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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Kalawana Postscript—3

THE WAY THE DIFFERENT PARTIES and persons have reacted to the Kalawana episode provides an insight into the contemporary politics of Sri Lanka. We shall publish extracts from the statements of different parties and excerpts from papers and journals relevant to the matters under discussion. This week we will examine the UNP view.

One question that has been the forefront of discussion is whether the *Tribune* verdict that Kalawana was "a major defeat for the UNP" is correct. We have already explained earlier why we had come to this conclusion. We publish below a contrary view from the pen of *Chanakya* who writes the main political column for Lake House publications. For purposes of record and for the benefit of readers who may not have read this piece in the *Sunday Observer* (18.1.81), we publish the "Political Commentary" *in extenso*:

"Time 3 a.m. on January 13. Place: Ratnapura, Town Hall. Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama who won the Kalawana Seat with a majority of 2,413 began his victory speech to the accompaniment of cheers from his supporters. Perhaps because there was no contest between parties at Kalawana only about a quarter of the crowd that normally turns up to listen to the results of a by-election was assembled in the grounds opposite the Town Hall. Messrs Nanda Ellawela and Vijaya Kumaranatunga who were among the crowd periodically roused their supporters to bouts of cheering. Mr. Muttetuwegama in his victory speech attacked the President, UNP leaders and his principal opponent in harsh terms. But was that all. He next turned his guns on this columnist. 'An agent of the President who writes in the *Silumina* as *Chanakya* has written lies and even at 10 o'clock last night has phoned Colombo and told them that that man (Mr. Gunasekera) will win' were Mr. Muttetuwegama's words (the exact Sinhala words with which he described Mr. Gunasekera was 'aroo').

"At these words Mr. Muttetuwegama's supporters began shouting 'There's the Lake House car. Stone it', and started hurling stones at the car. A senior provincial police officer had two of his fingers injured when he tried to stop a stone hurled at the rear windscreen of the car. This act of the C.P. supporters was a pointless attempt to find a scapegoat for this columnist was nowhere near the vehicle. What made Mr. Muttetuwegama and his supporters burn with such fury towards this columnist?

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

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"This fury is traceable to the following lines written in the *Sunday Observer* and *Silumina* by us following a tour of Kalawana in which we attempted to discover how realistic was the boast propaganda both here and abroad that Mr. Muttetuwegama would win the Kalawana seat by 10,000 votes making all other candidates forfeit their deposits because of the acute public displeasure over the Government's performance: 'We also realised on this tour that the UNP branches, youth leagues and women's leagues were as solidly organised as in 1977. There is no doubt that if UNP organisations at village level decided to support any other candidate Mr. Muttetuwegama will have to strain every muscle to win every possible vote.'

"The election result amply bears out that this was merely a statement of fact. The thinking people of this country will no doubt ponder over the implications of this attempt to incite violence against journalists and newspaper institutions merely because they have been bold enough to speak the truth. Because of Mr. Muttetuwegama's speech and the sub-

sequent display of mob violence, we too, are compelled to reveal some of the tactics adopted by the CP to win the by-election at any cost. On the morning of January 11, Mr. Pilapitiya received a telephone call from Niriella. The call was to the effect that the village monk and several other bhikkus from outside were raising a caste issue and misleading voters. The voters were being told that from 1965 'Pilapitiya Appe' and 'Sarath Appe' had represented Kalawana and if they could not vote for 'Sarath Appe' they should refrain from voting, but not do anything disgraceful, Mr. Pilapitiya was informed.

"On hearing this Mr. Pilapitiya invited former MP Harold Weragama too, to come to Niriella and went there himself to talk to the elderly constituents of this village. He explained the position, won their support (there was a bloc of about 200 votes there) and returned to Manana only to be greeted by some more bad news. He heard that although no bhikkus had appeared openly on platforms in support of the CP candidate

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bhikkus had gone from village to village in that 72-mile constituency and asked the people to vote for 'Sarath Appe' in the absence of 'Pilapitiya Appe' or not vote at all.

"The fact that the percentage of voters had gone down from 90 percent to 83 percent shows that about 1500 of those who had voted for Mr. Pilapitiya in 1977 had kept away from the polls as a result of this propaganda. Of course, no statistics are available about how many voters were dissuaded from voting for Mr. Gunasekera on grounds of caste. The CP was able to manoeuvre this propaganda so skilfully that people of one caste living in a village were unaware of the propaganda carried out in another village amongst a different caste. As a result the cancer of casteism which was retreating from Sri Lanka's political scene was fostered even in secret by the CP. The clock was put back by 25 years. The flowing river of Mr. Bandaranaike's metaphor began flowing backwards."

CHANAKYA is rightly indignant that he was the target of attack by supporters of the winning candidate, and he says that because of Mr. Muttetuwegama's speech and the subsequent display of violence, he was compelled to reveal some of the tactics adopted by the CP to win the by-election. Should he not have revealed these "tactics" as a political commentator even if Muttetuwegama had not attacked him personally. He has done a service by referring to incidents which reveal the caste basis of the Kalawana election and this is true of all elections in the island.

Chanakya went on: "The CP which displayed the MPs of the SLFP and TULF and former SLFP Ministers on its platform did not allow Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara, the leader of the Nava Samasamaja Party and a former MP of the adjoining Kiriella constituency (now Eheliyagoda) to appear on its platform. Why wasn't the NSSP leader not allowed to speak? The reason was that the following lines from a statement issued by Messrs Nanayakkara and Vikramabahu Karunaratne on behalf of their party had roused the ire of the LSSP and SLFP. 'The whole country today accepts that the UNP scored such an overwhelming victory in 1977 humbling such red citadels as not only Kalawana but also Eheliyagoda, Ratnapura, Yatiyantota, Ruwanwella, Akuressa etc. because of the mistake committed by the Left of entering into a coalition incapable of solving the people's problems with a bourgeois

political party like the SLFP. Marxists mindful of this bitter history should prevent Left parties from again slipping into such a position. If there is any attempt to pave the way for such a realignment through the Kalawana by-election such an attempt must be defeated.'

"Though attempts were made even to prevent the distribution of this leaflet in some areas the document with the exception of the above paragraphs was carried with Mr. Nanayakkara's photograph in the CP newspaper. This, too, must be seen as a subtle propaganda attempt, though not on the same scale as the propaganda of the bhikkus. While MPs of the SLFP and TULF, former Ministers and prominent Left leaders like Dr. Colvin R. de Silva and Pieter Keuneman appeared on CP platforms only village-level speakers were available for the campaign of Mr. Lionel Gunasekera. Therefore musical shows were organised at three of his meetings. Lo and behold! The CP too, began having musical shows to draw crowds for their meetings addressed by all political leaders opposed to the UNP."

Chanakya thus brings to newspaper readers the undercurrents present in elections in Sri Lanka, and he concludes that the Kalawana by-election only revealed that the UNP was still all powerful and supreme at the village level. His self-assurance is infectious, but such cocksureness sometimes boomerangs. His *obiter dicta* is strong and powerful: "We have revealed those facts not as a post-mortem on the by-election, but because Mr. Muttetuwegama himself thought it fit to give vent in his victory speech to the fury he felt at this columnist demonstrating the reality of the by-election long before polling day. One thing is clear from the result. Never before has the UNP's strength at village level been demonstrated so convincingly. Let us for a moment forget the lesson of the 11000 odd votes signifying the plight of the CP if only the UNP had fielded a candidate (whoever he may have been) and conducted a campaign on the lines of Anamaduwa.

"The people of Kalawana know fully well by how much Mr. Gunasekera's 11000 odd votes would have increased if only the UNP had pledged its support for him (not at village level but officially) and the President and Prime Minister had addressed meetings at Ayagama, Manana, Potupitiya and Koswatte on January 8th and 10th. At Kalawana the

elephant merely wagged its tail. But, if in the President's expression the UNP had chosen to wag its trunk instead, the by-election result has demonstrated to the country what the final outcome would have been. POST-SCRIPT: *Chanakya* thanks the Police Officers who intervened to save the Lake House car and its personnel from the mob attack and the SLFP daily *Dinakara* for reporting the incident on its front page and placing it on record."

CHANAKYA HAS CARRIED this battle further. In his piece in the *Sunday Observer* on 25.1.81, he was at pains to state that at Madurai the Communist Party of India (CPI)—Moscow wing—had actually helped the Ceylon Eelam boys to put up stalls, distribute leaflets and generally endorse the idea of carving out a separate Eelam state in this island. Where *Chanakya* got this information is hard to say, and he cites a Tamil participant as one source. Newspapers from Madurai and South India have not reported this and the CP both here and in India have openly opposed separatism and secessionism. Now that this "revelation" has been made after the CP candidate's incitement to violence against journalist *Chanakya*, it is for the CPSL to say whether its counterpart in India, the CPI, did indeed play the part alleged by *Chanakya*. The next issue of *Forward* should have some interesting comments on *Chanakya's* determination to "teach a lesson" to the CPSL for the way it had behaved during and after the Kalawana by-election.

IN THE MEANTIME, *The (UNP) Journal* of January 23 had two interesting pieces: (1) **KALAWANA—A PYRRHIC VICTORY** and (2) **WAS SLFP THE REAL LOSER AT KALAWANA?** The first article adumbrated in clear terms: "The resignation of UNP MP, Abeyratne Pilapitiya, as nominated MP for Kalawana, paving the way for Sarath Muttetuwegama of the Sri Lanka Communist Party to represent Kalawana as the elected MP, once more underlines the United National Party's firm commitment to democracy. The circumstances leading to Pilapitiya's nomination needs brief recapitulation to set the record straight. He won the Kalawana seat at the 1977 General Election. Subsequently, an election petition was filed against him. While the petition was pending, Abeyratne Pilapitiya was involved in a serious motor accident. It resulted in his being absent from Parliament for over

three months. His absence was not supported by leave from the House, so he forfeited his right to represent Kalawana. However, under the new Constitution, a seat rendered vacant in such a manner could be filled by the Party to which the MP belonged. As such the UNP chose to nominate Mr. Pilapitiya for the vacant seat.

"Mr. Pilapitiya was nominated MP for Kalawana when the courts unseated him as elected MP for Kalawana at the July 1977 elections. Following the election petition verdict, the Commissioner of Elections declared the seat vacant and set a date for nominations. In the meantime, Abeyratne Pilapitiya successfully petitioned the Speaker, who reaffirmed that he was the MP for Kalawana by virtue of his nomination by the UNP under the new Constitution. Faced with a situation in which a by-election was pending for a single member constituency already represented by Pilapitiya as nominated MP, the matter was referred to courts by the government to determine what the status of the successful candidate at the Kalawana by-election would be. The Supreme Court held that the successful candidate could also represent Kalawana provided that such representation was approved by a two-third majority vote in Parliament and subsequently endorsed at a referendum. The government pledged itself to take such a course of action to ensure that the people's choice at the Kalawana by-election would also represent that constituency. As Abeyratne Pilapitiya was a member of the UNP, the party did not nominate a candidate for the by-election which was contested by the Sri Lanka Communist Party candidate, Sarath Muttetuwegama, backed by the entire Opposition, and a number of Independents. The UNP as stated earlier, did not contest the by-election.....

"During the course of the by-election campaign, one Independent Lionel Gunasekera, pledged to support the UNP government if elected, and work along with the UNP nominated MP Abeyratne Pilapitiya for the development of the electorate. However, the United National Party, consistent with its stand of not nominating a candidate to contest the by-election, did not bring its big guns or supporting artillery to the firing line at Kalawana. In direct contrast, the entire Opposition threw its weight behind Sarath Muttetuwegama, the Sri Lanka Com-

munist Party candidate. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, the Tamil United Liberation Front, the Ceylon Communist Party and the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna virtually the entire political Opposition with the exception of the JVP, pitted itself in depth on behalf of Sarath Muttetuwegama. And the result? A Pyrrhic victory for the Communist candidate by only 2,600 votes! (really 2,403—Ed.)

"It must be remembered that at the 1977 General Election, Sarath Muttetuwegama, pitted against Abeyratne Pilapitiya of the UNP, polled 10,136. The SLFP candidate Gauthamadasa polled 1,688 votes. The combined Communist and SLFP vote at that election was therefore, 11,804. Despite the fact that there were as much as 1996 new voters on the register at the by-election, and Muttetuwegama was the sole Opposition candidate, he received only 1,615 more votes this time than the combined CP and SLFP vote at the General Elections. Lionel Gunasekera, the principal Independent candidate pitted against him, polled as much as 11,016 votes! This astonishingly high vote was cast against the sole Opposition candidate despite the fact that the UNP did not contest the seat, did not mobilise its might at the by-election while the joint Opposition huffed and puffed straining every nerve. Against the realities of the actual results of the by-election after the result, was a new low in Opposition political comedy! The joint statement is replete with references to 'democracy' 'the sovereignty of the people', 'democratic liberties,' 'burdens of the poor' etc. etc." The signatories to the statement include Sirima Bandaranaike of the SLFP who has been disenfranchised and deprived of her civic rights by Parliament for abuse of power during her regime as Prime Minister, and the good doctor Colvin R. de Silva, whose party, the LSSP stands wiped out of the Parliamentary scene. The Sri Lanka Communist Party, to which Muttetuwegama belongs, was also a loyal prop of the infamous Sirima Bandaranaike government. The Tamil United Liberation Front seems to specialise in running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. No wonder eleven thousand voters of Kalawana gave a solid "no" to the Opposition. At the time of the by-election, another complicating factor would, no doubt, have been the fact that the UNP was already representing the electorate through the Nominated MP Abeyratne Pilapitiya.

"Against this background, few could contest the statement made by Minister Lalith Athulathmudali shortly after the by-election result, that had the UNP contested the seat, all indications were that they would have won it. Today, the position is that Abeyratne Pilapitiya as a loyal UNPer true to the principles of democracy has chosen to resign as nominated MP so that the elected MP can take his seat in Parliament without awaiting the results of a referendum. This, indeed, is democracy in action and not lip service to it through a smokescreen of words. It is in sharp and glaring contrast to the Sirima Bandaranaike government tactic of being elected to power for five years, and then, without reference to the people, extending the life of that Parliament by another two years using legalistic hair splitting arguments to justify such an undemocratic course of action. The UNP government through every step it took in the Kalawana affair, has explicitly shown itself to respect the law and the culmination of the Kalawana chapter has truly borne the stamp of its endeavours to bring about a dharma-mista society."

The UNP thus, with a touch of self-righteous logic re-assures itself that it has done everything very properly and in a "democratic" way. But must one try to touch one's nose by taking the arm right round the head?

THE SECOND ARTICLE was intended to give a sermon to the SLFP: "We will talk of the results of the Kalawana by-election in this article. Rather, we like to discuss the campaign that was carried out for the only party candidate, namely Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama of the Communist Party. Though the campaign was spear-headed by the Communist Party, more than half a dozen other political parties joined the election fray in support. In this hotch-potch apart from the avowed Marxists of varying hues (pink to scarlet), there were the blue-clad and blue-blooded SLFPers.

"From the word go in this campaign, it was a rift between the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the Communist Party. This was an outcome of the larger spectrum of current Sri Lankan politics. The Opposition reduced to incapacity and immobility after the 1977 General Election, tried various alignments within the last three years. But all these failed and after failure, all rushed to make statements blaming the others for the failure. The

actual failure lay somewhere else. The latest of these 'get-togethers' is the new five-party alliance, which failed to get the Communist Party into its fold. That is the background on which all these parties put their 'yeoman efforts' behind the only party candidate. Even while the CP and the SLFP were negotiating on the SLFP support for Kalawana, echoes of the rift were heard at a propaganda meeting of the CP held near the Kirilapone bridge. Many leading speakers, including the former Party Secretary, Pieter Keuneman, were critical of the SLFP. They said that they would extend their support to individual and specific campaigns. They made it clear that their support would not be to help build an alternative government to the ruling party.

"At Kalawana, at least one expected the CP supporters to adhere to their own stance of unstinted support on specific issues. One expected this, especially so in the Kalawana by-election. Even so, some of the CP speakers, while expecting unreserved support from the SLFP orators, thought it fit to make the by-election platform project their own stance. To the Communists (Cotta Road), the SLFP group in Parliament is ineffective. According to reports reaching us, the statement that had irked a section of the SLFP is that 'there isn't a single Member in Parliament to talk of the distressing problems of the masses.' Some of the SLPers feel that this was an affront to those SLFP MPs.

"Now that the Kalawana battle is over, political tele-lenses will be trained in other directions. To the Communist Party, the specific issue of getting together has ended in their favour at Kalawana. There the issue has ended. Will they now not hot up their campaign against the SLFP? Will they refuse to be a participant of the common front. A notable absentee at the Philip Gunawardena Commemoration meeting held on January 12 at the New Town Hall was the Communist Party of Sri Lanka. Indications are that the CP will refrain from joining the other political parties in the Opposition. Some of the critics of the CP action in Kalawana interpret the covert attack on SLFP as a shining example of 'biting the hand (SLFP symbol) that feeds'. There is also a section in the SLFP that feels that the Party deserves the CP sniping because, instead of trying their own strength or building it up, the Party succumbed to Marxist pressures at Kalawana. So the temporary get-together is over for the SLFP and the CP and on Monday night they parted ways, perhaps to

fight each other in the near future."

This article shows that the UNP is unhappy about any possibility of an anti-UNP election front and it misses no opportunity to prod the SLFP that it should not combine with the CPSL or the LSSP or the TULF.

Next week: **CPSL's Response.**

* * *

FILM FOCUS

Jaffna Cinemas

Amidst the hub and hurry of daily living and the sporadic robberies that catch the headlines of the Newspapers, nothing deters the Northerner from the only entertainment he imbibes to the full — the Cinema. Prodded on by the fairer sex who turn first to the daily film fare programmes in the secular press and keep abreast of the changes, the males perforce fall in line and as dusk falls, the queues lengthen at each cinema, with the overflow of one being absorbed by the other, due to the cheek by jowl proximity of the main cinemas studding the bazaar area. A visit to the cinema by womenfolk is done in all the finery and gold jewelleryes are not spared, for unlike their Colombo counterparts, who have them safely tucked away in bank vaults, these ornaments still remain the status symbol of the Jaffna home. Besides a new film in town is always a talking point at get-togethers and gatherings, till it has run its full course, and most programmes are adjusted to fit in a film before it pulls out of the Peninsula. Practically all the cinemas in town have a minimum of 4 shows, but the managements accommodate an extra show now and then so as not to disappoint their patrons who come to town braving the increased fares and the ever crowded transport services.

I used some of my off time from official work to visit the main cinemas and listen to the grouses that the managements may have, to appraise the National Film Corporation of the situation. While those cinemas that belong to the bigger circuits with their Head Offices in Colombo appear to be satisfied at the distribution of films in general, it is the private exhibitor who feels that having invested heavily in building a cinema, his voice is not heard sufficiently for him to collect the fruits of his labour. The frequency of new releases in each

cinema is watched jealously by the others, so much so that meticulous records are maintained in each theatre of how the general distribution of films proceed in the area around. If representatives of the NFC could peruse these records on their visits and make a relative study of the takings of each concern, then everyone in the business would be satisfied that justice prevails. A complaint or two trickled in that sudden changes of programmes are made by telegram at times by the NFC after the relevant Posters are released around the town, and confusion results, with the managements being at the receiving end of an annoyed public. Two glaring instances were mentioned to me, which are worth recording in this column and deserve a closer look by the Corporation. Many in the business and picturegoers expressed surprise that last years Presidential Award for the best maintained cinema in Jaffna was not given on merit, and the cause of some better cinemas had gone by the board. This column wishes that the NFC would do the assessment themselves in future instead of depending on the recommendations of an independent source, to avoid bias, hurry and perhaps a bureaucratic 'kiss'. In my opinion, the Windsor, Sridhar, Lido (a smaller cinema), Shanthi Rajah and Manohara in that order, kept up to proper standards while the others had the wear and tear of the years sitting on them. The second abuse, I was made aware of was the screening of the crowd puller "Mighty Himalayan Man" at a particular cinema twice at a very short interval that smacked of favouritism and rather glaringly so. "Imayam" is the new release just now, I noticed that whatever preventive action, the management took, tickets did slip out and were being hawked about at treble the normal rates. The "Wellington" manager was specific that if they could get some kind of assistance from the Police — who incidently enjoy certain ticket concessions — when new films are released, they could give off their best to the patrons. With this point of view I entirely agree, since cinemas are the venues that many gather daily more than once per day and bad hats and pickpockets mingle among them to make underworld 'hay', while the Police are away.

The daily takings from the North should speak for themselves and there is no denying that films keep tensions at bay. The NFC is doing an excellent job nevertheless, and these

few shortcomings may be righted. I would also like to commend to Chairman Anton Wickremasinghe, the desires of a few in Jaffna who would like to build more cinemas, if financial assistance is given, as land is available on the outskirts, which would also prevent picturegoers, commutting to the town always and adding to the congestion in the area. The net returns I am certain would be worthwhile for the NFC and the public at large. The video menace of new releases smuggled across from India is now reduced, with the Police remaining vigilant of this illicit activity, that undercuts both producers and distributors. Incidentally, I was happy to note that the Sinhalese film "Raktha" was receiving fair patronage in Jaffna.

A LITTLE ROMANCE (English): A very casual rambling encounter, a sweetly innocent smile with a piercing glance at each other, triggers off this story of teenage love, that catches the budding harmones offguard and lets the affair grow right up to Venice, where a kiss at sunset in a Gondola, under the Bridge of sighs and to the toll of the Campanile Bells would set a permanent seal on the attachment, come what may. There is a financial imbalance too, as the Beau (Thelonious Bernard), French and indigent with the knack of having his pennies on the right horses to gather a small fortune, while the Belle (Diane Lane) American and affluent, hails from a home where the martial ties are being held together by a slender thread. To bridge this little romance slips in that extremely versatile actor Sir Laurence Olivier, as an aging but notorious pickpocket and glib talker who goads the lovers on to the Godola in Venice, before giving himself up to the law. A delightful film which strings several tender moments and slightly naughty ones too with a "phallic" curiosity overtaking the youngsters as they shed the chrsallis of an uninhibited world. This is a film of unusual warmth for the family. See it together.

THE MAGNIFICENT 7 DEADLY SINS (English): Its some of the Carry on Gang who overrun this gem of a production, which crams in 7 little parodies that poke and prod with extreme sarcasm and fun on human behaviour patterns and failings which could be easily identified in our country as well. The "SINS" taken in by the animated camera are, Avarice, Envy, Gluttony, Lust, Pride, Sloth and Wrath in that order and sugared amusingly with relevant incidents that will keep you in good

humour. You may perhaps return home with a tinge of guilt and a pang of conscience. This film deserves better patronage and I hope outstation fans will keep a date for it. Given the time, I would sit this film out a second time for it sparkles without a moment's strain all the way!

James N. Benedict



VOA COMMENTARY

Talks On Afghanistan

Washington, Jan. 13,

Agha Shahi, Foreign Affairs Adviser to Pakistan's President Zia Ul-Haq, has taken an initiative to get the talks going. His proposal calls for early appointment of a special UN Representative, to be named by Secretary General Kurt Waldheim in keeping with a recent General Assembly resolution. And it suggests participation of present Afghan officials in their capacity as representatives of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

If the Afghans and the Soviets are ready for talks on this basis, it would undoubtedly be an important first step toward a solution. But, of course, any solution must go to the heart of the matter—which is the need to withdraw foreign troops from Afghanistan. There have been 85,000 Soviet troops on Afghan soil for more than a year, trying—without success—to subdue a nation with a long history of independence and non-alignment. The aim now must be to achieve what the November twentieth UN General Assembly resolution called for—foreign troops withdrawal and restoration of the “sovereignty,

territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan.”

In pursuing the Pakistani proposals, there are some dangers to be avoided. It would be a mistake, for instance, to bypass or dilute the UN resolution. It would be a mistake to allow Soviet officials to sidestep their responsibilities in resolving a crisis they created. And it would be a mistake to enhance the status of the Soviet-supported Afghan regime, a government that would quickly collapse without the backing of foreign troops.

What is clearly needed is an UN special Representative of recognized international stature. His mandate should derive from the November 20th resolution and the representative should consult the wisest range of parties interested in a peaceful solution. These parties include the various Afghan Nationalist factions whose co-operation is essential to an effective solution. They also include the Soviet Union and the United States, Pakistan, Iran and other South Asian nations and members of the Islamic Conference and Non-aligned Movement. Above all, the special representative's goal should remain what is already both simple and obvious: and independent Afghanistan free of foreign troops.

VOA / USICA.



COUNTERFEIT RESIDENT GUESTS

IS IT NOT TRUE that the country has been shocked by the discovery of a million rupees in forged Rs. 100 currency notes? That it is not known how much more has got into circulation? That it is an open secret that Sri Lanka is now an important clearing house in the international narcotics trade? That whispers in the underground indicate that narcotics, gold and gem smuggling, and counterfeit currency (including US \$) are operated by the same gang? That the Government will do well to investigate resident guests visa holders who are engaged in seemingly harmless business which activity however is contrary to visa conditions?

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. 1788.50	Rs. 1791.50
Sterling Pound	Rs. 4319.00	Rs. 4325.00
Deutsche Mark	Rs. 919.20	Rs. 920.88
French Franc	Rs. 397.15	Rs. 397.85
Japanese Yen	Rs. 8.8845	Rs. 8.8995
Indian Rupees	Rs. 229.05	Rs. 229.45

Obscene or.....?

ON THE COVER we have the voluptuous forms of two ladies from the frescoes in Sigiriya. But some readers have laid a wager that if identical large-size drawings of the female form are imported some bureaucrats in the Customs will impound them as obscene. The Customs have the right to seize and confiscate not only obscene printed matter but also, others which may offend the religious susceptibilities of any religious group—especially by bringing its founders or leaders into disrepute? Whilst nobody can quarrel with having such laws in the Statute Book, the people of this country have from time to time been astonished by the way the Customs authorities have exercised such discretionary powers.

The latest instance of such inexplicable behaviour is in regard to a book entitled *Buddhist Spectrum* by Marco Pallis. (We do not know whether saner counsel will prevail and the book is released before this issue of *Tribune* is on the newstands, but it is necessary to protest against the mere thought or stopping such a book at all). We believe that the only clause in the Customs Ordinance under which the book might have been stopped reads: "Any book or pamphlet which in the opinion of the Principal Collector of Customs contains disparaging and insulting reference to any religious teacher or teachings.....".

The first information about this book had come in the *Sunday Observer* of December 28, 1980. Entitled *ESSAYS ON BUDDHISM BY GREEK SCHOLAR*, the report had said: "A collection of essays titled 'Buddhist Spectrum' by an 84-year-old world renowned Greek Buddhist scholar is to be brought out in Colombo on January 8 by the Sri Lanka Institute of Traditional Studies in association with the London publishing house of George Allen and Unwin. The author of the book is Marco Pallis, who is described as the 'foremost living exponent of traditional philosophy in the English-speaking world.' The publication of the book is part of the campaign of the Institute to generate interest in traditional philosophy centring on the thoughts of Ananda Coomaraswamy.

"The Institute is planning to commission another book on this life of Prophet Mohamed, the Director of the Institute Ranjith Fernando

told the *Observer*. Marco Pallis had been a close friend of Coomaraswamy and is on the advisory board of the Institute. He has been a Buddhist since he was initiated into a sect of Tibetan Buddhism with which he had come into contact while mountaineering in the Himalayas. The result was two books *Peaks and Lamas* and *The Way and the Mountain*. Marco Pallis described the present book as 'not just another treatise on Buddhism but rather an attempt to deal with a number of Buddhist themes of prime importance in such a fashion as to make them a whole.' The book is priced at Rs. 375. It will be available up to January 8 at a special pre-publication price of Rs. 300. The Institute can be contacted at P.O. Box 1204, Colombo.....".

The next reference we read about this book was in the *Talking Point* column of the *Sunday Observer* of January 11, 1981. "The Sri Lanka Institute for Traditional Studies, in conjunction with the respected British publishing house of Allen and Unwin, has brought out a scholarly publication, *A Buddhist Spectrum* by Marco Phallis, one of the world's best-known Buddhist scholars. The long-awaited book arrived last week, but the Institute has not succeeded in clearing the copies. The Customs want to refer it to the Cultural Affairs authorities. The 84-year-old Phallis is hailed as a scholar in the mould of Ananda Coomaraswamy. But then, tin-pot bureaucratic deities are hardly likely to know that, would they? Hopefully, the books will be released this week—including a copy ruined by some feverish scribbling."

That was on January 11. On January 27, *Tribune* had a call from Mr. Ranjith Fernando, Director of the Sri Lanka Institute of Traditional Studies, to say that the books had still not been released. He wrote to us on the following day: "The books reached Katunayake on 7 January 1981 and when, on the following day, we tried to clear the consignment, the books were impounded by the Customs. The vague reason given was that they would have to look at the book to see if it offended Sri Lankan Buddhists in any way. We have, since then, ascertained from leading booksellers that books on Buddhism are not held for scrutiny in this way.

Please be assured that there is nothing in this book which could be considered objectionable from a Buddhist point of view; the Author's devotion to the Buddhist cause

is universally known and there is, in any case, no reference in the text to Sri Lankan Buddhism as such. Why then was this book singled out for special attention? This is an important question in addition to the more general one of Fundamental Rights in an allegedly democratic society. I enclose the relevant section of the Customs Ordinance, and a typewritten copy of the Minister of Justice, Dr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne's intervention in Parliament in the Adjournment Debate on 22 January. Despite the matter being raised in Parliament the books have not been released.

"You will observe that we have on our Board of Trustees two Sri Lankan Buddhists: Mr. M. J. Perera (a former Vice-Chancellor of the Peradeniya University, a former Director of Education and a former Director of Cultural and Religious Affairs) and Mrs. Chitra Malalasekera-Ranawake, the daughter of the late Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, a Buddhist scholar greatly honoured in Sri Lanka. In addition, we have on our Advisory Board of internationally eminent scholars, apart from the Author himself, Dr. Miss I. B. Horner, one of the world's great Pali scholars and President of the Pali Text Society whose lifelong work in the Buddhist cause is widely respected among Sri Lankan Buddhists. Is it conceivable that all these people will conspire to defame Buddhism? The very idea is ludicrous."

The extract from the *Hansard* is most revealing:

"Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama (Kalawana). Mr. Speaker, I have given notice of a question to be asked from the Hon. Acting Minister of Finance. It is concerning a book called *The Buddhist Spectrum*, written by a person who is a well-known exponent of traditional philosophy, Greek by the name of Marco Pallis and consigned to the Sri Lanka Institute of Traditional Studies. It came to the Katunayake Airport, I think three hundred copies, published by the firm of George Allen & Unwin, and the Customs have impounded this book and refused to release it to the Sri Lanka Institute of Traditional Studies who wanted it to use this in connection with some campaign they are carrying on in regard to the memory of Ananda Coomaraswamy. It was due to start on 8th January, but the Customs have taken the books and I would like the Hon. Minister to look into this matter because, I think, the Customs have been wrongly in-

formed that the book would contain something inflammable about the teachings of Lord Buddha. There is nothing like that in the book. It contains a series of essays by this rather distinguished exponent of philosophy and I do not think there is any reason why this book should be held over at the Customs! It is published by a reputable firm and sent to the Institute of Traditional Studies in Sri Lanka, the President of which is no less a person than Mr. M. J. Perera, who was a one time Director of Education and a Civil Servant. Mr. Speaker: Yes. To whom have you addressed the question? Who is the Minister concerned? Mr. Sarathchandra Muttetuwegama: The hon. Minister of Finance, Sir. Mr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne: Before the Hon. Minister answers, may I also make a remark on this matter? Mr. Speaker: No. Mr. Lakshman Jayakody (Attanagalla): On a point of order! This is an adjournment debate! Mr. Speaker: The question has been asked from the Minister of Finance. The Minister has not answered. He wants to make some other statement. I cannot allow that. Mr. Sarathchandra Muttetuwegama: This is an Adjournment debate. If there is time it can be done, Mr. Speaker: Unless it is relevant to the question asked. Mr. Sarathchandra Muttetuwegama: Obviously! (interruption). Mr. Speaker: Order, please! I have already permitted him to address: Mr. Nissanka Wijeratne: Mr. Speaker, in regard to this matter I would like to add a few words which would help to clarify matters. Marco Pallis is known as one of the outstanding scholars not merely on Buddhism, but in the world in regard to the theory of knowledge he has made a very valuable contribution in the book that the Hon. Member for Kalawana has referred to. Marco Pallis' book has arrived and unfortunately officials might not have known the value of the book. A number of us too, who are interested have already written to the Minister of Finance, but I would like to mention this: that in the case of Marco Pallis like Ananda Coomaraswamy, Cuenon and Sonwon these are books that are generally read in the world, but not read in some countries in the world. In some countries, I believe, they are not allowed even to be brought into, but I am quite sure that when the facts are brought to the notice of the Hon. Minister they will be certainly released. In fact, I am very anxious to get them because I am trying to post them to a friend of mine in Russia.

I am quite sure that it will reach there and add to the totality of knowledge.

Mr. Saratchchandra Muttetuwegama: Who will-pay for the books? Mr. Nissanka Wijeratne: We will pay for the books, because there may be difficulties of resources there! It is a wonderful book and I trust that the Hon. Member for Kalawana will join a number of us in reading that book and also the text of the Buddha also. Mr. Saratchchandra Muttetuwegama: I will read it separately, not jointly. Mr. Naina Marikar: After that admirable answer what is there for us to say? I will look into the matter?"

One would have imagined that after what Minister Nissanka Wijeratne said in Parliament on January 22, the books would have been released immediately. But at the time of writing, the books still stand impounded!



THE DANGERS OF

Cigarette Smoking

By Dr. B. G. Punchihewa

CIGARETTE SMOKE is inhaled into the lungs of the smoker from where most of the compounds (in the smoke) are absorbed into the blood stream. Cigarette smoke contains a large number of substances. Some of them are: NICOTINE, CARBON MONOXIDE (CO), NITROSAMINES, BENZPYRENE, OXIDES OF NITROGEN, TAR. Tar contains POLYCYCLIC AROMATIC HYDROCARBONS.

The habit of smoking produces dependence, mainly psychological dependence—a habitual smoker feels miserable if he stops smoking. This dependence is possibly due to the action of nicotine on the brain and the rest of the nervous system. The mild inhibitory effect of nicotine on the brain allays irritability and excitement; this may play a part in producing dependence. Thus a person who goes on smoking daily will become dependent on this habit so that he will continue to smoke (increasing the number of cigarettes smoked per day as time goes on) and he will find it almost impossible to stop smoking.

Effects of long-standing tobacco smoking: Cigarette smoking probably causes (1) Cancer of lung, (2) increasing disability

due to dyspnoea due to other forms of damage to lungs, namely, Chronic Obstructive Lung Disease (i.e., Chronic Bronchitis and Emphysema) and (3) Ischaemic Heart disease which germ encompasses Myocardial Infarction ("heart attack") and Angina Pectoris.

1. *Cancer of lungs*: Substances that have the ability to cause cancer (Carcinogenic compounds) that are found in the cigarette Smoke are: Tar, nitrosamines, benzpyrene. It has been observed (statistically) that a habitual smoker runs a much greater risk of developing cancer of the lung. The risk is proportional to the number of cigarettes smoked. This is probably attributable to tar in cigarette smoke. Nitrosamines and tar have been shown to cause cancer in animals.

2. *Other Lung diseases*: Chronic bronchitis and emphysema are much more common in habitual smokers than in non-smokers. All of them do not have the full-fledged disease with all the typical features, but most habitual smokers have recurrent or chronic cough and shortness of breath due to obstruction of the respiratory passages. Cigarette smoking is known to provoke the release of Enzymes in the lung (e.g. Elastase) which damages certain areas of the lung. Oxides of nitrogen in the cigarette smoke too possibly play a part in causing lung damage.

3. *Ischaemic Heart disease*: This occurs when the Oxygen supply to the heart muscle is inadequate. It is the blood carried in blood vessels (arteries) of the heart that take oxygen to the heart muscle. Blood vessels are like small (flexible) pipes. If a chalk-like substance is deposited on the inner surface of a pipe, its lumen becomes narrower. This type of thing, sometimes, happens in the blood vessels of the heart, a process called Atherosclerosis. This process, in combination with several other factors, reduces the blood supply to the heart—and therefore reduces its oxygen supply. Various forms and degrees of ischaemic heart disease can be caused in this manner. Cigarette smoke promotes this chain of events ending in ischaemic heart disease. It is not clear which of the substances in cigarettes smoke is responsible for this. The Viscosity of blood is known to be higher in cigarette smokers than in non-smokers—that is, blood is thicker in them. When blood is thicker than normal, its movement in the blood vessels is sluggish; this reduces the oxygen supply to the heart muscle and this may be one mode

of action of cigarette smoke in contributing to ischaemic heart diseases.

This process of reduced blood supply (and therefore reduced supply of oxygen and nutrients) could occur not only in the heart but also in other areas of the body e.g. legs. When it occurs in legs and toes, the latter may lose its viability and may have to be amputated. (Claudication, Thrombo-Angittis Obliterans). These diseases too are known to be commoner in smokers.

4. Carbon monoxide (CO) is one of the substances present in cigarette smoke. The presence of CO in the blood reduces the oxygen-carrying capacity of the blood carriage of oxygen from the lungs to all the organ and tissues of the body is one of the important functions of the circulating blood). Oxygen is carried in the blood combined with HAE-MOGLOBIN (the pigment found in the red cells of the blood). When present in blood, CO combines with haemoglobin to form a relatively stable compound (Carboxy-Haemoglobin). When this happens, haemoglobin is no longer able to "take in" oxygen. Furthermore, whatever haemoglobin that has "taken in" (combined with) oxygen, finds it difficult to release the oxygen to be used by the organs and tissues.

By these two methods in a habitual cigarette smoker, the oxygen-carrying capacity could be reduced by about 10%. This probably does not matter very much in our day to day activities not very far above the sea level. But in a pregnant mother, especially just before the baby is born (or if she has to be subjected to a surgical operation under general anaesthesia) this could harm the foetus by reducing its oxygen supply. And the result: in pregnant women who smoke there is a greater likelihood (greater than non-smokers) of the baby being born before term, of the baby dying or falling ill at the time of the delivery. In our country fortunately, pregnant women who smoke are rare. But this is a cause of concern in some other countries.

By the way, CO is a substance we come across in the atmosphere (at some places) in very minute quantities. Exhaust fumes of a car contain up to 10% of CO—and if the engine is kept running in a closed garage for 10 minutes, CO content in the garage could rise to dangerous levels.

5. Some of the other health hazards of long-standing cigarette smoking are given below:

(a) Heavy smokers have a low level of blood ascorbic acid (vitamin C) as it is destroyed by tobacco products. Cigarette smoking is one of the contributory factors in chronic laryngitis and peptic ulcers (in the stomach and duodenum). Also cigarette smoking leads to induction of drug metabolising enzymes in the liver.

(b) Air contaminated with tobacco smoke may precipitate an asthmatic attack in susceptible individuals. The children of parents who smoke have coughs and colds more often. A non-smoker, staying in an enclosure (e.g. a room) where a number of persons smoke cigarettes may inhale in 1 hour a quantity of nitrosamine equivalent to smoking about 15 cigarettes.

(c) Making use of the "smoking machine" the quantity of substances in the smoke from a cigarette (yield) can be measured. In a habitual smoker, by analysis of blood, the amount of nicotine and the amount of carboxy-haemoglobin (COHB) in his blood can be measured. The amount of COHB in his blood can be considered to give an indication about the amount of CO absorbed into his blood from the cigarette smoke. By these methods it has been found that the nicotine and the COHB concentrations in the blood of a smoker are not affected (if at all, very little affected) by the variations in the tar and nicotine yield of the cigarettes. This means that the amount of substances absorbed into the smoker's blood from the cigarette smoke remains very nearly the same whether he smokes (i) plain cigarettes, (ii) filter tipped cigarettes or (iii) specially made cigarettes with low tar and low nicotine yields.

For instance, in a study of heavy smokers (30-40 cigarettes per day) in England, the following figures were obtained (Ref. Br. Med. J. 1980; 280:972):

	Plain cigarettes	Filter-tipped cigarettes
Tar yield (mg/cigarette)	25.9	17.9
Nicotine yield (mg/cigarette)	1.9	1.3
Blood nicotine concentration (ng/ml)	35.68	33.28
COHb content of blood (as a percentage)	(-6) 6.3	8.3
(ng=nanogram=10 ⁻⁹ of a gram)		

In simple terms, it means that whether a habitual smoker smokes a low nicotine cigarette or a high-nicotine cigarette, the amount of nicotine absorbed into his blood is hardly altered. The authors of the above mentioned article feel that this may be due to a tendency in smokers to alter the depth and pattern of inhalation so that their *smoke intake* remains the same.

However, there has been some evidence that the risk of cancer of the lung is less in smokers of filter-tipped cigarettes compared to plain cigarettes. All this makes a strong case for a habitual smoker to stop smoking. How can this be done? There are probably no easy methods of achieving this.

References: Br. Med. J. 1980: 280: 959,967, 972, 994: Br. Med J. 1979: ii: 357-60

50A, Borupana Road,
Ratmalana, 21.8.80.

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PRELUDE TO NEW DELHI

Kampuchea

By Ariel

Colombo, Feb. 1, 1981

The communique issued by the Foreign Office after Mr. Hameed's discussions with Mr. Suppiah Danapalan, Singapore Foreign Minister makes it quite clear that Singapore and ASEAN countries will make a major bid to make Kampuchea the centre-piece of the NA Foreign Ministers' Conference in New Delhi next week. The Foreign Office statement does not fully convey Singapore's aggressive postures in regard to international affairs. Even President Jayewardene in his Weligama speech stressed the point that whatever friendly relations Sri Lanka had with other countries, it continued to follow its own independent non-aligned foreign policies. This statement was evidently made because whispers had begun to circulate in political circles that President Jayewardene's admiration for Singapore's economic miracle would make him toe the Singapore line on foreign policies as well. On the statement released by the Foreign Office, Sri Lanka will strive with Singapore and other countries to resolve the Kampuchean problem. Singapore's Foreign Minister seems to be a young man in a

hurry and seems to think that hard words from the vocabulary of cold war stalwarts will frighten others into submission. This seems to reflect the new cowboy tactics and idiom of Reagan, Haig and Bush.

It is well to recall a few trends about the developing situation in Kampuchea. The French paper *Le Monde* which is one of the best informed about the Indo-china region had a recent article which set out: "Two years ago on January 7, 1979, the Vietnamese army entered Phnom-Penh and chased away the supporters of Mr. Pol Pot replacing them by the friends, of Mr. Heng Samrin. Today, Vietnam and its favourites of the Popular Republic of Kampuchea, if they control the 'useful Kampuchea', do not remain in the index of the international community—with the exception of the Soviet bloc and India—whereas the 'democratic Kampuchea' of Mr. Pol Pot moved back to the bases throughout the length of the Thai border, continue to represent the country 'legally'. On the diplomatic and military plane, the situation hardly has evolved. The refusal to accept the Vietnamese 'fait accompli', which served as a precedent for Soviet operation in Afghanistan, remains widespread. Hanoi has not succeeded in convincing the other countries of its good intentions, particularly those of ASEAN (Association of the South-East Asian Nations: Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand) because of its intransigence and the presence of troops along the Thai border.

"At the same time, the staunchest supporters of the Khmer Reds—China, Thailand and Singapore have not succeeded in reinforcing support to the Khmer resistance. Even if the Khmer Reds have consolidated their organisation and their armed forces, which consists of about 50,000 fighters, of which two-thirds are in the border zones—they have not been able to launch their offensives. The principal change, gradual and which Hanoi is counting upon to ensure its hold on Indo-China, is the consolidation of the regime installed in Phnom-Penh. Protected by the Vietnamese garrisons, fed by international aid—especially Western—it now finds itself in a better position, though its survival depends on the presence of Vietnam. Under these conditions, it was normal that the 'life be reborn'. The contrary would have been surprising. For more than a year, however, the consequences of the war-hunger, disease,

military operations, repression and flight towards Thailand of many Khmers—have left a lot of victims. The Kampuchean population, reduced to three or four millions two years ago when the anti-Pol Pot propaganda was at its height, was now claimed to be six millions or more, when it was a question of claiming aid. Millions of dollars spent for the infrastructure (installing planes, ships, trucks) have by and large fulfilled their task. In spite of the protests by Phnom-Penh and Hanoi and the declarations of some representatives of the international organisations according to whom the aid has been entirely and equitably distributed, there still are lurking doubts.

“A report of the UNICEF and the International Committee of the Red Cross, says ‘that till now, the ordinary consumers do not seem to have benefitted from the distributions.’ In a joint communique the two organisations threatened to stop their aid if they did not get ‘assurances that the aid given will be equally distributed among the entire population that is in need.’ Strengthened by the incapacity of the Khmer Reds to unleash the offensive, and that of China and its friends to find a credible alternative solution, the regime of Phnom-Penh is laying its stakes on the lassitude of its adversaries, a tactic used by the Vietnamese against the French and later against the Americans. Accustomed to difficulties and privations, practising a long-term strategy whereas the others, with the exception of China, think only in terms of months, the Vietnamese think that they are playing the winning hand. Time would enable them, they hope to consolidate the Indo-Chinese entity which they put in place since 1975 and which they control closely.

“The countries of ASEAN are divided into partisans of firmness and Indonesia and Malaysia appearing to feel that Hanoi could be more accommodating. This doesn’t always seem to be the case if one were to be guided by the condition under which the ‘general elections’ of Kampuchea are to take place within a few weeks. They ought to ‘reflect the national unity’ and ‘the counter-revolutionaries should not be allowed to infiltrate’ into Parliament. In other words, only the candidates chosen by the regime, shall have the right to contest. The major part of the refugees who remained together at the Khmer-Thailand borders to get the food aid, have come back to the country. The ‘volun-

tary repatriation’, the reduction of the international aid and the relative improvement of the situation in Kampuchea, explain the return. Many resistance groups, pursue their activities in the border sectors. It is essentially the Khmer Reds and the National Liberation Front of the Khmer People (FNLPK) of Mr. Son Sann, which is in the process of taking control of the other nationalist movements.

“Serious incidents have occurred at the frontier. On either side, it is believed some elements are interested in maintaining tension. At Hanoi, it is to try applying pressure on Bangkok and at Bangkok, to incite the citizens and the allies to close their ranks before the communist menace. Hanoi and Phnom-Penh refuse to recognise the resolutions of the UN which call for an international conference on Kampuchea and the conduct of free elections. Beijing has been opposing such a meeting for a long time, but now under the pressure of ASEAN, it is accepting it on the condition that Vietnam begins withdrawing its troops. At the same time, Beijing, Bangkok and Singapore have had talks on the future of the Khmer resistance. Aware of the fact that they are the only armed forces opposed to the Vietnamese, they want to integrate the group leading it into a bigger organisation. Having declared that he has ‘for ever’ left political life, Prince Sihanouk is coming out of his retirement from Pyongyang to demonstrate his desire to take up service. Considered to be the only one to have a chance of settling the Kampuchean imbroglio, in spite of his unpredictable volte faces and the hostility shown to him by Thai militarymen, the Prince remains the ultimate trump card to oppose Hanoi. In consequence, the strategy of a long-term destabilisation of Vietnam adopted by China (and which Hanoi used in arguing for its presence at Laos and Kampuchea) is still far from bearing fruit.”

The *Le Monde* article provides an invaluable back-ground guide to the situation. There has in recent months been a great deal of manoeuvring at different levels by ASEAN countries and China to have their way in regard to Kampuchea. The Prime Ministers of Thailand and Singapore visited Peking some weeks ago and today the new Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang is on a visit to several Asian countries to canvas support for a new Chinese proposal to solve the Kampuchean problems.

Suggestions have been made in certain circles that China has softened in its hard-line on the Kampuchean question (wanting the re-instatement or the Pol Pot regime) and that she was prepared to accept the ASEAN formula for a settlement. Whatever be the merits of the ASEAN formula, the simple position is that ASEAN leaders are disappointed with the Peking response to their proposals. Some ASEAN countries have openly voiced the sentiment that China was only seeking to adopt the ASEAN formula to further Peking's traditional SE Asian policies.

In fact, the only "concession" made by Peking is that it seems willing to whitewash somewhat the facade of Democratic Kampuchea by replacing Prime Minister Khieu Samphan, a Pol Pot stooge, with somebody like Sihanouk or his long time follower Penn Nouth or Son Sann, a prominent politician at the time of the Sihanouk rule who will at least look more respectable. That Peking has such plans has been disclosed by Leng Sari, one of the leaders of the Pol Pot regime, who addressed an audience in Jakarta some time ago. This question seems to have been the focal point of discussions during the recently held consultations between the Chinese and Son Sann, who travelled to Peking late last December. However, any serious politician of the old-time Kampuchea should be aware that once he associates his name with Democratic Kampuchea, he is bound to assume the responsibility for the atrocities perpetrated by Pol Pot and his butchers known to the entire world and thus lose the right to return to his own homeland for ever.

To make it easier for the Kampuchean emigrants to strike an alliance with Pol Pot and his followers, Peking has begun to spread a story of how the latter have come to "realize" and "rectify" the "mistakes" they made in the past. What does "rectify" really mean? Surely nobody can bring back to life the three million people murdered! Nor can anyone restore the ancient historic and cultural monuments the Pol Pot regime had wiped out. One can understand the desire of the West and especially that of Thailand to bring them back to Kampuchea as the forces loyal to the West. But they seem to forget that the recent attempt to set up an alliance of pro-Western or neutral politicians and Pol Pot followers resulted in failure.

Take, for instance, the case of Prince

Norodom Sihanouk, the most prominent national leader of Kampuchea. Until 1975 he had been the Chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia and before the Khmer Rouge entered Phnom Penh used to say, "They will spit me out like a cherry seed the moment they no longer need me." He saw Pol Pot and his cronies through and through. That is why his prediction proved accurate. It is because he is fully aware of what Pol Pot and his supporters and those who back them are after that Sihanouk seems to regard with suspicion the proposal to take those "Communists" as his allies once again. It is clear that all attempts to persuade Sihanouk, Penn Nouth, Son Sann and other politicians to overcome their aversion for and fear of Pol Pot and his followers to make a Pol Pot-led regime have failed.

The latest information available as this note is being written, comes in an AFP despatch dated Jan. 28 from Beijing: "China has put forward to non-communist countries in South-East Asia proposals for a solution of the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea, calling for a new military force and eventually free elections, diplomatic sources said here yesterday. The proposals were put to the Thai Premier Mr. Prem Tinsulanonda, and the Singapore prime Minister Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, during their visits to Beijing late last year, and has also been passed on to the other members of the five-nation Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN)—Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines—the sources said. China has put forward *three* proposals, the *first* of which called for the establishment of a united front of all different resistance factions in Kampuchea to be headed by the former Kampuchean Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, or the former Prime Minister, Mr. Son Sann, leader of the small non-communist Khmer People's National Liberation Front. The *second*, part is that ASEAN together with the US and other interested parties should help set up a non-communist armed forces in Kampuchea. The *—third*: the Kampuchean people should select their own leaders through free elections and decide their own social system.

"The three non-aligned members of ASEAN are making an attempt to have the Kampuchean issue discussed at the non-aligned Foreign Ministers' Conference in New Delhi early next month. The countries—

Singapore, Indonesia and Malaysia—also hope that the final communique would mention the Kampuchean problem in the context that the continued presence of Vietnamese troops in that country is posing a threat to the peace and stability of the South East Asian region. Singapore appears to have taken the initiative in this by suggesting some far-reaching amendments to the draft resolution circulated by host country India, according to diplomatic sources in Singapore. The sources said the draft resolution referred to South-East Asia only in general terms without specifically mentioning Kampuchea, which the ASEAN five consider the most burning issue in the regime."

As a *postscript* on the Kampuchean question, a *PTI* message from Japan said: "Japan today resumes its trade with Kampuchea after a lapse of six years. Unheeding their Government's political position in Kampuchea, 20 Japanese trading firms, forming an association of their own, have entered into trade with Heng Samrin-ruled Kampuchea with their first trade consignment of 200 tons of Kapok, a semi-finished material for cushions having arrived in Tokyo over the week-end aboard a Soviet ship. The Japanese Government does not intend to stop this trade, but it also does not approve of or encourage it."

The writing on the wall is clear.

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REPORTAGE

Current Problems Of The Non-aligned

THE CONCEPT OF NON-ALIGNMENT became popular at a time when newly independent states of Asia and Africa needed a moral, emotional and psychological escape route from the bi-polar world. The movement which blossomed in the 1960s gained sufficient strength in the period of detente to be representative of the voice of the Third World countries. But with the emergence of new world alignments and forces, the movement is facing a challenge to its solidarity and integrity. The feuds between the two major powers once again poses an ominous warning to international peace. The heightened race for more and more sophisticated nuclear arms and the global expansion of the navies

are causing anxiety to Third World countries in the midst of their post world war and post colonial economic reconstruction. The emergence of the new wave of Islamic nationalism, the newly forged friendship between China and the Western world, particularly with USA, the Sino-Soviet conflict etc., are causing tremendous imbalance in the political, economic and social systems of the world. The Bretton Woods economic foundation has already cracked. *Whether the non-aligned world could withstand those stresses and strains and struggle to carry out its missions has provoked certain observers to raise the question whither non-alignment?*

In celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the formal inauguration of the movement, the Non-aligned Movement (NAM) also faces new problems. In a way the Non-aligned Foreign Ministers' Conference scheduled to be held in New Delhi from February 9—12 may seek to answer this. This New Delhi Conference is actually an extension of the Ministerial Conference held on October 2-3, 1980 in New York. In that meeting it was decided to convene in New Delhi from Feb. 4 to 7th 1981 a conference of Senior Officials in the foreign Ministeries and the Ministerial Conference to begin on the 9th.

AS A PRELUDE to the above conference a seminar was held in the BMICH recently. This seminar was co-sponsored by the Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies (BCIS) and our Foreign Ministry. Scholars and prominent journalists from India, Yugoslavia, Cuba, Bangladesh, Egypt, Pakistan, Zambia and Sri Lanka participated in the seminar. They brought out and discussed certain fundamental problems which require urgent solution if the movement were to march forward further. We also feel that movement has had sufficient achievements to be proud of and at the same time mature enough to be self-critical even before others critically dissect it.

The first important problem concerns the ideological stand taken by the movement in recent times. There is a serious accusation emanating from within and without the movement that it was tilting towards the socialist bloc. This accusation is not a new one but had gained notoriety ever since it was decided to host the Sixth Summit conference in Havana. At the BCIS Conference this subject was dealt with in detail by Professor K. P. Mishra of the Department of International Relations,

Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. In his paper on *Non-alignment and the two Blocs*, he pointed out how in fact Cuba in the pre-summit draft declaration incorporated the "natural ally" concept—the ally being the Socialist bloc. This draft was criticised, and the term "socialist countries" was amended to read as other peace and progress loving nations. Cuba also abandoned the "natural ally clause. The original stand taken by Cuba had the sympathy of countries like Ethiopia, Vietnam and Afghanistan. Others like Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Yugoslavia and India wanted no such tilt. However, the Professor emphasised that it was true that the Socialist bloc has been always sympathetic to the ideas and ideals of non-alignment. One can at once mention concepts like anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism and anti-racialism as examples of similarity of views between NAM and socialist bloc. Nevertheless, he argued that "when non-alignment is desperately fighting for new international orders in the field of economics, technology and information, the Soviet Union is not particularly helpful. It is one with the other bloc on some issues. The Soviet Union's economic relationship with the non-aligned countries has not been qualitatively different from that of the Western bloc." Hence one cannot push the natural ally concept any further as it would only confirm and justify the Burmese accusation of alignment tendencies prevalent in the movement. The founding fathers of the NAM wanted to avoid any such attachments. The super power rivalry has been intensified in recent times and it is all the more reason why NAM countries should keep themselves away. Such was Prof. Mishra's case.

Professor M. S. Rajan of the same University touched upon another sensitive problem, the *Qualifications for Membership in the NAM*. It was his contention or at least one could infer that the movement has become very vulnerable to the vagaries of various types of winds due to the indiscriminate admission granted to members. The NAM today comprised nearly two-third of the UN's membership. It had grown four-fold over the last two decades and encompasses most part of the globe. "Unfortunately, however this expansion of membership has also brought in its wake a certain amount of disenchantment, a lack of credibility, of the policy of non-alignment and not just among the oldtime critics among the aligned (mainly in the Western

camp) but also among the membership of the non-aligned movement itself." He picked loopholes in the criteria adopted for admission and showed how subtly these have been violated or negatived by members of the movement. He was particularly alert to the covert military agreements. "Syria, Iraq and Egypt have had at one time (still have) military aid agreement of a sort with the Soviet Union or the United States." Morocco, Ethiopia, Cyprus, Libya, Saudi Arabia and Malta have had (or still have) western military bases. It was his contention that objectives of the movement should be more explicitly defined and membership regulated and scrutinized at each non-aligned Summit conference. This has led to squabbles among old members and also reluctance on the part of new membership to be drawn into another participation. One should of course agree with the Professor that the indiscriminate admission has devalued the NAM. A recent case in point was Pakistan.—Pakistan was not put on trial before it was admitted. It was rushed into the movement.

One important problem that poses difficulty for a large number of member countries arises from the lack of proper identification of certain international, local and bi-lateral problems. Over the Iran-Iraq war, the Egyptian-Israeli treaty, many observers rightly feel that the movement need not have divided itself. The bi-lateral treaty between Egypt and Israel was done in the interest of Egypt and the non-aligned countries need not have brought pressure on Egypt to do something against its own detriment. Egypt in that sense had not violated the principles of non-alignment and the Arab's claim for suspension and expulsion was misleading and therefore unfortunate.

By way of specific problems the Seminar also should have discussed ways and means for solving regional problems that confront countries of a particular region. The Afghan and Kampuchean issues were mostly regional. The Afghan issue directly affected Iran, Pakistan and India. As these issues were globalised any practical solution becomes more difficult. At the New Delhi conference, it is hoped that the NAM ministers should seek a practical approach not to make it an area of confrontation not only within members of the NAM but also with Soviet Union. Similarly the Kampuchean tussle is a South-east Asian issue in which members of the ASEAN and Indo-China are

interested for various reasons. It is not a problem over which NAM should split. But both these issues have in fact shown that NAM is deeply divided down the line. Emotional considerations, whether based on ideology or otherwise should not lend themselves to divide and split the NAM. *The BCSI Seminar did not sufficiently and specifically deal with these, as it concerned itself mostly with theoretical issues.*

Shaukal Hassan, Asst. Director of the Institute of International and Strategic Studies gave some thoughts to *Non-alignment and Socialist Foreign Policy*. He pointed out the indiscriminate admission of members to NAM and he sought to distinguish between the foreign policy options envisaged by the founding fathers of the NAM and socialist foreign policy. He argued that "the movement was never intended to be directed against its own members, whatever may be the internal dynamics of the socio-political forces obtaining in these countries. Yet, socialist member states, in adopting a foreign policy that actively supports the revolution and class struggle, drift away from the proxis of non-alignment and become the unwilling apologists or stooges of a particular power bloc, thereby undermining the spirit of non-alignment". This appraisal is a harsh statement but it is equally applicable to those who sympathise or act as spokesman for the other bloc. But Hassan was nearer the truth when he stated that "the North-South struggle epitomised in the non-aligned movement becomes dichotomised on the one hand as an East-West struggle on the ideological front with certain non-aligned members becoming unwilling ideological fodder and, on the other hand, a South-South struggle where non-aligned members are poised against each other, with a net victory for super-powers."

Among the Sri Lankan delegates, except for those two prominent journalists S. P. Amarasingam of the *Tribune* and Mervyn de Silva of the *Lanka Guardian* others were mostly interested in presenting the Sri Lankan official point of view. Mr. C. E. L. Wickremasinghe of the *Lanka Puwath* dealt with the necessity to have a Non-aligned Data Bank to compete with the International News Agencies. He and S. P. Amarasingam were one in denouncing the monopoly mass media of all types. By the installation of a Data Bank connected to Sattelite Stations—the American *Intelsat*

and the Soviet *Inter Sputnik*, he hoped information could be conveyed to the outside world from NAM countries. "This will be a means of technology transfer whereby a doctor, a politician or an academic among others could get immediate and comprehensive information from all the knowledge available to the Third World."

S. P. Amarasingam, whose knowledge of mass communication few have reason to doubt, detailed the historical origins of the demand for a new *International Information Order* and how the monopoly press of the Western alliance was trying to destabilise the attempts made by UNESCO to broad-base information. On the value of information to the contemporary world Amarasingam pointed out that "though it is customary to say that information is a commodity, it is only half a truth. Today, it has acquired strategic significance. Depending on what use it is put to, information and its exchange can make war or peace, provoke tension or promote tranquility. This depends entirely on who controls mass media and the communication system that props it up." He proved with figures to what extent the developing countries are dependent upon developed countries for all types of information. "And worse, the exchanges of information between the developing countries, say between India on the one side and its neighbours like Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Nepal, Bangladesh, Burma and Sri Lanka on the other, are also controlled by systems operating from outside the region."

Having expressed an optimistic view of an information revolution to occur in the Third World, Amarasingam turned his attention to third world war media which was no better than the western one—"That every non aligned and Third World country should make an effort to set its own house in order in the arena of information, communication and mass media as a prelude to wanting a new world order. It is true that the inequities, imbalances, and western dominance in the global system are often the cause of national communication disparities but measures to set matters right on a national level will help to quicken the process of change for the better in the international arena".

Mervyn de Silva made an *Over review of Non alignment* and showed how the movement had grown up to the present day amidst confusion and zig-zagging courses it took over the

last two decades. He was very emphatic that though the world may be mesmerised by the super-power conflict as the most dominant factor in the World system, yet in the ultimate reality it is the aspirations of nearly 80% of the least developed countries that would be the most vital and decisive ones. Having briefly touched on the various differences prevailing amongst the members of the NAM he singled out economics as the common denominator holding the movement and Third World countries together. "Whatever the nature of the regimes, or the ideological inclinations of leaders and groups, these nations are bound together by a shared colonial past. They find themselves overwhelmed by a host of problems which have their origins in the past. It is the problem of under-development and its oppressive, many sided consequences. For the mass of the people, it is the problem of poverty, a poverty that has its foundations in economic structures that are still integrally linked to world system, fashioned, controlled and managed by the US and its allies."

Within the movement itself one could easily discern the anxiety of regional groupings such as Islamic Conference Organisation, Arab League, OAU, ASEAN and further sub-divisions in the middle eastern countries to influence the NAM. However, all these, as the seminar papers would testify have faith in the NAM which is the only foreign policy option open to the NAM. To put the objectives of the NAM into effective use, the leaders of the NAM should not allow regional groups to override common interests.

It is argued in certain circles that the very ambiguous definition of non-alignment and rather vague criteria adopted for the admission of new members are a source of strength and not a weakness of the movement. It affords enough scope for flexibility and elasticity. The same view holds good for the suggestion regarding the *Institutionalising The Movement*. Professor S. U. Kodikkara of the Peradeniya University in a lengthy essay explained the trends towards institutionalisation. Regular meetings of the groups, especially at permanent representatives to the UN level, just before the UN Assembly starts and discussions on the type of support to be extended that comes before the UN are matters to be taken cognisance of as indications of a trend towards institution alisation. However, since the non-

aligned movement works within the UN frame work and has faith in the scope and its efficacy one need not think of a seperate secretariat and a NAM bureaucracy. "Support given by the United Nations for major objectives of the Nonaligned Movement, such as Disarmament, declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, decolonisation processes, establishment of more equitable economic relations, resistance to racism and apartheid, among others, were to a greater or lesser extent victories gained under the aegis of the Movement" pointed out Prof. Kodikkara. Hence NAM could make use of the vast resources available to the UN and its secretariat without establishing one on its own. A strategically located secretariat and a bureaucracy were matters least anticipated by the founding fathers. It is a growing and permanent movement.

Just before every major conference of NAM there had been prophets of doom forecasting an early demise of the movement. It had always survived and proved the soothsayers to be wrong. It is true that the concept of reaching consensus has run into snags and has led to the postponement of many meetings. This was to be expected as there are now radicals, moderates and conservatives in the movement.

These differences one should expect to be inevitable in a movement that had now grown from 25 to nearly 95 since it was formally inaugurated at Belgrade in 1961. Yet the hopes and aspirations of the Third World finds better expression in this forum than anywhere else. Mounting economic imbalances and increasing super-power competition may cause anxiety to the members of the NAM. Still they are aware, as borne out of the last two decades experience, that it is only through NAM they could achieve a new world order whether economics, information or social.

K. Arumainayagam.

30.01.81.



War With Iraq

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 fifth instalment in the series. Though written six months ago, these articles throw revealing light on Iran today.

THE OUTBREAK OF FULL-SCALE war between Iran and Iraq with the capitals of both the countries along with their vital oil installations, repeatedly bombed, is not a matter which should surprise anybody having visited either of these two countries in recent months. A simmering conflict was growing in magnitude in the last one year, though the unleashing of full scale war it is to be honestly admitted, was not expected so soon.

Looking at such a conflict from one side without the benefit of what has been happening at the other end might be an obstacle to objectivity and yet it offers a sort of ringside view which is useful. Throughout my four weeks' stay in Iran last month, I could not help feeling that the festering sore of continued armed conflict with Iraq would be harmful for Iran—and perhaps vice versa as well—while there was no sign of any statesmanship in Tehran that would have made any effort at bringing about an amicable settlement before full-scale war. On the contrary, intemperate, if not provocative, utterances could be heard from both sides of the fighting frontier.

A year ago, the then Iranian Foreign Minister Dr. Ebrahim Yazdi met Iraq's President Saddam Hossein at the Havana Nonaligned Summit and what he said on return made it clear that there was no urge for a settlement of the long standing dispute: Yazdi said: "In our talks in Havana, we firmly and decisively stood in the face of Saddam Hossein's views. The Ba'athist Party philosophy has a decadent

and corrupt foundation." Early this year, Dr. Yazdi's successor as Iran's Foreign Minister, Sadeq Qotbzadeh made the prediction that he would soon topple the Iraqi regime: of course, Qotbzadeh is never known for restraint.

From the Iraqi side, there was no dearth of thunder and provocative polemics. For instance, in November last year, Iraqi Ambassador in Lebanon demanded, off his own bat that Tehran must grant autonomy to the Kurd, Baluch and Arab groups within Iran: naturally this brought forth a rebuff from the Iranian Foreign office which advised the Iraqi Ambassador concerned to recommend the case of autonomy for the Iraqi Khurds. In April this year, President Saddam Hossein, after an attempted assassination of one of his close aides by an alleged Iranian terrorist, underlined that Iraq, half of whose 13 million population comprises of Shi'ite Muslims, is, more than any other Muslim country in the Middle East, confronted by the threat of Ayatollah Khomeini's export of revolution" and warned Iran that the Iraqi Government had "no fright of terrorism". Flashpoint was thus reached nearly six months ago.

What is the origin of the present conflict between Iraq and Iran? Irreconcilability between the Arabic speaking Iraq and Farsi-speaking Iran is of long standing, accentuated by the fact that Iraq has a majority of Shi'i population, which got excited at the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran under a frankly assertive Shi'i leadership. When last year the Shi'i population in Iraq staged anti-Government rallies, the Republic of Iran supported them. This was followed by the arrest of the Shi'i leader in Iraq, Ayatollah Mohammed Bagher Sadr, who had earlier called upon all Muslims to unite under the leadership of Imam Khomeini. After this came the expulsion in June last year, of Imam Khomeini's Representative in Iraq, Sheikh Gholamreza Rezvani. Imam Khomeini has publicly denounced the Iraqi Government for the fact that 40 thousand Iraqi Shi'is have been pushed out of the country and have taken refuge in Iran.

Things drifted from bad to worse. For one thing, the Kurdish question had kept both countries apart for decades. Numbering about four million in Iran alone, the Kurds are sandwiched between Iraq and Iran while a portion of them spill over to neighbouring Turkey. During World War II, Kurds under their legendary leader, Mustafa Barzani had

formed an independent Republic but this was short-lived. Returning to Iran from the Soviet Union in 1960, Barzani with the help of Iran and the US started a guerilla war, followed by four-year truce with Iraq: but this truce did not last long and heavy fighting between Barzani's men and the Baghdad Government broke out in 1974. Next year, through Algerian good offices an agreement was reached between Iran and Iraq, which led to the collapse of the Kurdish rebellion and Barzani lived in exile in USA where he died a few months ago. By the 1975 agreement both Iran and Iraq pledged "to end infiltrations of a subversive character" while both sides would have access to the strategic Shatt-el-Arab estuary where Iraq's two historic rivers Euphrates and Tigris flow into the Persian Gulf.

After the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the 1975 agreement became a dead letter for all practical purposes, though its formal abrogation was announced by Iraqi President Saddam Hossein on September 17. Meanwhile with the fall of the Pahlavi regime the powerful Democratic Party of Kurdistan raised the demand for autonomy which was turned down by new rulers of Iran. Imam Khomeini himself dismissed it as an artificial creation by the enemies of Islam: "They separate Moslem sects from each other: they separate Turks, Kurds etc from each other. We did not expect to have such problems in Iran where this sect is one minority and that sect is another minority and that group is a majority. None of these are correct. Are they really separated from each other? Isn't there an unique Islamic brotherhood?" The result has been that the Central Government has launched armed action in Kurdistan, which has continued uptil now. Naturally Kurds are getting arms from Iraq though the Iraqi Government is engaged in putting down Kurds on their side of the frontier.

Similarly, in the rich oil-bearing province of Khuzestan, with its two million Sunni Arabs, there is unrest at the Shi'i domination in Iran with pronounced accent on Farsi. Here too, discontent could be sustained with Iraqi help from across the border: particularly vulnerable in this respect of Khorramshahr which is north of the port of Abadan, where is located Iran's biggest refinery complex.

There have also been long-standing disputes over the Iranian occupation of the Persian Gulf islands of Greater and Smaller Thumb

and Abu Mousa. All these three had been seized by the former Shah as part of his grand scheme to control the Persian Gulf on behalf of the US; significantly, the new Islamic Republic of Iran has retained this grab by the former Shah.

During the last one year, not only the border clashes were intensified but diplomatic relations came to breaking point more than once; in December last, Iran's Revolutionary Council practically decided to sever diplomatic relations with Iraq, and it was only the last-minute intervention by the Imam that averted it. But in the last six months, both sides had not only withdrawn their envoys but the diplomatic staff had to face harrassments.

Meanwhile, both sides stepped up sabotage and rebellious activities against their adversaries; the secessionists in Khuzestan had their headquarters at the Iraqi port of Basra, while they were carrying on sabotage activities in the oil installations in Khuzestan. Not only the Kurds but the Baluchi minorities are suspected of having received Iraqi aid, since they are accessible from across the narrow strip of the Persian Gulf.

Iran on its part has been actively supporting secret organisations within Iraq. Of these, the most powerful is the Al-Dawa (Glory of God) group, one of whose leaders I happened to meet in Tehran. Their line of campaign is that the Baath Party was originally patronised by the British and now receives US patronage. "At the beginning we used to spread the concept of an Islamic State, as the Baath ideology being based on the Western concept of socialism is alien to Islam," this Al-Dawa leader told me, "but with the success of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, we have taken fighting the Baathist Government with arms." Al-Dawa runs an office in Iran and has facilities for broadcasting its programme over the Tehran Radio. It is close to the Islamic Republican Party leadership.

Operating from Iran is another group, the Islamic Peykar Society with links with the Left elements in both Iran and Iraq. The old Barzani's son, engaged in fighting the Iraqis, receives arms and other assistance via Iran.

There have been a number of armed actions inside Iraq on the part of these Iran-backed groups, including assassinations, particularly of those near President Saddam Hossein.

On the issue of fighting the Baath regime in Iraq, all the groups in Iran are equally com-

mitted. For instance, the organ of the Tudeh Party, *Mardom* has repeatedly denounced the Baathists for persecuting the Iraqi Shi'i sect, and has asked why the Islamic Conference has not taken up their cause. In Tehran one is repeatedly told that the Iraq government has the support of the West, while the Iranian Ambassador in Moscow has long been demanding the stoppage of Soviet arms to Iraq: it is worth noting that Iraq has a friendship treaty with the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, the Iraqi contention has been that Imam Khomeini's call for export of the Islamic Revolution has specifically chosen Iraq's secular regime as the target, banking on the calculation that the Shi'i sect, forming the majority of the population would respond to the call for the overthrow of the Baathist Government. Iraq has also said that by its provocative action the present regime in Iran has only helped the US Navy to station itself in the Persian Gulf endangering the security of the entire region.

On balance, it is difficult to see how Iran can have an edge over Iraq even if the present conflict is confined strictly to the two warring countries. For one thing, the Iranian armed forces are badly disorganised as a good section of the officer corps has been in bad shape, as already noted. It is claimed in Tehran that the Iranian Navy is not badly hit by the hazards of the revolutionary changes. However, the former C-in-C of the Navy, Admiral Madani, fell out with the more aggressive clerics when he was Governor General of the sensitive province of Khuzestan; and he ultimately had to flee the country.

Any armed conflict with Iraq can cripple Iran's only functioning industry, oil, which is largely located in the front-line province of Khuzestan: no wonder that Abadan with its giant refinery has been one of the first targets to be hit since the beginning of the full-scale war. Much in the same way, Basra, the centre of Iraq's oil fields, is the target of Iranian attack. The damage to its oil industry not only constructs Iran's war machine (whatever is left of it) but can cripple Iran's economy since it is the country's only foreign-exchange earner.

Internal political developments may have permitted the Iranian leaders to drift into war: there is no reason why they should not have alerted themselves about Iran's military preparedness. Had they been vigilant they could have exercised discretion by taking

recourse to negotiations as wisely suggested by the PLO leader Arafat from the very beginning of the conflict. The tug-of-war that has been going on between President Bani Sadr and the Islamic Republican Party commanding the Majlis majority, leading to continued political deadlock, might have touched off competition in one-upmanship between the two, both sides demonstrating their extra-determination to fight the Iraqis. With such political deadlock coupled with economic stagnation following the Western economic sanctions, the euphoria of the Islamic Revolution has begun to wear out; in such a predicament it is nothing unusual for either side within the Iranian leadership to divert public attention to the threat from outside, and the Iraqi air force attack on Tehran may have come as a godsend for Iran's political leaders finding themselves at wit's end, having to face a hundred-and-one problems, economic, social, cultural and regional.

To stage off a conflict and adhere to peace is sometimes more difficult than landing recklessly into a regular war. One only hopes that both sides in this Iran-Iraq conflict would soon choose the path of statesmanship in preference to the current suicidal war. For the rest of the world, the stakes are high indeed, since this war leads to the senseless destruction of the most important source of energy that the world can ill afford to squander.



LONDON LETTER

● The Nonaligned ● Pakistan

January 5,

British conservative papers have once again started the chorus that the Non-aligned Movement, divided vertically and horizontally over issues like Afghanistan and Kampuchea, will be torn asunder in an open split at the Foreign Ministers Meeting at New Delhi early next month. This is not merely armchair wishful thinking. The North Atlantic Anglo-Saxon world continues to provide the decades-old leadership to destroy the Non-aligned Movement (NAM) by engineering differences and splits at every level. What the West fears is a united Non-aligned struggle to achieve a New International Economic Order and a New Information Order. The West therefore has always striven to deflect and

distract the NAM by raising political red herrings with a cold war flavour. At the moment it is Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

To help the West, some of its client states have crept into the Movement through the laxity and flexibility in admissions to the NAM. Informed political circles here in London, which have a sympathetic approach to NAM and the aspirations of the peoples of the Third World, have raised one question of great significance for NA countries viz., whether the Movement was correct in admitting Pakistan as a member in the haste and hurry it was done. This question has acquired a new urgency because of General Zia's current endeavours to fashion out a new CENTO-type military bloc in the Middle East under the umbrella of the Islamic Conference. Pakistan still continued its frantic efforts to create an Islamic bloc within the NAM.

Pakistani political exiles in Britain openly assert that such trends and activities were inherent in Pakistan's military-based political power structure and that all this was only suspended for a time in order to gain admission into the NAM — to give it a proper nonaligned image to be accepted as Member. It is asserted that Pakistan was from a "Trojan Horse" in the NAM from the beginning. It will be recalled that Pakistan was a member of CENTO until a few months previous to joining the NAM. And strangely enough, Pakistan's quitting CENTO did not affect or disturb its relations with either the US or China. It has all the ingredients of a far-reaching collusive manoeuvre.

Pakistan's role in the NAM (which helps to prop Western policies) has paid General Zia rich dividends. Which other country has been given an IBRD-IMF revolving credit of \$ 1.7 billion plus other grants, loans and credits on concessionary terms? After this loan was granted to stabilise Pakistan's economy, General Zia has re-doubled his efforts to establish a Middle East military bloc under the aegis of the Islamic Conference — to replace CENTO and SEATO. Pakistan also wants to have a permanent bloc of ultra-right pro-West Muslim state within the NAM.

With the paramount importance attached to unity in the NAM, observers feel that it would not be wise to seek to throw out Pakistan or other states which play the Western game, but NA members will do well to view and study with care any Pakistani initiative directed

against other non-aligned countries. A major effort is essential to see that Pakistan and other like-minded countries adhere strictly to the principles of the NAM.

The draft circulated by India as the host country to form the basis of the final communique after the New Delhi meeting (a draft which found general acceptance among many of the older NA members including Yugoslavia) had set out: "...inspite of many vicissitudes, the movement had demonstrated the capacity not only to survive but also respond to challenge and change without sacrificing its basic principles and objectives. There is no other viable alternative open to non-aligned countries to protect their independence and sovereignty than to maintain and foster unity and solidarity among themselves.... Continued strengthening of the movement is indispensable in order to halt and reverse the current dangerous drift which could lead the world to conflicts of major proportions...." "The draft does not mention Kampuchea by name and refers to the South-East Asian situation in general terms. It has also deliberately omitted any reference to the Iraq-Iran conflict stating, within parenthesis, that it hoped a "peaceful resolution on the dispute would be achieved by the time of the New Delhi conference...."

From reports reaching London, it is clear that most NA countries expect moderation and conciliation on sensitive political questions so that the Meeting can concentrate on economic questions and problems.

Tribune Correspondent.

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BRITAIN

Labour Party

London Jan 19:

The British Labour Party holds a special conference this week (January 24) to establish a new formula for electing the Party's leader. As the day of the conference draws closer, right wing Labour Party members are manoeuvring into position for a break-away to try and form a new Centre Party. The leadership election debate has become a test of the kind of politics that will dominate the Party in its future opposition to the Conservative Government of Prime Minister Thatcher. The choice is between Left-labour and a European style

social Democratic Party. No matter what happens at the weekend there is unlikely to be a call for a fresh leadership election before September this year.

The signal for the Centre Party breakaway will be the success of the Labour left at the Conference in establishing a broader electoral college to decide the leadership of the party. Hitherto this has been an election in which only Labour Party members of Parliament (MPs) or the Parliamentary Labour Party (PLP) have been able to vote. The leadership issue will also test the ground for support for a campaign for greater answerability to constituencies by Parliamentarians. The Left inside the party which has been campaigning for this reform of the system of electing the leader is looking for a one-third-each representation in the electoral body, one third to the constituency parties, one third to the trade unions affiliated to the Labour Party and one third to the Parliamentary Labour Party.

The one third each system would mean that the unions will be involved in party policy, and that they will have a substantial say in the election of a leader. The trade union leaders will be vote barons at the conference, holding the balance of power between the Parliamentarians and the more radical constituencies. The most conservative of the union "barons", amalgamated union of Engineering Workers leader Terry Duffy, is reportedly in favour of the Parliamentarians retaining a more dominant voice in the leadership election.

If the Parliamentary Labour Party loses more than half the electoral college franchise, the moves to set up a Centre Party are expected to follow rapidly. The chief actors will be three prominent figures from the Labour Party, former Foreign Secretary David Owen, former Cabinet member Shirley Williams, and member of the present Labour Party opposition Cabinet William Rogers. The trio known as "The gang of three", met on Sunday the recently retired president of the European Commission, Roy Jenkins to plan their strategy for the coming weeks and months.

The leader of the small Liberal Party, David Steel, has repeatedly expressed his interest in discussing a pact with the disaffected Gang of Three and any other dissidents, conservative or labour, who may be interested in forming this centre party. The Liberal Party has a mere eleven out of the 635 Parliamentary seats, and has failed to persuade the voting

public that it is an alternative to the two-party system that dominates the British Political scene—IPS

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OPEC REPORT

Energy Problems In Developing Countries

Vienna, Jan, 22,

Uneven development of potential energy resources in developing countries is a result of the lack of interest shown by the transnational oil companies in order to invest in this field, states a recent report of the OPEC Secretariat. Being the main actors which had full access to the capital and the technology needed by developing countries, transnational oil companies "had concentrated their whole efforts on exploration and extraction of crude in regions where production costs were very low", the report adds. When these companies considered their reserves to be adequate for 15 or 20 years consumption, they used to cut back operations.

The OPEC report draws attention to the fact that the number of fields drilled in the United States was 44 times those placed in the Middle East and Africa. According to the OPEC report on the "Present and future of energy in developing countries" the non-OPEC developing countries have 50 per cent of the total perspective petroleum areas in the world. But the exploration drilling density is extremely low compared with highly explored basis as for instance in the West European countries. Some comparative figures mentioned in the OPEC report give a clear picture on the policy followed by the international oil companies: in comparison with the drilling density in the US, the average in Non-OPEC developing countries is in Africa 0.1 per cent, in Asia, 0.7 per cent and in Latin America 2.0 percent.

Another fact illustrating the policy of transnational oil companies in developing countries and their main interest in "finding explorable energy for the highest return with least investments" is reported by OPEC. The discrepancies between the estimates of oil companies and official sources in the US and USSR on the total potential hydrocarbon resources in the third world. The figures of the oil industry are nearly one-fifth of the estimates of the two official authorities. The

OPEC analysis concludes that "there does not seem to be a lack of oil resources to develop in the non-OPEC developing countries", the problem rather seems to consist in a lack of access to "know-how, capital and manpower for an adequate level of exploration and the development of these resources" — all of them are factors controlled by the transnational oil corporations.—PS.

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A NOTE ON

The Police Public And The Press

As a young Superintendent of Police, now a Deputy Inspector General, who has studied police methods in foreign crimes, Mr. S. Vama-devan told me some years ago, that although our Police talent rates high with the eyes of foreign experts, yet the local policeman often finds himself ranged against a hostile public and a press.

Ben Whitaker, a Barrister of the Inner Temple, in a Penguin issue titled "The Police", studies this aspect of the problem and states "Even law abiding people have always had a curiously ambivalent attitude towards policemen and criminals. Universal hostility greeted the earliest police officers when they first appeared in the streets of London: today people often seem to be reluctant to take sides in what they tend to regard as a private war between Police and the Criminals".

People sometimes think that an offence does not constitute a sufficient threat to society; they may have a sneaking envy or sympathy for the criminal. Smugglers have always been more popular than customs officers. We associate Crime with forbidden pleasures also feel a lack of identification with for example a Bank that has been robbed. People are attracted by the sporting element in Crime particularly if no violence is used; some of them boast with pride at their skill at diddling the tax inspector or the store keeper at their places of work. Many modern business practices can be viewed as white collar crime socially accepted delinquent activity.

Whitaker's views on the attitude of the Press towards the police seems to be even more revealing of not knocking rather closely at the hard core of the truth behind the apparent hostility. This position has however improved in the last decade, but let us heed what the author has to say nevertheless. "Part of this

ill feeling between the press and the Police is caused by lack of understanding, about each other's function and difficulties. The main aim of a Newspaper (although often the last reason it gives) is to sell copies. News and the police are always news, must be printed quickly or not at all. When the police are asked for their version of some story, it is frequently not forthcoming for several days, either because the matter is *sub judice* or because it takes time for them to make a thorough investigation. By the time a refutation or explanation is available, newspapers feel it has little interest for readers. "Relations with the Press should be a part of police training. A bureau is also needed which could speak on behalf of the police nationally; at present they suffer because force and ranks are fragmented and each is unable to speak for all".

I think a social survey conducted by a Royal Commission on Police Powers in the United Kingdom had the kernel of the whole problem confined in a nutshell when it commented that "there is a further not inconsiderable disadvantage in police work, and this is the burden of social isolation that the police feel that their position carries. This isolation is experienced not only by the police themselves, but to some extent by their wives and children as well.... In these respects police work is probably unique. It follows that the police are continually in a defensive position and any real or imagined criticism from individuals or sections of the general public, the Press or authorities such as the courts or members of Parliament is liable to produce in the police mind a distorted impression of what the public in general feel about them. There is no way in which the police can assess changes of opinion in their favour, as praise is less likely to be expressed than criticism".

Notwithstanding the foregoing observations, I think in Sri Lanka should develop a more charitable and appreciative attitude towards the Policeman. I make special reference to "we" in Sri Lanka, because if we are to judge by the praise showered on our Policemen who go abroad for training, then we need not have any misgivings of the quality of the law-men at our disposal.

Besides it must be submitted that the local Policeman works in more difficult conditions of service, than his foreign counterpart. A comparison of the relevant salary structures as they exist now would indeed prove very revealing. If one could only scan the monthly

salary sheets of the constabulary or if one would take a stroll through some of the hovels in many Police Divisions that pass off for married quarters, where an essential limb of the law could rest after a hard day's work, some of them using common outdated toilet facilities as at the Wellawatte Police Station now, then we would learn to be more liberal with the "bouquets" and circumspect with the "brick-bats" from now on.

James N. Benedict.

108, Manning Place.
Colombo 6.

x x x

LETTERS

Curious most curious

Sir,

I have observed some strange things taking place in Sri Lanka recently. The people in the city are holding marches to encourage folks to protect trees—which are to be found in the countryside. And the village folks are on the march against meat-eating—a habit confined to the cities!

A concern is being raised about the failure to use the link language in Jaffna. What is curious is that every lorry in Sri Lanka announces its owner's name, origin, etc, either in Sinhala and English or Tamil and English. Never have I seen one which told the tale in both Sinhala and Tamil—a simple act which encouraged both languages on all such vehicles might help, and become a meaningful symbolic link.

A newspaper has protested against the readiness of some Government officials to accept recommendations for employment from Political figures who lost power at the last elections, and it argues that they ought rather to favour those recommended by the present holders of political power—Personally I admire the guts of the chaps who stretch out a hand to help the fallen.

I heard the other day that when a chap asked to be employed in a private firm, he was told you must bring a letter from such-and-such a Minister. Alas—for freedom and democracy.

In the decentralisation process, unless the system provides real and effective power to the local chaps on the committee, they will just become rubber-stamps of the political folks in the area, we shall have an absolutization

of the ever-present feudal order.

The people at the top in politics in Sri Lanka would do well to appreciate that in India today all the charges against the Gandhi family are being forgotten. Does justice just dance to the tune of those in political power? It would be better by far if those presently enjoying political power were constantly exposed to the searchlight of justice. The greatest sin is that of hypocrisy. I sometimes think it is a good thing the woman caught in adultery and who was saved by the word of Jesus "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone" might have perished in Dharmista Sri Lanka.

Bryan de Kretser,

Hendala,
21.01.81.

x x x

Cyclone Relief

Sir,

It is two years since the Cyclone devastated the Eastern sea-board of Sri Lanka. The people of this region have suffered severe losses, and undergone untold hardships. They have been compensated for in various ways, both from funds from the State coffers and from contributions and donations in cash and kind made by foreign governments and agencies and private parties. It will be nothing but fair and reasonable if the enlightened Government would keep the people of the country and the donor agencies and foreign governments that came to our aid informed of the sources and extent of the funds and aids received and the expenditure incurred. The people will therefore be very grateful to the state for the publication of the relevant information.

K. Kanapathipillai.

52, Angle Road,
Batticaloa,
21.01.81.

x x x

Most Welcome

Sir,

The proposal to set up an Institute of Fundamental Research is a move in the right direction and most welcome. Science is in a withered condition in this "scientific desert"

and with help of the proposed institute may "a thousand flowers bloom".

No matter that the available teaching and research institutions are poorly equipped, staffed and financed (there were times when university researchers worked in "lavatories turned into laboratories"), and what if weeds sprout in half-completed laboratories and a working knowledge of English the *sine qua non* for scientific progress—is restricted to a very small section of those seeking education in the sciences. All hands on deck and unfurl the sails to race to the frontiers of science.

A fading scientist

Colombo,
10.01.81.

X X

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Jan. 21 — Jan. 31

DIARY OF EVENTS IN SRI LANKA AND THE WORLD
COMPILED FROM DAILY NEWSPAPERS
PUBLISHED IN COLOMBO.

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror;
CO—Ceylon Observer; ST—Sunday Times; SO—Sunday
Observer; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; VK—
Virakesari; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLDP—
Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadina; SU—Sun; DV—Davasa;
DP—Dinapathi; CM—Chinthamani; WK—Weekend;
RR—Riviresa; DK—Dinakara; EN—Eelanadu; IDPR—
Information Dept. Press Release.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 21: The transfer of an Air Lankan official based in Male because of the treatment meted out to a guest Maldivian Ministry of External Affairs, who was off loaded from an Air Lanka flight at the 11th hour, even though he held a confirmed reservation on that flight last week. The latest move by the Industries and Scientific Affairs Ministry to prevent qualified technicians from leaving the country to obtain jobs abroad was to provide them attractive salaries. Thirty Indian engineers will arrive here this month on a two-year stint to help draw up plans designs for the downstream development program for systems A, B and C (Mahiyangana, Polonnaruwa and Uthitiya) of the Mahaweli Development Project—CDN. The President Mr. J. R. Jayewardene will at the invitation of the Minister of Lands and Land Development, Gamini Dissanayake, commission

the Muthukandiya Irrigation Reservoir Scheme on March 1; the Muthukandiya Scheme comes under the Lower Uva Development Programme, and is in the Bibile electorate in the Moneragala district—CDM. Bags and bags of flour belonging to the Food Department were adulterated at Vavuniya; it was when transporting the flour from one warehouse to another that earth, ash, and bran were mixed with the flour on the way—DP.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 22: The United States of America acting through the International Communication Agency will construct and operate a receiving and transmitting Voice of America radio relay-station in Sri Lanka at a site to be selected by agreement shortly—CDN. All officers and personnel of the Sinha Regiment of the Sri Lanka Army based at Echelon Square have been sent on compulsory leave as certain personnel of this unit had allegedly molested a woman on Galle Face Green and had proceeded to stone and burn down the Police Communication Centre at Fort when these involved were arrested by the Police in the early hours of yesterday. The establishment of an Institute of Fundamental Studies was approved by the Cabinet on a proposal made by President J. R. Jayewardene—CDM. The Police Communications Centre at Echelon Square linking Colombo with stations throughout the country went out of commission on Tuesday night after some three million rupees worth of damage was caused in a clash between Police and a ground of Army personnel from the Sinha Regiment—SU.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 23: The Bank of Ceylon will on February 10 make available to the general public a massive, unprecedented share issue of Rs. 219.9 million in the ownership of its new Property Development Company (PDC) which has a paid up capital ceiling of Rs. 550 million, the Bank's chairman, Mr. Nissanka Wijewardene, said yesterday. Nine Ministers of the Government will join the Prime Minister during his five-day tour of the Jaffna District from January 29—CDN. The administration and management of the Private Medical College and its ancillary institutions will be vested solely in the Board of Governors as has been adopted in the Constitution of the College. The Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr. T. B. Werapitiya, has directed the police to take immediate action to ensure that private vans and buses were safe in all

respects for travel. Jaffna District is getting ready to give a warm welcome to the Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa, who will pay a five-day official visit to the Jaffna District from January 29 to February 2—CDM. Citco, the giant US multi-national now prospecting for offshore oil in Sri Lanka's territorial waters, last week completed gathering preliminary seismic data off the northern coast, Mr. Daham Wimalasena, Chairman of the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation, said today—CO.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 24: The Ministry of Education has scrapped the link language scheme—the teaching of Tamil in Sinhala schools and Sinhala in Tamil schools—which it introduced into the syllabuses of Grades 6, 7, 8 in 1978; the scheme to teach a link language has proved unsuccessful an Education Ministry spokesman said. Power and Energy Ministry Secretary, James Lanerolle, said yesterday that a power cut was inevitable if the recent drought continued—CDN. There will be no Independence Day parade on February 4th; this decision has been taken by the government. The Government of India has placed on record an assurance that it would resist any forces that seek to destroy the unitary status of Sri Lanka; it is reliably learnt that this assurance was volunteered by Mr. Eric Gonsalves, Indian Foreign Secretary in his talks with high ranking Sri Lanka authorities—CDM. A high-ranking government official and a private sector businessman will jointly lead Sri Lanka's first ever investment promotion mission to West Asian capitals beginning on February 14—SU. The MP for Mullaitivu X. M. Sellathambu has brought to the notice of the government the unwarranted attacks made by the Navy personnel on fishing boats—VK. A sum of Rs. 281,400 in foreign currency notes was discovered at the Kurunegala post office yesterday and a person who brought these forged notes to be deposited in the savings account at the Post office has been arrested by the Kurunegala Police—DP.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 25: The Sri Lankan economy already reeling under the impact of escalating oil prices worldwide will have to take a second blow on account of international fertiliser prices that are also climbing in sympathy with oil; authoritative official sources indicated that urea prices have moved up from the region of 170 US dollars to 280 dollars a ton, necessitating some urgent think-

ing on how much the economy can carry by way of fertiliser subsidies—SO. The Government has planned for a five-year rolling programme of investment in the public sector up to 1985; this is a clear indication of the UNP government's confidence of its future beyond its mandate ending in 1983, according to political observers. The Baggage Allowance given by the customs to incoming passengers as personal effects has been drastically slashed with immediate effect—ST. Gan, the former British Military base in the Maldives, will be turned into an international business complex, the Republic's President, Maumoon Abdul Gayoom announced in Colombo on Friday—WK. Three unidentified persons got away with Rs. 15,000 at about 7 p.m. on Friday at gun point from a foreign liquor ship opposite the Manipal Post Office—VK.

MONDAY, JANUARY 26: Central Bank Governor, Dr. Warnasena Rasaputram, said yesterday that Sri Lanka was held as a model developing country by the highest circles at the World Bank. From around March this year residents of Colombo and Kotte will have to pay for the water they use; domestic consumers in the Colombo Municipal area will be charged a monthly water tax of 20 cents per 1000 litres for the first 10,000 litres and 75 cents per 1000 litres for the second 10,000 litres; consumption of water in excess of 20,000 litres will be charged at the rate of Rs. 1.75 per 1000 litres—CDN. About 2000 of the 5000 students comprising 40 percent, according to merit being admitted to the universities in February, on the results of the two GCE (Advanced Level) examinations will be allowed a University of their choice, the University Grants Commission has decided. The customs foiled an attempt by a leading Maldivian businessman to take out of the country \$10,000 (US) concealed inside his shoes through the Colombo Airport, Katunayake last Saturday—CDM. Elections to Development Councils will take place in April, soon after the Avurudda; for this purpose, Prime Minister, R. Premadasa will introduce in Parliament legislation covering the lilies on which these elections will be held. From March 1, the country will be provided only with wheat flour processed and milled by the Prima flour milling complex in Trincomalee and the State Flour Milling Corporation, Food Commissioner P.M. Hassan said yesterday. President J. R. Jayewardene warned yesterday that Sri Lankans would have to face difficult

times as a result of global economic trends — SU. Elections to District Development Councils will be held after the Sinhala and Tamil New Year in April this year — DP. President J. R. Jayewardene said yesterday that he and Prime Minister R. Premadasa cannot be separated as they were both well-disciplined, truthful and straightforward and that for a very long time they were acting understanding each other — VK.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 27 : India and Sri Lanka decided to venture on joint promotional programs to attract more tourists to the region, Minister of State, Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis met the Minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation Mr. A. P. Sarma and discussed at length the promotional programs with a view to increasing tourist traffic between the two countries. Police yesterday seized rupees one million in forged currency notes in a house in the Western Province, in what is believed to be the baring of one of the biggest counterfeit currency rackets in recent times in Sri Lanka ; the money, all in Rs. 100 notes, looking very much like the genuine article, was recovered in bagfuls by the police — CDN. Over thousand "pirate" buses and vans carrying passengers in all parts of the island without obtaining permits from the Sri Lanka Central Transport Board are causing much concern to the country's nationalised transport services. It is only through an agrarian and intellectual revolution that the village could be developed ; the Mahapola philosophy was to change the village into a developed entity, Trade and Shipping Minister, Lalith Athulathmudali said during the week end in Kuliyapitiya at the final night of the 22nd Mahapola at the Nakkawatte Madhyama Maha Vidyalaya — CDM. Price control men yesterday carried out a series of raids on private traders in Colombo and its suburbs, following complaints that sugar was being hoarded. Foreign Secretaries of seven Asian countries — India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, the Maldives and Sri Lanka — will meet in Colombo from April 8 to 10 this year to chalk out the lines for the proposed new Asian regional grouping — SU.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 28 : Three hand picked police officers from the Interpol branch in Sri Lanka, are due to fly in the next forty-eight hours to Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia following a trail, which they hope, will lead them to the gang that was responsible for dumping one million rupees in forged currency

notes in Sri Lanka ; the forged currency was discovered in a house in Maradana on Monday ; the police have established that the notes were printed abroad, that they were smuggled into the country in paper packages as printed matter and cleared at the airport. India and Sri Lanka yesterday agreed to exchange Radio and TV programs on a regular basis. Government will soon permit the Paddy Marketing Board to buy paddy on tender from the private sector in Sri Lanka ; tenders will be floated almost during the harvesting season in all paddy producing districts, an official spokesman said — CDN. The Prime Minister of Singapore Mr. Lee Kuan Yew will arrive in Sri Lanka tomorrow on a four-day State visit — CDM. The CID yesterday appealed to the public to turn over to it any forged hundred rupee notes in their possession and warned that those possessing forged notes would face prosecution ; the CID appeal came amidst reports that these notes, bearing serial number W/161 40860, may already be in circulation in large numbers. Government may shortly be compelled to impose drastic power cuts all over the country in view of the crisis situation that has arisen as a result of fast diminishing hydel capacity in the two reservoirs, a top official warned yesterday. Work on the practical and concise Sinhala dictionary was officially started by the Cultural Affairs Minister E. L. B. Hurulle at the Ministry yesterday ; the Minister said the task of compiling this dictionary comprising 75,000 words within a two year period had entrusted to attorney Harischandra Vijetunge who has already compiled a Sinhala dictionary on his own — SU. An estimated 12,000 — 15,000 tons of sheet rubber is clogging shippers' stores in Colombo and Galle with rubber movements to China considerably slowed down. A spokesman for the Department of Commodity Purchase said yesterday that the last loader to China left port on January 5 and further shipments are not expected till about mid-February — CO. Prime Minister Mr. R. Premadasa will be in the Northern District for five days from tomorrow ; arrangements have been made for the Premier to meet people of all walks of life in the District — DP.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 29 : Singapore Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew, who arrives here tonight on a three-day visit is expected to have informal discussions with President J. R. Jayewardene on bilateral matters and international issues. Severe punishments will be meted out in future to those found guilty

of damaging public property and misappropriating public funds, Acting Minister of State, Chandra Karunaratne said yesterday at the press briefing on the Cabinet meeting. The Central Bank yesterday alerted commercial banks in the island to exercise greater vigilance when accepting money for deposits. A busy program awaits Prime Minister R. Premadasa and Mrs. Premadasa when they arrive in Jaffna this afternoon on a five-day official visit accompanied by several ministers and deputy ministers. The Central Bank yesterday alerted commercial banks in the island to exercise greater vigilance when accepting money for deposits—CDN. An entirely modernised Colombo Airport, Katunayake with improved facilities for passengers and cargo will come into operation next month after the completion of stage one of the 1.5 billion rupee project—CDM. A consumer credit law to regulate the activities of finance and hire purchase companies and to ensure that the rights of consumers are safeguarded, is to be introduced in Parliament soon by the Trade and Shipping Minister Lalith Athulathmudali—SU. The Rubber Rice Pact between Sri Lanka and China for 1981 has just been finalised—CO. As the main idea of the architect of Gramodaya, Prime Minister R. Premadasa in going to the North today is to declare open the 75th model village at Udupiddy there appears anxiety, excitement and happiness among the people in the area; therefore, various arrangements have been made to receive the Premier with a cheerful slogan "welcome! welcome!, People's Prime Minister".—VK.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 30: Prime Minister, R. Premadasa yesterday afternoon flew into Jaffna with a message of national unity and goodwill to one of the grandest receptions accorded to a leader visiting this part of the country. Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew arrived here last night on a three-day visit accompanied by Mrs. Lee Kuan Yew. An exchange of letters took place yesterday at the Ministry of Finance and Planning between the Governments of Japan and Sri Lanka, providing for a grant of Yen 300 million (Approx. US \$8.48 million or Rs. 26,7 million) for the construction of the Sri Jayewardenapura General Hospital—CDN. The Plane bringing Singapore's Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew and Mrs. Yew and party arrived at the Colombo Airport, Katunayake, at 11.00 yesterday to a red carpet welcome—CDM. Prime Minister R. Premadasa told a massive crowd

which greeted him on his arrival at the Palaly airport in Jaffna yesterday that he had come there with a message of goodwill from the Government of President J. R. Jayewardene. Money allocated to decentralised budgets will have to be spent on certain priority projects drawn up by the Committee of Development Secretaries; new regulations setting out the priorities for every district administration to follow have been circularised by President J. R. Jayewardene. Poor maintenance of the country's road networks has severely slowed down Sri Lanka's economic development and caused heavy losses to vehicle operators, a survey by six British experts has revealed—SU. Prime Minister Mr. R. Premadasa who was given a grand reception at the Palaly airport yesterday afternoon said that he had come to the North to find out and fulfil the needs of the people of Jaffna and not on a pleasure trip—VK.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 31: Singapore Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew began his three day semi-official visit to Sri Lanka yesterday with a briefing on the country's biggest development project—the Accelerated Mahaweli scheme; the leaders of Singapore and Sri Lanka later visited the Urban Development Authority where the visiting Prime Minister was apprised of the Government's plans to develop the new capital at Sri Jayewardenapura and other urban development schemes. The next parliament of Sri Lanka will consist of 22 electoral districts, to which 196 members will be elected and apportioned; a proclamation under the seal of President J. R. Jayewardene was issued by gazette. Home Affairs Minister K. W. Devanayagam told the Tamil United Liberation Front leadership on Thursday evening at the Jaffna Secretariat that the United National Party would soon oust them from their fortress—the Jaffna District; "we have ousted you from Colombo, we will oust you from the North, too", he said. A US \$ 5 million loan agreement was signed in Vienna between Sri Lanka and the OPEC fund for International Development—CDN. The guaranteed price for paddy will be increased to Rs. 52/50 a bushel from tomorrow along with an increase in fertilizer prices, the Ministry of Agricultural Development and Research announced yesterday—SU.

o o o o

President Reagan

Sir,

I was shocked to hear the brief summary of President Reagan's first public statement broadcast over Sri Lanka Radio this morning—30th January. He is reported to have stated that the Soviet leaders are ready to do any crime to further world revolution. Some years back Mr. Reagan when Governor of California described the Chinese in somewhat similar terms. Today of course the Chinese barbarians have become kindly gentlemen. Nations which do not see eye-to-eye with the Americans describe the US performance especially in South America also in highly emotional terms. All nations have to describe the enemy of the moment in dark language, the enemies are all the children of Darkness. they naturally, the children of Light.

At the same time, other persons in responsible position in the United States have mildly informed the American People that only twenty-two million of them will perish in a nuclear war. The public are gradually being prepared to accept the idea of a limited nuclear war. We appear to be standing on the edge of the precipice. Despite for instance the solemn warning by Dutch Doctors published recently in the Netherlands about the consequences of nuclear war.

It would help to make difficult the psychological escalation to war psychosis if we all agreed that wars take place simply because men are naughty. That we are all caught in a power dilemma and that the conflict between the Superpowers would exist even if both parties became democrat—in the Western sense—or Marxist in the Soviet sense.

If the choice is between nuclear death or life under the Soviets then I for one prefer the latter alternative. After all East Germany in the Soviet bloc gets second place in the Olympics. But let's try to keep both Superpowers going, and a little Non-alignment too—and try not to take either of the Superpowers too seriously. It's the serious minded chaps, who move to fanaticism, and might trip us all in a nuclear holocaust.

Bryan de Kretser

Prithipura,
Hendala.
27-1-81

EL SALVADOR

Catholic Organisations Support Popular Uprising

Quito, Jan. 8,

Ten Catholic Organisations announced their support for a popular uprising in El Salvador "as a last resort to secure peace" in a document made public here on Thursday. Entitled "Christians and the Popular Uprising in El Salvador", the document was published both in El Salvador and abroad by the Latin American Human Rights Association, based in Quito, Ecuador. The text continues: "When the people of El Salvador decide that the only way to secure peace is by revolt, then the Catholic Church should stand with them, and recognize the justice and legitimate right of their cause". The document reviews the last 50 years of political social and economic oppression in El Salvador, during which time the people have had their rights to free expression and to vote constantly violated.

"No one should forget the corruption of the legislative and legal systems, nor that the long history of subjugation of the people has reached the level of genocide under the present military and Christian democratic regime", the writers warn. They go on to say that this government is not a legitimate one, and does not seek the good of the majority, but is drowning the country in blood. In this context, revolt is legitimate, the organisations feel, because no peaceful way to achieve the aspirations of the majority is available.

The Catholic Church, the document states, admits the right to revolt "in the face of clear prolonged tyranny which has a severe effect on basic individual rights and acts against the common good". The declaration ends with the words of Monsignor Oscar Arnulfo Romero, the Archbishop of San Salvador murdered in March 1980, who said shortly before his death that: "the cry of freedom of our people is a shout which reaches up to God and which nothing and no one can stifle".—IPS



Confidentially

Tobacco-3

IS IT NOT TRUE that the point made by Walter S. Ross in the *Reader's Digest* of May 1980 (Vide *Tribune*, 31/1/81) that the smoking epidemic was being deliberately spread in Third World countries by interested multinationals and Western governments who benefited from the trade (like the slave trade of old) has been more recently endorsed by the World Health Organisation (WHO)? That the *Pakistan Times* of January 15 carried a PPI report from London that stated: "....The decline in smoking in Europe and North America has been matched by a dramatic increase in the developing countries, according to the World Health Organisation. In a review of its 1980 campaign, 'Smoking or Health — the Choice is Yours', the WHO said that smoking in developing countries is increasing due to the emulation of life-style practised in industrial countries deliberately promoted by tobacco companies. Smoking related diseases are increasing as a result, said the review." That strangely enough the daily papers in Sri Lanka did not carry any reports about this WHO report (and if some paper had published something it must have been so insignificantly displayed that most people missed it)? That the *Pakistan Times* had reported further that: "The world tobacco market is dominated by seven companies including British American Tobacco, Imperial and Rothmans, which spend around 1,000 million pounds a year on advertising. Faced with tougher controls on advertising in Western countries, the companies are turning to the Third World where controls are more lax. People in developing countries are, it seems, being persuaded by advertising that affluent people normally smoke, though non-smokers outnumber smokers in Britain, the United States, Sweden and other Western countries. In the United States, 30 million smokers have successfully kicked the habit since 1964 and only one in three Americans now smoke. There is evidence that some of the tobacco companies are selling stronger and addictive cigarettes in developing countries than they do in the West. Tests at laboratories in Tennessee found that the 555 cigarettes contained 18 mg. of tar when

marketed in Britain but 31 mg of tar when sold in Kenya. The nicotine content was 0.9 per cent when sold in Britain but 2 percent when sold in Kenya. The *British Medical Journal* said in a recent leading article that the British Government bears a special responsibility for the conduct of the tobacco industry in developing countries, because this country is the base for some of the world's largest multinational tobacco companies. The seven leading tobacco companies were accused in a United Nations' report of deliberately concealing financial information and making pay-offs to major political parties which were seen as necessary for corporate survival and profitability. The WHO is cooperating with the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation in a study to compare the economic benefits of tobacco production with the health cost of smoking-related diseases. They hope that this will help developing countries considering a switch from tobacco to food...."

IS IT NOT time that the government and the people (at least the thinking sections) in Sri Lanka examine this question of smoking and tobacco cultivation in the light of the most recent WHO report and what other knowledgeable persons have said? In this connection, it is pertinent to remind ourselves, as an Indian commentator on these matters, Bharat Dogra, has pointed out: "Marketing and advertisement policies pursued by some multinational firms ignores health hazards posed to unsuspecting consumers. Recent years saw such practices of the multinational firms exposed in the western countries leading to the curtailment of the marketing of some products and curbs on the promotion of other products. However, in several cases the MNCs have been able to harvest high profits by merely diverting their marketing campaigns to the Third World countries where the regulations to curb high pressure marketing campaigns are not strict. Here we take up four products which proved extremely harmful to public health — pesticides, drugs, infant milk foods and cigarettes." That one has only to study the multinational advertising in Sri Lanka to realise the dangers to which our nation is exposed?



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