty-forty years because of the struggle of the Arab nation, under

leaders like President Nasser, and the valiant struggle of the Palestinian people... with the support, the general support, of the Soviet Union and other anti-imperialist countries..

**Q.** If by “strategic” you mean oil...

**A.** No, not only oil but it is certainly a very important factor...

**Q.** Some western commentators, not all, argue that oil is no longer that vital because other energy sources are available and that...

**A.** I know, I know... this is not the place for me to explain the details. I do know a lot about western, especially American, oil interests in the region. I have studied it for more than 30 years.. you see, I am an economist and as a young man I worked in Saudi Arabia for the biggest company of all Aramco.. I have also worked in Dharan.. but do not isolate the oil factor.. study it as part of the whole imperialist design.. the return of imperialism to the Middle-East, the new imperialist, the so-called New World Order...

**Q.** What precisely do you mean by “return”...?

**A.** Long before, the Kuwait problem... long before the Iraqi army marched in to Kuwait... in fact on May 17, the United States declared its intention to maintain, a US naval presence in the Gulf.. the presence after the Iran-Iraq war, was to be maintained, a permanent presence, and that US project, the permanent-military presence, is supported by the sheikdoms, the emirs, the kings, who are anti-people, who are against the genuine economic-social eman-

icipation of their countries but who wish only to have "showcase" development, while they amass their wealth in western banks. That is the revolution that the PLO stands for. . .

Q. But it is not only the kings and the sheikhs who are supporting the US-led coalition. Some of the major Arab states, like Egypt, are in the anti-Iraqi camp.

A. That's correct. But I was not talking about governments but about people. Certainly, leaders are important but there is a vast difference between Nasser and Mubarak. We try to solve our problems within the Arab family. Nasser understood that most important principle. When we had problems with Jordan, we did not rush it to the United Nations. We referred it first to the Arab family, the Arab League which met in Cairo. Talks between King Hussein,

King Fahd, Chairman Arafat, and we met in Cairo. We agreed on a 14 point formula. That is why we did not rush to condemn Iraq. . although we reject the idea of Arab attacking Arab. .

Q. Nonetheless, Egypt is supporting the US.

A. What is Egypt? Mubarak or the people.

Q. There is no uprising. . .

A. When you stand by the River Nile. . you see it flows. . silently not a sound. . but what a tremendous force moves underneath. . .

Q. The United States rejects "linkage". . between Kuwait/Iraq and Israeli occupation of Arab land, the whole Palestinian issue. . .

A. There is nothing to accept or reject or argue about 'linkage'. . Linkage exists. . thanks to Israel, the US and its allies. There is the Palestinian questi-

on, and then there are the territories of Jordan, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon etc invaded and occupied. And then are the US Resolutions. . 242 of 1967. . for 33 years implementation of that resolution has been prevented. . blocked. . by whom? By the very people who are now demanding withdrawal from occupied territory under UN Resolution. . We did not link. . they linked it. . by their actions for 33-4 years. . now that they are in such a hurry to implement 600, we are asking how about 242 at least along with 660, if it cannot be done before. . .

Q. May I ask you finally who, killed Mr. Arafat's deputy in Tunis. .? I mean was the guard a member of a rival group. . Abu Nidhal's has been mentioned. . .?

A. Our investigation shows it was Mossad.

M. de S.

# VASA OPTICIANS

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## INDO-US RELATIONS

**A Positive Phase**

Shahnaz Anklesaria Aiyar

The shrill all-party condemnation of Chandra Shekhar's decision to permit US Air Force planes to refuel at Indian airports makes it clear that India can retain only a minimal defence cooperation with the US whose relationship with India has been developing for over a decade. Whatever shape the post-Gulf war scenario may take, the national consensus now and in the future is to keep the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, free of superpower interference.

Nonetheless, regardless of what happens in the Gulf, the present contours of Indo-US relations will remain, with some movement at the margins. One of the most important reasons is that Pakistan has ceased to be a US proxy in the region. The huge groundswell of public sympathy for Iraqi President Saddam Hussain and the strong support he found in Pakistani Army chief General Aslam Beg makes it clear that Pakistan does not share US fears of militant Islamic fundamentalism. It is now quite clear that the sharp pro-Pakistan tilt in US policy has already begun to correct itself.

Today the US is at pains to emphasise that the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and the end of the Cold War has devalued Pakistan's strategic significance. This has already resulted in a US aid cut of some \$300 million for 1990-91, expressions of unease at Pakistan's rapidly developing nuclear programme and the US's refusal to sell sophisticated F-16 aircraft and AWACS to its former "strategic ally".

So at present the US is wooing India with the following promises:

- Quiet acquiescence in Indian ambitions of being the regional supercop. Notably, American support for greater

Indian involvement in the region that began with its direct involvement in the internal conflicts of Sri Lanka and went on to helping the Maldives Government to survive a coup.

- A future role in policing the sea lanes from the Gulf to the Straits of Malacca along with a US-led international force a proposal in which senior Indian naval brass have quietly expressed interest.

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**Now with the devaluation of Pakistan's strategic significance, the US is actively wooing India.**

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- This it is hinted could lead to US assistance in building India's Blue Ocean navy. In fact, the current American complaint is that India does not have a cohesive strategic doctrine for building its navy with the result that areas of cooperation remain undefined. Elsewhere there are promises of quick sales of defence technology. But this means escalated defence spending a further depletion of resources and a parallel replenishment of political and individual coffers a la Bofors.

- The US promises to continue acting as honest broker between Pakistan and India. US Embassy officials recall the role of Robert Gates, deputy national security advisor in the White House. In defusing tensions between India and Pakistan last May when border tensions rose dramatically.

So far, the US had assured Pakistan that in the event of an Indian attack. It would support Pakistan politically and with supplies. Even if the

aggressor proved hard to pinpoint. The US had promised neutrality. Tilted towards Pakistan. Today such a tilt will not appear and if Indo-US ties improve, the tilt could be towards India.

- Helping Indian requests for loan sanctions from multilateral agencies at a time when India needs cash to tide over its \$6 billion trade deficit.

But many of these US assurances come at a point when it fears a consolidation of Islamic forces in the region and when Pakistan cannot be depended on to combat Islamic fundamentalism.

But what if a post-war scenario sees a victorious US determined to continue as the regional policeman? It will provoke even stronger rhetorical condemnation from India and may even momentarily stall further development of Indo-US relations. But for the reasons mentioned above the relationship will survive, at a muted level.

If, on the other hand, the US withdraws its presence from the region and encourages local security arrangements between the Islamic countries in the Gulf, India will not object. Minimal defence cooperation with the US will continue. There will also be greater economic and scientific cooperation. What the US will certainly not resume is the sale of sophisticated defence systems to Pakistan or any country in the region after their "misuse" by Saddam.

Finally, it is possible that after suffering heavy losses. The US might simply back out altogether from the region. Minimal defence cooperation and greater economic cooperation will continue even during such a phase of benign neglect.

# The Gulf war and India's foreign policy

N. Ram (Associate Editor "Hindu")

If foreign policy is, to a significant extent, a reflection of the domestic situation, the Chandra Shekhar regime's murky and disgracefully inept stance towards the conflagration in the Persian Gulf is entirely in order. Further, in this case the words and the action make a perfect fit: the Prime Minister's address to the nation on the issues and implications of the international crisis signals, in its emptiness of perspective, vacuity of emotion and inelegance of form, the reality that independent India has reached the lowest point in its non-aligned foreign policy. Indeed, to recall the inspired turn of phrase used by the lawyer F. S. Nariman (on *Newstrack*) to describe the induction of the present government arrangement in Delhi, this really means "scraping the bottom of the barrel."

In all fairness, it must be pointed out that it is not just India's leadership and foreign policy which find themselves in a plight. The political leadership and international policy of the Soviet Union, China and a member of prominent non-aligned countries also find themselves in a situation which apparently does not permit them to challenge the horrible character and consequences of the offensive war that the United States and its closet allies have unleashed in the Persian Gulf in name of the United Nations. The indefensibility of the Saddam regime's invasion and annexation of Kuwait, and the background of its Western-aided drive for regional hegemony in the Eighties; have been skillfully converted into a justification for unprecedented military interventionism in an oil-rich region which imperialism holds to be 'strategic'.

However, considerations of *realpolitik* on the one hand and low expectations of the

present Indian government on the other are no reason for allowing non-aligned Indian foreign policy to drift away from its moorings. The test must be from the standpoint of longstanding non-aligned principles. The criticism of the Chandra Shekhar government's stand on the savage high-tech war in the Persian Gulf has come from both of the Congress (I) and the Left and it is entirely justified. It relates to the official attitude to the situation preceding and also following the allied attack on Iraq, a member of the non-aligned movement.

The essence of the criticism is that the Chandra Shekhar regime has failed to focus on the indefensibility and horror of the US-imposed war and to play a clear-sighted role in mobilising the non-aligned movement constructively and effectively behind a peace initiative. The fact that Arab governments are bitterly divided on this issue, and that Yugoslavia as NAM's present leader has tilted towards the US-led interventionist policy, does not mean that India should compromise its position, mute its voice and weaken its anti-interventionist commitment which is the crux of non-alignment. President George Bush's call to multilateral arms to fashion a 'new world order' where the United States is king does not convert imperialist military intervention into a just doctrine. The brutality of Saddam Hussein's dictatorship and the enormity of the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait do not legitimate a project of converting both Iraq and Kuwait into a new type of killing fields.

Ever since this serious crisis broke out in the Persian Gulf in August 1990 as a direct consequence of Iraqi aggression, the foreign policy response from India has been slow and un-

imaginative, reflecting domestic political weaknesses and tensions and also an isolationist frame of mind. The good bilateral relationship with Iraq, appreciation for the Saddam regime's helpful attitude on the Kashmir issue, and the potential danger to 175,000 Indian nationals in Kuwait initially tended to cloud and inhibit official Indian perceptions, making for a narrow-track policy of excessive caution and 'pragmatism'.

The real problem became clear soon enough. While India correctly identified itself with the unanimous international disapproval of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the requirement of immediate and unconditional withdrawal, it failed to express clear-sightedly its opposition to the U. S. interventionist drive and do something about it. Without overestimating its own capabilities and influence, New Delhi could have played a more active diplomatic and political role, as a serious non-aligned player, by interacting early with Iraq and the other players in the Persian Gulf and seeing if some common ground could be identified to help defuse the crisis. There would, of course, have been no guarantee of success, but attempt would have been most worthwhile.

In this case, Rajiv Gandhi's political instincts favouring a wider and higher-profile role for India as a leader of the non-aligned movement have been sound. A high-powered international goodwill group, including an appropriate Indian leader, might have been of real value during a critical period that saw a lurch towards war.

The one genuine bright spot in the Indian performance was the remarkable practical achievement of bringing over 150,000 Indians home from Kuwait smoothly and quickly. The skills of Indian diplomacy

plus air transport efficiency and dedication deserve a good deal of credit for this life-saving success, but this reflected the strengths of the system rather than any foreign policy brilliance in the government of the day.

It is well recognised that Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar is basically uninterested in foreign policy — its principles, details and nuances. Nevertheless, he and his disqualified External Affairs Minister have been quick to reject the idea of any linkage between the present crisis and the Palestinian and Arab-Israel issue. On the opening day of the war, Chandra Shekhar outlined a three-point, or rather three-stage, plan to resolve the crisis; (1) an appeal to President Saddam Hussein to announce the commencement of immediate withdrawal in accordance with the U. N. Security Council resolutions; (2) a consequential cessation of hostilities; and (3) a resumption of efforts to find a peaceful solution to the conflict, with the responsibility of working out the modalities left to the Security Council.

Significantly, this fell short of the six point French proposal which was, tragically, shot down within the U. N. precincts on the eve of the war. It fell short especially on the matter of non-aggression guarantees for Iraq and follow-up Security Council efforts to resolve both the Israel-Arab conflict and the Palestinian problem through the convening of an international conference. But more important, in terms of emphasis and the ordering of priorities, Chandra Shekhar's three point peace plan appeared to underplay the urgency of stopping the US-led high tech war of devastation, thereby diluting the non-aligned opposition to military intervention in the Persian Gulf region.

In the face of criticism from his underwriter and uneasy ally, the Congress (I), and from the Left, the Prime Minister shifted

to fresh, but still slippery ground on the second day of the war. This meant bringing in the idea of simultaneity in halting the war and securing an Iraqi pull-out from Kuwait. The informal and dubious Indian initiative, pursued weakly in the U. N., was based on a call for an immediate suspension of hostilities to provide a pause of limited duration as well as a call to Iraq immediately to accept the U. N. Security Council resolutions and announce the commencement of substantial withdrawal as part of a time-bound programme of complete withdrawal.

When the idea of a suspension of hostilities for a limited duration invited further criticism, the Prime Minister shifted gear and moved on to the higher and rarefied level of generalities on the need to restore peace — asserting, in quite absurd fashion, that "who is victorious today, who is going to be defeated, matters little" and railing irrelevantly against brinkmanship when the all-out war was in devastating progress. Also sadly, the Prime Minister's address to the nation on the worst international crisis in a decade-and-a-half conveyed the impression that for the people of India, the conflagration in the Persian Gulf was a matter of grave concern mostly on account of the likely dislocation of the supply of petroleum products, burdensome price increases and so forth. If this was pragmatism and utilitarianism in policy-making, it was pragmatism and utilitarianism carried to the point of banality and the neutering of serious foreign policy in a moral and political sense.

Public opinion round the country must be mobilised to oblige the government to correct its foreign policy orientation. While firmly condemning and opposing the US-led offensive war in the Persian Gulf, India must continue to press for unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait and speak out

against the Saddam regime's outrages and threats against innocent civilians in Israel and elsewhere. It must work actively for a just and early settlement of the Palestinian and Arab-Israel questions. It must vigilantly guard against any spill over of the dangerous effort to paint the war as a *jihād* or late-20th century crusade. All this will involve patient, persistent and intelligent effort by political parties to educate the people on the nature of the conflict, the danger of imperialist intervention in the third world, the aggressive actions of the Iraqi dictator, and the need to forge a peace that will last.

Non-aligned India has a tradition of activism to douse international conflict and promote the cause of non-intervention and peace. In the midst of the most devastating and awesome conflict since the Vietnam war, it is unacceptable — and tragic — that India's Prime Minister has no agenda to offer.

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# The geographical and historical background to the Gulf War

Bertram Bastiampillai (Professor, University of Colombo)

Since the end of the First World War there have been repeated attempts by the Kurds to gain regional autonomy in Iraq, Iran and Persia. In Iraq, the Kurds occupy the North Eastern province and parts of other provinces such as the oil rich Kirkuk and Mosul, now coveted by Turkey which Iran opposes, and have been particularly persistent in the demand for autonomy. Promises of settlement were made by Iraq only to be often broken and conceded settlements did not satisfy the Kurds who remain rebellious and have now proclaimed in the present war an anti Iraqi stance: Yet another complication in the conflict of today. After all the Kurds had to suffer the effects of chemical warfare and bombing by Iraq in her campaign to suppress them.

In July 1979, the ruling President of Iraq resigned and was succeeded by Saddam Hussein. Saddam Hussein became not only life President but also a leader of the Arab World fighting for an Arab cause. Hence his anti Israeli and Pro-Palestine stance and his war for the Faith now can be comprehended in such a context. He has helped in the war against Israel in 1967 both Jordan and Syria, which is now ranged against him along with the anti-Iraqi coalition while Jordan retains a delicate position of neutrality, if not being pro-Iraqi. The issue of the Palestinian refugees has figured consistently and prominently in Iraq's foreign policy under Saddam Hussein which is a strong element even in today's war.

The population of Iraq was 18.9 million while that of Kuwait was 2.1 million in 1989. More than 5% of Kuwait's population consisted of foreigners forming mainly her labour force. They came from neighbouring Arab lands; Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, the Philippines,

South Korea, Taiwan and Sri Lanka. Iraq too had a substantial amount of foreign workers up to August 1990. Over 800,000 were Egyptians hailing from a country which is now fiercely anti-Iraq and faithfully pro-coalition in the current conflict. Iraq also had over 7000 soviet citizens, mostly as technical, scientific and technological advisers. Both countries, Kuwait and Iraq, saw many of these foreigners depart being afraid of getting trapped in the war zone although a few optimistically lagged behind. Their escape routes ran through the Iraq-Syria borders.

Militarily, despite heavy losses in equipment and personnel during the eight year war (1980-85) with Iran, Iraq still has about a one million strong armed force backed with stocks of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons according to Western reports. Thus Iraq is a dominant power in the Gulf region. Moreover, following her long war Iraqi troops are in a state of battle preparedness. The large contingent that had guarded the Iraqi-Iran border was withdrawn following costly compromises through which Saddam Hussein bought peace with her former foe, Iran. Now this force has also been deployed in the current war against the multinational United States dominated coalition. By contrast Kuwait's armed forces amounted to a mere 20,000. It is no wonder that there was hardly any resistance to the invasion — it was a walk over!

These sheer numbers alone of Iraq's forces are strong enough to overwhelm all the Gulf states provided there is no support for any of the other Gulf states from foreign forces. Here the intrusion of the Americans' British and other forces allied to the anti-Iraq coalition has thwarted Iraq's design.

The motives for the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, however,

are certainly as important as the geographical, historical and other factors which have provided opportunities for friction and discord. During the eight year ideological war with Iran, some of the fellow Arab states had financed the government of Iraq. Among the biggest contributors rank ironically enough Kuwait which loaned about ten billion US dollars to Iraq. Another such war time financier was the United Arab Emirates.

Yet, like global or regional military balances, times and loyalties too change swiftly and easily. And in the middle of July 1990 Iraq alleged and charged that both Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates had caused direct aggression aimed at Iraq accusing these two Gulf States of having plotted to flood the world market with crude oil so as to depress the price. Saddam Hussein intimidated these two Gulf States in particular and also the other Arab states vowing violence against them because their oil production policies, he accused, were forcing Iraq to forfeit her due and legitimate share of the oil wealth. He assumed that for every one dollar rise in the price of crude oil on the world market, Iraq could have gained an extra one billion dollars in revenue which she had lost owing to the actions of her neighbours such as Kuwait. Iraq was in want of extra money to rebuild herself and there was available only oil revenues to pay for imports and to service foreign debts.

After the OPEC (Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries) meeting of 6 July, 1990 in Geneva the price of oil was increased. OPEC also limited quotas on oil production by member nations. But both Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates were alleged to have exceeded their contracted upon production quotas of 1.5 million barrels and 1.1 million barrels respectively per day. Each of them had been turning out as much as 2 million bar-

rels daily. Saudi Arabia had produced about 5.42 million barrels daily while Iraq said that she had an output of 3.14 million barrels every day.

Therefore, Iraq demanded from Kuwait, which she considered a culprit first, 2.4 billion U.S. dollars to compensate her for the oil which Kuwait was accused of having drawn illicitly from the Rumaila oilfield which was on Iraqi territory; second, a cancellation of her loan dues; and third, a lease to the Warbah and Bubiyan islands which would give Iraq the control of both banks of the Khawr Abd-Allah.

This sort of claim was not new because earlier too Iraq had made such claims against Kuwait. For example, less than a week since Kuwait had received her formal independence from Britain on 25 June 1961, President Abdul Karim Kassem revived an older claim declaring that Kuwait was an integral portion of Iraq. It is hence not surprising that on August 22, 1990 once again Iraq occupied Kuwait and annexed it as her nineteenth province, a stand on which Iraq has been firm during the war. In June 1961, five days later, after Iraq had declared her claim to Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the former imperial power, Britain, responded to Kuwait's request for help and commenced a swift and huge troop accumulation for preventing Iraq's predatory pounce on her tiny neighbour. By the middle of August 1961 the British forces were withdrawn to be replaced by a joint Arab force which stayed on in Kuwait until October 1961.

Faced with this threat of counter force, Iraq then declared that it had no idea of engaging in armed combat to annex Kuwait. The Kassim regime collapsed soon after, weakened partially by this futile and unsuccessful fiasco of 1962, and then in 1963 Iraq formally abandoned her claim to Kuwait. But troubles did not cease. Parts of the shared border separating the two countries experienced conflict again in 1973.

Furthermore, since 1989 Iraq had been pressuring her Southern neighbour for a lease of Bubiyan island. However, Kuwait has been apprehensive that allowing a lease on the island could be construed as a cession of it in compliance with the demands of Iraq which in turn could end in a claim to the whole of Kuwait. Current events demonstrate that the fears of Kuwait have not been baseless.

Kuwait fell within twelve hours no sooner than Iraq invaded and occupied the tiny state which could not defend herself at all. To forestall counter moves by outside forces to undo this invasion, Iraq threatened to turn "Kuwait into a graveyard" if foreign forces intervened. A puppet government was set up by Iraq in Kuwait and Iraqi forces were increased despite promises of withdrawal of troops. Foreigners were taken in as hostages. The United Nations Security Council and the Arab League almost unanimously condemned Iraq's invasion and annexation of Kuwait. Mandatory sanctions were imposed by the UN forbidding member states to trade with Iraq. The European Community, the United States, and Japan immediately froze Kuwaiti and Iraqi assets. The pipelines carrying oil from Iraq to terminals at the Red Sea port in Saudi Arabia and at the port in the Mediterranean sea at Turkey were closed by Saudi Arabia and Turkey in pursuit of the resolution on UN sanctions.

The fundamental and most immediate cause of the Gulf War is that oil issues provided the most compelling concern of the US and many of those allied in the anti-Iraq coalition. An uninterrupted flow of Persian Gulf oil to world markets through the Strait of Hormuz is an economic, political and strategic necessity. This is clear as Kuwait is one of the largest oil producers in the Middle East while the oil exports of Iraq yield revenues equalling nearly half her national income.

Of course, in addition, the concern shown by several coun-

tries to ensure that Iraq's military machine is dismantled indicates fear of Iraq in the interests of their own security among Gulf and Middle East states — a mighty Iraq is always a danger to neighbours, they feel. To the United States, pliant powers in the Middle East are necessary while to Israel, which remains out of the anti-Iraq coalition, the muting of Iraq militarily will mean a removal of a perennial threat to her, whose past actions have been as arbitrary and unjust as Iraq's aggression against Kuwait. The Western powers like the US, Britain and France have also got an opportunity now to test untried weapons technology on a developing region's population. Other causes such as ideology and ambitious too exist to account for the Gulf conflagrations.

The Gulf War and the reactions to it show that not negotiations but firepower and force are going to remain paramount in international affairs. Tiny Kuwait, in spite of her pan-Arab ideology and financial support to it, its active involvement in OPEC, and the assurances of her independence by the Arab League, the United Nations, and the Gulf Cooperation Council, was helpless when stronger Iraq struck. Likewise, in reply, the super power, the United States, unchallenged by the Soviet Union now, could weld many nations into an anti-Iraq coalition and lead it to drive out Iraq from Kuwait — the United States has taken the role of the top cop in international affairs.

Iraq could be driven out of Kuwait and the Al-Sabah rulers could be restored to authority over the Emirate, but these steps along will not resolve the problem in the Gulf region and ensure the return of lasting peace. More importantly, it is imperative that each of the relevant negotiating parties to a solution to the war cooperate among themselves in developing agreements on the delineation and demarcation of their respective maritime and terrestrial boundaries.



## Destruction and Damage

Ramsay Clark

During the period February 2 to February 8, 1991 I traveled in Iraq to assess the damage to civilian life there resulting from the bombing and the embargo, including civilian deaths, injuries, illness and destruction and damage to civilian property. I was accompanied by an experienced camera team that has filmed war and its destructiveness in many countries including Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, El Salvador, Nicaragua, the Philippines and Vietnam. Their film documents most of the damage I mention in this letter and some I do not. In our party was an Iraqi-American guide and translator who has family in Baghdad and Basra and is personally familiar with those cities and many other areas of Iraq. He had last visited Baghdad, Basra and Kuwait City in December 1990.

We traveled over 2000 miles in seven days to view damage, learn of casualties, discuss the effects of the bombing with government officials, public health and safety agency staffs and private families and individuals. We had cooperation from the government of Iraq including Ministers, Governors, health and medical officials and civil defense personnel. The bombing in all parts of Iraq made travel difficult, requiring caution for bomb craters and damage to highways and roads and making night driving especially hazardous.

The damage to residential areas and civilian structures, facilities and utilities was extensive everywhere we went. Every city and town we visited or that was reported to us had no municipal water, electricity or telephone service. Parts of Baghdad had limited delivery of impure water for an hour a day.

The effect of damage to municipal water systems on

health and safety is tremendous. The Minister of Health considered potable water for human consumption the single greatest health need in the country. Tens of thousands are known to suffer diarrhea and stomach disorders. There are believed to be hundreds of thousands of unreported cases. Several thousands are believed to have died.

There is no electric lighting in the cities, towns and countryside in daytime or the long winter nights except for a few interior spaces like hospital emergency rooms where gasoline generators are available. The meaning of this is brought home most painfully in the hospitals at night.

In the hospitals, there is no heat, no clean water except limited quantities for drinking supplied in bottles, no electric light in wards and hospital rooms, and inadequate medicine, even for pain alleviation, in the face of a great increase in critically and severely injured persons. Doctors we talked with in four hospitals are deeply concerned over the absence or shortage of needed medicine and sanitary supplies. Surgeons and medics treating wounds cannot keep their hands clean, or gloved and work in the cold, in poor light with greatly increased numbers of patients in unrelieved pain. Seven hospitals are reported closed by bomb damage. Many if not most have had windows shattered.

Schools are closed. Homes are cold. Candles are the principal lighting. Telephone communication does not exist. Transportation is extremely limited. Gasoline is scarce. Roads and bridges are bombing targets. There is no television. Radio reception is limited to battery powered radios which can receive short wave signals, a few transmissions from Iraq stations or nearby foreign stations. According to the Minis-

try of Health, hospital officials and the Red Crescent, there is a substantial increase in falls, home accidents, stress, nervous disorders, shock, heart attack, miscarriage and premature births and infant mortality. Nightly air raids, the sounds of sirens, antiaircraft fire and the explosion of bombs have placed a great strain on the society as a whole, but particularly on children and individuals with nervous system or heart disorders.

Dr. Ibrahim Al Noore has been head of the Red Crescent and Red Cross of Iraq for ten years. He is a paediatrician by training who interned at Childrens Hospital in London, later headed Children Hospital in Baghdad and served in the Ministry of Health for some years rising to Deputy Minister. Dr. Noore estimates that there have been 3000 infant deaths since November 1, 1990 in excess of the normal rate attributable solely to the shortage of infant milk formula and medicines. Only 14 tons of baby formula have been received during that period. Prior monthly national consumption was approximately 2500 tons.

One of the early targets of U. S. bombing was the infant and baby milk processing facility in Baghdad. No Iraqi with whom we talked assumed this was a coincidence. The U. S. claim that the plant manufactured chemical warfare material is false. A French company built it. The twenty, or more people who we interviewed, who operated it who visited it before its destruction and who have examined it since without ill effect all say it was a plant processing infant and baby milk formula. In a lengthy and unrestricted examination of the plant, we saw no evidence to the contrary.

In all areas we visited and all other areas reported to us, municipal water processing plants, pumping stations and

The author was Attorney-General of the U.S.

even reservoirs have been bombed. Electric generators have been destroyed. Refineries and oil and gasoline storage facilities and filling stations have been attacked. Telephone exchange buildings, TV and radio stations, and some radio telephone relay stations and towers, damaged or destroyed. Many highways, roads, bridges, bus stations, schools, mosques and churches, cultural sites, and hospitals have been damaged. Government buildings including Executive Offices of the President, the Foreign Ministry, Defense Ministry, Ministry for Industry and Justice Ministry have been destroyed or damaged.

Ambassadors of Member States should ask themselves if their capitals, major cities and towns were similarly destroyed and damaged by such bombing, they would consider the targets to be permissible under the International Laws of Armed Conflict. Imagine the reaction if water, electricity, telephones, gasoline, heating and air conditioning, TV and radio were denied to Lima and Arequipa, Lagos and Ibadan, Washington and Chicago, Paris and Marseilles, New Delhi and Calcutta, to Canberra and Sydney while civilians were bombed in their homes, business, shops, markets, schools, churches, hospitals, public places, and roadways.

How can destruction of municipal electricity for Mosul, the telephone system for the people of Baghdad, the municipal water supplies for Basra, or shooting defenseless public buses and private cars on the road to Jordan and elsewhere possibly be justified as necessary to drive Iraq from Kuwait? It can be so justified, then the United Nations has authorized the destruction of all civilian life of a whole nation.

The effect of the bombing, if continued, will be the destruction of much of the physical and economic basis for life in Iraq. The purpose of the bombing can only be explained rationally as the destruction of Iraq as a viable state for a generation or more. Will the United Na-

tions be a party to this lawless violence?

I will briefly describe destruction to residential areas in some of the cities and towns we visited. In Basra Governor Abdullan Adjram described the bombing as of February 6 as worse than during the Iran-Iraq war. We carefully probed five residential areas that had been bombed.

1. A middle class residential area was heavily damaged at 9:30 p. m. on January 31. 28 persons were reported killed, 56 were injured, 20 homes and 6 shops were destroyed.

2. On January 22, an upper middle class residential neighborhood was shattered by three bombs destroying or extensively damaging more than 15 homes reportedly injuring 40 persons, but without any deaths.

3. On January 24, an upper middle class neighborhood was bombed, killing 8, injuring 26 and destroying 3 homes and damaging many others.

4. On February 4, described by officials as the heaviest bombing of Basra to February 6, at 2:35 a. m. 14 persons were killed, 46 injured and 128 apartments and homes destroyed or damaged together with an adjacent Pepsi Cola bottling plant and offices across a wide avenue. The area devastated was 3 blocks deep on both sides of streets. At least fifteen cars were visible, crushed in garages. Small anti personnel bombs were alleged to have fallen here and we saw what appeared to be one that did not explode imbedded in rubble. We were shown the shell of a "mother" bomb which carries the small fragmentation bombs.

5. On January 28, about eighteen units in a very large low cost public housing project were destroyed or severely damaged, killing 46 and injuring 70. The nearby high school was damaged by a direct hit on a corner. The elementary school across the street was damaged.

On the evening of February 5 at 8.30 p. m. while our small group was dining alone by candlelight in the Sheraton Basrah

three large bomb blasts broke glass in the room. We went upstairs to the roof. From there I saw one bomb fall into the Shaat-Al-Arab beyond the Teaching Hospital to the South throwing a column of water high into the air; another bomb hit near the Shaat. As agreed upon earlier, civil defense officials came to take us to the blast sites. They were 1.2 km down the street near the shatt Al Arab. I had walked by the area about 6:30 p. m.

We found two buildings destroyed. It is an apartment and residential home area. One was a family club, the other a night club. If either had been open scores of people would have been killed. Palm trees were sheared off and shrapnel, rocks, dirt and glass covered the street for several hundred feet. We were unable to enter the buildings that night.

We returned the next morning and were told both buildings were empty at the time by the owners who were looking at the damage. The teaching hospital, about 150 yards distant, which had been closed for a week following earlier bombing was without windows. It apparently received no new damage. As with all the other civilian damage we saw we could find no evidence of any military presence in the area. Here, there was no utility, or facility that are frequent, if illegal, targets either. There were only homes, apartments and a few shops, grocery stores and other businesses found in residential areas, plus too small bridges connecting the hospital to the mainland.

We were informed by a variety of sources including visual observation during extensive driving in Basra, that many other residential properties had been hit and that the five areas we filmed were a minor fraction of the civilian damage that had occurred.

At the central market where more than 1000 shops and vendors sell fruits, vegetables, fish, meat, foodstuffs and other items a bomb leaving a huge crater,

had demolished a building with a grocery store and other shops and damaged an entry area to the market at about 4:00 p. m. It reportedly killed 8 persons and injured 40.

We examined the rubble of a Sunni Moslem Mosque, Al Makal, where a family of 12 had taken sanctuary. The minaret remained standing. Ten bodies were found under the rubble and identified by a family member who had returned from his military post when informed of the tragedy. The dead included his wife and four young children.

In Diwaniya, a smaller town we examined the same types of civilian damage we witnessed elsewhere and that was reported everywhere. In the town center, apparently seeking to destroy the radio telephone relay equipment in the post office, bombing had damaged the tower and the office. We saw many similar, or identical relay towers in the region that had not been attacked. Adjacent to the post office on the central circle of the city, 3 small hotels of 30 to 50 rooms were destroyed together with a host of shops, cafes, and offices including those of doctors and lawyers. We were told 12 people were killed and 35 injured. More damage could be seen across the circle among business and apartment buildings from one or more bombs that fell there.

Near the outskirts of town 4 more or less, contiguous residential areas had been bombed. 23 persons were reported killed and 75 injured. Two schools were badly damaged. There was no water, electricity or telephone service. A water irrigation station was destroyed. Other damage was witnessed while driving around the town. On the outskirts an oil tank was on fire, one of more than a dozen we saw burning during our travels.

Baghdad has been more accessible to foreign observation than Basra and other places in Iraq. It will only be highlighted. We examined extensive da-

mage on a main street in the blocks next to and across the street from the Ministry of justice which had all its windows on one side blasted out. I know that area as a busy poor commercial residential area from walking through it on the way to the National Museum and visiting the Justice Ministry. A large supermarket, eight other stores and six or eight houses were destroyed or badly damaged. Across the street, one bomb hit on the sidewalk and another was a direct hit on housing behind the street front properties. Six shops, a restaurant and several other stores plus 9 or 10 homes were destroyed, or badly damaged. We could not get an agreed account of casualties from the forty or fifty people standing around the damage. Some said as many as thirty died and many more were injured.

We visited a residential area where several homes were destroyed on February 7th. Six persons in one family were killed in an expensive home and several others in adjacent properties. One 500 lb. bomb had failed to explode and the tail was seen above the thick concrete roof when a member of our team first drove by. When we returned, the bomb had been removed. Our camera team visited the hospital where the injured were taken later that afternoon. The critically injured father from the home where the bomb failed to explode was there. This was one of four hospitals treating persons injured in bombings that we visited.

A bus station was hit by a bomb and the stained glass in a nearby mosque shattered. We were unable to learn if any one was killed through 40 — 50 people were at the station near midnight when we drove by on our arrival.

We saw five different damaged telephone exchanges while driving around Baghdad and many destroyed and damaged government and private buildings. Bridges in Baghdad were a frequent target though damage to them was minimal when we left.

The bridges are not a legitimate military target. Even Defense Ministry buildings are occupied by non-combatants. The telephone exchanges run by civilians are overwhelmingly processing non military calls. The military has the most extensive independent communications capacity in the country. These are not legitimate targets and the effort to bomb them necessarily takes civilian lives.

Damage in Basra appeared to be considerably more extensive than in Baghdad and the actual bombing there was much more intensive than at any time we were in Baghdad. There were civilian deaths every night we were in Baghdad.

Visits to the towns of Hilla, Najaf and Nasseriya by press corps representatives and our crew found civilian casualties in residential areas of each, damages to a medical clinic 12 deaths in one family, and 46 deaths in one night of bombing in one town. A small town was bombed a few minutes before we passed through on our drive back from Basra. We saw no military presence there. Smoke could be seen from three fires.

Over the 2000 miles of highways, roads and streets we traveled, we saw scores, probably several hundred, destroyed vehicles. There were oil tank trucks, tractor trailers, lorries, pickup trucks, a public bus, a mini-bus, a taxicab and many private cars destroyed by aerial bombardment and strafing. Some were damaged when they ran into bomb craters in the highways, or road damage caused by bombs and strafing. We found no evidence of military equipment or supplies in the vehicles. Along the roads we saw several oil refinery fires and numerous gasoline stations destroyed. One road repair camp had been bombed on the road to Amman.

As with the city streets in residential, industrial and commercial areas where we witnessed damage, we did not see a

single damaged or destroyed military vehicle, tank, armored car personnel carrier or other military equipment, or evidence of any having been removed. We saw scores of oil tank cars driving between Iraq and Jordan, as well as 5 or 6 that were destroyed by planes on the highway. We saw no evidence of any arms or military materiel on or around the destroyed and burned out tank trucks, or those not hit.

No one in the press corps or among the civilians we encountered reported to us that they had seen any evidence of the presence of military vehicles having been hit on the highways or having been in the vicinity of civilian property or private vehicles hit before, during or after an aerial strike. We saw no evidence of any military presence in the areas of damage described in this letter.

It is preposterous to claim military equipment in being placed in residential areas to escape attack. Residential areas are regularly attacked. The claim reveals a policy of striking residential areas, because it purports to establish a justification for doing so. If there had been military vehicles in the civilian areas we examined, or on the roads and highways we traveled when bombing occurred it is inconceivable that among all that debris we would not find some fragments of military vehicles, material, equipment or clothing. Not only did pinpoint precision fail to hit military targets in civilian areas, they were not collatorally damaged in the attacks on civilian life. Had they been present they would have been hit.

The government of Iraq has vastly understated civilian casualties in Iraq. This is not an uncommon phenomenon for governments in wartime.

The inescapable and tragic fact is thousands of civilians have been killed in the bombings. The bombings are conducted with this knowledge.

Dr. Noore with more than four decades in medical service and ten years as head of Red Crescent estimates 6000 to 7000 civilians deaths, and many thou-

sands of injuries from bombings. Red Crescent vehicles transport medicine and medical supplies into Iraq from Jordan and Iran. They make deliveries as often as 2 to 3 times a week to some cities and hospitals but regularly to hospitals throughout the country. There contacts and hospital requests for medicines and supplies along with the relationships established over the years provide a solid base for his opinion. He adds to the toll thousands of deaths from failure to obtain adequate supplies of infant formula and medicine, contaminated water and from increased death rates from stress, heart attacks and similar causes.

While I applaud your recent initiative in designating a U. N. mission to Baghdad to carry medical supplies and ascertain the health needs of the Iraqi people, I urge you to seek major funding now or release of Iraqi funds for supplying 2500 tons of infant and baby milk formula, greatly needed medicines and sanitation supplies, municipal water system restoration and water purification.

The bombing constitutes the most grievous violation of international law. It is intended to destroy the civilian life and economy of Iraq. It is not necessary, meaningful or permissible as a means of driving Iraq from Kuwait.

No UN resolution authorizes any military assault on Iraq, except as is necessary to drive Iraqi forces from Kuwait. The bombing that has occurred throughout Iraq is the clearest violation of international law and norms for armed conflict, including the Hague and Geneva Conventions and the Nuremberg charter. It is uncivilized, brutal and racist by any moral standard. With few if any exceptions we witnessed, the destruction is not conceivably within the language or contemplation of Security Council Resolution 678/44.

I urge you to immediately notify the Member States of the General Assembly and the Security Council of the information

herein provided. I urge you to ask for the creation of an investigative body to examine the effect of U. S. bombing of Iraq on the civilian life of the country. Most urgent, I ask you to do everything within your power to stop the bombing of cities, civilian population, public utilities, public highways, bridges and all other civilian areas and facilities in Iraq and elsewhere. If there is no cease fire, bombing must be limited to military targets in Kuwait, concentrations of military forces in Iraq near the border of Kuwait, operational military air fields or identified Scud launching sites or mobile missile launchers in Iraq. If a cease fire is not achieved, the immediate cessation of this lawless bombing of civilian and non combatants is essential.

The use of highly sophisticated military technology with mass destructive capacity by rich nations against an essentially defenseless civilian population of a poor nation is one of the great tragedies of our time. United States annual military expenditures alone are four times the gross national product of Iraq. The scourge of war will never end if the United Nations tolerates this assault on life. The United Nations must not be an accessory to war crimes.

We have 6-7 hours of video tape of much of the damage to civilian life and property described above. It includes painful hospital interviews with children, women and men injured in these assaults. The tape was not reviewed or in any way examined by anyone in Iraq before we left, and the actual filming was largely unobserved by any Iraqi official. This footage is being edited. I will send you a copy as soon as it is ready within the next few days. If you wish to have the entire tapes reviewed, let me know and I will arrange a screening.

Copies of this letter are being sent to President Bush and President Hussein and the United Nations Ambassadors for the United States and Iraq.

# INTERNAL, EXTERNAL CONFLICTS

## — disappearing boundaries

Kumar Rupesinghe

### 1. Introduction

The subject of this paper is complex particularly at a moment in history when it is difficult to make clear distinctions between external and internal conflicts. The concept of non-intervention in internal affairs is crumbling as conflicts within and between states get inextricably interlinked. The social conflicts in Central America, the Islamic revivals through dozens of Asian and African countries, the destabilization of Southern Africa, the disintegration of the Soviet empire and subsequent fragmentation, the drug-financed rebellions in South America and Southeast Asia, the resurgence of ethnicity and nationalism and the complex pattern of refugee movements from South to North are examples that belong to our generation. These are problems that face the global community, whether it be as a community, of citizens or of princes.

The globalisation process characterised by economic, environmental and political processes is having an impact on many societies. Powerful tendencies are at work to accentuate conflicts and the widespread diffusion of consumerism has accentuated cultural homogenisation and modernisation creating a revolution of expectations. On the other hand the process of homogenisation is strongly resisted by some cultures and peoples leading to a localisation and internalisation of conflicts.

In the past there have been periods of relative stability followed by periods of upheaval and rapid change. The present conjuncture (we are witnessing) is significant if only because the crisis has not been accompanied by a general war. The changes have been generally peaceful, non-violent and have

involved large scale democratic change. The cumulative effects of these changes have undermined existing paradigms of world order. There is a blurring of traditional conflict paradigms and this is most obvious in the changing perceptions of the East/West conflict, in North/South conflicts, in inter-state and internal conflicts, and those generated by environmental degradation. Contemporary forms of insecurity whether they are ethnic conflicts, human rights, environmental degradation are incomprehensible within conventional paradigms of international relations theory or current utopian thinking. There is a definite need to evaluate and begin to extrapolate present trends for the future.

This paper will argue that there are new types of conflicts which will appear in the agenda as we near the year 2000. Boundaries between internal and external conflicts will have to be redefined and more attention focused on internal armed conflicts. It will explore the reasons for this and emphasise the emergence of identity conflicts as of special significance. The search for identity appears to the Western Liberal as a problem of "fundamentalism". The challenge for the liberal paradigm would be how to engage in a constructive discourse which can accept a multi-ethnic, plural, global order. In other words, how does the peace research community and policy in general communicate to non-likeminded communities and address itself to internal wars and violence. The demise of communist Utopia does not mean that problems have been shelved. Accumulated historical problems will assume a new salience and intensity and it is likely that these conflicts will be more violent and intransigent.

When we are discussing boundaries and conflicts, we are

discussing boundaries as defined by the State system. The system of states has enlarged over the years so that at present the United Nations has a membership of 170. It is precisely the elaboration and evolution of this state system which would come under increased pressure. There are several republics Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Moldavia which are claiming independent statehood and it is likely that there will Eritrea, Tamil Eelam and many more claiming independent statehood.

There are simultaneous threats to the state system and these will pose new challenges to peace and order in the future. On the one hand the process of democratisation has opened up new conflicts, such as challenges to the unitary state in many countries. In many instances, countries which are in the process of democracy have no tradition of governance, conflict management or a culture of tolerance and it is in the lack of space for new forms of governance that conflicts so generated have the potential for escalation and violence. Democratisation will itself generate new conflicts, and it is the incapacity of fragile states to manage this which will be on the agenda. In the absence of an institutional capability to manage conflicts it is likely that authoritarianism will reassert itself. Claims made upon the state on the basis of the right to self-determination, territorial claims, minority assertions and popular assertions for democracy are likely to lead to Lebonisation and fragmentation of some societies. On the other hand we are also witnessing the consolidation of larger entities such as the "European Homeland".

What we are witnessing today is an extremely volatile and fragile international environment. Global changes are not necessarily reflected in Institutional changes in the state

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be quite a few others in the Soviet Union. There are others on the line such as Quebec, system or within the international system. It is this disjuncture between the global changes, peoples initiatives and the international institutions whether they be the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, which requires new global institutions to manage these global concerns.

## 2. The end of history and the end of wars

Recent global changes have prompted many a hypothesis and one of the more exciting and interesting formulations is the hypothesis on the "End of History" by Francis Fukuyama heralding a triumph of liberalism, and an interesting thesis offered by John Mueller that major wars between nations are on the decline. Both these contributions are open to criticism but both represent innovative challenges for debate and discussion. It is, however, significant that these assertions have been made at this particular time.

Fukuyama states "that something fundamental has happened in world history," and that recent events — particularly the rise of reform movements in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and the spread of consumer culture throughout much of the world — indicate "the triumph of the West, of the Western idea."

What we are witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of postwar history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalisation of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.

John Mueller's thesis, in summary, is that "major countries of the developed world had managed to remain at peace with each other for the longest continuous stretch of time since the days of the

Roman Empire". Calling this prolonged avoidance of war "history's greatest nonevent", he advances an explanation that is, to say the least, controversial. Mueller believes war is going out of style. (is it also going out of business?)

The long peace since World War II is less a product of the recent weaponry than the culmination of a substantial historical process. For the last two or three centuries major war — war among developed countries — has moved towards terminal disrepute because of its perceived repulsiveness and futility.

Mueller's argument is interesting in that he points to a shift in cultural values so profound in some parts of the world as to banish war from the mind. Fukuyama, on the other hand, celebrates the triumph of the liberal ideal and sees it as the final embodiment of history. Their contributions touch on several possible areas of agreement i. e. the decline of the cold war, reassertion of democracy and liberalism and the possibility of a lasting peace. Peace in their view is the absence of direct violence. My intention is not to engage in critique of these brilliant theses both of which require detailed examination. I would however use the theses as entry points in addressing the issue of internal wars and violence.

Fukuyama underestimates the manner in which the New International Division of Labour will further exacerbate conflict. The new international division of labour will heighten existing inequalities and lead to a greater marginalisation of populations. Fukuyama proposes a notion of the uninterrupted evolution of capitalism as a world system. There are likely to be serious internal problems within the transition to capitalism itself. There is no built-in insurance that capitalism will develop into democracy for it is likely that it could also lead to fascism. The new multi-polar configura-

tion is bound to encourage more capitalist competition and trade wars and search for markets.

The world is moving away from bipolarity but a multi-polar axis may mean more insecurity and turbulence. Fukuyama does not reflect on the crisis of modernisation. Consumerism, capitalist development and modernisation are confused and conflated resulting in the notion that the spread of consumerism equals liberal democracy. As if the Western model can be easily replicated in other parts of the world. Further, it is precisely the confrontation of modernisation and consumerism which affects the identity of large populations. Consumerism creates a revolution of expectations which cannot be fulfilled. Totalitarian regimes may be produced as a result of unfulfilled dreams and a profound sense of alienation and deprivation. The struggle for democracy will itself reawaken sleeping conflicts such as those over territory and identity.

There is no reason to assume that the hegemony of the "market economy" is assured in the way the debate has been formulated. Is it the market which is the issue or the need for institutions which sustain capitalism? Paradoxically, it is precisely when the market disappears as a instrument of resource allocation in the west that it is revived in the Soviet Union and the Third World in general. Another model which has been projected for emulation is the growth performance of newly industrialising countries of South East Asia (NICS). Whether the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe would be able to create a free market remains to be seen. Will the market be the answer to regulated societies of the Soviet Union or of Eastern Europe? Do these societies have the institutions necessary to sustain capitalist development? Will the triumph of the market mean the surrender of sovereignty and controls over the

national economy? The introduction of free market requires widespread changes in property relations, and the dominance of private property. Such changes will require major political changes not without serious conflicts. We are witnessing transitional regimes and it is likely that there will be regression, i. e. many societies going backwards towards more militarisation and authoritarian rule.

### 3. Disappearing boundaries in the global order.

#### 3.1 The East/West Conflict.

The relaxation of the Cold War will have profound effects on the world order. With regard to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe it means the dismantling of parts of the Soviet Empire, the decline and collapse of Stalinism as a way of politics and the demise of Socialism from above. But for how long the process will be managed effectively remains to be seen.

The transition from Stalinism and one party to multi-party democracy will be extremely problematic, and a new tradition of governance and institutions governing civil society will have to be built over a long period of time. The transition is likely to be turbulent.

The relaxation of cold war heralds new conflicts and the awakening of sleeping conflicts. We are already witnessing the appearance of armed conflicts in some parts of the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe, and armed conflicts in Yugoslavia, and increased ethnic tensions.

The reintegration of Eastern Europe into a common European homeland means that Europe inherits a Third World in its own back yard. This means the periphery of Europe (which has now been incorporated) such as the countries of Eastern Europe will occupy the attention of the European Common Market. There will be an increase in claims on the welfare budget of European countries with increasing numbers of claims from Eastern

Europe. The evolution of the European common market and the elimination of boundaries in 1992 means that control policies have to be evolved and unified to keep the South out of entering fortress Europe.

#### 3.2 North / South conflicts.

Changes in the East/West conflict will, however, also have profound effects and mean a blurring of old distinctions between the North and the South. Will the disappearance of serious East/West conflicts lead to increased North/South conflicts? The first casualty may be the concept of the Third World itself. The distinction between the elites and the people will become more accentuated. There are already notions of a fourth and fifth world meaning that the Third World itself is stratified according to income levels and other indicators. Some regions will be marginalised and will most probably revert to subsistence. Over a billion people will never overcome the poverty trap at least for the next few decades.

The most articulate expression of the North South problem was the demand for a new international economic order which was vetoed and pronounced dead by Reagan at the Mexico summit in 1986. Postponing structural issues means that these will emerge with greater salience in the future.

The demographic distribution is worth considering and will provide an idea of the changes of power and distribution within the global community. As the 20th century draws to a close, the five billion human beings who inhabit the earth are not distributed uniformly throughout the globe. There will be areas of great concentration in the rich zones, depopulation in others (because of degraded ecological systems) vast migration movements, an expansion of refugees both internal and external.

Barring drastic changes in the natural conditions of the planet and in the demographic behaviour of the population, the population in developed capitalist countries will have decreased to 484 million. Under such conditions the age structure of the population will suffer far-reaching changes

one consequence being that the percentage of elderly will double and social security systems will be unable to offer the same level of services available today. With regard to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union on the other hand, it will grow from the current 393 million to 510 million around the year 2065. However whilst average rates of birth would be around 2.3 in the Soviet Republics of Central Asia the birth rate would be around 4.5 and 6. The distribution of population and power has been somewhat dramatically presented by Galtung as follows:

Essentially ethnic composition will change the nature of the society, with continued decline of the classical WASP as dominant culture, in the former Anglo-Saxon territories, decline of the Russians in the Soviet Union, of the Scandinavians in the Nordic countries etc. The imbalance overpopulated / underpopulated regions is untenable in longer run in a rapidly interconnecting world.

Changes in the new international system and regional configurations will make economic development more uneven within nations and in some cases whole regions will be forced to retreat into the primitive economic existence. There will be greater economic polarisation and more countries forced to accept very stringent conditionalities from the world financial institution. Sub regions, such as the Sahel in Africa, will continue to reproduce poverty and it is likely that there will be new forms of recolonisation of parts of Africa. If recolonisation means that expatriates, aid flows, and controls will exercise a greater influence on large parts of Africa. These economic tensions will accentuate conflicts. The other most important feature is the consequences of environmental degradation on the ecology of some areas, resulting in large shifts of population due to desertification, armed conflicts precisely due to environmental degradations and the lack of resources.

There will be also a further fragmentation of the so-called Third World. In the short term resources will be diverted to Europe and investments and development assistance transfers and investments to developing countries may be the casualties.

Another important factor for several countries in Latin America is the international drug trade which has had a profound effect on the social structures of Peru, Bolivia and Colombia. The drug trade permeates politics, the military and the economic life of significant communities. It also fuels the traffic in arms, and provides resources for the guerilla and the military. To many peasants it provides a source of income. It constitutes also a North/South problem. The drug trade also is a manifestation of class war. Will the drug bourgeoisie replace the old feudal latifundia? There is also a relationship between external debt and drugs. It is likely that the war on drugs proclaimed by the present U. S. administration may provide the excuse for U. S. hegemonic designs over the western hemisphere.

The effect on the drug economy is to create new conflicts which have been expressed by a Peruvian intellectual as follows:

Society is narcoticised, making social relations still more violent, imposing mafia rule and disorganising the social elements who, until before the proliferation of drug traffic, had been supporters of the fight for popular alternatives. Politics is cocoalised, squeezing out the democratic space that the workers and people have attained through mobilization and destroying formal democracy which the peripheral bourgeoisie imposes.

The links between the drug trade and the debt burden is also interesting. John Kerry, US Democratic Senator for Massachusetts who chaired the Senate subcommittee of Foreign Affairs on drugs and terrorism maintained nearly a year ago that:

It is calculated that more than 50,000 million dollars most from drug sales — are laundered annually through banks of the US and other countries."

The links between the drug trade and the external debt is well analysed by RT. Naylor:

The cocaine economy forms the biggest component of an international drug complex whose gross annual revenues in the US alone may top US 100 billion (though by definition, all such numbers are soft). That drug complex, in turn, is probably the largest single component of a global black economy that makes nonsense of conventional financial statistics. ..And the complex feeds the growth of "narcocracies" whose financial power overwhelms the economy of small countries, undermines the fiscal integrity of large countries, and subverts the political and judicial process everywhere it reaches.

The connection between drugs, arms sales and the military and the guerilla are not necessarily restricted to Latin American countries and such connection have been established in the region of Pakistan/Afganistan, and in South East Asia.<sup>20</sup>

The connection between drugs and small arms is difficult to establish but there is some evidence of a connection.

A powerful arsenal of Israeli arms, found in the possession of drug-traffickers, arrived in Colombia via Antigua and Barbados, with which authorities of the Colombian government registered a strong protest.

The role of intelligence in the drug trade has been well documented and also the relationship of drugs to arms. Most secret and not so secret wars, including the Vietnamese war, the Afghan war, Nicaraguan war.

### 3.3 Internal and International Conflicts.

The boundaries between internal and international conflicts are going to be redefined. Mueller has argued that there is a significant shift in the culture and norms governing war and peace in the advanced democracies. Many have noted the absence of inter-state wars in the last few years. Mueller argues that a change in norms and in the culture in the deve-

loped world may have a demonstrable effect on the absence of war in the Third World. He notes that there have been virtually no wars among the 44 wealthiest countries, and that war has taken place almost exclusively within the fourth world. He observes that when countries change their standard of living, they will find the prospect of war to be decreasingly attractive because they will have more to lose. Another interesting proposition is that war outside the developed world has tended to take place among new states, not old ones. Many scholars have pointed to the fact that no significant interstate wars have occurred between democratic regimes. Some scholars have demonstrated that there have been no significant inter-state wars in the last few years. This hypothesis posits that a democratic zone of peace has evolved over the years. What is suggested therefore is that the furtherance of democracy will be the best insurance for peace. But what about wars between democratic and non-democratic states? Are they not equally ferocious? But there is nothing in the literature which suggest that there will not be wars between a democratic country and a non-democratic country. Such wars between a democratic country (USA) and a so called non-democratic country (Vietnam or recently Panama) have been brutal and savage.

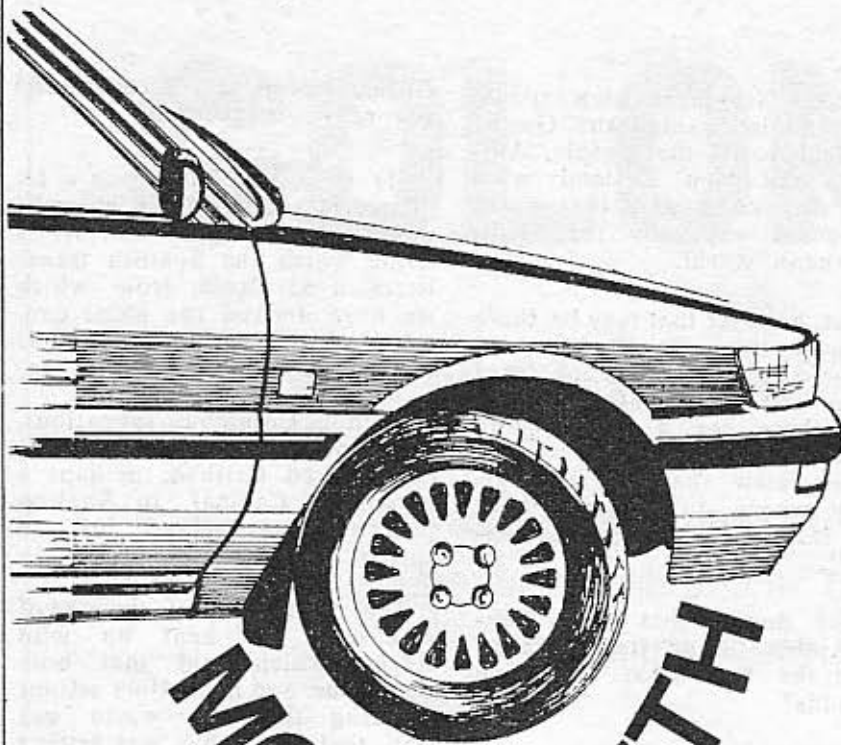
### 3.4 Interstate Conflicts

This is not to say that we may not witness a resurgence of inter-state conflicts in the future. There are several intractable trouble spots with considerable war preparedness. The most dangerous arena and theatre of war is the Middle East with its particular focus on the Palestinian question. Although there is a ceasefire in the Iran-Iraq War, hostilities may well erupt again unless substantial progress can be achieved in the negotiations. There are still many instances of war preparedness, as in the India-Pakistan Conflict, or the recent conflict between Senegal and Mauritania.

(To be continued)



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# The Pope's Scud

Zuhail

In the heat of the Gulf War Pope John Paul appears to have launched a small Scud himself in the direction of Saudi Arabia. What made him think that the time was opportune to launch such a missile remains a mystery when practically every body in the world except for Bush and Saddam is thinking that now is the time to concentrate on missals and not missiles.

I think Pope John Paul has a point, but the wisdom of opening his mouth just at this time is in question. "In certain countries missionaries are refused entry. In others, not only is evangelisation forbidden but conversion as well, and even Christian worship."

Pope John Paul's words come at a time when the experts in geopolitics are sounding a warning that history is about to repeat and that the Saladins and the Richard Coeur de Leons are gathering their forces for another one of those endless crusades.

Some are even likely to question the role of an acknowledged messenger of peace behaving like an irresponsible fuel pump hand directing the gashing oil towards a flame. Reuter's report says the Pope named no names, but everybody knows that in Saudi Arabian airports they are dashing Buddha statues on the ground and frowning on all public exhibition of the faith of other religions.

What is disturbing is that the messenger of the messenger of peace has chosen this confusing moment to raise the cry that "the church was duty-bound to bring the Gospel to all the people," something that the Christian church has been soft-peddling for quite some time.

There are those who say that when Christ wanted the Gospel brought to all the people, Australia and New Zealand were not discovered and the world he meant was only the Mediterranean world.

But, however that may be, there is more than one country to endorse what the Pope said when he ventured into theology. For there are a good many faiths that subscribe to the Pope's view that is theologically wrong to believe "that one religion is as good as another".

Now doesn't that justify Saudi Arabia taking steps to establish the truth that the Pope upholds?

## History is Bunk

Admiral Cristobal Colon may not readily be recognised by most readers as one of the popular heroes of American and European history. He was actually Cristofore Colombo who was introduced to children in the British Empire as the legendary Christopher Columbus.

The history that the children of the British empire were going to be taught, promised the man who finally decided that the medium of teaching in India should be English, Thomas Babington Macaulay, would be shorn of the legends that surround Indian history "which abounded with kings thirty feet tall and reigns thirty thousand years long "over countries" surrounded" by seas of treacle and seas of butter".

Now some of the legends that the children of the British empire were taught about Columbus as historical facts are undergoing severe change and the intrepid explorer of the age of discovery is emerging as a

common profiteer, deceitful and not too courageous.

He is said to have spun a lot of stories about people whom he never met like the Caribs, a name which the Spanish transliterated as Canib, from which we have derived the name cannibal which is what Columbus cooked up the Caribs to be.

Without Columbus, inventions, it is said, we may never have encountered Caliban, perhaps a variant of Canibal, in Shakespeare's magic island full of spirits and shadows.

The excitement of the age of discovery was kept up with stories which said that both Columbus and his sailors set out thinking that the world was flat, that Columbus was setting out to reach Asia, that Queen Isabella, his patron, pawned all her jewellery to fund his expedition, that Isabella and her husband both came rushing to the docks to see him off on this great voyage of discovery.

But none of these is true says Kirkpatrick Sale in a book (The Conquest of Paradise Christopher Columbus and the Colombian Legacy) that is soon going to be published which a reviewer has said is a "clear-sighted debunking of the myths which many have fondly mistaken for historical truth". Which takes me back to Thomas Babington Macaulay and his scornful dismissal of Indian history as balderdash.

Much of the literature of India, including scientific treatises, take the form of poetry and it is inevitable that alliteration, metaphors and similes should abound in them. The readers were therefore educated enough, unlike Macaulay, to recognise a figure of speech when they came across one.

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