

# TRIBUNE



**26TH YEAR OF PUBLICATION**



# *Let's Stop Exporting the Smoking Epidemic*

Tobacco companies—helped by government—are pushing their lethal product on the unsuspecting Third World. *Result: As taxpayers, we have become accomplices in the barter of people's health for profit*

by **Walter S. Ross**, a Reader's Digest staff writer, is editor of *World Smoking & Health*, an American Cancer Society journal.

This article which was published in the *Reader's Digest* and other magazines appears in the *Tribune* this week.

SPACE DONATED

## Letter From The Editor

A VISIT TO THE CONSTRUCTION SITES of the Accelerated Mahaweli Development Scheme revealed that work was going on at a satisfactory pace within the time schedules envisaged—well ahead in places and a little behind in others. It was a pleasant surprise to those of us who had entertained doubts about the validity and viability of what is called the Accelerated Plan to see so much done in three of the five projects of which it consisted. The fact that two of the five have been temporarily dropped—because of finance and other practical difficulties like raising counterpart funds in Sri Lanka to meet the “conditionalities” stipulated by foreign lenders—showed that the criticism that five major projects in five (or six) years was too much for Sri Lanka to chew all at once was justified. But this is not the time for “we-told-you-so” postmortems. The main burden of the construction work has been shifted to the shoulders of foreign contractors. It is for them to minimise waste and loss to ensure profits. Our trip to some of the Mahaweli Construction sites was not a fault-finding odyssey. It was only a familiarisation tour—because some of us had either never been to these places or were there many many years ago when the Mahaweli Scheme was only a hazy blueprint in a government pigeon-hole. On the overall view, the cost of the construction projects we visited was frighteningly massive, and the worm’s-eye-view of the common man was clouded by the constant chorus-like refrain emanating from certain quarters that the same work could have been done cheaper by Sri Lanka governmental agencies. But most people have become so impatient with the delays, inefficiency, corruption and thievery rampant in government departments and corporations that they are today willing to reconcile themselves to foreign contractors who claim they can deliver the goods on time. Taking into consideration the conduct of human affairs, it is perhaps impossible to totally eliminate thieving, mismanagement and inefficiency in massive construction works, but foreign contractors appear to have established a tight control of security checks, and local contractors and subcontractors seem to be slowly following suit. But from all accounts the Mahaweli Board and Authority have many lessons to learn starting from simple matters like the care and maintenance of vehicles. The failure to check the lighting system of the vehicle in which we travelled before it was taken out of the garage caused us a delay of several hours en route. But even more stunning was the reception we received at the Circuit Burgalow at Hassalaka which we were told had been specially arranged to accommodate the party.

(To Be Continued)

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## Kalawana Postscript—2

Colombo, Jan. 24,

As mentioned in this column last week, a reader had objected to our evaluation on the Kalawana result in our issue of January 17, 1981 (Vol. 25, No. 26) when we had said that: "The results have produced one surprise: that Independent candidate Lionel Gunasekera should poll as much as 11,016 votes. But those 'in the know' are aware that Lionel Gunasekera was backed 'unofficially' by the entire machinery of the UNP not only in the area but elsewhere also. Many UNP stalwarts in Colombo had openly told *Tribune* that Lionel Gunasekera would win because people in the area had confidence in the UNP and that they had lost all faith in the Communist Party and the entire Opposition that backed him. Even after making allowances for the personal popularity of Sarath Muttetuwegama in a constituency which he had represented from 1970 to 1977, there is no doubt that Kalawana is a major defeat, for the UNP and the Government. The attempt to pretend that the UNP had kept out of the elections is so transparently thin there that it only adds to the credibility gap which has begun to envelop the government....."

It was also pointed out to us that (1) the victory of the CP candidate was no defeat for the UNP because it had fielded no candidate of its own; (2) the smallness of the majority scored by Sarath Muttetuwegama showed that if the UNP had thrown its weight behind "Independent" Lionel Gunasekera, he might have won by a short head; and (3) that one swallow does not make a summer and that the majority scored by the CP nominee was not any indication of a total loss of national confidence in the Government and the UNP—in this connection reference was made to a comment way back in the past when *Tribune* had pointed out that big majorities in certain by-elections did not reflect the trend of opinion in the country.

All that we can say is that it would be pointless to enter into a speculative exercise on what might have happened if the UNP had officially supported Lionel Gunasekera. But the fact remains that the party machine in the electorate plus UNP support from elsewhere (maybe on a low-key) had backed him. But, this by-election is one where arith-

metical calculations will not help. Sarath Muttetuwegama's majority was not outstanding but comfortable. There is no doubt that many had thought that the CP (or any Opposition Party) would sweep the poll in a landslide with a 10,000 majority because of the high prices and other difficulties.

Such thinking is at worst faulty logic or at best romantic wishful thinking. *Tribune* has not been guilty of either. Those who have read the *Tribune* regularly will agree that we have very correctly evaluated that the UNP continued to enjoy popular support partly because the Opposition was not only in disarray but had not put forward any viable or concrete alternative policies.

But we nevertheless insist that at Kalawana the UNP suffered a major defeat—judged not by the modest nature of the majority or because the UNP had not officially supported the (runner up) Independent but because of the whole episode which is termed *Operation Kalawana*. To the credit of the UNP, it must be said, that some of its (rank-and-file) members have been among the harshest critics of the Kalawana Strategy to maintain UNP power. In our pages, a long-standing UNP loyalist, R. Kahawita, did not mince his words about what he thought of the Kalawana "puzzle" as he termed it (vide *Tribune*, Jan. 3, 1981 pp. 13, Vol. 25, No. 24). This shows that there is a continuing intellectual ferment in the party and that dissidence is accepted as a necessary component of democratic growth. This is what Kahawita said."...The story is not over. We are getting tied up in knots, in trying to extricate ourselves from our guilt of conniving with the strategy of the ex-member of Kalawana to stay in the seat that was declared void by the Supreme Court. The end will be after the motion in the House and the election is over. One could now ask the question, Why have a Constitution and elections? The Speaker and the Parliament can take into the House whom they like and any number to maintain their strength?"

**Post Script.** The foregoing seems to be correct. The *Ceylon Daily News* of 18.12.80 carries this Banner Head line news: 'Kalawana. Govt. to introduce legislation. Elected member will also function as an M.P. Pilapitiya will continue to sit in house.' That is to say, by legislation we are creating a super numerary seat as is the practice in the Public Service.

"It means much more than a motion in the Parliament. To declare two members to a seat or to increase the number of members as provided for in the Constitution a series of Amendments to the Constitution have to be put through. Even then we are not quite sure that it will not lead to an ugly legal tangle. Ugly because we are questioning the very instrument through which we derive our Power. The question is:—Can the Speaker nominate a member to the House outside an election? Obviously not judging from the back stage activities and the various statements. If we concede this right to the Speaker, what prevents the Speaker nominating you or me, however unworthy we are, to the House, and then cover up the error by saying it was done 'in the Public interest'—The Public interest in a Parliamentary seat can only be determined by the process of an election. Gradually the place of an opposition in a democratic Parliament may be eroded, till we are faced with a single Party leading to a dictatorship. So the legend in the Constitution that the people are supreme under it will remain a legend. According to the Constitution we endorsed in 1978, the number of members to be in the Parliament and those members are creatures of the peoples. We did not create a Frankenstein to destroy us." **There is no doubt that it was the groundswell of critical opinion within the UNP that induced the party to resolve the Kalawana tangle by persuading Pilapitiya to resign.**

In our issue of January 10, we had suggested that this was the easiest way out for the UNP to wriggle out of the tangle in which it had wittingly or unwittingly involved itself. What we wrote on that occasion has a great deal of relevance in this argument today: "If the UNP thinks it has impressed anybody in this country with its circumlocutory strategies to retain the Kalawana seat for Pilapitiya, it is sadly mistaken. Thinking people are disgusted with the mockery that is being made of the parliamentary system in the name of democracy. Ordinary people think the zig-zagging over Kalawana is a joke, so much so that bus and train commuters have already coined a new term 'to do a Kalawana'—that is two persons to sit on a seat meant only for one. In the Sinhala language this terminological quip is much more expressive than the English translation of this latest addition to Sri Lankan vocabulary. To 'do a Kalawana' is already a classic.

"Repeated rhetoric that everything that happened or was done about Kalawana is 'according to the law' has not increased governmental prestige or credibility. The kindest sentiment is that the Kalawana acrobatics is a contemporary confirmation of the old adage that 'law is an ass'. The willingness to pass special legislation even by holding a referendum to accommodate an additional member is not being viewed as genuine and sincere adherence to democratic principles as understood by ordinary people. *The UNP would have come out with flying colours if it had asked Pilapitiya to resign his seat after the Speaker's ruling that he was the duly nominated member for Kalawana under the New Constitution.*

"It is pointless speculating on the many 'ifs' that Kalawana has spawned. This country will have to bear the expense of a national referendum and the cost of an additional MP—for what? To blame the Opposition for the Kalawana tangle and the ensuing Referendum is only to say that an Opposition was an unnecessary luxury—as Singaporean leaders say. The less said about this unsavoury episode in the Constitutional history of this country the better.

"Kalawana has devalued the parliamentary system of government. Parliamentary democracy has meaning when it is played according to the true spirit of the rules. Formal protestations and loud claptrap about the virtues of the law as a justification for the Kalawana mock drama may delude a few, but only a few. If the people of Sri Lanka lose faith in the parliamentary system, Kalawana will have a lot to do with it."

If the UNP had prevailed on Pilapitiya to tender his resignation shortly after the Speaker's ruling and had even fielded him (or Lionel Gunasekera) as its official candidate at the by-election and had thereafter lost the election by a 2,000 vote margin, we would not have considered it a "major defeat" for the UNP. But it was the failure of the UNP to succeed in its Kalawana Strategy—the attempt to maintain its no-defeat record in by-elections and to test its popularity through an Independent candidate through circumlocutory constitutional devices (including Special Legislation and a Referendum (that made the CP victory at Kalawana a "major defeat" for the UNP.

But before the Kalawana package became debacle with a Referendum (that would have cost

the country at least Rs. 50 million), wiser counsel seems to have prevailed and the UNP has staged a strategic retreat (through Pilapitiya's resignation) and this has gone a long way to restore some credibility in the UNP. By this, the government has dented the vicious anti-UNP edge that had begun to grow as a result of the Kalawana strategy.

The Civil Rights Movement, in this connection has pointed out that if the letter and the spirit of the Constitution is to be sustained, a new Amendment to the Constitution was necessary. It said: "The Civil Rights Movement is glad that the government has decided not to proceed with the Third Amendment to the Constitution. This would have required a referendum and, if passed, would have produced the undemocratic and odd result of having two members of Parliament—one elected and one nominated—for the constituency of Kalawana. CRM draws the attention of the Government to the fact that in order to implement this decision it is now necessary to make a simple amendment to the Constitution. This amendment is needed to empower Parliament to request the President not to proceed with the referendum. For as it stands, though the government could, at an earlier stage, have decided not to proceed with the bill, once it has been passed by a two thirds majority there is no going back and the law compels the President to order the holding of the referendum. Although everyone seems now agreed that the Third Amendment should not be proceeded with and that no referendum should be held, it would be a dangerous precedent if the President were to refrain from holding the referendum without a change in the law. It is not simply that the President must always act within the law.

"One can imagine a future situation where all parties are not agreed on abandoning a measure. Under the present Constitution the Presidential and the parliamentary elections are held at different times; in future it may well happen that a President belongs to one party and that another party controls a majority in Parliament. In such a situation it could be a serious threat to democracy if the President refused to refer to the people a bill which two thirds of the members of Parliament had passed, and was able to cite a precedent for this failure of his or her clear legal duty. Provision is clearly needed to legalise the pre-

sently intended course of action."

As Kalawana will undoubtedly be the last by-election in the foreseeable future, and as it will also be last parliamentary elections before the next General Elections (the elections to the District Council will be on a different level), it would be useful to examine various aspects of the election clash at Kalawana; the personalities and caste affiliations of the candidates, some of the slogans and cries that were used and the actions and reactions of the different political parties in the fray. But before getting on to this, the reactions of the different parties to the results of the Kalawana by-election will throw light on some aspects of the current political situation in the country.

(To Be Continued)



## TALKING POINT

# The Ghost Of Kalawana

By Veritas

With the voluntary resignation of Mr. Abeyratne Pilapitiya the "Kalawana Fiasco" is over. Much will be written and spoken about it in the months and years to come. The "Kalawana Incident" will enter the constitutional history books on Sri Lanka and will be the subject of political speeches by the anti-UNP Opposition now and hereafter. It will also be an issue at the next General elections. The best summing up of the Kalawana debacle was by Political Columnist *Migara* in his Weekly comment on "Men and Matters" in the *Weekend Sun* of Sunday 18th January where the caption was *Kalawana Kalawana Kaput*. By joining the English, Sinhala and the German language *Migara* bluntly said The Kalawana Exercise ended in a Defeat for the Government.

Basically, whatever the arguments FOR and AGAINST the ultimate conclusion will be that President Jayewardene *GOOFED*—He blundered—perhaps his worst political mistake since his massive victory in July 1977. One cannot blame his advisers because the President ultimately decides himself. That everyone knows. We can only attribute the "Kalawana incident" NOT to his sense of Judgment and political skill—unsurpassed by any modern politician of Sri Lanka since D. S. Senanayake—but to his sense of *Humour*. But

here we must be quiet to complain that one should not treat so important an issue in light humour or as a joke on the Masses and the Opposition.

It can be argued that the President did nothing un-constitutional or un-democratic technically. He acted on every event. The ordering of the by-election, by going to the Constitutional Court, by agreeing to comply with the Supreme Court request for a Referendum etc. and eventually by breaking the impasse by accepting Pilapitiya's resignation as the Party's representative for Kalawana.

Basically once again, the great merit in this final settlement of the Kalawana issue was that the Public was spared of a *Costly Referendum*—estimated at anything between 10-20 million rupees—just to be spent on finding out an "Yes" or "No" answer as to whether *Both* the *Elected Representative* (Sarath Muttetuwegama) and the *Nominated Representative* (Pilapitiya) can sit in Parliament. In our view, the Referendum would have produced a majority "No", in which case the problem would have become a major one—the consequences of which one could hardly foretell or forecast.

Looking at it in another way, the Kalawana By-election result *cannot* be considered a Win for the Opposition and a defeat for the UNP Government. The Combined forces of the Opposition could not muster more than a 2000 odd majority against an *Independent Candidate* however ably he was supported indirectly by Government forces. It was generally felt that without the UNP fielding a candidate and without the President, the P.M. and other Ministers addressing meetings at Kalawana, Sarath Muthetuwegama could have a "walk-over" with at least a 5000 majority. In this background, UNP can take great satisfaction over the Kalawana election results whatever be the assessment of the people about Pilapitiya hanging on to the seat as the Nominated member. In a sense, Kalawana can be taken as a vote of confidence of the people in the UNP Government!

**Pilapitiya Special Edition.** The *Sunday Lankadipa* of 18th January was published on the afternoon of Saturday 17th January and was out on the news stands with the banner Headline "Pilapitiya Resigns". This was unusual for a normally sleepy and dull paper like the *Lankadipa*. More interestingly, copies

of this edition were being sold like hot cakes at the UNP Rally at Kollupitiya on Saturday evening which had been organised by Anura Bastian of the Colombo South electorate and presided over by the President. While the meeting was going on and as each UNP speaker spoke of the Kalawana issue, the vendors selling the special edition of the *Lankadipa* shouted "Pilapitiya resigns—Pilapitiya special"—to the great amusement of the listening audience. Many in the audience and even some of the speakers on the platform did not actually know that Pilapitiya had resigned but later on in the evening the President in his speech told everyone that it had happened and explained the circumstances of his resignation and said it was a "voluntary decision and a great patriotic act in true democratic form."

**Pilapitiya for Hanguranketha.** The latest rumour is that Abeyratne Pilapitiya will be able to retain or re-gain his portfolio as Deputy Minister Telecommunications and his seat in Parliament etc. (and all the perks that go with these offices) being nominated for the seat of *Hanguranketha* rendered vacant by the recent death of sitting UNP member George Abeygunasekera. This may be a just reward or compensation for what the President called "the patriotic act of voluntarily resigning from Parliament." If this is done one will recall the *Migara* column two weeks ago when it stated that Pilapitiya was seen going to the Empire Theatre where the Film showing was "The Pink Panther Strikes Again." If Pilapitiya gets the Hanguranketha nomination it can truly be said "Pilapitiya Strikes Again."

20.1.81

\* \* \*

## FILM FOCUS

### Sivaji Ganeshan

THE NAME OF SHIVAJI GANESHAN has always remained synonymous with vintage acting in Tamil cinema. Affectionately referred to as "Nadigar Thilagam" whose histrionic brilliance has not withered over the years, he has reached such an "Imayam" peak in the field that an equal has yet to grow in his shadow. He is spoken of in the same breath for his artistic prowess, as actors like Alec Guinness, Marlon Brando, Laurence Olivier and Richard Burton. Shivaji commenced his acting career

as an "extra" on the Tamil stage and had a lucky break when he was pushed into a key role in a film, due to the sudden indisposition of the leading actor of the day.

From that day onwards, he has not looked behind, zooming his way to the top as an artist of elegance and warmth without a peer in the whole of India today. Films such as *Veera-pandiya Kattabomman*, *Paalum Palamum*, *Uyarntha Manithan*, *Savale Samali* and the more recent *Vietnam Veedu Vasantha Maligai*, *Thanga Pathakkam*, *Babu*, *Gnana Oli*, *Pilot Premnath* (shot locally) and *Deepam* were milestones in Tamil Cinema that were adorned by Shivaji's acting, and have left a perennial "stamp" on the minds of those who have seen them. A Congressman in Indian politics in which he has more than a "platform" interest, Shivaji's opinion at one time was that "Gauravam" was his best film, but better films have been released since and it would need a fine pin to sort out which has been the best to date. For instance one had only to see him in the role of a sacristan to a Catholic Priest in *Gnana Oli*, and witness the ease with which he stepped into it to believe that a non-Christian could have infused such piety into that role for which he was selected as the best actor of that year.

I have had the rare pleasure of having had a private interview with him in 1978, when he was on our shores for the shooting of some sequences of the film *Pilot Premnath*, in which he co-starred with our best actress Malini Fonseka. He welcomed me with folded hands and relaxed for a chit chat, before taking flight to Madras. In a tone that was characteristic, clear and familiar, and speaking more with his eyes and hands, Shivaji was very emphatic, that we were all the same people with only a few miles separating us geographically. He said that he felt consumed completely by the warm reception that overtook him in every nook and corner in this most beautiful country bestowed abundantly with nature's gifts.

To a question how he acted that role in *Gnana Oli* to perfection he replied humbly that to an experienced artiste with a little visual study of a character and the corresponding milieu in advance even the most difficult part could grow so effortlessly within him, without any strenuous coaching. Shivaji mentioned that—and it is very much true today—that fantastic heights had been reached

in some of India's film releases and regretted that many of them were not reaching our shore due to the rather prohibitive cost. Welcoming more Indo-Ceylon productions like *Pilot Premnath* as a solution, he readily posed for a photograph with me and in parting mentioned that he was leaving the island with very happy memories of a loving and simple people, who had accepted him as their own and in the midst of whom he had felt the warmth of his home.

**IMAYAM** (Tamil): Directed by the reputed V. Seenivasan, and shot in the shadow of the Himalayas with a "Nepalese" birds eye view of the Shimmering Range which is the backdrop to penetrate a moral into the main story, Shivaji Ganeshan loans his brilliance to this excellent film which is running to five full houses per day at the Lido, Jaffna where I saw it. With a searing dialogue by Kannadasan which persistently goads the story on, the maestro roles a business tycoon in Nepal, who having reconciled himself to the barren state of his family life—with actress Sri Vidhya as his loving wife, getting into the story—carries out for his pretty young sister-in-law the free "keyhole" lessons a frivolous and a freer love life for her future—all done in light hearted taste, with the noblest of intentions. This chink in his otherwise upright armour is exploited by the practical playboy son (Jai Ganesh) of his partner (Thengai Seenivasaan) who had already got another beauty in the office in serious trouble and a relevant suicide. The stage is thus set for Shivaji to unleash his fury on the philanderer and he moves in menacingly to shut the stable door and save his niece from the disaster ahead. As he achieves his 'purpose, he falters to fatality in a momentary realisation that forgiveness is akin to Divinity. The story is studded with a few soothing songs, the best of which I thought was "Ganga-Yamuna" which tilted in delivery, with Shivaji's carefree style, giving it that rare touch. Several moral punches were set in the story appropriately, and emerging them to take you at the solar plexus was the truism, that a child knows no evil and will always speak the truth, and nothing but the truth, spawned off his innocence. If I say more, I will spell this film for you, but in spite of "Thengai" who was miscast in a role that did not call for his brand of hilarity, I am of opinion that the film is a must for the family, for its added peep into the icy luxury of Nepal's



scenic beauty which comes in the outdoor shots in stunning colour photography.

**WINTER KILLS** (English): I have heard it from me less a person than the Director of Health Services, Dr. H. A. Jesudasan himself in detail, in the course of a chit chat recently, as to why Winter "kills" by interfering with the circulatory system, which also explains perhaps why the obituary columns in the colder seasons, appear longer than in the other months of the year. The recent "cold" deaths in North India also speak freezingly, but all this has no relevancy to this very revealing celluloid insight into the cold of American business-cum-politics—and why even after so many years of the Kennedy assassination by Lee Oswald and a thorough and searching report by the Warren Commission, a question mark keeps bobbing over the tragedy from time to time, as to how many, trained their guns on the President at Dallas, Texas on that fatal day. This finely directed film however deals with the ambitious ways of some US politicians, who could stoop till their spines crack to reach the pinnacles of power, only to abuse it. In the story, such a political, prolific and aging tycoon plants his offspring at the White House as President only to eliminate him when the son refuses to play "puppet" to further his business empire. Another very manly half brother, gets on to the trail of the assassin and wades through a maze of corpses to just get there. This story in paperback was by Richard Condon and proved a best seller when released in the wake of the much debated Kennedy killing. The film unfortunately did not get the patronage it richly deserved. At least our local politicians whose eyes are trained at the peaks of absolute power should have seen it and experienced the Dorian Grey effect of the story! I enjoyed this chillingly wintry film, at the well air-conditioned Empire.

**James N. Benedict.**



COVER

## Mahaweli And Tobacco

THE PICTURE ON THE COVER is from a work-site on the Mahaweli. From our last issue the Editor who visited some of the construction sites, has started a series in his first page piece about the impression she gathered on the trip. One of the other journalists who made the trip was Gamini Weerakoon of the *Ceylon Observer*. Nothing has yet appeared under his name, but the references in the most-read column in the English publications of Lake House *Roundabout by Contact*, last Sunday, 25/1/81, on *Spiking The River* make interesting reading.

One excerpt from this column merits repetition: "Billions are being spent on the Mahaweli and the future of generations are pinned on it but are the basic priorities being forgotten? This was the question a party of pressmen and Mahaweli officials were discussing as they were coming up from Ulhitiya to Victoria last Sunday. The Natural Reserve which even the British did not use for planting tea is now being used for the cultivation of tobacco. It's tragic to see tops of mountains being cultivated—illegally we were told—for tobacco. It's not so much the exposure of the soil and soil erosion but the forests around that are felled to cure this tobacco. Thus although only a few plots of tobacco can be seen from the main road, the total area that would be deforested will be very much more.

"We would not have dealt with this question in this column had it been only an academic question meant only for seminars. But it is not so. The little rivulets that run down from this vast valley which is a catchment area for the Mahaweli make up what is the mighty river. If this forest cover is cleared and the tiny streams dry up it would be tantamount to—as former Conservator of Forests, Mr. W. R. H. Perera warned—spiking the Mahaweli River as its source. Its high time the authorities took stern action against these illicit cultivators. Human problems such as those earning good money from tobacco cultivation are involved, but could the Nation's No. 1 project be risked?"

*Tribune* has now launched a campaign about smoking and the excessive cultivation of tobacco in the national interest. It is to be hoped that other publications and journals

will take up this matter. We do not want a nation of people with cancerous lungs nor a country without a forest cover.



FROM NEW YORK

## Binary Warfare

January 5,

Reports have appeared in the course of 1980 in papers like the *New York Times* (25/1/80) the *Washington Post* (9/9/80) and *The Nation* (5/7/80) that the United States is reported to increasing its production of new chemical weapons of mass destruction including binary chemical ammunition. Binary chemical weapons consists of two components which join in a shell after it is fired and generates a deadly nerve gas. The Pentagon has sought to obtain the approval of Congress for an additional \$185 million to implement this "Binary Project". The House of Representatives has decided and the Senate has also given its approval for the construction in the USA of a plant to produce this (binary) nerve gas.

Binary weapons constitute a serious threat to other nations even when not used in war. Binary ammunition, with organic-phosphorous combination "VX" is even more dangerous than old chemical weapons used by the US Forces in Vietnam because of storage and transport problems. Industrially developed countries have often used chemical weapons against their adversaries; Japan in China, Portugal in Angola, Italy in Ethiopia and USA in Vietnam. This interest in chemical weapons which has manifested itself in the US could lead to a *de facto* "legalisation" of its use and would promote its production in other countries.

Chemical weapons are the equivalent of H-Bomb to the poorer nations. The USA has, it is reported already trained more than 550 officers from 26 developing countries on methods to wage chemical wars. A large number of non-American officers have been given such a training at the American bases abroad. With improved production methods of Binary weapons in the US it will become known to other states as well. Certain countries of the Third World might well be attracted by

the prospects of having stocks of such chemical weapons.

Further, there are fears that such weapons might be acquired by terrorists who could easily hijack during transport to European countries to NATO member-states. There have been reports that instances when containers with toxic materials from military godowns were lost. With the spread of terrorism nowadays the proliferation of such binary weapons is a danger to all countries.

Efforts are now being made to include binary chemical systems, as such as the ones manufactured in the USA, too in the agreement to ban chemical weapons which is now under discussion. But unless the manufacture is totally banned and existing stocks destroyed in all countries there is no guarantee that containers will not fall into the hands of terrorists.

—Tribune Correspondent

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### POEM

## Holocaust

Wheels turn  
Waves break  
Sun shines  
Minds whirl  
Birds sing  
Looms spin  
Hands work to  
make things grow

Barren landscape  
Parched Fields  
Sunken cheeks  
and hollow eyes  
Bare coastline  
Desolate wind  
Skeletons scattered  
In the sand

Empty faces  
Groping hands  
Silent lips  
Vacant eyes.....  
and a crow  
pecking.....  
on a rotting  
Carcass.....

Vinodini Amarasingam

## Imam Khomeini

By Nikil Chakravarthy

The author went to Iran in August for an on-the-spot understanding of the extraordinary developments in that country. He stayed there for four weeks. On his return, he wrote a series of articles for different journals including *Times of India*, *Indian Express*, *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, *Mathrubhoomi* and *Illustrated Weekly of India* and also for *PTI Features*. This special report is a complete piece out of all these contributions to different papers. This is the fourth instalment in the series. Though written six months ago, these articles throw revealing light on the Iran today.

IMAM KHOMEINI who personifies the spirit of the Islamic Revolution lives today in a shelled suburb of Tehran, guiding the nation despite his failing health. From a call for an Islamic Revolution far beyond the borders of Iran, the Imam's directive comes even on matters mundane, such as how to purchase foreign exchange. Specifically named in the Constitution as the Leader of the Revolution, Imam Khomeini reflects in his pronouncements the anomaly as also the imponderables of the Shi'ite ideology when applied to present-day conditions. Perhaps it raises more questions that it answers.

It is certainly difficult to understand Imam Khomeini's ideology by the digits of modern times. His total commitment is to Islam, particularly of the Shi'i variant. For him, the overthrow of the Shah's satanic regime was an Act of God. He claims, as he did when he addressed the Qods (Jerusalem) Liberation Congress in Tehran on August 9, that the people of Iran in the struggle against the Shah had no arms but they possessed "spiritual weapons, that is faith in ideology, in the Almighty God and belief in the unity of purpose"; and when the people were wistfully wanting an Islamic Republic, "then a sudden spark came from the Almighty. It awakened us and made the impossible possible", reiterating that "neither our nation received a single help from outside nor did any governments help us."

From this success within the country, Imam Khomeini projects the experience to the sphere of foreign affairs and believes with utter seriousness that the mightiest of powers can be overturned by what he calls "spiritual weapons". He elaborates his thesis that it is the propaganda of satanic forces that debilitates the moral of the people: "Governments and nations keep repeating that it is not possible to counter the superpowers. These 'impossibles' should be taken out of their heads and instead, 'possible' should be inserted."

IN THIS CONTEXT, the leader of the Islamic Revolution condemns nationalism. Keeping in view the Pahlavi rulers' exploitation of nationalist sentiments as a cover for their oppressive regime, the Imam seems to have gone to the other extreme of denouncing nationalism altogether: "Over many years, people unaware of the facts, though some with no ill intentions, raised the voice of nationalism, the same nationalism that wanted to do away the Imam in Iran". He repeated with emphasis: "We have no use for nationalists, but we need people with Islamic ideas. Islam is against nationalism because it only claims that we want nationalism and not Islam". So, he is quite clear in his mind: "I have said over and over that nationalism is the basis of all misfortunes of the Moslems because it sets one nation against others, and the Iranian nation against others and so forth".

From this, the Imam proceeds to give a call against governments whose claim to be Islamic, according to him, is phoney: "The governments in the Islamic countries have little to do with Islam, and if they say Islam once in a while, it is only for the sake of playing games with you", and so he lays down: "The people should return to the early days of Islam and if the governments follow suit there would be no problems; otherwise the people should separate their accounts from those of their governments. They should deal with the governments the way the Iranian people did, so that the problems can be resolved."

For the Imam, Islam embraces the sum-total of justice and democracy. In an interview last December, he explained his objection to calling the new Republic democratic: "If the word 'democratic' is put alongside 'Islam', it means Islam is not democratic of and by itself, whereas the highest form of democracy

exists in Islam." Essentially, a hundred per cent advocate of theocracy, Imam Khomeini has clearly stated that "What really gathered the nation together was the faith of the people in the clergy who manage the mosques. It was for this reason that I have always recommended to the people of Iran not to lose this strong fortress."

**THE IMAM'S PURIST** ideological stand has hardly helped him to unite the people of Iran itself. While the Islamic Revolution pervades over the heartland of Iran, one can hear even in Tehran rumblings of disturbances in the outlying regions.

Of these, Kurdistan with its Sunni population has long been a festering sore. A well-known Kurdish leader, Sheikh Ezeddin Husseini, said in the course of an interview some months ago: "Kurdish people regard themselves as a nation with their own particular culture, language, customs and traditions who want to preserve their identity within the framework of Iran." The Democratic Party of Kurdistan got firm roots in the region, particularly round the city of Mahabad. Another important Kurdish leader, Dr. Qassemlon came out in full support of all actions of the Iranian revolutionaries including the seizure of US Embassy in Tehran; but he stands for democracy. He frankly says, "our slogan is Democracy for Iran, Autonomy for Kurdistan". To threats from the Centre about armed action against Kurdish autonomy demand, Qassemlon said: "As long as we are not attacked, we shall not take any action whatsoever; but if we are attacked we shall defend ourselves as in the past."

In Azerbaijan, the whole of last year saw tension and clashes: Tabriz Radio TV Station was occupied and the Central Government had a rough time. Here too, the autonomy demand has been there in incipient form: the outstanding leader of the Azerbaijan people is Ayatollah Shariatmadari who as an Ayatollah ranks higher than Ayatollah Khomeini himself. After clashes, in which the Pasdarans from the Centre were unsparing while accusations were made as if it was an imperialist-inspired plot. Shariatmadari himself withdrew to the theological centre of Qom where he keeps away from politics. But in his last message, he gave the warning: "This is not the end of events and all opponents cannot be silenced by accusing them of having connections with

imperialists and Zionists." Azerbaijan has been silenced but remains unreconciled.

When Tabriz was occupied by the Azwerbajani dissidents, the first to come out in support of them was the Etehad-e-Mosleman Party of Sistan and Baluchistan. In fact, during the discussions on the new Islamic Constitution, the Baluchi representative had walked out in protest against the adoption of Shi'i as the State religion.

India has a consulate at Zahidan in Baluchistan, and this place in the old British days was linked by railway to Kotah. There was a cluster of Sikh settlers there, all coming from the district of Jullundur. After Tehran gained in importance, many of them shifted from Zahidan. I met our Consul at Zahidan and got an idea of the hard life in the region—desert land, tribal people, it is risky to move about after sundown. The disparity between the life of the officials going from the Centre or their hanger on, and the local people is staggering. Perhaps 99 per cent of the people are cattleowners while those having land, cultivate it in the most primitive form.

Inevitably clashes have started in Baluchistan over the Central imposition of the Shi'i tenets of the Islamic Revolution. Baluchis are Sunnis and they have links across the Persian Gulf. I heard many in Tehran saying that Baluchistan is today perhaps the most explosive region in Iran. The US armada in the region certainly can pass on arms to the Baluchis but it is not doing so until now because the Americans never trusted the freedom-loving Baluchis and any arms given to Irani Baluchis can easily pass on to Baluchis in Pakistan, which may touch off a crisis for President Zia's regime, a prospect the US Administration would not like to entertain at the moment.

Imam Khomeini himself has openly talked about "export of revolution" and he has denounced regimes in the Islamic world, in Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey and Egypt.

*(To Be Continued)*

**Next Week—Iran Iraq War**



## U.K. PARLIAMENTARIANS

### In Afghanistan

Kabul, Jan. 12,

Text of the press conference of the British Parliamentary delegation held with local and foreign journalists at the Inter-continental Hotel:

At the beginning each member of the delegation spoke briefly in relation to their trip to Afghanistan. Ronald Brown, MP (Edinburgh) stated "Dear friends, Prior to all I must say that despite the cold weather a very warm welcome was accorded to us which we very much appreciate. This is not merely a so-to-speak, formal and protocol-oriented welcome but is a sincere and heartfelt reception by the People's Democratic Party, the government and the people of Afghanistan accorded to us. Since this is a fact-finding mission and today we are only half way through our mission, therefore to make a specific conclusion or to talk about the specific results of this visit on our return to England would be premature at the moment.

"We met some of the party and state figures of Afghanistan including Abdul Rashid Aryan, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice who was said, by the Western press, to be out of the country. But we met him. He smiled at us. He is safe and sound in Afghanistan. Our meetings with the ordinary people, the pedestrians on the streets, the shopkeepers and others were equally important as our meetings with some of the high ranking officials. We stopped some people on the roads and talked with them. We conversed with some shopkeepers including representatives of minorities such as Sikhs and Hindus and we found Kabul a calm and busy city. He added, I think our friend Litherland has something to say in this regard.

Following him the Manchester MP in the House of Commons, Litherland Robert, said in a short speech: "I entirely agree with what our leader, the leader of our delegation said. But I would like to add that when we were preparing for this trip, most of the Tory members of British Parliament expressed strong opposition with our trip to Afghanistan. Also some members of the Labour Party opposed with our trip. But of course we said and we thought that this trip of ours was perfect and all right and we told them. We are

going to see the facts about Afghanistan with our own eyes. We came here and see that Kabul is a calm and normal city. We are very pleased with the hospitality and the warm welcome accorded to us. The most pleasant thing for us was that we were told to prepare the programme of our stay in Afghanistan by ourselves. Of course Afghanistan has not used this visit of ours as a means of propaganda in its own interest. Especially our talks with Afghanistan's party and state personalities were all analytical and on return to Britain we will report to the British Parliament about the results of this analysis.

"About the brief report of our trip I must say that we first met with the Charge-D'Affairs of the British Embassy in Kabul. Then we talked with Dr. Paktiawal, First Deputy of the State Planning Committee. After that we met with the Vice Premier, member of the Central Committee and member of Revolutionary Council Abdul Rashid Aryan. I personally took a picture with him which I will take to Britain to show it to the British people that he is in Afghanistan and that he has not fled the country. We also met with Anahita Ratchzad. This meeting took place in an atmosphere of frankness. We also met with Satar Purdeli, Chairman of the Trade Unions of Afghanistan. We then met with Shah Mohammad Dost Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"In all these meetings we asked them questions that will be asked from us when we return to England, whether in the Parliament or in the press conferences. Of course, apart from these personalities we also held talks with the most important people i.e., the ordinary people on the streets. We stopped them and talked with them. We were entirely free to ask any questions. We also talked with people who knew English. We met with the representatives of Labour Unions. We have all-sidedly analysed and have made notes from all these talks and interviews which we will take back to England.

Afterwards Alen Roberts, MP for Liverpool in the House of Commons of Britain said in his brief speech:

"I too on my part would like to thank for the hospitality and the warm welcome accorded to us. Of course one important point was in this visit. That is how can we decrease the cold war instead of intensifying it. And if this point is taken into consideration then the Afghanistan issue is the most

Important issue with which we can intensify or relax the tension of the cold war.

"The second important point is this that we assess the matters from this point of view. I mean what measures are to be taken toward the basic needs of the people of Afghanistan. And you know that Afghanistan today is being used as a subject of intensification of the cold war, and it is important for us to specify our approach in the face of these developments".

This was followed by the questions asked by the correspondents of several papers, radio, television, Bakhtar News Agency as well as the foreign reporters.

—Kabul New Times, 13/1/81

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WHY

## Capitalism Can't Save Jamaica?

From "Peoples Tribune," Chicago,

Vol. 7 No. 24. Dec. 9, 1980

On October 30, the much publicised Jamaican election was held. The capitalist press around the world said that the defeat of Michael Manley was a defeat for socialism. The victor, Mr. Edward Seaga, a former US citizen, is an avowed pro-capitalist technocrat and a militant anti-communist. The electoral victory of Mr. Seaga's party, the Jamaican Labour Party (JLP) is a setback for the progressive movement. However it was not simply a case of the workers voting against socialism.

Jamaica has a population of 2 million. There were 990,000 eligible voters. The turnout was 75.7 percent, a modest figure by Jamaican standards. The JLP received 57 percent of the vote to the People's National Party's (PNP) 43 percent. Because Jamaica has a parliamentary system, the JLP won 52 seats while the PNP won only eight. It is this latter figure of 52-8 that has allowed the press to characterize the victory as a landslide. The point of these figures however is to show that despite the massive efforts of the US to stabilize the Manley government, 340,000 people voted for the PNP and for socialism, even though that socialism may not have been fully defined.

It is this truth that has caused magazines such as *World Business Weekly* to call for sober

reflection on their (capitalist) victory. The last five years have seen the rapid political radicalization of the Jamaican proletariat. A definite section of the workers has become class conscious and cannot be fooled into believing that elections are a satisfactory way to resolve the pressing economic and political problems facing the island. Cuba, Greenland and Nicaragua have proven that. The real reason for Manley's defeat are numerous. At the bottom of them are the efforts by the US to elect the JLP but appear to remain neutral. We shall break down into the following categories the reasons for Manley's defeat: (1) economic; (2) terror and violence; (3) effective propaganda; (4) electoral fraud; and (5) political shortcomings of the PNP.

STATISTICS NEVER REALLY CONVEY the depth of human misery created by severe economic crisis. Yet a number of key factors will indicate that life under Manley's government was extremely hard for the majority of Jamaicans. As part of the capitalist world economy, Jamaica, unlike Cuba, suffered an average annual inflation rate of 24 percent from 1972 through 1979. By 1978 the inflation rate was 49.4 percent. For those who were employed, wages fell far behind prices. One economist estimates that the overall standard of living fell 25 percent during the eight years of Manley's government. Unemployment statistics are invariably understated in capitalist countries. Yet rough figures indicate that the unemployment rate went from 18 percent to 40 percent during this period. It is understandable that during this same time the real gross domestic product registered a decline of 17.6 percent. Added to all these problems was the question of foreign exchange. Underdeveloped countries such as Jamaica were particularly hard hit by the oil price increases which rose by well over 100 percent. In 1974 oil accounted for 19 percent of total imports; by 1979 that figure had risen to 30 percent.

During this time the PNP attempted to alleviate some of the people's suffering through various government programs. Yet with little income, the government ended up in deficit spending. This added to domestic inflation and necessarily irritated the International Monetary Fund (IMF) who could hardly look favourably on a government spending money to clothe

their people instead of repaying interest to the banks. During this period the IMF pressured Manley to cut social programs (in reality to eliminate them); devalue the currency, and to make Jamaica attractive to foreign investment (i.e., keep wages down etc.)

For seven years the PNP partially acquiesced to these demands. By the beginning of 1980 however, the PNP broke off relations with the IMF. This occurred when the IMF demanded extreme program cuts. The PNP then blamed the IMF for the plight of the country. The JLP responded, of course, with charges of economic mismanagement. The IMF clearly prefers Seaga as evidenced by already softening their terms to the new government.

The local capitalists were hoarding food to create artificial shortages and creating a loss of confidence in the government. Furthermore worldwide inflation and recession were not in Manley's control. The US put additional pressure on Manley by cutting bauxite production and ruining the tourist industry to further reduce the country's income.

IT IS SOMETIMES DIFFICULT to realize the effect of 600 deaths in ten months in a country of only two million. That is the equivalent of 75,000 political murders in the US. The Jamaican people were tired of this level of violence. The majority of the violence was financed by US reactionary interests and wealthy Jamaicans living in New York and Miami. As the police and army are also firmly in the hands of the most reactionary sections of Jamaica, the army was fully mobilized to intimidate progressive neighbourhoods. The PNP had next to no control over the actions of the armed forces. They had to help mobilize demonstrations against the unchecked, sadistic violence of the army. Clearly the basic aspect of the state—the body of armed men—was controlled by the local bourgeoisie and the US government.

*In this sense the statement of the PNP and the WPJ (Workers Party of Jamaica) that the Jamaican electorate was intimidated into voting for the JLP is correct. Yet a great part of the problem was the perceived inability of the PNP to take decisive measures to stop the violence. The result was that some marginal voters feared to vote and others voted for the JLP out of desperation to stop the killing.*

The prototype for using a newspaper to destabilize a government was the Chilean newspaper *El Mercurio* which was used to prepare the fascist coup against the government of Salvador Allende. In a relatively small country like Jamaica, a paper with a large readership has a great deal of influence. Jamaica's *El Mercurio* is called *The Gleaner*. It has carried stories from almost all the news agencies proven to be CIA fronts. Furthermore it frequently used psychological weapons such as printing a large picture of an auto wreck on one side of the page and on the other a feature story on Manley's wrecking of the economy.

Starting in March of this year it carried weekly and then daily stories predicting a massive JLP victory. This was necessary to create fear and resignation in the minds of marginal PNP supporters. In addition it would add fuel to existing food shortage by printing huge headlines about a potential shortage. This would create large scale panic buying which would result in real temporary shortage. They would then print a follow-up article explaining they had correctly predicted the shortage.

The paper is financed by a handful of wealthy Jamaicans. It began originally as the paper of the planter class nearly 100 years ago. It is the recipient of a great deal of technical help from various right-wing newspapers in the US. It proved an important weapon in the hands of the JLP and the US. In order to make triply sure that they won the elections, the JLP utilized the army to steal ballots from strong PNP districts. Both the PNP and the WPJ are collecting evidence on the extent of the fraud. *It is expected however that even without the fraud, the JLP would have won the election. They had accomplished enough on the other fronts to "win".*

WHILE NOTING ALL OF THE ABOVE FACTORS, the shortcomings of the PNP are of special significance. The bourgeoisie will not yield power easily and therefore the strategy of the working class and its leaders must be based on forcibly seizing power. When the bourgeoisie does not play by the rules, or "play cricket" as might be said in Jamaica, one cannot cry foul. The name of the game in politics is power. **The PNP did not consolidate the power that it needed to rule the country effectively.** That power

is an ideologically united and armed working class. As a party that contained both elements of the national bourgeoisie and the working class it attempted to reflect policies of both. This it could not do. In fact from 1972 through March 1980, the decisive measures were directed by the moderate pro-capitalist wing of the party. When the left gained prominence in the party in March they were forced to accept the responsibility of all the previous action of the "moderates."

**It was the inability of the PNP to take decisive political and economic action during the last eight years that contributed to the last nine month crisis. The workers were expected to be ideologically communist but materially resigned to capitalist domination. The IMF ran the economy for seven years. Hardly anything was nationalised and the bourgeoisie was allowed an unrestrained propaganda campaign.**

**The problem of establishing an armed workers' militia was never solved—a decisive question if the revolution is to succeed. The Jamaican military was not omnipotent. It appeared so only because the workers and people were not armed. Perhaps it was difficult to do so under the 'rules' of the game but the consequence was an impotent working class. The fact is that two classes—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—cannot share state power.**

In no country have the social democrats succeeded in establishing a socialist society. In order to do so the character of the state must be proletarian. Only without the bourgeois influence in the PNP could Jamaica have avoided its present course. The loss was indeed a setback for the progressive movement. It is even more so because the facade of bourgeois legality and morality have been preserved at the expense of the workers.

Yet within defeat is the preparation for victory. Some PNP leaders have guaranteed that the Jamaican workers are preparing. In a press statement a few days following the election, D. K. Duncan, PNP General Secretary, was quoted as saying that "even if the PNP accepted this 'bourgeois democratic stage' under the JLP government, he would as a member of the party, continue to fight for proletarian democracy.....He said that the PNO would be moving to the next stage of

'revolutionary politics' and he and the majority of the people of this country are resolute in our determination that democracy—proletarian democracy—must prevail."

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BRITISH MP

## On Afghanistan

London, Jan. 13,

Labour Party MP Ron Brown returning from a five-day visit to Afghanistan, charged on Monday that most Western press reports about that country were "exaggerated or false." Brown said that during their brief visit he and two other labour parliamentarians had gathered enough information to become convinced that what they read in Western newspapers about the Soviet "invasion" of Afghanistan was usually "overblown or simply wrong."

In Kabul, the capital, he reported, "there is no siege and Soviet troops are virtually nonexistent." He quoted the Afghan Foreign Minister as having told him that Soviet troops were "a reserve force" and that they did "little fighting". Mr. Brown said he had been told by Afghan President Babrak Karmal that the Red Army would leave the country soon as neighbouring countries "respected the Afghan border." —AP

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MAO'S WIDOW

## Throws A Challenge

Beijing, Dec. 28,

The widow of Chairman Mao-Ze Dong has dared China's highest court to sentence her to death at a public rally and proclaimed "it is more glorious to have my head chopped off" than to yield, Chinese sources reported yesterday. They said the prosecutor called for 'severest punishment' for her and cited article 103 of the criminal code which calls for a death sentence in the gravest counter-revolutionary cases. The sources said 67-year-old Jiang Qing flung down the gauntlet on Wednesday in court as she delivered a three-hour defence statement. They said she denounced her accusers and China's current



leadership as "revisionists" who betrayed the doctrines of Chairman Mao.

"I dare you people to sentence me to death in front of one million people in Beijing's Central Tiananmen Square", the sources quoted Jiang Qing as saying to the supreme people's court.

During her trial, which began on 9 November, Jiang Qing repeatedly has insisted that she acted at Mao's behest. Sources said that on Wednesday she accused the court of putting Chairman Mao Zedong on trial by prosecuting his widow. She angrily reminded the court that she was the widow of the founder of the Chinese Communist Party, the People's Liberation Army and the People's Republic of China, the sources said.

Jiang Qing argued that the cultural revolution was justified and approved by the party Central Committee itself. She also said Chairman Mao himself and the late Premier Chou En Lai both knew of her activities and investigations now called illegal persecutions, the sources said. She said Chou in particular was well aware of her accusations against President Liu Shao Chi and his American born wife the most celebrated victims of the cultural revolution. —AFP



## TASS REPORT

### Situation In Poland

Warsaw, January 20,

The Polish United Worker' Party, the United Peasants' and Democratic Parties jointly with all patriotic forces of the country are doing a great deal of work to consolidate Poland's socio-political life, said Stanislaw Quowa, Marshal of the Sejm, Chairman of the Main Board of the United Peasant's Party. The situation in the country, however, remains complicated, he said in an interview with a *Tass* correspondent. The socio-economic crisis has been brought about not so much by shortcomings in the economy as irresponsible actions by the elements who are trying to aggravate the domestic political situation in the Polish People's Republic.

Using as pretext the question of non-working Saturdays, in particular, some "Solidarity" leaders are complicating the domestic political situation, holding "warning strikes"

and other actions with a view to exerting pressure on the authorities and undermining the foundations of the existing system. They prefer confrontations with the authorities to the search for mutually acceptable solutions, acting according to the principle; it is better to advance demands before the authorities and execute control rather than participate in the production of material wealth and bear responsibility for Poland's future.

A number of "Solidarity" leaders is under the influence of the anti-socialist organisation "public self-defence committee". It must be noted, Stanislaw Quowa pointed out, that it is difficult to expect an improvement of the situation as long as this anti-socialist organisation uses the new Trade Union as a promoter of its ideas. He also stressed that this committee has inspired of late a propaganda campaign in favour of establishing and registering the so-called "rural solidarity". The design of the inspirers of this action is clear; they are trying to split the unity of Polish peasant movement and undermine the agrarian policy pursued by the Polish United Workers' Party jointly with the United Peasant's Party. The principal task of the allied parties at the present stage is to establish appropriate mechanisms which would guarantee the development of socialist democracy and to fill with concrete content the process of socialist renewal, Stanislaw Guowa said in conclusion. —APN



## A US PLEA

### Let's Stop Exporting The Smoking Epidemic

By Walter S. Ross

A *Readers Digest* staff writer and Editor of *World Smoking and Health* an American Cancer Society Journal.

Tobacco companies—helped by government—are pushing their lethal production the unsuspecting Third World. Result: As tax-payers, we have become accomplices in the barter of people's health for profit.

In the United States and in other developed countries, cigarette smoking has slid down the social scale from acceptable to

somewhere between barely tolerable and reprehensible. Twenty five years ago more than 50 percent of our adults used to smoke; today only about 32 per cent do. Yet last year the world's people puffed more cigarettes than ever before. Nearly four trillion cigarettes were sold worldwide for between \$ 85 billion and \$ 100 billion!

It began more than 15 years ago when the health scares triggered a decline of smoking in the West. Faced with a shrinking market and spiralling production costs, the seven multinational cigarette companies—four based in the United States, two in England, one in South Africa—simply reaimed their weapons at a new target; the largely untapped Third World, with over two-thirds of the global population.

The British Royal College of Physicians has called cigarette smoking "as important a cause of death as were the great epidemic diseases such as typhoid, cholera and tuberculosis." And the US Public Health Service has described it as "the largest preventable cause of death in America." Hence, when the *British Medical Journal* spotted the Third World cigarette biz, it warned: "There is a real danger of this deadly habit being exported to the younger countries of Africa and Asia. The Western World has a responsibility to see that this is not done." The US government does not accept that responsibility. Instead, it has actively aided exporting the smoking epidemic to the Third World through Federal subsidies.

**Double Health Standard.** Our Department of Agriculture has supported tobacco prices with nearly \$ 5 billion in loans from its Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC). Agriculture borrows the billions from the Treasury Department. Up to October 1974, it had paid Treasury \$ 550 million in interest on tobacco loans and received a mere \$ 17 million in interest payments from tobacco borrowers—a net loss to taxpayers of \$ 533 million. In addition, losses on loans themselves total \$ 55.2 million.

Our Department of Agriculture also subsidizes tobacco through expensive services—crop inspection, marketing news, research. These, plus handling tobacco loans, cost the taxpayer \$ 54 million in 1978. The federal government through CCC holds \$ 750 million in tobacco stocks under its price-support

loan program. Says policy analyst Kenneth M. Friedman. "This in effect makes the government an industry partner in maintaining cigarette consumption." In other words we're all in the tobacco business.

The government's stake in smoking has led it to include tobacco in Public Law 480, designed to expand and develop markets for US agricultural commodities overseas through its Food for Peace program. We exported \$ 7.7 million worth of unmanufactured tobacco under this law alone in 1979. And this is only a tiny part of our tobacco exports; we sent an additional \$ 2.12 billion worth of domestic tobacco overseas, including 77.6 billion American cigarettes, that same year.

Almost all governments are to some degree schizophrenic about smoking because of the huge amounts of money involved. As the world's second-largest tobacco grower (China is No. 1) the US domestic tobacco business grossed \$ 18 billion in 1978, of which governments—federal, state, local—well over \$ 6 billion taxes. It's no wonder that government departments concerned with crops, balance of trade and taxation encourage tobacco. Meanwhile the Department of Health, Education and Welfare was given a modest \$ 29.4 million last year for domestic smoking control.

The government's split smoking personality is reflected in our double health standard. American cigarettes sold in this country and to our Armed Forces overseas must carry a caveat on each package: "Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous To Your Health." But American brands sold internationally on airplanes, ships or in foreign countries need not carry a health warning. Moreover, cigarettes manufactured abroad and or licensed by US companies are frequently much more lethal than their look-alikes bought here. In a recent test, *Marlboro*, *Kent*, *Kool* and *Chesterfield* averaged 17.5 mg. tar within our borders but 31.75 mg. tar in the Philippines.

The results are beginning to show. Although the major smoking health problems can be identified only after a country has had a large smoking population for upward of 20 years, the World Health Organisation (WHO) reported last year: "In some developing countries the epidemic of smoking-related disease is already of such magnitude as to rival even infectious disease or malnutrition as a public health problem.

In those countries, heart and circulatory disease and lung cancer used to be rare. No longer. For example, in Brazil, a heavy smoking nation (135 billion cigarettes are consumed each year by about 25 million smokers), lung cancer became the leading cause of male death in 1974. The incidence of Brazilian dying of cardiovascular disease attributed to smoking has climbed five percent since 1970. In all of Latin America, the number of smokers has increased 24 percent; heart attacks and other smoking-related diseases have kept pace. Says Dr. Emile Wannen of the Netherlands, former professor of public health at the University of Dar es Salam, Tanzania: "The Third World is becoming a vast laboratory to show, once again, that smoking kills".

**Barefoot VIPs.** The "big seven" multinational tobacco companies have carved out global spheres of influence. British-American Tobacco Co. Ltd., (BAT) the world's largest cigarette manufacturer, sells 300 brands of cigarettes in 180 countries through more than 50 subsidiaries or affiliates: Philip Morris International (PMI) markets more than 175 brands through 40 affiliates, or licences in about 160 countries and territories; Reynolds Tobacco Co. sells 65 brands in 140 countries and manufactures by subsidiaries or licences in about 20 of those countries.

In some developing countries, cigarettes are more widely distributed than any other commodity. Even a Land Rover cannot reach all of the 33,000 tiny tobacco shops stocked by BAT in Kenya; many are attainable only by bicycle, donkey or camel. Blanket distribution is backed by hard-sell advertising—billiard, radio, TV, travelling movies (admission free, the audience pays by watching tobacco commercials). In Malaysia, approximately half of all advertisement—in all media—is for cigarettes.

A 1974 survey by *World Tobacco*, a highly respected trade journal, showed that while 95 percent of developed countries had laws to curb cigarette marketing (including health warnings) only 24 percent of Third World countries had any kind of regulation. Advertising messages in those countries are untrammelled: "State Express: That Special Taste of Success"; "You're Smart to Smoke"; "For that Fine Clear Head Feeling". Brands like *Graduate* show a student smoking. *Diplomat* is obviously for the upwardly mobile. A sign frequently seen over African shanties says

that Player's Gold Leaf is "For 'Very' Important People". Yet those VIPS—often barefoot and unable to afford a whole pack—still buy single cigarettes for up to 10 cents each. This is a standard marketing technique in the developing world.

**Financed Farming.** The multinational cigarette companies have persuaded local governments, desperate for foreign exchange and operating on starvation budgets, that growing tobacco themselves will give their farmers a new cash crop, beef up government revenues through tobacco taxes and bring in hard currency via tobacco exports. Tempted by the lure of cash, developing countries subsidize their farmers to clear land (\$ 4000 for a 2.5 acre farm, in Zambia) and lend them money for tobacco seed, fertilizer and insecticide. Often, the capital comes from foreign aid. In Tanzania, for example, the World Bank—heavily financed by the US Government and the United Kingdom—has lent \$ 17 million for two projects to encourage tobacco farming and production.

The farmers do get cash from the cigarette companies or from a government corporation for their crop. But these companies, arms of the multinationals, are often the only source of machinery and services for the farmers. Since marketing channels are similarly monopolized, it also means that farmer income is entirely company dictated. In Malawi, for example, all small farmers are forced to sell their crop at an imposed low price to the government's Agriculture Development and Marketing Corporation.

Foreign exchange from tobacco sales is often illusory. A good deal of the profit is absorbed in licensing fees paid to the cigarette multinationals and in paying for imported cigarette paper, packaging materials and machinery. In Zambia, this has reduced any favourable trade balance in tobacco to near zero.

Tobacco production has several other drawbacks. As a "labour intensive" crop, tobacco demands a large amount of hand labour at peak seasons just when other crops require planting or cultivating. In this way it robs hungry countries of agricultural labour and arable land that could grow food. To produce the popular blond Virginia tobacco,

Third World farmers must "flue-cure" the leaf in barns heated by the local basic energy source; wood. This process requires an acre of trees to be burned for each acre of tobacco grown—seriously depleting already dwindling woodlands.

In addition, according to the WHO magazine *World Health*, "Since many tobacco growing areas in the Third World are located on the edge of dry country, these are precisely the regions that are most vulnerable to the expansion of the deserts"—a process only worsened by undue firewood consumption. This is already taking place in Malawi and eastern Kenya.

Thus, the quick cash from tobacco is not only affecting health, but it is beginning to exact an ecological price. And it won't be the tobacco profiteers who will pick up the check for all these losses. It will be the population in each country.

What can we do to short-circuit the spread of smoking in the Third World? We can't stop governments in poor countries faced with immediate financial problems from mortgaging their future for cash today. We can't stop the multinational tobacco companies from profiting from the sale of legal commodities. But we can insist that our government stop giving away tobacco as a form of bilateral aid. We can demand that our politicians help tobacco farmers kick the crop without suffering economic penalties. And we can make it clear to our leaders that we taxpayers refuse to be made accomplices in their international barter of people's health for money.

*Readers Digest*, May 1980.

( + )

## LETTERS

### "THE POETRY OF SPACE"

Sir,

Dr. Clarke in his Convocation Address *Daily News* under the title "Poets inspired by the stars", has interesting quotations from many famous poets including A. E. Housman, Walt Whitman and B. L. Taylor.

May I be permitted some space for poetry by two anonymous authors who had themselves been inspired by the heavenly bodies? The following lines which are said to have

been found under Housman's pillow are attributed to his housemaid.

*"Oh moon when I look on thy beautiful face  
Careering along thro' the boundaries of space,  
The thought has quite frequently entered my mind  
If ever I'd gaze on thy wondrous behind."*

I hope the contemplative housemaid survived long enough to know that spacemen have accomplished her dream.

The other quotation appears particularly apt at a time when some politicians in power with a flair for reform in the name of progress are exercising their legislative authority with scant regard for the law and public opinion, witness the proposed toll on motor vehicles entering the City of Colombo and the alleged proposal to invest Municipal Employees with powers of arrest. The anonymous poet says with regard to such reformers:—

*"I'm thankful that the sun and moon are both  
hung up so high,*

*Lest some aspiring hand should reach and  
tear them from the sky*

*If they were not, I have no doubt that some  
reforming ass*

*Would recommend to take them down and  
light the world with gas."*

I would be grateful to any of your readers who could enlighten me on the authorship of the two quotes.

**Mervyn Casie Chetty**

161/33, Hultsdorf.

20th Jan. 81

x x x

## After The Rail Accident

Sir,

The train accident that took place at the Kurunegala railway station on the 5th of this month is an experience of our lifetime. Some of us, who were in the last Compartment of the Batticaloa train that in a second was smashed to bits, have survived to tell the tale.

What urges me to write this letter to you from the hospital bed in Batticaloa is the very sympathetic treatment given to us by the people of Kurunegala from the time of the accident till we were sent away to our respective places. It is only proper to mention here that colour, language and religion did not stand in the way when real service was

freely and generously given and gratefully received. The way the railway and hospital staffs, the police and the general public helped us looked as though the whole world had gathered around us the wounded, the dying and the dead.

While appreciating the food and clothes, and other kindness that we received I would like to say here that I was very much impressed by the efficiency of the hospital staff. As we arrived at the hospital doctors, nurses and attendants waited with wheelchairs and stretchers to attend to us immediately. The more needy ones were treated without any delay. X-rays were taken. 28 trainee nurses among others gave blood. The M.S. of the hospital telephoned Kandy and Colombo to get extra Doctors, Anesthetics and medicine. It was in a way therapeutic to see the minor staff of the hospital so active. The doctors even found vehicles to send the accident-involved-people home.

To my knowledge, there is no foundation to the charge that people looted the belongings of the injured and the dead. On the contrary things and money were carefully guarded and handed over to the owners.

I cannot do it personally, Sir, but through your column I would like to thank all of them and would like to tell them how much I appreciated their service and kindness.

**Rev. Bro. Mathew S.S.J.**  
Principal,  
Carmel-Fatima College:

Kalmunai.  
14th January 1981

x x x

## ANECDOTE

### With A V.V.I.P. One Sunday

Sunday, 4th January, I took occasion as a registered voter to call on the M.P. for Senkadagala at his home-office. At age 50 I could have blithely footed up the final 30 to 40 yards of this expedition. But nearing 80 I had to watch both step and heartbeat. A 200-year-old Kithul heramitiya, my sole support, had suffered two fractures now held together with bluish elastic tape. It weathered the climbing, and there was Meththa in the eyes of the onlookers, a goodly number young and old. As I struggled on to the porch. I would hardly believe it if anyone were to tell me that my

M.P. was fancying wielding his straight bat on a political wicket at the time he opted for this residence.

The callers were multiplying with each passing minute. I took a peep, as did they, into the office which is on the ground-floor. A chair at a desk with a telephone atop was vacant. At a second desk nearer the entry-door an office assistant was busy attending to callers. From him I learned that the Deputy Minister of Justice was out presiding at a public meeting at the Bogambara grounds. He would be back shortly. Would I wait?

Long benches flanked the prettily cobbled approach to the stairway leading to the upper floor. Of vacant seats there there were none. I moved on to the little rectangle of bluegrass lawn to wait, the guava tree at its edge was a welcome lean-to. To the front of me there was the city's spread in all its sunlit grandeur. I turned around to take a better look at the house, and the longer I looked the greater was my wonderment. It stood deposited on a forbidding ledge of black granite rock, the garage was a cave as was the office camouflaged just enough for their purposes, whilst the surrounds in their primigenous variety of rock turrets and basins and verdure gave accommodation to the overflow of callers. I looked up at the upper storey, a comfortable modernly styled cottage with a railed open verandah all too vacant but for a single wicker-chair at one end. Within the office were bas-reliefs, sculptures and tapestry. Here then was a matrix of four progressions in human time: the Stone Age, the Kasyapa, the Kandyan and the Now.

With the sun ascending the lawn's shadows had now withdrawn and the near-noon heat burned. I must sit somewhere. In the garage a Mitsubishi Jeep was parked to a side. I tried its door and then I noted the low halfwall across. On a handkerchief spread I sat me down and then I noticed a second office assistant on a dais to my left and busy as was that other.

I played the spy, though with no evil intent, from recalling a host of aspersions, and not a single accolade, told in my ear from time to time. They concerned State functionaries similar to the one I was calling on.

My thoughts went back to a time past when as an eight-year-old I was persona grata at the home of a Headman Chief. As now there were the suppliants, and each one bore

a sheaf of betel leaf with a glistening silver half-rupee or rupee piece a top in their outstretched hands. The lady of the house invariably received them and each giver, attended to by the Chief, repaired to the rear verandah for a chew or a plate of curd, there to receive back his piece of silver. The appropriated betel leaves sometimes used to fill an oversize clay cistern to the brim.

The betel leaf, same as the silver piece, has gone out of currency. Our paper-money is easier to pass from hand to hand, and less noticeable if and when it does. So engaged, I was taken by surprise when the whitish Mitsubishi car pulled up almost at my toes. My M.P. was out of the driving-seat in a trice, took in my presence with a smile and, before I could respond to the courtesy, sped up the stairway to the upper storey. The crowd around me was agog. Full sheets and half-sheets, documents of one sort or another, rustled between fingers, the faces lit up.

The Deputy Minister of Justice sped down the stairs, straight into his office. The less than five minutes he spent up there in the house may have been to freshen himself. I could never break a queue. Would he give me preference? The mere thought gave me the jitters. But obviously there was a behavioural pattern prescribed or self-learned in this place. One by one the callers went through its only door into this home-office, and one by one they came out smiling for all to see.

I was the last walker-in. The advice I sought was had instantly. I read the time from his wrist-watch. Five minutes to 2 o'clock. I had kept count of the callers: 79, barring any I may have overlooked. "You must be willing to work, and work hard," I heard him tell often during the 40 minutes he had been at his desk. "You must be famishing." I said to him as I rose to leave. "How about them?" he laughed aloud, "and how about you?" "I am hungry, very", I confessed. He waved a hand when I looked back from the door. He wasn't getting up, yet.

I got to scaling down Everest even more warily than I had walked up. A give in the stick would have given me a bruised knee, at the leanest. On level ground I stopped a moment to look back at—no, not Berchtesgaden, and I fell to wondering whether the disciplines there set obtained with Emathithuman-la in other areas of our land.

**R.B.T.**

NGUVU

## Nuts & Thieves

By **Bwana Rafiki**

Black Monday was an expression I vaguely remember used in Britain to depict the first working day of the week. I had gone back to the estate on Sunday evening feeling content knowing that our fifth pick should start the following morning. Well it did. I might explain that each pick in a coconut estate is given a number to correspond with the six in a financial year, which everyone knows starts on April 1st, April Fool's day. Black is a word hardly strong enough to describe how I felt after the pick started. To start with, the dilapidated, even treacherous, state of one of the carts was brought to my notice. Next, on the best part of my estate there were hardly any ripe nuts to pick. Nuts were stolen in daylight under our noses.

Opportunism would be a good word to describe the perspicacity of the two thieves. To start with, they ignored the two-hour lunch interval. When work was about to start in the afternoon there was a downpour and we sheltered in the watcher's house across the main road. The picking was taking place in this block across the road, and when we stopped for lunch there were about seventy-two coconuts left on the ground, the place where they were in sight of the watcher's house where we were gathered. Twenty-two of these were in a heap. It was the rest that was taken. Although my attention was drawn to the thieves, I could not see them. They made a clean getaway with about fifty coconuts in spite of the hue and cry raised, and the chase. More of this tomorrow.

It was the hue and cry that gave the thieves a warning that we were at last aware of them. Merely pointing in their direction would have been enough. They were upstream of us, the wide river with high banks running behind the watcher's house, and it was down this river that they made their get-away with the nuts. Why the two or three people who had run ahead of me did not get into the river to retrieve the nuts is something I can only speculate about. Instead they floundered around doing I know not what wasting precious time. I had not seen the thieves at all. In fact it was evident to me when half way there that there was no evidence of the pre-

sence of the thieves at all and I began to think it had all been cooked up.

Yesterday I learnt that the Rs. 70 per month salary increase for government servants will not apply to privately owned coconut estates even though I had been told the previous day that at least one estate intended paying it and my informant, the Superintendent, had said it was compulsory. I at once saw it was a good opportunity to give some very difficult characters whom I employ a chance to cease working here and gain an immediate monetary advantage by doing so. I put the point to my lawyer in these matters, a friend of mine, and he advised one or two little changes in my plan to ensure me against trouble should any who stopped work decide to go to the Labour Office and Tribunal later. I engaged a boy who said he is well versed in accounts to help me at week-ends with mine and to help bringing up-to-date several years of arrears of work.

The picking of the coconuts finished yesterday, and the Visiting Agent and I found that stealing had not really been so rampant, and after the V.A. left and I had completed the count on both estates, an analysis of the figures seemed to bear this out. Since the division of the estate about four years ago this had been poorest 5th pick on my division. I have not checked the record on the other division yet. Since the last V.A.'s visit much had happened. The month in a way has been an absolute hell, my worst since I took over the management of my part, and I felt on this first day of the pick, I had really been a failure, but there had been compensations. One curious feature was that the life of the estate seemed to go on and to go on with much less incident as if by way of compensation for all that had gone wrong. The cattle were O.K.

Six weeks ago, I was paid a sum of money as an advance for the sale of twenty-five coconut trees. These tall old trees have to be cut down when the younger palms that have been interplanted among the old trees start to bear fruit. The balance money was to be paid before the trees were cut down. I went to see the man who had bought the trees about the long delay in payment. He promised me the money next week, I think. I visited the shop which sells us our poonac to check about the price. The owner's wife confirmed that the price is Rs. 890/- a hundred-weight, so that the three hundred-weights I shall need

this week will cost me Rs. 570. Two calves need attention and the government veterinary said she would drop in on Monday which is tomorrow. A cousin arrived from England.



## TRIBUTE

### Jeyam Canagaratnam

It is difficult to believe that Jeyam is no more. Though he spent the last fifteen years in foreign countries, he visited his homeland every year and made it a point to call on his close friends and relatives. His last visit was about seven months ago, before his transfer to Bangladesh as an FAO expert. It is an irony of fate that the last letter he wrote to me, describing the treatment he was going to take in Canada, reached me after the shocking news of his sudden death!

I first met Jeyam over forty years ago in 1939 when we were recruited as "Learners" to the Irrigation Department by the first Minister of Agriculture & Lands Mr. D. S. Senanayake who initiated a new scheme of training for local engineers in the Irrigation Department, at a time when there was no engineering faculty in Sri Lanka. All the higher rungs in the Irrigation Department were then held by foreign engineers and there were just a handful of Ceylonese Engineers, who were able to obtain their qualifications abroad. That was a time when Minister D. S. Senanayake launched an intensive development programme for restoring ancient irrigation works built by the Kings of Sri Lanka, which had gone into disrepair after occupation of the island by foreign powers, who paid more attention to coffee and tea plantations, and neglected rice cultivation.

Specialised services were being built up in the Irrigation Department for discipline like Planning & Designs, Hydraulic (model testing), Hydrology of river basins and Soil Mechanics. Jeyam was one of the first to be sent on scholarship to the United States to specialise in Soil Mechanics and when he returned with flying colours, he was put in charge of the Soil Mechanics Laboratory. No major irrigation work would be passed for construction until he okayed the foundations, and during construction, he had to control the quality of work in progress.

Senior engineers in the field used to dread visits of Jeyam's predecessors, who were in the habit of fault-finding, but after Jeyam took over, we used to invite him to come and advise us on problems we were facing. He was so helpful and never threw his weight about, though one adverse word from him would bring all construction work to a halt. That was the confidence he enjoyed of his boss D. W. R. Kahawita, who was the ablest designs engineer the Irrigation Department ever had, who was responsible for setting up the Specialised Services in the Irrigation Department. When a subsequent "director-to-be" abolished the Specialists cadre to be brought in line with the regular field services, (because of a potential danger he faced with regard to his own succession to the top-post), Mr. Kahawita retired prematurely from the Irrigation Department (for abolition of post)—and along with him the Department lost some of its ablest Specialists including Jeyam, who had no difficulty in finding jobs in International spheres abroad!

The largest multi-purpose irrigation development scheme undertaken by the Irrigation Department was at Gal Oya, where Jeyam was in charge of the "testing laboratory" to pass all materials that went into the making of that massive dam and spillway. Fiery "progress meetings" were held at Gal Oya, where disputes between "Construction Engineers" and "Quality Control Specialists" had to be settled. To use Jeyam's words "these disputes were like mini-battles raging between two giants (R. Kahawita and M. Abraham) among engineers at that time, and when they fought it out, the smaller fry got the beating"—one could imagine younger specialists, like Jeyam, licking their wounds after the battle!

When Jeyam underwent his engineering course in Australia, his friends used to call him "GEM" and no better name would befit such a jewel of a man!

Jeyam shone not only in engineering, but even outside his normal field. He was a racing driver of no small repute in the early fifties, when racing of stock cars was introduced in the island. Nobody in the "under 1000cc" class could beat him in his "Morris Eight", and he collected many trophies. He used to do flying in his spare time and obtained a pilot's license. I remember the first flight I had was on a joy ride above Colombo city, in a trainee plane piloted by Jeyam himself.

Our heartfelt sympathies go to his wife Nalina (who was with him through thick and thin) two daughters, sister Punitham Thiruchelvam, and brothers Manohara and Sri Ananda.

He was such a wonderful friend, we shall really miss him!

Ratna S. Cooke.



## GRAMA SASTRA—35

—Scribblings On Uva Villages

By Gamiya

### Agro Chemicals, My Foot?

Muttu Banda had on his shoulder, one of those new-type 'kavadi' power-sprayers of lethal insecticide. He stepped aside and chatted for a moment with his friends and with me, all the while spraying his two feet with the tragic liquid that spurted on and on!.... "But why?" we asked him. Smilingly he said between two frowns of pain: "This medicine is very strong for insects and germs, and so, all this scatchy feeling will leave me." Today, ten days later, Muttu Banda is still very ill. They fear for his feet, cancer, or probable amputation. But, what problems? Didn't the Planners Plan It All elsewhere, and are cosily shod in air-conditioned coolness at the desk. China was a People's Republic with a smatter of Communism and yet the officials worked with peasants; Sri Lanka is officially a Samajavadi janarajaya (Democratic and all that), & the information is only one way; from the know-alls in Colombo, through a few "brainless" A's, to the peasant farmer. Take a look at the gazette of 1980.05:

#### Insecticides:

Curator, Furadan; Actellic; Tamaron, Monitor, Daconil, Aldrin, Metastox, Carbaryl, Diazinon, Azordin, Mono Crotophos.

#### Fungicides:

Propireb, Antracol, Kasumin, Wandozeb, Mancozeb, Copper Oxochloride, Cerasan, Surfactant, Orthocide 50 etc.

But, it must be said in all fairness, that this invitation for tenders had it all correctly done, with all the safeguards. It had even said in n. 15: under d and e: "adequate directions concerning the manner in which the product is to be



used;" "adequate warning and cautionary statements including symptoms of poisoning, safety, health and first-aid treatment measure"—with labels in Sinhala, Tamil and English."

Names are not wanting. Names could be multiplied and as long as the Greek/Latin languages last in legal-botanical-medical research memories, names will flood the place. It is the principle that counts. Are we going to let only a few know the real inside story of self-reliance when you use your own, local, small-is-beautiful methods, or are we going to pander to the greed of the large-scale farm producer, or paddy-producer and keep feeding the nation with rice that smells and tastes like straw and may perhaps even now be having a deadly effect on our people. We heard at the opening of the southern Cancer hospital that "every year, 4500 deaths from cancer" is the tally now known. In Hong-Kong, it is 6000 a year. Has the greed-system of capitalism not failed? Why coax the grain to produce more? Why coax the hen to lay more, better, bigger eggs? They say it is to "feed the population of the world", and in the same strain, go & destroy world populations by insecticide, genocide and the rest. Who is trying to fool whom?



SOMETHING MUST BE DONE ABOUT

## The Real Energy Crisis

By Ranil Senanayake

THE ENERGY CRISIS that confronts us arises from a disruption of established flows of energy. It is brought about by a decreasing supply of the energy sources, i.e. coal, oil, etc. However, the sellers of coal and oil are not those who are responsible for the major part of an energy crisis as we are presently led to believe. Those responsible for an energy crisis are the planners who have not taken the nature of energy flows and the accessibility of energy sources into account. A good example can be drawn from the current thinking that development is tied to oil, and the subsequent statement that our development processes are being hampered by an increase in the price of oil. It becomes so easy then to blame all the ills resulting from high oil prices to OPEC etc. But do we stop to ask "who promoted the idea that development is tied to oil?"

Essentially, energy can be explained as a measure of entropy, that is the relative state of disorder in our physical universe. It takes a change in the state of entropy to do work. Energy then performs work, be it the movement of a muscle, the lighting of an electric bulb or the ebb and flow of the tides. The capacity of work depends on the energy state known as potential energy and different substances have different potentials, for example firewood, coal, or oil.

*The nature of the crisis that we are faced with is an increasing shortage of energy yielding substances with a corresponding increase in the demand. Presently, the energy crisis is described as a shortfall of electrical energy.*

THE CEYLON ELECTRICITY BOARD has cast some projections on the energy demand of this nation. They hypothesise three rates of growth in demand. The high, at a 10% annual growth rate in demand, a Probable at 8% annual growth rate in demand, and low at 5% annual growth rate in demand. This gives a projected demand of 13,000 KWH for the high growth rate and a 7,500 KWH demand for the low growth rate by the year 2000; while the total hydro and thermal power generation is expected to be 5000 KWH in the year 2000.

Thus there is a shortfall of at least 2,500 KWH. In addition, there is the prospect of an exponential increase in the price of energy yielding materials such as oil. Planning to meet these problems have been the focus of most work in the field of energy today. The solutions to the problem can generally be stated as (1) if there was a power generation capability with a rate of growth that matched or exceeded the rate of growth in demand or, (2) if the rate of growth in the demand for power was lowered to keep pace with the growth in power generation. Most solutions propounded to date attempt to solve the problem by a growth in the power generation capacity.

This is consistent with the currently propounded theory that Development is measured in such criteria as economic growth or consumerism. Now a clearer idea of what has been evaluated as the energy crisis emerges. The present theory of 'Development' requires a high

annual growth in demand for oil and electric energy. The projected shortfall in the supply will then constitute the basis of the crisis. This is further emphasised by the fact that practically all public investment in alleviating the 'Energy Crisis' has been deviated to electricity generation.

IT IS HANDY for energy accounting to deal in some universal units such as kilo watts (KW) or calories or British Thermal Units (B.Th.U.) What planners often fail to take into account is the fact that though the accounting may be done in such units, it represents a sum of the contribution by various energy sources (oil, hydro, firewood, etc.) These sources have different work potentials and they need different translation devices such as cookers, engines, or hearths, to make this energy useful to man. Therefore, it will be seen that even though an energy crisis can be accounted and presented in the universal energy language of KW's or Calories or B.Th.U's it cannot be resolved by bringing in inputs that will merely bridge the gap on paper.

An useful example to consider is a modern hospital that suffers an energy crisis due to the electricity generator breaking down. The energy need of the unit may be 1 K.W.H. This crisis can only be resolved by repairing the generator and establishing the flow of electricity. No amount of oil or coal even in quantities having an energy potential well over 1 KW can alleviate the crisis. Thus massive national expenditure in building new power stations to bridge a perceived energy shortfall could be distracting. It may be of benefit mostly to those industries or individuals who have the devices with which to translate this energy to work. Therefore when discussing energy problems the end user becomes a variable of considerable importance.

**IN THE SRI LANKAN SITUATION** the most fundamental need for energy is as a source of heat for cooking. Cooking is identified as the process requiring the largest energy input into an average household. A breakdown of the statistics obtained from the Department of Census and Statistics indicate that about 20% of the households of Sri Lanka use Kerosine or L.P. Gas for their cooking while 75% use firewood.

Only 5% of the households use electricity for such domestic purposes. The energy crisis as outlined today call for more electricity generation, but we have to note that no plans are being made to supply all households with devices to translate this energy to work (cookers, etc.) Similarly, there seems to be no plans to create an infrastructure that will supply electricity to every home. Thus, the energy crisis in these terms would seem to be a crisis for the industrialist and the urban consumer.

The fact that energy for cooking has not been deemed to be important in assessing the 'energy crisis' is now apparent. A reason for this may be that our firewood supply has been considered as stable, the alternate hypothesis: that firewood is unimportant to 'develop oriented energy planning' reeks of elitism and apathy towards the public. If the firewood supply of this nation had been considered as stable, a second look would seem to be in order.

In an analysis of the energy situation in Sri Lanka, Mr. G. B. A. Fernando of the Ministry of Finance and Planning stated that The Annual rate of extraction of firewood from proclaimed forests (without ecosystem damage) was 0.1 million tonnes per year. The other identified sources such as plantation wood, saw mill waste, coconut debris, etc., account for 1.5 million tonnes per year. However, the present rate of demand for firewood is estimated to be 4.0 million tonnes per year. He concluded that the balance 2.4 million tonnes come from 'unidentified sources.'

A report on our forests made by the U.S. AID suggests what these sources may have been. This report states that in 1956 forests lands accounted for 44% of the nations land area, by 1976 the forest cover had dwindled to 22%. This is equivalent to about 3.5 million acres of land. If the estimated deforestation resulting from the Mahaweli project achieves the projected 1 million acres of land and if the present rate of deforestation continues even without any growth; we can expect the last of our utilizable forests to be felled in about 14 years from now.

WITH THE DWINDLING OF THE FORESST firewood will become harder to come by and become much more expensive. The substitute for a while can be the sticks of the smaller

bushes and annual plants, in time they too will be gone. Notwithstanding the ecological consequences of this process, this does seem to be an energy crisis that is immediate, and of national importance. Given such a situation the justification of the nation spending a majority of its resources and personnel to respond to a shortfall in electrical power generation is questionable. This does not mean that we would neglect such projects but, what are our national priorities? In fact, the insensitivity to what may be one of our greatest energy crises is illustrated by the re-forestation vote for 1981 being cut by about Rs. 11 million. What should take greater priority, a crisis that will affect over 90% of the population or a crisis that will affect under 6% of the population?

What is the solution then?

It is becoming patently clear that although reforestation should receive the greatest incentives possible, we will be hardpressed to grow enough firewood to stop the assault on our biological energy sources. It is also reasonable to assume that we do not have the capital to construct and maintain an infrastructure that will allow the nation to be fed from centralised generating plants. If energy can be generated on site, the cost of power lines, relays, sub-stations and service personnel become greatly reduced and many of the problems associated with giant capital intensive power plants fade away.

Solar power is one such source of energy, wind is another. The technology of the translation devices (which make this energy available for work) is rapidly growing. The basic energy need in Sri Lanka is for cooking (heat) and for lighting (electricity). These needs can be met by the utilisation of solar, wind, biological and similar energy sources. It is ironic that we have a bureaucracy to promote atomic energy paid with public funds but there is no solar energy authority or an alternate energy authority that will develop and promote devices that will alleviate the real energy crisis.

One may well paraphrase the late Hon. D. S. Senanayake who noted that "*the well being of the nation can be assessed by the larder of the poorest homes of the nation,*" and note that a solution of the real energy crisis can be accomplished by planning with national priorities focussed on the shortfall of the most fundamental energy needs of our populace.

## BOOK REVIEW

### In The North

**JAFFNA 1980 (SRI LANKA)** by W. Robert Christian Institute For The Study of Religion And Society, Jaffna College, Vaddukodai: Rs. 20/-)

Robert Holmes had joined the staff of Jaffna College after I had left that venerable institution which we old boys deeply loved to the point of veneration. When I received this book, I thought I would be reading more of Jaffna College than of Jaffna itself. It is not so. However, the writer of the book apparently draws his inspiration from his experiences at this College which in any case and in my own view is a fair microcosm of Jaffna itself. It was this institution that first demonstrated under an American Principal 'all men are created equal' long before enlightened opinion started showing compassion upon those of lower caste.

Introducing the 'Jaffna Man' in his first Chapter Dr. Holmes piquantly refers to the Jaffna man's "cynicism....when one of his fellows does something generous. The clear assumption is that, if a person is rational, he will not do anything 'for nothing'. The attributing of motives becomes a fine art in Jaffna' He explains this conclusion in the next paragraph, but how many would agree? Or if this is even partially true, is this characteristic peculiar to only the Jaffna man. Would it apply to any Sri Lankan or for that matter to any human being?

The customs, practices and general attitudes to life are discussed in the next three chapters. To any Jaffna man it will be a pleasant surprise as also a matter of satisfaction that Robert Holmes has to a large extent understood these customs and practices so well-even the special flavour of what he refers to as 'Tamil English'. For instance, reading what he says about "Father can relax in a chair on the front verandah, draped in a sarong and bare-bodied from the waist up. If a visitor comes, one is permitted to disappear inside to change or to add more garments" one realises how very completely Dr. Holmes has understood the sweetness of an unsophisticated rural life.

Reading through the chapter on Religion I came across the section on cobra worship where reference is made to the cobra as an

object of worship. I was reminded of an incident in Vavuniya somewhere around early 1974. Four of us, all public servants, lived in a 'chumery'. One morning, quite suddenly, we were taken a back by a vicious looking serpent that darted across our sitting room into the 'compound'. We gave chase, closely followed by Muthukuda, a Malayalee from South India, whom we had engaged as a domestic help. His strongest hand was his ability to serve half cooked food when we needed it most. Apart from this we did not notice anything peculiar until this incident. The snake was too fast for us and disappeared into a heap of rubble close by. We gave up and got away to our places of work.

Next morning waiting for our cup of tea we were getting somewhat restive. Muthukuda was missing. Looking across the window we saw this man on his knees near the rubble, hands folded in an act of worship and his head swaying from side to side. Stunned, we went across to see if this man had taken leave of his senses, only to find him and the serpent in peaceful communion with each other praying to a God we could not understand. There was a saucer of milk in front of the serpent. Muthukuda left us in a few days and joined the closest Co-operative Stores.

The chapters on Family and Marriage, Caste and Education and Youth should be read by anyone who sincerely wishes to understand and appreciate the Jaffna Man. Tradition hallowed by centuries of observance, practice and precedent, strong family ties and an equally strong sense of duty towards parents particularly in their old age are factors that govern the behaviourism of most people from that part of this country chosen as the subject of this book by Dr. Holmes.

Chapter seven is on Government and Politics. Those of us from the north of Sri Lanka are no less interested in government and politics than any others from any other part of the country. In this chapter Dr. Holmes discusses matters that have been dissected and commented upon in several other publications as well. It is good to see what Robert Holmes has to say on such sensitive issues as language and politics.

In a final tribute to the Jaffna Man, Dr. Holmes has said "Since a book on Jaffna should be printed in Jaffna, this book was printed by St. Josephs Catholic Press, Jaffna. Every

volume was bound by hand after each cover was individually made."

The book has been published by The Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society of Jaffna College, and is available at most bookesellers and the C.L.S. Bookshop, Hospital Road, Jaffna for purchase. Dr. Holmes, in his preface to the book, has said that he would be very happy to hear from readers "who differ from views and also from those who can correct, clarify or add to my facts". His address is given as: Assembly Point, Route 1, Lake George, New York, U.S.A. 12845.

**Devaratnam Danforth.**



REJOINDER

## Kahawita & Mahaweli

This is a reply to Mr. Kahawita's article in the *Tribune* of December 20, 1980. (Vol. 25 No. 23.)

THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME that Mr. R. Kahawita has sounded caution about the Accelerated Mahaweli Programme. In any Democracy, it is the rightful privilege of any citizen, to criticise policies and programmes adopted by governments.

The main theme in the criticism is the assumption that Kotmale dam is to be permanently lowered from the originally proposed height. This in itself is a wrong assumption. The proposal that is being considered is whether it is reasonably technically feasible to generate a hydro electric power from a dam before it is complete to the originally planned height and if so what will be its economic justification. In the evaluation, the prospect of the possibility of saving additional thermal power generation requirement will be taken into consideration. Thus at no stage does the Government intend to lower the level of Kotmale Reservoir's full supply level less than originally planned. On the other hand, it inquires whether power generation can commence even before the completion of the total project, which possibility, I am sure, both Mr. Kahawita and Mr. Maithripala Senanayake will not want overlooked.

**Thus Kotmale will cater to the maximum capacity of water that can be safely**

stored within the reservoir. Even so, the diversion to the Kalawewa area will be firmed by not more than 15% of the present diversion. This firming up will be absorbed in the 20,000 ac. in System D under the Kaudulla expansion. The present strain on the system is that IH system and Huruluwewa has to be supplied from the present diversion.

IN THE MASTER PLAN, Huruluwewa will be augmented from the NCP Canal getting its water from Moragahakanda. The article seems to imply that both Mr. Senanayake and Mr. Kahawita are under the misconception that Moragahakanda is to be deleted from the Mahaweli programme. This is not so.

It is certain that both of them will be as anxious as anyone else to convey as much water as is possible to the northern systems as conceived in the Mahaweli Master Plan. It is well known that in the economic evaluation of the systems and the phasings, the development of the northern system was considered to be the most expensive. Thus it is logical that the system to be adopted to take water to the northern systems must, in the long run, be the most economic and the most profitable one. Government with the assistance of USAID has engaged a competent consortium of consultants to undertake the study of this.

It must be mentioned that the consultants are of the opinion that conveying the surplus water of the Mahaweli from some point below Randenigala to the Elahera canal is both technically and economically feasible. Naturally, more detailed studies have to be done. This proposal will be far superior to either the UNDP proposal or the NEDECO proposal of two stage pumping. The new proposal of conveying water directly to the Elahera Canal will relieve the G D1 D2 systems from depending on Moragahakanda for its water supplies and therefore enable all of the Ambangana's water resources (after diversion to H) to be diverted to the northern system. Any quantity required to supplement this can be pumped from the Mahaweli L.B. Transbasin diversion to the NCP transbasin canal leading from Moragahakanda.

Until the economic feasibility of the diversion system to be adopted to convey surplus Mahaweli waters from Victoria and Randenigala to the G and D and perhaps the northern systems is finalised, the final para-

meters to be adopted for Moragahakanda will remain undecided.

Mr. Kahawita seems to overlook the logicity of developing the Mahaweli basin itself before developing the northern system. Mr. Senanayake may support the author's view for political reasons but from the article it implies that the author is more inclined to consider technical reasons than be biased by politics.

In regard to the many historic places that are likely to get inundated by Victoria reservoir must be considered a hazard of development. Is our memory and national pride so short as to remember only the last King of Kandy? Should not we consider important that we should resurrect the glories of Polonnaruwa, the Maduru Oya Basin and the Mahaweli Basin itself that got developed from the 2nd century? Those were also Sinhalese kings who were of even greater significance than our last king.

There is a natural tendency to discuss and debate topics to much greater lengths than is justifiable. We should no doubt review and consider investment of large magnitude from all aspects, but let us not spend all the time in debate.

The truth can never be seen until all is known. To know all is near impossible. Perhaps that is why truth is so elusive.

**Gamini Dissanayake**

\* \* \*

MUSINGS FROM SRI LANKAPORE

## Kalawana Mystique

Those who were privileged to be in the invited audience at the Marga Institute on Wednesday January 21st were treated to a fascinating and many-splendoured exposition for two-and-a-half breathless hours of the many mysteries which go to make up the baffling riddle of the Kalawana seat and the inscrutable, though ill-fated, Third Amendment. The proceedings were refreshingly uninhibited by fear or favour, and provided lucid enlightenment at a learned level, which the English daily press in this country is apparently unable, unwilling or feels constrained in some fashion to supply. This gap is particularly galling in a situation where the legislature has become no more and no less than a sounding

board for the one-sided display of constitutional sophistry and political legerdemain couched in the language of primary intimidation and the vocabulary of *force majeure*. In addition to parliamentary sleight-of-hand, those in the seats of power who should know better or, at least be properly advised, are in the habit of spouting consummate inanities and commonplace trivialities with a profound air at every street corner, instead of minding the legitimate business of government with a serene detachment and a discreet deliberation befitting a Dharmista regime in this traditional homeland of the Theravada faith.

The Marga Seminar was a breath of fresh air in this polluted climate, dropping like gentle dew on foetid ground. The four panelists (the irrepressible S. Nadesan, the redoubtable Colvin R. de Silva, the doughty W. Dahanayake, and the indomitable Felix Dias Bandaranaike) addressed themselves to each curious twist and devious turn of constitutional misinterpretation and worse, compounded by political cowardice, and made it abundantly clear that the supposedly legal enigma and constitutional impasse were the unavoidable outcome of the governing party wishing to avoid a crucial by-election. Once committed to falling in line with the alleged *faux pas* of the Speaker's ruling, the constitutional prestidigitation which followed was a *fait accompli*. The prestigators were hoist with their own petard.

Mr. Nadesan who, by his advocacy on behalf of the Civil Rights Movement before the Supreme Court, has a just claim to be dubbed the real hero of the Kalawana melodrama, presented a meticulously argued paper on "Kalawana—the questions that remain", and raised no less than thirty-six "obvious questions that come to mind." His professional inquisition provided both a searing and disquieting expose of a virtually omnipotent Executive President and his Legislature stewing in a constitutional juice of their own concoction. Since there were some other obvious questions which inevitably present themselves to the detached observer no less than to the passionate participant I hope I may be permitted the indulgence of this column to pose them in the public gaze.

Subsequent to Mr. Pilapitiya's not entirely unexpected *volte face* on 15th January 1981 (*vide* his three letters), the President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka

in his immediate public statements and comments said in this sequence as reported and not denied hitherto. The Commissioner of Parliamentary Elections was asked what the Referendum would cost and replied it would be approximately Rs. 50 million. Mr. Pilapitiya was, thereupon, requested to resign and save the country this massive expenditure. Mr. Pilapitiya by virtue of this meritorious action, becomes a "patriot", in as much as he was also legally entitled to keep his seat.

The following questions arise: (1) Were the President, the Prime Minister and members of the Government unaware of the cost of a National Referendum, amounting to a mini General Election, before the Third Amendment Bill was passed in Parliament with a two-thirds majority on January 6th or before the result of the Kalawana seat was declared on January 13th at 3.25 a.m.?; (2) If the Commissioner of Parliamentary Elections had replied that the cost of the Referendum would have been only Rs. 1 million or in the alternative a friendly government had undertaken to finance it, would the President have requested Mr. Pilapitiya to resign?; (3) If Mr. Lionel Gunasekera had won the Kalawana by-election, would Mr. Pilapitiya have been instructed to resign, or would there have been two persons vying for "patriot" status?; (4) Does not all this lend considerable colour to the famous dictum that "Patriotism is sometimes the last refuge of the scoundrel?"

To a literate public and a politically conscious citizenry grown weary of an unending diet of resounding stupidity in high places and appalled by the clamorous lacuna between glossy handout and lack-lustre performance, the confusion worse confounded over the Kalawana issue has been a spectacular eye-opener. They have been close witness to an unedifying and unprecedented piece of national theatre verging on broad farce, in which a powerful Government has had to back-track, swallow its words and eat humble pie. The election of the Communist Party candidate to the Kalawana seat may mark a turning point in the reckless career of an opportunist regime. At any rate the entry of the first Marxist member to the First parliament of the Second (Gaullist) Republic of Sri Lanka will provide, sooner or later, a singular authenticity to the operative words in the new title of this long-suffering island republic.

**Richard Lee.**

## How True Are Our Claims?

By R. Kahawita

The *Ceylon Daily News* of fifth instant carried these Headlines:— **“U.N.P., M.P.s do not misuse their Power”**—Minister. The paper reported that the Minister for Rural Development—Mrs. Wimala Kannan-gara speaking at Nuwagala, Galigamuwa electorate said *“Unlike Ministers and M.P.s of the former Government, those of our Government i.e. our Ministers and M.P.s do not misuse their power nor do they order their Officers to carry out tasks that may cause harm or inconvenience to people.”* We all expected this to be so when we set out to establish a Dharmista Society. But what we experience at the hands of our M.P.s is quite different to the claims of our fair Minister for Rural Development. We are compelled to say so because we know of several cases where our M.P.s have interfered with the legitimate duties of Public Officers to cause loss and inconvenience to the people.

**We do not want to mention particular instances here. If any V.I.P. desires to have the particulars, we are ready to submit all the details, to substantiate our statement, through the Editor of the Tribune. We have no malice; our desire is to plough the Dharmista Society furrow which we promised the people when we asked for their support. Their faith in us to do this is fast eroding and our credibility is being challenged.**

There are instances, particularly in rectifying the misdeeds of the previous Government, under the guise of Land Reforms, ceiling on housing, employment etc. where some people have suffered and others had their full cake according to the whims and fancy of the then M.P.s. Some of these were publicized in the hearings of the Presidential Commissions. But have not gone beyond.

OUR GOVERNMENT was alive to these hardships. Hence within the year of our coming to power we appointed, commissions and committees to go into these cases and grant relief where the action of the “Previous Government” was questionable. In many cases relief has been recommended to the respective Ministers and the Ministers have

acted on such recommendations and issued instructions to grant relief to the aggrieved. But some M.P.s have interfered with the Officers in carrying out the ministerial orders. What is the result? The people have to go to court to establish their rights. All this expenditure and inconvenience to the people, are unnecessary if the Officers were allowed to carry out their duties. To our understanding this is ‘Misuse of Power’ by an M.P. or V.I.P. *Because of this experience, we say what the Minister for Rural Development said is not quite true, though it is a very desirable situation to aspire to.*

A few days ago we heard an Officer saying—*“How can we appear in Court and say—“So and so is obstructing us from carrying out the Minister’s orders; so we frame an untenable premise in answer to court, causing much annoyance, inconvenience and expenditure to the persons concerned.”*

This is true in many an instance where the “previous Government” victimized our supporters and where the investigating committees and commissions have recommended granting of relief. But some of our M.P.s, for some reason or other, are preventing the Officers carrying out their Minister’s orders. This is the kind of action the Minister for Rural Development described as “Maha papa-kerun”.

One individual who has gone to Court to establish his rights says, *“We know where we stood with the previous Government”. “They said, they would do this or that, or take away this property etc, and they did it right or wrong.”* The matter ended there and the people gave up any hope of redress. *“With the present Government we do not know where we stand because of the interference by the M.P.s”. We have gone through three and half years of our term of office, but the wounds inflicted by the previous Government are there “causing harm and inconvenience to the people.”* Which our Minister for Rural Development does not seem to be aware of whom pointing an accusing finger at the “Previous Government”. This is no relief to them. That Government was thrown out three and a half years ago.

We are commenting on this subject, because of the Minister’s statement, to record that things are not so. We hope the good name of this Government is protected and the few M.P.s will take to heart not misuse

to graduates who join the SLAS on a recommendation of the Minister of Education, Employment and Youth Affairs—CDN. The Department of Census and Statistics has finalised arrangements for the preliminary Census of Population and Housing from March 1 to March 10—CDM. Five major political parties will hold a joint May Day rally this year; this was decided at a meeting of representatives of the five parties held on Tuesday at the SLFP headquarters at Darley Road—SU. The government has come forward to give financial assistance to Hindu temples and Hindu Organisations for the welfare of such temples and organisations—VK.

**FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 20:** Health Minister Gamani Jayasuriya is considering a proposal to decentralise the anaesthetists' pool in the Colombo General Hospital to solve the problem of long waiting lists for routine operations in the Colombo Group of Hospitals—CDN. The construction of working class and middle class housing schemes will be given priority by the Government this year—CDN. The entire industrial sector and commercial establishments in the country will again have to face a tremendous increase in their monthly electricity bills from next month, the Ceylon Electricity Board warned yesterday that the fuel adjustment charges which are levied in addition to the charges for the electricity consumed would be increased by nearly 100 per cent. Students of the Jaffna University yesterday staged a demonstration against the admission scheme to the varsities. The Police and the Sri Lanka Bar Association at recent discussions have agreed on certain guidelines to which will stick in order to "improve" relations between the Police and legal community in the country—SU. The Deputy Minister of the Agricultural Development and Research Mr. K. D. M. C. Bandara said in Parliament yesterday the Land Development Act introduced by the previous regime will be used for the same purpose by this government as was intended by the previous government; he further said that there were certain shortcomings in the Act which will be rectified shortly—VK.

**SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21:** Deputy Minister of Higher Education A. M. R. B. Attanayake yesterday assured Parliament there had been no irregularities in the selection of students for admission to Universities; he said the University Grants Commission had to

work under tremendous pressure to finalise the admissions in view of the limited time the Grants Commission could not be blamed for any shortcomings. The District Court of Colombo yesterday dismissed with costs the application made by the Land Reform Commission to dissolve an enjoining order which the Court had issued in January 28 granting Grand Central Ltd., the management of 32,000 acres of tea and rubber land here. The Lunugamvehera project, which was estimated to cost Rs. 900 million; will now cost Rs. 1530 million because of escalated costs; this is a serious problem the government has to contend with; Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel told newsmen yesterday—CDN. An upward revision of the salaries of professionals, including doctors and engineers, is in the offing; according to informed sources this move is aimed at preventing the exodus of professionals to foreign countries; several Ministries have recommended a revision of salaries of the professionals—CDM. Young Sri Lankan girls have become the latest recruits of big-time drug smugglers bringing in hashish and opiates from the infamous "Golden Crescent" (region round Pakistan and Afghanistan) into the country customs sources said yesterday. Several State industrial concerns will be asked to use wood charcoal in a bid to curb the consumption of fuel; a top level government Committee is now studying the lines on which this alternative energy source should be introduced; a report from the Ministry of Lands and Land Development before the Committee lists the Ceylon Cement Corporation's factories at Puttalam and Kankasanturai, the State Plantations Corporation, the Janatha Estate Development Board and the Ceylon Ceramics Corporation as some of the state concerns where the use of wood charcoal could minimise the use of fuel. A White paper on the proposed establishment of Sanghadikarana Sabhas to sanction the state authority and the extension of the states' enforcement apparatus to ensure that the decision of the Buddhist Priesthood in connection with compliance with the Vinaya and Kathika watha Codes, was presented in Parliament by Cultural Affairs Minister E.L. B. Hurulle—SU.

**SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 22:** The power crisis gripping the country is absolutely desperate and the Ceylon Electricity Board fears that a total island-wide blackout may overtake Sri Lanka after the first week of April, this will mean that water supplies, sewerage disposal



and all industrial activity will come to a complete halt. A warm welcome awaits the Crown Prince and Princess of Japan Prince Akihito and Princess Michiko when they arrive in Sri Lanka on March 2, as guests of honour at the National Day celebrations to be held on March 4, exactly six decades after the last imperial Japanese visit. The Surgical Intensive Care Unit of the General Hospital Colombo is to be re-structured updated and better equipped to cater to patients seeking cardio vascular surgery—SO. The Ministry of Textile Industries will strictly enforce regulations that all textiles imported by garment manufacturers should have the stamp "not for sale" in the selvedge of the fabric and also carry the name of the manufacturer. The Government is considering a proposal to set up an anti-Corruption Unit directly under the President; the unit will comprise the Auditor-General the Commissioner of Inland Revenue, the Attorney-General and Police Officers of the rank of Deputy Inspector General; the high-powered anti-corruption unit will be modelled on the lines of the unit operating in Singapore which is answerable only to the Prime Minister on all matters. A Swede proposes to manufacture Maldive fish on a big scale in Sri Lanka in collaboration with a local entrepreneur; he proposes manufacture 100,000 lbs of Maldive fish annually, at a cost of Rs. 1,045 million—ST. A collegiate level education will shortly replace the G.C.E. Advanced Level system; this new level of education which will fail outside general education and will prepare students for the universities and other higher academically oriented educational institutions. The Ceylon Electricity Board has been compelled to immediately halt the issuing of new power connections to fresh constructions in the city and the Greater Colombo area—VK.

Official Exchange Rates of Commercial Banks to their customers for Telegraphic Transfers fixed on Tuesday this week were as follows:—

CURRENCY	PER 100 UNITS	
	Buying Rate	Selling Rate
U.S. Dollar	Rs. 1812.50	Rs. 1815.50
Sterling Pound	Rs. 4239.00	Rs. 4245.00
Deutsche Mark	Rs. 845.70	Rs. 847.30
French Franc	Rs. 367.00	Rs. 367.70
Japanese Yen	Rs. 8.9150	Rs. 8.9300
Indian Rupees	Rs. 222.30	Rs. 222.70

Govt.



Notices.

**The Land Acquisition Act (Cap. 460) As Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 Of 1964. Notice Under Section 7**

Ref. No: 3/61/203  
03J.76 L.849

It is intended to acquire the Land/Lands described in the Schedule below. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 130 (Part III) of 27.02.1981.

**Schedule**

*Name of Village etc.:* Gangoda village in Mayurawathi Korale, Kuliypitiya D.R.O.'s Division, Kurunegala District.

*Name of Land:* Kotuwewela Kumbura  
*Plan and Lot No:* Lot Nos. 4, 5 and 6 in Supplement No. 1 in F.V.P. 948

**H. M. W. Chandraratne**

District Land Officer, Kurunegala District.  
The Kachcheri,  
Kurunegala. 30th January 1981

My No. EA/3/327

**The Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) As Amended By The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act. No. 28 Of 1964 Notice Under Section 7**

It is intended to acquire the land described below for a public purpose. For further particulars, please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 130 (Part III) of 27-02-1981.

*Situation:* Situated in the village of Kuda Heenatiyangala in Ward No. Kuda Heenatiyangala and Ward No. 4 Basket Hall within the U.C. Limits of Kalutara in the D.R.O's Division of Kalutara Totamuna North in Kalutara District Western Province.

*Name of land:* 1. Welabodawatta assmt. No. 33 De Alwis IPlace.

2. Anikkawatta Assmt. No. 44/4 Marikkar Street, Names of lands No. 3 to 13 contd. in page 2

*Lots & Plan No:* Lots 1 to 13 shown in S.G.'s Plan No. P.P. Ka 1749.

**Mahinda Gammampila**

Asst. Govt. Agent, Kalutara District.  
Kalutara Kachcheri, 12th February, 1981.

TRIBUNE, February 28, 1981

# Confidentially

## Tobacco-2

IS IT NOT TRUE that the disclosure made in this column last week that the plantations which produce tobacco for the Ceylon Tobacco Company (CTC) denude the country of at least 500 acres of prime forest for firewood to cure the tobacco? That the curing of tobacco in this country is done entirely in depots set up, owned, controlled and managed by the CTC? That the "charge" has been made in an official publication of the Mahaweli Ministry that 500 acres of jungle trees are destroyed every year by the tobacco plantations—and nearly cent per cent of them is under the umbrella of the "financed farming" of the CTC—and so far there has been no come back or denial from the CTC? That even if a single argument can be adduced to meet this charge, the CTC's powerful media howitzers would have been let loose on the unsuspecting public? That the "charge" is probably an understatement because Walter S. Ross in his article "Let's Stop Exporting The Smoking Epidemic" (*Readers Digest*, May 1980) published elsewhere in this issue states that to "flue-cure" the leaf an acre of trees had to be burnt for each acre of tobacco grown? That on this basis the trees required for "flue-curing" all the tobacco now produced in Sri Lanka will cover much more than 500 acres of forest? That as we mentioned in this column last week the CTC meets not only the campaign pointing out the health hazards of smoking but also the charge of denuding the forest cover by roundabout "goodwill" and "prestige" advertising and other "promotional" gimmicks?

THAT ONE SUCH MAJOR GIMMICK is to pretend to be "genuinely" concerned about the economic development of the country—although Walter S. Ross shows very clearly that in Third World countries Tobacco multinationals are only interested in maximising their profits—unfortunately at the expense of the interests of the nations concerned? That, in Sri Lanka the print media and the commercial radio have for decades carried advertisements seeking to popularise particular

brands of cigarettes—all from the same multinational which has been assigned this region as its subject territory by the B g seven: in world tobacco? That in addition all the other customary advertising "aids"—bill boards, posters, cinema slides, filmlets, diaries, calendars, ashtrays, give-aways and the like—have been freely used?

THAT MINISTER ANANDATISSA DE ALWIS has wisely barred Tobacco advertising on the TV but the CTC gets round this ban by a device that is transparently thin? That sponsoring TV filmlets on Test and other cricket matches is one such smokescreen? But more blatant is the one referred to in this column last week—viz., the showing of a TV film on the settlers in Mahaweli Project in area H9? That the CTC, unfortunately, was permitted to take over the managing agency for the settlement scheme in the 5000-acre area H9? with the blessings of government not yet alive to the dangers of smoking to national health or the subversive proclivities of multinationals *vis a vis* the economy? That the TV film referred to last week was all about the wonderful work of this managing agency work—there are several multinationals which will be willing to do the same if they can make a fraction of the profits the CTC makes out of curing and exporting of tobacco, as well as the making and selling of cigarettes? That this attempt to project the image of the CTC as part of the national development managerial infrastructure is intended to be an "insurance cover" to continue its baneful activities to ruin the nation's health and slowly destroy the country's remaining forest cover? That this is not all? That large tracts of forest reserves have also been illicitly encroached upon by squatters who have been financed by the CTC to grow tobacco?

(To Be Continued)



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# FROM THE ATLAS OF THE CHILD

Of the 2,094,815 households in Sri Lanka 1970— 56% were adequate in both ENERGY & PROTEIN, 13% were adequate only in ENERGY, 2% were adequate only in PROTEIN, 44% containing 7.5 MILLION of our people were DIET-DEFICIENT in either energy or protein or both.

Subsidised grain have contributed greatly to lessen the impact of poverty. The food subsidy provided by government has grown from Rs.614 million in 1971, to Rs.2,074 million in 1978.

Our infant mortality rate of 43.7% per 1,000 is significantly lower than that of many others in the developing world; but it is nevertheless painfully higher than the 20's of the developed countries.

Government is vigorously implementing schemes for the low-cost production of nutrients and schemes for providing pregnant or lactating mothers and infants with protein-fortified Milk foods.

ISSUED BY MINISTRY OF PLAN IMPLEMENTATION.