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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

THE GOVERNMENT has done well to clear the air of misunderstandings and suspicions that had begun to cloud the recent happenings in Jaffna. The matter was considered at the Cabinet meeting on July 8, and the **Ceylon Daily Mirror** (9/7/81) reported that: "In spite of the efforts of the President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene and the Government to extend the hand of friendship to the TULF, its leaders continue to advocate the division of the country. There had also been a campaign of abuse and opposition to the Government. False rumours were being spread that certain Ministers were present in Jaffna and that they inspired the rioting which took place on May 31 and June 1. These Ministers did not reach Jaffna till June 3, the day before polling in the DDC elections. Further, the Leader of the Opposition and Leader of the TULF had gone abroad after the Jaffna incidents, criticised the Government, advocated division of the country and asked for international aid behind the Government's back. These observations contained in a statement issued by the Cabinet of Ministers yesterday which was released to the press by Cabinet spokesman, Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis, Minister of State. The statement adds: 'With regard to the violent incidents that took place in Jaffna on Sunday May 31 and Monday June 1, 1981 the Cabinet decided to appoint a Commission of Inquiry. The President has written to Party leaders of the SLFP and TULF to nominate a member each to the Commission of Inquiry. The SLFP has not accepted the invitation. No reply has yet been received from the TULF. A Committee will also be appointed to assess the damage done to persons and property. Assistance will be given from the President's Fund to meet some portion of the damage caused. The Police Department have already held extensive inquiries with regard to the participation of the members of the police force in these incidents. Those who have been found to have participated in acts of violence will be dealt with under the Disciplinary Code and where cases can be filed in the Courts that too also will be done'..."

We ourselves had, in our comments in this column in our issue of June 20, been under the impression that a few Ministers were present in Jaffna when some police personnel had run amok. Such misunderstandings often arise when information is not made available at the appropriate by some authority which should have anticipated difficulties the Press would have immediately after an Emergency is clamped down. We are not yet certain when Jaffna was placed under Emergency and news from the peninsula was censored—whether it was from midnight of June 1 or during the course of June 2. But the fact is that the news from the North suffered not only from the censorship but also from the spate of rumours and the word-of-mouth information service which began to operate in a big way. Unfortunately, the Government has no credible machine even in normal times to release for publication news that can keep the press and public informed about at least some basic facts. In times of crisis, or Emergency, the situation is even worse. Understandably, in a period of acute tension news that can incite further trouble should be withheld, but in this instance stories that Ministers were present and that some of them had directed the operations involving arson, looting and scorched earth destruction would not have arisen if the real facts had been made known. Mere denials and protestations of innocence are more often than not never believed. But if the fact that the Ministers concerned had gone to Jaffna only on June 3 had been published, the stories that these Ministers were party to the violence perpetrated by some elements of the State Security forces could have been nipped in the bud. This is one matter to which the Government must pay immediate attention.

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D.D.C Elections - 2

Colombo, July 10 :

This column last week outlined the general pattern of the results of the June 4 election for 17 DDCs. We also had a brief introductory note about the elections. Many of the political parties—UNP, SLFP, CPSL, LSSP, and the JVP—have made their post-mortem analyses and statements. Each of them have attempted to exact the maximum sectarian propaganda benefit for their respective parties. Most UNP spokesmen betray a complacency that does not augur well for the Party. The SLFP is content to proclaim that its call for a boycott has fallen on receptive ears. The CPSL however insists that the boycott idea was theirs and the credit for the low poll must go to the Communists. The CPSL has presented the statistics of the election results to show that the UNP is on the way out. The LSSP is unhappy about the boycott and reiterates that a united opposition can easily defeat the UNP. The JVP analysis is not yet to hand. The TULF usually does not indulge in interpretative analysis of elections or political events—its entire orbit of thinking revolves around its obsession for Eelam.

But before we go into any examination of the way different parties have approached the DDC election results, it would be useful to have a fuller breakdown of the results. Below we publish the election results for the 17 DDCs—districtwise grouped in provinces :

1- WESTERN PROVINCE :

COLOMBO

Totals :	
Registered	911,251
U.N.P.	266,424
T.C.	12,385
Independent Group (JVP)	78,912
Rejected	54,815
Polled	412,537

Percentages :	
Polled of Registered	45.3%
Rejected of Registered	6.0%
Rejected of Poll	13.3%
UNP of registered	29.2%
of polled	64.6%
JVP of registered	8.7%
of polled	19.1%

Seats :	
Total	16
U.N.P.	12
J.V.P.	4

GAMPAHA

Totals :	
Registered	778,344
U.N.P.	250,798
Independent Group (JVP)	77,104
Rejected	39,433
Polled	367,335

Percentages :	
Poll of Registered	47.2%
Rejected of Registered	5.1%
Rejected of Poll	10.7%
UNP of Registered	32.2%
of Polled	68.3%
JVP of Registered	9.9%
of Polled	21.0%

Seats :

Total	12
UNP	9
JVP	3

KALUTARA

Totals :	
Registered	469,501
U.N.P.	139,431
Independent Group No. 1	56,986
Independent Group No. 2 (JVP)	22,683
Rejected	15,705
Polled	234,805

Percentages :	
Poll of Registered	50.0%
Rejected of Registered	3.3%
Rejected of Poll	6.7%
UNP of Registered	29.7%
of Polled	59.4%

Ind- Group No- 1	
of Registered	12.1%
of polled	24.3%
JVP of Registered	4.8%
of polled	9.7%

Seats :	
Total	8
UNP	6
Ind. Group No. 1	2
JVP	nil

2- SOUTHERN PROVINCE

MATARA UNP uncontested

GALLE

Totals :	
Registered	483,005
UNP	146,317
Independent Group (JVP)	44,142
Rejected	15,332
Polled	205,791

Percentages :

Poll of Registered	42.6%
Rejected of Registered	3.2%
Rejected of Poll	7.5%
UNP of Registered	30.3%
of polled	71.1%
JVP of Registered	9.1%
of polled	21.4%

Seats :

Total	9
U.N.P.	7
J.V.P.	2

HAMBANTOTA**Totals :**

Registered	222,040
U.N.P.	67,448
Independent Group No. 1	3,363
Independent Group No. 2	21,270
Independent Group No. 3(JVP)	28,275
Rejected	1,392
Polled	121,748

Percentages :

Poll of Registered	54.8%
Rejected of Registered	0.6%
Rejected of Poll	1.1%
UNP of Registered	30.4%
of polled	55.4%
Ind. No. 1 : of Registered	1.5%
of Polled	2.8%
Ind. No. 2 : of Registered	9.6%
of Polled	17.5%
JVP of Registered	12.7%
of polled	23.2%

Seats :

Total	3
U.N.P.	2
Ind. No. 1	nil
Ind. No. 2	nil
J.V.P.	1

3. NORTHERN PROVINCE**JAFFNA****Totals :**

Registered	463,414
U.N.P.	23,302
T.U.L.F.	263,369
T.C.	21,682
Ind. Group No. 1 (Kumarasuriyar's)	4,191
Ind. Group No. 2 (Minority Tamils)	3,455
Rejected	4,388
Polled	320,37

Percentage s

Poll of Registered	69.1%
Rejected of Registered	0.9%
Rejected of Poll	1.4%
TULF of Registered	56.8%
of Polled	82.2%

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UNP of Registered	5.0%
of Polled	7.3%
TC of Registered	4.7%
of Polled	6.8%

Seats :

Total	10
T.U.L.F.	10
U.N.P.	nil
T.C.	nil

MANNAR**Totals :**

Registered	38,680
U.N.P.	14,713
T.U.L.F.	16,459
T.C.	1,511
Rejected	169
Polled	32,852

Percentages :

Poll of Registered	84.9%
Rejected of Registered	0.4%
Rejected of Poll	0.5%
UNP of Registered	38.0%
of Polled	44.8%
TULF of Registered	42.6%
of Polled	50.1%
TC of Registered	3.9%
of Polled	4.6%

Seats :

Total	4
U.N.P.	2
T.U.L.F.	2
T.C.	nil

MULLAITIVU**Totals :**

Registered	31,802
U.N.P.	8,451
T.U.L.F.	13,815
T.C.	650
Rejected	178
Polled	23,094

Percentages :

Poll of Registered	72.6%
Rejected of Registered	0.6%
Rejected of Poll	0.8%
UNP of Registered	26.6%
of Polled	36.6%
TULF of Registered	43.4%
of Polled	59.8%
TC of Registered	2.0%
of Polled	2.8%

Seats :

Total	4
U.N.P.	2
T.U.L.F.	2

VAVUNIYA

Totals :	
Registered	38,011
U.N.P.	10,976
T.U.L.F.	18,048
T.C.	268
Rejected	527
Polled	29,819

Percentages :	
Poll of Registered	78.4%
Rejected of Registered	1.4%
Rejected of Poll	1.8%
UNP of Registered	28.9%
of Polled	36.8%
TULF of Registered	47.5%
of Polled	66.5%
TC of Registered	0.7%
of Polled	0.9%
Seats :	
Total	4
U.N.P.	2
T.U.L.F.	2
T.C.	nil

4. EASTERN PROVINCE

BATTICALOA

Totals :	
Registered	157,765
U.N.P.	34,664
T.U.L.F.	74,302
Independent Group (Muslims)	16,698
Rejected	1,092
Polled	126,756

Percentages :	
Poll of Registered	80.3%
Rejected of registered	0.7%
Rejected of Polled	0.9%
TULF of Registered	47.1%
of Polled	58.6%
UNP of Registered	22.0%
of Polled	27.3%

Seats	
Total	3
U.N.P.	1
T.U.L.F.	2

AMPARAI

Totals :	
Registered	185,286
U.N.P.	91,247
T.U.L.F.	37,875
Rejected	3,655
Polled	132,777

Percentages :	
Poll of Registered	71.7%
Rejected of registered	1.97%
Rejected of Pol d	2.75%
UNP of Registered	49.2%
of Polled	68.7%
TULF of Registered	20.4%
of Polled	28.5%

Seats :	
Total	4
U.N.P.	3
T.U.L.F.	1

TRINCOMALEE

Totals :	
Registered	119,872
U.N.P.	42,388
T.U.L.F.	44,692
Rejected	1,654
Polled	88,734

Percentages :	
Poll of Registered	74.0%
Rejected of Registered	1.4%
Rejected of Polled	1.9%
UNP of Registered	35.4%
of Polled	47.8%
TULF of Registered	37.3%
of Polled	50.4%

Seats :	
Total	2
U.N.P.	1
T.U.L.F.	1

5. CENTRAL PROVINCE

(Kandy and Nuwara Eliya -- UNP uncontested)

MATALE

Totals :	
Registered	175,225
U.N.P.	70,773
S.L.F.P.	9,951
Ind. Group No. 1 (JVP)	11,870
Ind. Group No. 2 (SLFP)	6,701
Rejected	2,961
Polled	102,256

Percentages :	
Poll of registered	58.4%
Rejected of registered	1.7%
Rejected of Polled	2.9%
UNP of Registered	40.4%
of Polled	69.2%
SLFP of Registered	5.7%
of Polled	9.7%
JVP of Registered	6.8%
of Polled	11.6%
Ind. Group No. 2	
of Registered	3.8%
of Polled	6.6%

Seats :

Total	3
U.N.P.	3
S.L.F.P.	nil
J.V.P.	nil
Ind. Group 2	nil

6- NORTH WESTERN PROVINCE

(Kurunegala District—UNP uncontested)

PUTTALAM**Totals :**

Registered	243,581
U.N.P.	75,387
Independent Group	63,959
Rejected	1,806
Polled	141,152

Percentages :

Poll of Registered	57.9%
Rejected of Registered	0.7%
Rejected of Polled	1.3%
UNP of Registered	26.3%
of Polled	53.4%
Independent of Registered	26.3%
of Polled	45.3%

Seats :

Total	4
U.N.P.	2
Ind.	2

7. NORTH CENTRAL PROVINCE**ANURADHAPURA****Totals :**

Registered	245,950
U.N.P.	111,344
Independent Group (JVP)	33,625
Rejected	7,413
Polled	152,382

Percentages :

Poll of Registered	62.0%
Rejected of Registered	3.0%
Rejected of Polled	4.9%
UNP of Registered	45.3%
of Polled	73.0%
JVP of Registered	13.7%
of Polled	22.1%

Seats :

Total	6
U.N.P.	5
J.V.P.	1

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POLONNARUWA**Totals :**

Registered	112,411
U.N.P.	38,271
Independent Group	11,799
Rejected	1,265
Polled	51,335

Percentages :

Poll of Registered	45.7%
Rejected of Registered	1.9%
Rejected of Polled	2.5%

UNP of Registered	34.0%
of Polled	74.6%

Independent of Registered	10.5%
of Polled	23.0%

Seats :

Total	2
U.N.P.	2
Ind.	nil

8- UVA PROVINCE

(Moneragala District—UNP uncontested)

BADULLA**Totals :**

Registered	255,749
U.N.P.	123,166
Ind. Group (JVP)	30,538
Rejected	12,688
Polled	166,392

Percentages :

Poll of Registered	65.0%
Rejected of Registered	5.0%
Rejected of Polled	7.6%

UNP of Registered	48.2%
of Polled	74.1%

JVP of Registered	11.9%
of Polled	18.4%

Seats :

Total	8
U.N.P.	6
J.V.P.	2

9- SABARAGAMUVA PROVINCE

(Ratnapura and Illegalle—UNP uncontested)

To be Continued



State Terrorism

—ORIGINS, CAUSES AND GOALS—

by

A Special Correspondant

A. ORIGINS OF REPRESSIVE STATE PRACTICES: Strategies to facilitate suppression of minorities with interests at odds with that of the ruling government are not a product of the period following World War II or even of the last century. The word "terrorism" originated during the era of the French Revolution and the Jacobin Reign of Terror. It was first identified with state action wherein terror was used as an instrument of political repression and social control. "As the Revolutionary Government became established and grew stronger, the (Jacobin) Terror was institutionalized and legalized." Government or state terrorism became an integral part of recorded governmental processes almost two centuries ago. Ever since, terror-violence from above has remained as much a part of the terrorist process as terrorism from below. The word "totalitarianism" was added to the litany of terrorism during this century as a result of Nazi barbarism. Both systems relied upon organized, systematized, in discriminateterror to create a bondage of the mind as well as of the body. "If lawfulness is the essence of tyranny, then terror is the essence of totalitarian domination".

The obsession of Third World governments with governmental or state terrorism is evidenced by the Report of the 1973 UN Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism. While their concern is very real, a significant portion of that brand of terrorist activity is of their own making. It is hard to disagree with the observation of Third World states, however, that "violence (on the part of states) breeds violence, so terrorism begets counter-terrorism, which in turn leads to more terrorism in an ever-increasing spiral". Nor is it hard to agree with Third World sentiment that terrorist regimes have been more deadly than individual or group actors in the twentieth century, and they have not diminished in the decades following the end of the Second World War.

B. CAUSES OF STATE TERRORISM: The causes of state terrorism appear to centre on the perceived need for greater control of national functions thought to be unavailable through normal governmental processes. That coercion appliedly regimes to enforce policies not in accord with humanitarian principles can be thought of as authorised terror. State terror is also the means by which those in control of society seek to maintain their authority. Felix Gross claims that state terror upon a minority is caused by a desire to keep the majority in line. He posits

that the ruling group coerces the manipulable crowd by preying upon the opposition, either organized or unorganized. This mass terror may become institutionalized, and, as with ideology and religion to which it is often linked, can last for a long period of time.

Political scientist Paul Wilkinson describes state terrorism in terms of effects as well as causes. Wilkinson concludes: "First, authorized terrorism is highly unpredictable in its effects; and second, that terroristic violence can escalate until it is uncontrollable with terrible results for society".

C. GOALS OF STATE-AUTHORISED TERRORISM: State terrorism has been observed to be a mix of personality and ideology. Nazism and Stalinism, for instance, both personified the misguided genius of their leaders but they could not have succeeded without a disoriented, controlled citizenry. "Isolation and impotence", writes Hannah Arendt in her authoritative study of totalitarian terror, "have always been characteristic of tyrannies". State-authorized terror aims not merely at the transformation of society, but at "the transformation of human nature itself". The common goal of criminally repressive regimes is mass disorientation and mass anxiety. Contemporary terroristic governments have employed terror-violence as an integral part of the governing process. With these regimes and others of their kind—either of the Left or of the Right—to quote the Marxist French philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty: "Humanism is suspended and Government is terror."

While state-sponsored repressive measures require a strong psychological impact upon a vast audience to achieve their immediate goals of increasing state authority or implementing state policy, the propaganda value of mass communication is a two-edged sword. While individual or group terrorism is a totally impotent force when deprived of the benefit of mass communication, over exposure of state-authorized repressive practices can assist the mobilization of counter-terrorist activity from within and generate sharp criticism from without. In fact, the strict control of dissemination of information is required for a repressive government to effectively control opposition.

ONE CENTRAL THEME will be pursued throughout. In attempting to define and formulate effective proposals to reduce the destruction of human and material values as a result of state terrorist abuses, emphasis will be placed on the fact that sanctioning alternatives have long been available. They have simply not been applied because of the lack of support from the major powers. In the sections which follow emphasis will be placed on the greater need for states to examine possible solutions in terms of the relationship of those solutions to causes and not merely to existing symptoms. The repressive practices which have marked Israeli treatment of the Palestinian

people will provide the framework for discussion of the existing methodology which could control and eliminate state terrorism.

In 1972, the Sixth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly conducted a study for the Secretary-General entitled "Measures to prevent terrorism and other forms of violence which endanger or take innocent human lives or jeopardize fundamental freedoms". A contingent of Third World nations, through their spokesman Ambassador Baroudy of Saudi Arabia, successfully moved to amend this title to include the significantly revealing phrase: ". . . and study of the underlying causes of those forms of terrorism and acts of violence which result in misery, frustration, relevance and despair and which cause some people to sacrifice human lives, including their own, in an attempt to effect radical change."

This obvious attempt to link repressive policies of states with the effect those policies generate was adamantly but unsuccessfully resisted by the United States. Secretary of State William Rogers, before the General Assembly, stated: "The issue is not war—war between states, civil war, or revolutionary war. The issue is not the striving of people to achieve self-determination and independence . . ."

We are all aware that, aside from the psychotic and the purely felonious, many criminal acts of terrorism derive from political origins. We all recognize that issues such as self-determination must continue to be addressed seriously by the international community. But political passion, however deeply held, cannot be a justification for criminal violence against innocent persons.

WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES, the richest and most powerful UN member, real efforts to implement and support the purposes of resolution 3034 are nearly impossible. While no one can argue with the United States position that the legitimacy of a cause does not in itself legitimize the use of certain forms of violence, especially against the innocent, the failure of the United States to accept the solution as one ultimately tied to causes, not simply the reduction or prevention of effects, is unfortunate. To underestimate the significance of the causal factors in favour of unilateral preventative measures directed towards aircraft hijacking or the kidnapping of diplomats is "not only a failure of moral perspective, it is a serious miscalculation in the one area which should be paramount: the effectiveness of any proposed solution."

THE LIMITATION INHERENT in this sort of unilateral effort has prompted the United States to spearhead the ratification of multilateral and bilateral agreements through the auspices of the International Civil Aviation Organization, the Organization of American States, and the 1978 Bonn Economic Conference. Even

if the conventional approach does attract a significant number of ratifications this approach is always limited by the parameters of its acceptability among those nations most crucial to effective measures—those nations which have endured colonialism and oppression and now tolerate, support, and harbour the guerrilla organizations which the United States government has labelled "terrorists." These emerging nations find the American initiatives unacceptable and unrealistic. Terrorism, from the point of view of the developing nations of the world, is more likely to be employed by governments than against governments, especially those of totalitarian, primitive, or colonial powers. The remarks in the General Assembly of Ambassador Farah of Somalia on this point are illustrative: "We do not believe that patriotism is served by violence which destroys innocent souls. Yet we shall not be a party to exploiting an emotional act of desperation in order to block patriotic activity for liberation and suffocate in its cradle the legitimate struggle of peoples. We are firmly opposed to the massive terrorism for which member states of this United Nations are responsible, as they practice oppression against peoples who are struggling for their freedom, sovereignty, national dignity, and recovery of their lands."

FROM SUCH REPRESENTATIVE STATEMENTS, it becomes more and more obvious that the United States must rethink its position that the causes of terrorism are irrelevant. The United States must recognize that while a just cause may not legitimize acts of individual or group violence, a study of the causes of this violence is not thereby made irrelevant. Such an examination would reveal that most such acts spring from a frustration of legitimate means, caused in turn by policies of governmental repression which it would be anomalous for a nation dedicated to justice and equal rights to ignore. It is necessary that the United States understand and respect the rationale followed in this matter by the states which have not adhered, and most likely will not adhere, to any of the present or proposed terrorism conventions until recognition of the greater wrong is granted.

The truism that the causes of individual and group terrorism merely represent the effects of state terrorism is nowhere better represented than in Palestine. For the United States to fail to understand that the elimination of human rights violations is required before any significant impact can be made on the reduction of violence by individuals and groups made homeless in that area is unthinkable. This point was clearly stated in the General Assembly by Ambassador Lopes of the Congo: "We cannot separate (the Palestinians') actions from the circumstances that have engendered them. They were born in conditions that we have made favourable by ignoring their rights, by dissociating ourselves from their fate, and by throwing them

into a ghetto like the dregs of humanity. If the Europeans of 1972 no longer blow up trains and bridges (like the Resistance), it is because their countries are free."

The frustration of the Palestinians who perceive themselves as unjustly victimized by the Israelis is understandable, but there seems to be no hope for a resolution as long as the most powerful nation on earth, the United States, blindly supports Israeli policies while dismissing the anguished but violent Palestinian acts of communication as odious "common crimes."

The Palestinians, with good cause as the recent Camp David talks show, are concerned about being ignored in any Egyptians, and it is this fear which directly relates to the displays which the Palestinians have used to keep themselves before the world's eyes. The present round of negotiations strongly resembles earlier negotiations when Palestinian interests were likewise unrepresented.

It will be useful note the applicability of existing International Law to repressive state practices to Palestine: **Family honour and rights, the lives of persons, and private property, as well as religious convictions and practice, must be respected. Private property cannot be confiscated.**

The above-quoted requirement of the 1907 Hague Convention remains effective today. The failure in practice comes not from an absence of international Law, but rather from a failure to admit the required relationship between law on the one hand and perceived policy needs on the other. It has been the failure to support a policy-centred approach to law in the Middle East by the United States and the Western powers which has led to the destruction of human and material values in that focal area. The struggle in Palestine will be examined as the representative model to which existing principles of international law may be applied in sanctioning repressive state practices.

(To be Continued)

UNDP COUNCIL

Approves Vietnam Aid

By Thalif Deen (IPS / Lanka Puwath)

New York, June 29: The Governing Council of the UN Development Programme (UNDP) has approved its controversial 118 million dollar five year economic programme for Vietnam over the strong objections of the United States, Britain, West Germany and China. Council sources told IPS that the anticipated deadlock was averted due to some "productive" behind-the-scene consultations by the Council President, Trinidad and Tobago's Frank Owen Abdullah. China's Mi Goujun told the council that even though his country strongly opposes the Vietnam programme he did not object to it in view of "his country's respect" for the Council president. In an unusual move, the President, after informal consultations, made sure the Vietnam Programme passed muster before he permitted members of the

Council to express their views on the programme. "It was a good tactical move", one Council source told IPS, referring to the heavy opposition lined up against the programme. Eventually, the Council was able to adopt the programme by consensus, and avoid a vote as earlier feared. This, according to one source, upheld the Council's longstanding tradition of taking decisions by consensus, not by majority vote. Most of Third World delegates, however, construed this as a diplomatic defeat for the United States which has been lobbying feverishly against the Vietnam programme for several weeks now. "If it had been put to a vote", one Asian diplomat said, "the US and its friends would surely have lost". There were some compromises made in favour of the United States, according to Western diplomatic sources. The UNDP was told to go ahead only with its programme relating to non political projects like agriculture, irrigation, seed improvement etc. But in regard to projects with "potential political implications" like transport, shipping, telecommunications, improvement of port facilities and construction of new roads, UNDP administrator Bradford Morse was asked to examine these projects in detail and report back to the next Council meeting in June 1982 before implementing them.

US delegate Jose Sorzano told the Council that the Vietnam programme was of considerable concern to the Reagan administration in view of the current military situation in that part of Southeast Asia. He said he believed that the facts argue strongly against assistance to Vietnam because the "UN should not use the scarce development resources at its disposal in a country that expended its own human, material and financial resources to subjugate another nation in violation of the UN Charter and, in this case, continues this aggression in defiance of two UN resolutions". He also expressed the fear that the Council was being asked to endorse UNDP assistance that inescapably would lend itself to aiding Vietnam's war effort and occupation of Kampuchea. Sorzano declared that he believed that a country that was deeply immersed in military activities could not utilise development resources in an efficient manner. He said that the United States believed that, under those circumstances, UNDP resources should not be made available to Vietnam. Vietnam's Phan Thi Minh told the council that she was grateful to those delegations that supported her Government's efforts for national reconstruction, "despite the thinly veiled attempts to sabotage approval". Referring to the opposition by China and the United States she said that they were the view of two countries' one of which waged a devastating war against Vietnam and the other waged aggression of unprecedented cruelty and today still occupies parts of Vietnam. Those two countries, she said, were collaborating closely to obstruct Vietnam's construction efforts. She also cited US Secretary of State Alexander Haig's recent statement that he would try to control international aid to Vietnam as means to serve political ends.

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The Jaffna Poll

This is from the SLFP weekly **THE NATION** dated June 19, 1981.

A GRAMA SEVAKA, an office messenger (peon), several village-level cultivation officers, junior clerks and assistant teachers were amongst those who officiated as Senior Presiding Officers and Counting Officers at the elections to the Jaffna District Development Council held on the 4th of June. These were not officials duly selected by the Commissioner of Elections but were handpicked by the high command of the United National Party. Altogether 150 officials picked by the Commissioner of Elections were replaced by nominees of the ruling Party just before the poll. For the first time in the history of this country the conduct of an election was wrested from the control of the duly constituted authority and exercised by a political party. Thus has the ruling United National Party celebrated the golden jubilee of Universal adult suffrage in Sri Lanka. **The Nation** learns from reliable sources in the administration that the Commissioner of Elections, Mr. M. A. Piyasekera, may tender his resignation as a protest against this government attempt to rig an election. Commentators observe that the exercise in Jaffna was a test run for similar plans for future elections to Parliament and to the Presidency, plans calculated to destroy the electoral franchise of the entire nation. Even in Districts such as Colombo, the principle of the secret ballot was violated by arrangement deliberately made by senior Presiding Officers, under UNP political direction so to place the voting cubicles that they could observe the manner in which voters marked their ballot papers.

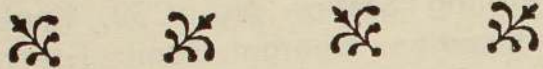
IN JAFFNA, the politically picked senior presiding officers, neither knew the procedure for the conduct of the poll nor were they able to perform their duties as counting officers. Their very incompetence and the resistance of impartial public officers who could not be removed by government leaders posted to Jaffna made the UNP assault on the franchise an ignominious failure. The UNP got only 7.37% of the 315,999 ballot papers available on the count which took place 12 days after the date of the election. Six ballot boxes were lost, another unique item of the Jayewardene - Premadasa celebration of 50 years' Universal Adult Franchise. In countless general elections and by-elections in the past fifty years, to the State Council to Parliament to the National State Assembly to numerous local bodies, not one ballot box has ever been lost or even been out of sight of responsible persons from the beginning of a poll to the end of a count. **The Nation** has

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learned the identities of the UNP nominees who replaced the appointees of the Commissioner of Elections as Senior Presiding Officers and Counting Officers. The names of some of them and the polling stations they were in charge of are given below: (1) Lekamlage Rupasinghe, Grama Sevaka, Galgamulla G.S. Division No. 298, Kurunegala District Senior Presiding Officer and Counting Officer, polling station No. C20, Kankesanthurai; (2) S. B. C. Gunaratna Banda, Cultivation Officer, Kurunegala District—Senior Presiding Officer and Counting Officer, Polling Station No. C42, Kankesanthurai; (3) M. A. Nihal Piyatissa, peon, Kurunegala Kachcheri, S. P.O. and C.P., Polling Station No. C39, Kankesanthurai; (4) Warnakulasuriya George Sunil Tissera, Punch Card Operator, Department of Census and Statistics—SPO and CO, Polling Station No. 12, Udupiddy; (5) J. M. Abeyaratne, Cultivation Officer, Kuliypitiya, Kurunegala District—SPO and CO, Polling Station No. C39, Kankesanthurai; (6) A. M. Wimalasara, Clerk, Judicial Service Commission—SPO and CO, Polling Station No. C63, Manipai.

SEVERAL SENIOR Presiding Officers make frank revelations in their statutory reports to the Returning Officer, Jaffna District. A. C. Kumarasinghe, S.P.P. Polling Station No. 7, Kankesanthurai reports that he could commence the poll at his station only at 11.30 a.m. and that before the closure of the poll, he despatched the ballot box to the Kachcheri without counting the votes as he had no instruction on the procedure. K. Mathiyaparanam, SPO of a polling station in Mylyddy reports that he could not complete the count at his station as he was not permitted to do so by security personnel. S. B. C. Gunaratne, the Cultivation Officer from Kurunegala also reports that he sent the ballot box from his station to the Cultivation Officer from Kurunegala also reports that he sent the ballot box from his station to the Kachcheri without conducting the count. As 40 of UNP replacements for the appointees of the Commissioner of Elections were got down from Kurunegala in the morning of the election day, it is understandable that they did not know the procedure laid down in the law and in the instructions issued to proper appointees by the Commissioner. They could have known only the instructions they have received from their political instructors. The first prong of the UNP strategy to gain at least one DC seat in Jaffna District was the direct interference reported above. The second prong was inhuman both in conception and its consequences. Several hundred men picked for their readiness to do anything were sent from UNP electorates to Jaffna a few days before the poll. They were let loose to commit murder, looting and arson. According to informed sources they were deliberately dressed in such a manner as to deceive people into believing that UNP mobsters were policemen in plain clothes. The UNP thus not only ravaged the area, but also sought to throw the blame on the Police. Reports from

Jaffna indicate that public have not been deceived. The UNP campaign directors posted to Jaffna for the election were Caluwadewage Cyril Mathew, Landed Proprietor, Lionel Gamini Dissanayake, Attorney at Law and Michael Festus Wenceslaus Perera, Attorney at law. The directive they received or gave themselves have not been published. Mathew is often referred to as the "Bete Noir" of the Tamils. The question is, was he in Jaffna to win the hearts of the tamil voters and help the UNP defeat the TULF with his appeal to the people of Jaffna? If so he did not succeed: not even with the assistance of Gamini and Michael Festus Wenceslaus.



THE STINK ABOUT THE

Narahenpitiya Pola

By R. Kahawita

IN THE COUNTRYSIDE there are "Iridapola," "Sikuradapola", "Tippola", "Kotu Elolu Pola" and in keeping with the same idea, we started the "Janatha Pola" in Colombo 5, in a section of the Race Course, which was closed down by the SLFP Government. When they came to power in 1970 they renamed it "Mahajana Pola". This pola was started, as far as we remember, by Mr. M. D. H. Jayewardene when he was "a power in the UNP high command". To the Sinhala, the Pola means a rendezvous for the producer and consumer to meet and strike a bargain; one to heckle over prices for the week's supply of consumer goods, and the other to plead for a fair price for his weekly harvest of produce. This was a system of marketing from time immemorial in the village communities before urbanity crept into their way of life—a "pola day" to bring the producer and the consumer together. The Jathika Pola at the Race Course became very popular and was a great success within a couple of months. It was patronized by the high and the low alike. So other sellers also cashed in and put up buildings—the Marketing Department, Markfed, CWE, Fisheries Corporation, Ceramics Corporation etc., are some who came in. Some of them continued as permanent selling points at the Pola.

As usual, we cannot bear to see anything succeeding. So a couple of years back we decided to close down the Jathika Pola at the Race Course and shift it to Narahenpita, way out in a corner of Colombo. Not that the land in the Race Course was wanted for any other purpose, the site is left unused up to now.

The people say we could not bear to see the success of the Pola, started by some one else as his brainchild; so it was moved into a corner so that the whole concept of the Pola can be destroyed. We have

succeeded in it from what we experienced and saw two Sundays back. Some of the stall holders say, "This is what has been done to us to help the Super Markets to prosper. Many such markets are coming up all over the country. We can never hope to get a stall there. Why have they done this to us, when we were doing well at the Jathika Pola in Bullers' Road and helping a multitude of consumers to live within their means?"

What answer can we give them? The new site of the Jathika Pola is across the road in front of the C.M.T.'s Office and forms the back-drop to the Chinese gift to the people—The BMICH. Like in many of our undertakings, we moved the Pola in a hurry with no plan or preparation, except the ceremony of opening. Everything there is inadequate for the producer and the consumer. It is a pig sty—pigs by instinct know how to maintain their environment better than what we saw at the Jathika Pola we do not seem to have that instinct. On a wet day it is hell. Our little grand-daughter was with us that day and she insisted on walking through the "paddy fields", meaning the mud pools, where there should have been paths for the convenience of the shoppers.

QUESTIONED, one stall holder, said—"Me jarawalata magen rupial thunak ayakaranawa, Mumta henagahanna ona". They are bitter for having brought them there and dumped them in that mud hole. Another said: "I pay Rs. 12 a day, but the contraption is mine including the stepping stones to get into it. I pay Rs. 360 a month for occupying the land. There is no one to complain to". We do not see anything more filthy and disarrayed than this "Jathika Pola". As one said "Ape jathiya hati thamai". What he meant could be guessed.

With a little thinking and planning and at a very little expense the whole Pola can be made an attractive and a pleasant place for the small producer to bring his wares and the poorer consumers of our society to buy them. We have lost the art of thinking small—today our projects are in millions; millions for super markets, millions for tourist's resorts, millions for super flats etc., we cannot think in thousands to help our people. But all small or big have one thing in common. They are never fully completed, giving one the impression that they have been abandoned half way through. We take it for granted that the poorer sections of our society can take anything lying down. We are not quite sure of this, when we listen to their comments at the Market place.

Let us get down to this Pola, plan it in a way that both the producer and the consumer can benefit; provide facilities to keep the environment clean and healthy, provide basic amenities for the use of the consumers and the stall holders rather than hide behind a parked car and ease oneself. To put this place in order, we do not require high-rise buildings,

Towers of Babel to kiss the cloud or Super-market buildings. What we need is down to earth cleanliness, well drained and paved alleys and footpaths, well sheltered stalls where both the seller and consumer can keep their feet dry and conduct the bargaining for the daily victuals. The sellers do not mind paying more for better services. They say: "If we are treated as humans and recognize that we too have a permanent stake in the country, we do not mind paying more, rather than suffer because we belong to the poorer section of the community". They are trying to make an honest living. The discrimination is far too great to pass on without comment.

The pola is an indigenous rendezvous where the producer and consumer meet regularly at least once a week. Let us make them a regular feature in the marketing process in the city and in the rural areas, but in an environment where both can wear a smile and enjoy the bargaining, if such a thing exists today. Compared to what we spend on super markets, for the use of that one percent of our affluent society, these folks want a pittance for the facilities they need—that of course if all the dough goes into the project and not into some one's pocket as alleged at one of the high powered Seminars. They need those facilities more than the one percent. We also need them in a very big way, if we are to keep our seats. The truth of what we say can be realized in one visit to the Jathika Pola at Narahenpita. Never heard such bitterness against us before anywhere.



BOOK REVIEW

Tea And Management

THE PLANTATION RAJ By Malinga Herman Gunaratna Published by H. W. Cave & Co. Ltd., 1980 (163 pages). Price—Rs. 50 per copy. THE PLANTATION SECTOR which was superimposed on the self-reliant economy of the Sinhalese ushered us into persistent poverty and mortgaged our destiny on the vagaries of prices in centres of high consumption. A nation which produced and consumed all its food needs within the country without raising the begging hands for food from abroad found a disruptive force created by the white man which pushed the country to international marketing to earn money to import its needs. Starting with coffee which was devastated by a dreadful plant disease called **Hammelia Vastatrix** it gave birth from its death bed to the tea industry. This was followed by elastic rubber and the lazy coconut industry. These gave birth to the commercialized plantation sector which has brought in a dualistic capitulated economy bringing in persistent poverty to the island.

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Rugged, adventurous, poorly educated but intelligent men, mainly from Scotland, some of whom were even black sheep in their own families, came in and opened up valuable forest canopy to put in coffee, tea, and rubber plants in our soils. They had none other than the spirit of adventure and an indomitable will, certainly no educational qualifications worth talking about. The tea industry began to flourish, followed by introduction of other similarly educated but adventurous young English/Scottish men who have never seen a tea bush nor an environment like ours. They began to learn the language of the plantation workers and the art of plantation management under the strict military discipline of their senior white bosses. So began the white man's "Raj". Around 1950 there were 1,500 white men in the plantation raj. Then Ceylonization of plantations began. The white man began moving away to Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Nilgris, Assam, Papua New Guinea, Mauritius, taking away profits, know how, skills. This was accelerated by the threat of nationalisation in 1956. So the brown pukha sahibs who understudied the white man gradually went to the clubs. They spoke with a new found accent: they tried to adopt their clothes, ways of living. So began the plantation raj of the Brown sahibs.

Around 1970 estates which began to be run down in the 1950s came in for severe liquidity problems and government had to bear high subsidies. Estates began to be offered to the State. Sri Lanka State Plantations Corporation which began in the 1950s with estates of the tax and mortgage defaulters began to get these estates. The Plantation Ministry bought these estates from agency houses—Whittals, Shaw Wallace, Harrisons, James Finlays, George Stuarts, Carsons, Mackwoods and Brooke Bonds—all came in and offered their estates. The reviewer who happened to buy for the State these estates bought them as cheap as Rs. 75 per acre as a going concern for St. Heliers and Rs. 550 per acre for an excellent property like Champion Estate from Brooke Bond. The Ministry had the best of men and best of relations with the planters, Agency Houses and the Planters' Association. There was mutual trust and each tried to cooperate for the common goal of preserving what Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, the first Minister of the Plantation Industries called — The "National Assets" (the planters and the plantations). Directors of Agency Houses, planters, officials of the ministry and the Minister himself sat on round table to solve the problems of the industry. It was the glorious period of plantations with mutual trust and state patronage. Officials had to be sharp because both the then Secretary and Minister were knowledgeable and had their data at the finger tips. The Agency Houses were there to help at short notice. The Minister visited planters at their regional societies, discussed their problems. They were welcome to walk into the Ministry even without an appointment. Dr. Colvin tried hard to organize the sector. He wanted to have

a Tea Board to look after all aspects of the tea industry from cultivation to consumption, a Rubber Authority for the rubber industry, a Coconut Authority for the coconut industry, a minor Export Development Board for minor crops, an Estates Supplies Corporation for the input supplies of the estates, a Crop Diversification Project for agricultural diversification. Some materialized but others did not see the light of the day. He planned to organize estates as going concerns and give planters all the perks they enjoyed.

THEN CAME the Land Reform in 1972. USA-WASAMA was born outside the Ministry of Plantations in 1975. Colvin wanted to do a planned nationalisation of foreign owned estates. He prepared a Cabinet paper entitled "Nationalisation of Estates of Public Companies" in August 1975 and submitted it to cabinet. Before it was circulated he was out of the Cabinet. I wished it was implemented because long hours of hard work went into it. Chairmen, Directors of Agency Houses were identified to run these estates as competent authorities through: (i) Carson Agro Services Ltd., (ii) Whittals Estates and Agencies Ltd. (iii) Shaw Wallace Plantation Management Ltd., (iv) Mackwoods Estates & Agencies Ltd., and (v) Consolidated Commercial Agencies Ltd. These were to be called "Estates And Agency Companies" under competent authorities from among the directors, chairmen of Agency Houses. All estates were to be re-allocated to these state sponsored companies from estates managed by 35 Agency Houses. There was to be no interference but only state control through the C. A.--the way the Principals earlier had control from the U.K. there was also to be the State Plantations Corporation which was to compete with these companies. The Minister wanted to establish a special unit under him with the Tea Controller, Rubber Controller, Chairman, Coconut Development Authority, Director of Minor Exports, Director of Agriculture, C.A. of the Estates and Agency Companies to plan, formulate policies etc. He wanted to preserve the Ceylon Planters' Association, the Ceylon Estates Employers Federation and give them a new twist. He wanted to build the Colombo auctions as the largest single tea, rubber, coconut, and sundry produce auctions—in Asia, with the help of brokering firms. If these were done there would not have been a JEDB or Cooperatives, but a good well managed plantation sector. **And Herman Gunaratne would not have wasted his time in putting out the "Plantation Raj" but he would have written a different book or would not have had the time to do so because he would have been content with being a "Brown Prince," in the new world of a Plantation Raj created by the State.**

IN REVIEWING the book by an ex-Planter turned journalist with a good command of English I find it more like a planters' chronicle on events lacking depth where necessary. However, for a planter of his background it is worth commending him for

finding time to do so. I wish planters and agency house men of their hey day would also find time to do so at least for the benefit of the new breed of planters who think that they are in the plantation raj when they are not, who are running after politicians when they have lot to do at their workplace, who have time to use "Wilkinson" to cut anybody's throat to get into positions. As a public servant who has had the good fortune of working in the plantation ministry for a decade, I still admire some top planters cum agency house directors some of whom are in the limelight others silent doing their own work. Some of the new generation of planters are far below their standard and quality. I wish the state uses such talented men who can and are willing to do their part to their country.

I decided to review Malinga's book for several reasons. I had the good fortune in joining the Ministry of Plantation Industry at its birth, working with the three Ministers of Plantation Industry; and Agency Houses, Planters Society, planters and work in the first and second Land Reform Commission as the representative of the plantation sector for seven years. I had the good fortune of purchasing thirty five estates from agency houses as going concerns for the State Plantations Corporation, saw policy being formulated, implemented and saw their results in my life time. I was in the thick of all changes in the sector. Working as a technocrat with an illustrious personality, charming human being and a far-sighted Minister in Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, on the one side, and with the Agency Houses and Planters on the other, I enriched my knowledge and experience. I had the good fortune of putting my views and observations in three books on Land Tenure and Land Reform. This is why I agreed to review ex-planter Malinga H. Gunaratna's book entitled **The Plantation Raj**. I also chose this book for review because as my one time plantation minister Dr. Colvin convinced me plantations and planters are national assets to be preserved and developed to serve the free nation. This book dealing with planters and changes between 1972—1980 is not the first of its kind (though it is claimed) written on the subject. This is a lucidly written book written by a planter. This is the value in the book; that is another reason why I decided to review this book. The introduction to the book has been written by Dr. Wickrema Weerasooriya, who happens to be my teacher in law at the University, when I was an undergrad at Peradeniya. Whether I agree or disagree with my teacher's views I am not attempting to make any comment on his "thoughts" but concentrate on what Malinga Gunaratne says in his book.

THE BOOK begins with the second stage of Land Reform of 1975 which he terms "The Curtain Falls". He introduces the reader to the drama on land reform giving meticulous details of every step that happened inside the National State Assembly

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on October 10, 1975 where I too happened to be present. He quotes verbatim from the Hansard giving the historical speeches of the then Minister of Agriculture and Lands and the present Executive President who happened to be the Leader of the Opposition. It is a pity that Dr. Colvin R. de Silva's speech is not reproduced to give the complete picture. **Land Reform did not bring the curtain down dramatically of the Plantation Raj. It ended with the exodus of the white planters in the early 50s. Its second stage ended in 1975 and a new 'Raj' began in 1975 and ended in 1977. Yet a third 'era' began in 1977 and exists today.** These are only stages of a transitional process. Estates began to be run down as H. E. the President mentioned in his speech at the Government Agents' Conference on April 10, 1981, from about 1953 when proposals were made to nationalise foreign owned tea and rubber estates. So when Land Reform came most properties were run down. The credit must be given to Agency Houses run by top planters for preserving these national assets. They never allowed them to be destroyed. Whittals, Carsons, Mackwoods, George Stuarts, Harrisons, were some of the major Agency Houses where estates were well looked even after nationalisation. They gave their fullest cooperation to the Ministry at every stage and went on to the extent of even helping in formulative policies. Some planters who could not orient themselves to the change got panicky. It is a pity that the good work done by Agency House and their Directors are not covered in this book.

The Land Reform Commission lacked planters but as already explained Dr. Colvin R. de Silva had a plan to use all Agency House personal and Agency Houses with all their perks but unfortunately his departure from the then Cabinet put an end to it. Probably Malinga did not know that. Malinga's chapter one (page 28) shows the sad mentality of planters who could not understand these changes. Even at this late date it may be worthwhile to use management agencies as Dr. Colvin planned for the benefit of the State without having two large giants. I suggest Malinga reads (page 51) volume II of my book (**Ancient Land Tenure to Modern Land Reform in Sri Lanka since Independence** Vol. II Aug. 1979). I wish this plan of operation worked and Malinga would have written a different story.

IN THE NEXT CHAPTER which he calls "Before The Curtain Falls" he tries to focus attention on the background to Land Reform. He then goes on to show how estates were mismanaged before 1975. Unfortunately he points out certain miserable experiences that happened in the name of nationalisation. What comes out of it is that there was nothing wrong in Land Reform but what went wrong is in implementation and management. All what Malinga says in

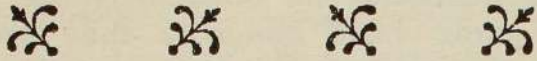
pages 34—35 are realities which cannot be denied by those responsible. I agree with Malinga when he said "I maintain that plantation management to be effective must be seen as a calling which needs nothing short of single minded devotion" He then takes the reader on "A Journey Into Management". I must quote Malinga here (page 40): "Turning to Doric de Souza's lecture itself it was amazing to learn the knowledge that he and his Minister appeared to have on the plantation system, its success and failure". This is absolutely true. These men were not maestros but worked closely with the "Plantation Raj" and trusted them. I wished Malinga get a chance to get the correspondence between these men and planters to show how amicably they work even when they were not sure of their future. I wish I get a day to write this, before I grow old.

Like a film producer he takes us back in his chapter "A Flashback" where he traces how the Plantation Ministry worked under Dr. Colvin's successors when regionalisation began. Malinga's analysis in this chapter is worth expanding in a future edition of the same book. He must show why regionalisation failed. Again the author goes back into the management of Agency House Estates before nationalisation, in his chapter "Turn Back The Pages of Time". It would have been better if this chapter could have been more exhaustive. The role of trade unions in the estate sector needs to be expanded. He then takes us to "Turbulent Times" where he tries to expose the underworld of struggle within the plantation world not second to **bladethalakarayas** in the public sector. I wish this chapter be expanded. "The Science of Agriculture" is a very pertinent chapter. What he says of the three Prime Research Institutions is true. It is worthwhile to also show how agricultural research other than tea, rubber and coconut can be used for diversification and productivity increases in estates. In the chapter entitled "The Birth and Death of an Institution" the saga of the Planters' Association he tries to show the role it played on development. It may be worthwhile to revive it regionally to include both small holder planters in the private sector and the state sector planters. Similarly he traces the birth and death of the Ceylon Estate Employers' Federation. It is a pity that the author gives less space to the theme "Science of Management". The two chapters on JEDB and SLSPC are interesting. Then in a series of chapters he goes on tracing developments which are of historical value and brings until the political change in 1977.

In the "New Management" I wished he had concentrated on how new management has to serve not only their bosses in Colombo, politicians, local power groups, regional managers. District Ministers, trade unions etc., when in the past he had only to follow the instruction of the Agency House directors and implement V. A's. reports. I can well understand

how "fustrated" the planters are. They allow things to go off. Theirs etc., are ignored. Estates are obviously running at a loss. Today estates have no control of COP and do not compare COP and net sale averages. Colombo offices do not like anything done even by manufacturing advisers in Brokering Houses without their approval. **I would request the author to expand most important chapters and rewrite this book if he finds time. Certain chapters need be reorganised. Anyway, I must commend the author for his pioneer efforts.**

Ariya Abeysinghe



KAMPUCHEA

UN Conference

TODATE only fifty three countries have agreed to hold an international conference on Kampuchea. The conference scheduled to be held next month under the auspices of UN is in conformity with UN Resolution 35/6. The issue also received a moral encouragement at the non-aligned foreign minister conference held in New Delhi February this year. The New Delhi Conference was hailed to be a victory for the ASEAN group of countries. But the actual fact is that India yielded to the request made by Sri Lanka not to jeopardise the final communique in order to have the Indian Ocean Peace Zone (IOPZ) conference convened as scheduled in August this year. This was a bargain used to ensure US participation in the Conference. It is now certain that IOPZ conference will not take place as scheduled in August; nor it will be in the near future. Even if it is held it is unlikely that US will participate. And without US participation it will be a vain and futile exercise. Reagan's administration has muddied the international scene but this will take time to get crystalised. The Kampuchean issue is one such area of interest for the US. Together with China and ASEAN every attempt is being made to reverse the course of Kampuchean history. **Kampuchea** under the guidance of Heng Samrin and military protection of Vietnam has been trying to develop into an independent and sovereign state in the world comity of nations. Together with Vietnam and Laos she has merged her interest in the face of constant political, economic and military threat of her former adversaries—Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Prince Sihanouk who now form a 'United Front' against Vietnam-backed Heng Samain regime. Indo-China as a whole had been subject to nearly three and a half decades of ceaseless war and annihilation and requires a breathing space for reconstruction. Kampuchea during the last two and a half years had made enormous strides to overcome the trauma of the Pol Pot, Ieng Sary days. Export of rubber has been started. Japan, though officially follows a tough

policy towards Kampuchea, had established trade relations. Japan had begun importing Kapok and Sandalwood from Kampuchea. Kampuchean cities have been flooded with Mitsubishi and Toyota lorries and cars. Development plans are under way to increase production of rubber, rice, maize, fish and tobacco for export. In spite of many difficulties, industrial production in Phnom Pehn had been restored. Several weaving mills, metal utensils factories, rice husking and farm tool factories have started functioning. In all nearly fifty factories have resumed production on a large scale. Another important development was the issue of a new currency riel in March 1980. "Until Pol Pot's Democratic Kampuchea" no society in modern times could exist without money. No society simply used rice as a medium of exchange on the market as Kampuchea did during the year that followed liberation. Today the currency has kept up to its worthiness and people have come accept the new currency. Yet another significant development was the introduction of democratic elective principles in Kampuchea. The new constitution and the massive turn out at the General Elections held on May 1, this year, in which people have enthusiastic support for Heng Samrin illustrates that Kampuchean want a peaceful life. There is much to be done and any more political gamble will be suicidal for Kampuchean.

IT IS IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES that UN is planning for an international conference. What baffles one is as to why UN too had joined in a provocative harassment of Kampuchea. UN is already aware of the provocative actions of the ousted regimes and its god fathers. Beside the provocative border incidents, both in land and sea caused by the Chinese to pressurize Vietnam, the military regime in Thailand has threatened to repatriate nearly 180,000 Kampuchean refugees. Kampuchea has never refused to receive her repatriates. She is in need of quality manpower. Her main objection prompted by security reasons, was that repatriation should not be unilateral or a hurried one. The repatriation should be preceded by a bilateral agreement and in the presence of an international humanitarian organisation. Kampuchea has also expressed the fear the if the repatriation takes place overland during that rainy season there is a possibility for Khemer Rouge forces to enter stealthily. The motive behind these attempts are too clear. It is to compel Kampuchea or rather Vietnam to agree for an international conference. On the question of international conference the three Indo-Chinese foreign ministers communicated to the UN Secretary-General on May 19, 1981 as follows: "The questions concerning South East Asia must be discussed and settled by countries in the region in a spirit of equality, mutual agreement, non-imposition by one group on the other and non-interference from outside". The essence of the letter to UN Secretary General and the decision taken

by the three foreign ministers of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam who met at Phnom Penh on June 13-14, 1981 totally rejected the international conference as proposed by UN and ASEAN. The three Indo-Chinese foreign ministers reiterated their decisions of January this year and offered the following alternatives: (a) to hold a regional conference between the Indo-Chinese and ASEAN countries in regional matters of mutual concern with participation as observers of the United Nations Secretary General in a personal capacity and representative of some other countries to be mutually agreed upon. This conference to be held in July 1981 either in Rangoon or any other capital to be mutually agreed upon. (b) If the countries of the ASEAN group are not willing for such a regional conference Indo-Chinese offered for the "Continuation of regional consultations as proposed by some ASEAN countries between countries of the region or a bilateral or multilateral basis, to discuss and reach agreements on regional issues of a mutual concern." Because in between the Indo-Chinese Foreign Ministers conference of January and June 1981 the foreign minister of Laos, Phoune Sipasouth visited Malaysia, Philippines and Indonesia and has had healthy discussions. Vietnam and Indonesia held the 6th session of negotiations on the delimitation of the continental shelf in Djakarta in May; (c) "An international conference with a broader participation to be agreed upon by both sides will be convened to acknowledge and guarantee the agreements reached in the regional conference or regional consultations if the United Nations stops recognising Pol Pot and his clique, the Indo-Chinese countries will consider the possibility of this international conference being convened by the United Nations."

THE ASEAN GROUP which considered the above proposals of the Indo-Chinese foreign minister last week had their own proposals. ASEAN group suggestions were for (a) the deployment of a UN Peace Keeping force to Kampuchea, (b) Withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea and (c) disarming the insurgent group opposed to Heng Samrin in Kampuchea. From the contradictory reports available at the time of writing it is not certain whether ASEAN group have been elated by the rhetorical speeches made by US Secretary of State in Peking and then in Manila. Because, from all accounts ASEAN group was not very happy about Haigs' promise to lift the ban on arms sales to China. While trying to ward off a possible Soviet threat via Vietnam, ASEAN group countries, who have already tasted the bitter pill of Chinese help to insurgents in their own countries, would view with fear and dismay any more military buildup of China. ASEAN may prefer a strong Indo-China to keep the Chinese occupied rather than invite them closer home. This may perhaps account for the conciliatory attitude shown towards Hanoi at the recent ASEAN meeting at Manila. PPA news also reported that ASEAN may consider invi-

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ting Heng Samrin to participate in the UN Conference. This may be used as a bait to persuade Soviet Union, Vietnam and all those who are sympathetic towards Kampuchea to attend the conference. Vietnam has firmly rejected that offer and said none of the Indo-Chinese countries will attend the conference unless UN agrees to their terms. However one should consider the recent change of heart of ASEAN group as a victory for the development in Kampuchea. If the international community wants to show any genuine concern for the plight of to Kampuchean then it should prevail upon the "United Front" forces to a cease fire at once and admonish China and US not to render any military assistance to Pol Pot forces. Most of the members of the UN themselves are aware of the devastation caused by Khemer Rouge rule in Kampuchea and in fact Australia de-recognized Pol Pot's credentials to occupy the Kampuchean seat at the UN.

The Kampuchean issue can no longer be viewed in isolation. The threat to Vietnam's territorial integrity, sovereignty and economic development is even greater than the Kampuchean issue. The border problem between China and Vietnam is not an international problem and should be the subject of a bilateral discussion. China had been persistently refusing to respond to Vietnam's call for a non-aggression pact. As such a reasonable solution would necessarily involve guarantees to Vietnam. In order to make the political climate more suitable and less belligerent UN should forthwith withdraw the recognition extended to Pol Pot regime. Heng Samrin's Government is now well entrenched in power and authority and due recognition should be given to his regime. Kampuchean issue cannot be isolated from Laos and Vietnam. The purpose of any negotiation should be to involve and not alienate to incorporate and not to isolate the Indo-Chinese. UN should condemn US proposal to make Vietnam a pariah state. To magnify and make it a global dimension would be to postpone any constructive solution. UN should not be persuaded to waste its funds in ventures that show little prospect of success.

Colombo,
24.6.81.

OMEGA



FILM FOCUS

Canon Doyle

WHOEVER has heard of Sherlock Holmes, the Prince of detectives and his erstwhile companion Dr. Watson, must surely have read sufficiently about the creator of the pair—Sir Arthur Canon Doyle who perhaps was one of the first detective fiction writers of repute nearly four to five decades ago,

besides being a Doctor of Medicine. His scalpel precision with which he dissected case histories was therefore co-related in characteristics, and before long he merged in mannerisms too with the well read character he created, together with Watson who was often lost in the woods tracking his quarry, and brought out of it by Holmes with the words "Elementary Dr. Watson, elementary" which has become an idiomatic expression in common English parlance. Sir Arthur's police excursions were mostly logical exercises in cold reasoning and rigid deduction, as he peeled off the clues strand by strand, armed with his magnifying glass, at the scene of a crime, in his case creations. His well read novel, "The Hound of the Baskervilles" too emerged as a text book in our schools, a few years ago. Unlike the present day tecs like James Bond for whom violence and sex became part and parcel of their deadly repertoire, Holmes was more erudite in his approach, taxing his mind to the brim, while relaxing with his pipe in the laboratory, where he was more at home in search of the answers he was coldly after—untying the knots and exposing the villain. It did not take long for Hollywood to catch up on these well written chillers, and a series of Sherlock Holmes films were churned out, where the mantle of the detective pair fell on actors Basil Rathbone and Nigel Bruce respectively.

To get back to the author, Sir Canon Doyle was very gifted and versatile in many other fields as well, and his shorter contributions were much sought after, for the lovely and readable prose that came off them. I have before me as I pen this column, an excursion of Doyle in the field of Historical Romances as well, where even without Holmes he has successfully infused that amount of mystery in matters of the heart as well. It would require a superman of letters to pass judgement on his works in the field of literature, for his contributions have been copious and so complete—even a Canon Doyle cult existed at one time—so we shall fall back on his wife Jean to give us an insight and an assessment of him, for she was to her husband, what Dr. Watson was to Sherlock in the famous series. She states that "my husband was intensely thorough in all his literary works. He took enormous pains to have everything right. For instance, before writing **The White Company**, he soaked his brain with a knowledge of the period he intended to portray. His literary versatility was truly remarkable—when one considers the wide range of subjects and characters created by that one mind. His historical romances covering several eras, his sporting novels, his poems, his detective stories, his brilliant imaginative works, such as **The Last World, The Maracot Deep**, his pirate and adventure yarns, his simple human study as embodied in the Duet, his Plays his marvelously accurate and humanly described histories of the Boer War and the Great War as well, as his psychic books—how many finely cut facets to the

parts of one brain. Apart from all my husband's literary inspiration and genius, there was in his work, as in his life, such sincerity and thoroughness, honesty and fearlessness. His big heart and human understanding was the keynote—the undercurrent of his great brain and personality". What sincere words from one who was closest to him, and lived out her life in the shadow of his knowledgeable and incisive pen? So **Tribune** readers, when next in the library, take a dip into his great works, and I assure you that you will be richer by the experience. Now lets get down to a relevant film, the story of which came off his brilliant pen.

MURDER BY DECREE (ENGLISH): A Royal indiscretion dipped in purple, a blue stained illegitimate issue, and a "Ripper" red herring drawn across the scandal as smokescreen, sets off the Canon Doyle super-sleuth Sherlock Holmes on the heels of a killer, who is exposed as an instrument only to execute a decree that has emanated with a "Palace" seal. The activation of the tecs is by a citizens committee in the Whitechapel area of London, after the fourth victim—a street walker again—is slit across surgically. The clues at the scenes of the crimes are sifted and the startling truth emerges to expose the sordid chain of the Jack the Ripper murders, that shook London in the Victorian era. To cut into the suprising story further, would be to lay bare, the brilliant concept of the author and his creation, Sherlock Holmes who together with his friend Dr. Watson cuts through the knots and lets the clues fall neatly into place. The period in question is also taken in by the camera with a rare authenticity. Christopher Plummer--remember his fine performance in "Sound of Music"--in the key role lacked the erudite cocksureness the role called for and appeared a trifle nervous, but James Mason as Watson stole the scene right under the former's magnifying glass! I thought for a moment, that had the roles been reversed, the story would have run a shade smoother. Amidst the brilliant cast was actress Genevieve (Coma) Bujold, who shone as the wronged woman, thrown into an asylum, when she could not be silenced on the streets. Then there were all the kings horses and all the kings men who propelled the plot on, till the killer and the cause were cleverly unveiled by Sherlock. From this point onwards, thanks to a timely slide by the Regal Management, the story rolls on to a momentous confrontation, the diabolical dialogue which could have toppled a throne, but for an innocent child growing up in a convent, quite oblivious to the blood that had been shed by her conception. As the ghastly truth, filtered in, on the ghastly killings at curtains, a stunned audience trooped out of the cinema. A brilliant film I must concede by any standard, thanks once again to Sir (Dr.) Arthur Canon Doyle.

DHARMARAJAH (TAMIL):

If the film Rishi Moolam was one nail driven into the once reputed brilliance in histrionics of Actor Shivaji Ganeshan, then this film is yet another, and those wishing to see it, would be more at

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home at a circus, which was what this film was closer to. Taken by the camera in juxtaposed acute and obtuse angles, several visual distortions taxed the eye heavily as the story sped on. As the watchdog of a Temple with an elephant by his side which acted with more sense, Sivaji metamorphoses overnight into a karate--black belted--exponent, bitten by the travel bug, that takes him to Tokyo, Hongkong and Thailand--the excuse being a calculating and money hungry lecher, who had stolen a prized deity from the temple, and killing his only sister. Tagging along in this travelogue is actress K. R. Vijaya who has very little to do, but appears in eye catching oriental costumes. The residents of the countries under tour take a curious interest in the camera roving among them, and embarrass certain sequences, of the intruding Indian pair. In the cut, cry and chop encounters of the martial arts, it was plainly evident that there was a lot of doubling going on and very little of Sivaji to be seen. All this finally led to a rather comical confrontation between the hunter and the hunted, which came off a circus setting, to the tilts of the audience. What a sad plunge it was for a great actor Sivaji, and that too in one of his own productions. Pondering over his glorious past, one is led to suspect that his days as the Maestro are numbered.

TAKE A HARD RIDE (ENGLISH): A 20th Century Fox Western to the core, with four of the toughest actors on hoofs and spurs in Jim Brown, Lee Van Cleef, Fred Williamson and Jim Kelly (Black belt) who display their individual expertise in turns, but never to eliminate each other. The foursome ride a rough trail tracking some moving money and gold which becomes the excuse for some sharp shooting, rough riding and action galore--the stuff that keeps stretching the Box Office at the seams always.

THEE (Tamil): A Maharaja's production racing on to its 100th day, which is a record for a local tamil film. It has already been reviewed in this column, many weeks ago, and also imbibed more than once by the average picturegoer, with South Indian Star Rajni Kanth at his very best. Incidentally this box office smasher has once again been drawn out of the Kandy limits to a cinema which was referred to in this column recently. Well, while Kandy picturegoers are inconvenienced this column is constrained to ask again "Who is the Godfather"?

James N. Benedict.



REAGAN WANTS

"SART" Not "SALT"

By William M. Durham

Washington, June 29: The Reagan administration is proposing a change in US policy on strategic arms control which would put a new emphasis on reductions rather than limitations. In testimony prepared for delivery to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee June 22, Eugene V. Boston, the new Director-Designate of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, said that the SALT negotiations would become known as "**SART**", for Strategic Arms Reduction Talks. The old "SALT" acronym stood for Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. Much of the criticism of the SALT II treaty signed by the Carter administration centered on the "Limited" nature and the fact that it did not provide for actual reductions in the strategic arms of the Soviet Union of the United States. Boston said in his prepared text that he believes "it is now possible and desirable for US to resume the search for balanced and verifiable arms control agreements." He said that after a re-examination of "chief elements" of US policy on both strategic and long-range theatre nuclear weapons, "we should proceed forthwith to the negotiating table". He said that in the strategic area, the re-examination of policy "should take at least nine months or so". Urging "a fresh start" in seeking both arms control and arms reduction, Boston said the question of whether to renegotiate the old SALT II treaty or pursue a new agreement had not yet been decided. Meanwhile, he called for the United States, its allies "and all the other which cherish peace", to return to "the containment policy pursued between (President) Truman's time and the American withdrawal from Vietnam". The containment policy Boston, said, was one of collective self-defense against aggression. In areas where their interests were affected, he said the United States and other nations worked together to prevent Soviet expansion and coercion.

"The policy applied only where the Soviet Union sought to expand its empire by methods of aggression which violated the rules of the United Nations charter regarding the international use of force," Boston said. Unless effective containment is restored, he said, "we cannot expect to pursue detente and arms control fruitfully." Even competing nations have common interests in peace, he said, adding that it "should be possible, whatever the difficulties, to translate those interests into agreements to limit and control armaments." He said that as part of the re-examination of US policy on arms control, he would recommend a fundamental review of "the whole problem of verification, monitoring and Soviet compliance with arms control agreements and of

our policies concerning them". This review, Boston, said, might include "talks on the subject" with the Soviet Union when the US review has been completed. "The possibility of reasonable SALT or rather START agreements and other arms limitation agreements depends on the ability of each party to verify compliance with full confidence", he said. Boston said that attempts to negotiate and verify "a dramatic and equitable cut" in both Soviet and US nuclear arms "might be feasible, perhaps by starting with the largest missiles". No US administration could reject such a possibility "out of hand" he said, "despite the fact that President Carter's arms reduction proposals in 1977 were abruptly dismissed by the Soviet Union".

—USICA



TASTE OF PARADISE

A Closer Look at Asean

By Jayantha Somasundaram

**"It may appear in some instances
That some individuals have to sacrifice
more than others
In order to attain reform"**

—Ferdinand Marcos

THE INCREASING INABILITY to compete has led the OECD countries to move their industries to countries on the periphery in order to capitalise on cheap labour. These countries are called the Newly Industrialising Countries and include South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Mexico and Brazil. However, they still account for only one percent of the OECD market for manufactured goods—but their share is bound to increase and their threat to Japanese industry is real. Synthetic fibre from Korea and Taiwan are now 30 percent cheaper than the Japanese. To maximise on cheap labour, textile, glove and also manufacturers in the NIC subcontract to homes. Even in Sri Lanka, Bata uses dirt cheap labour in households to manufacture shoes. In India Bata is giving up centralised manufacture entirely in favour of cottage industry. This phenomenon is not without parallel in the West itself. In Italy textiles, steel and small scale engineering are now being subcontracted to homes, involving upto seven million jobs. On an international scale, British T. V. is assembled with Taiwanese components, and Swiss watches are now being manufactured in Taiwan. **The ASEAN countries are however the model for this new international division of labour. And with Sri Lanka applying for membership, a closer look at ASEAN is worthwhile.**

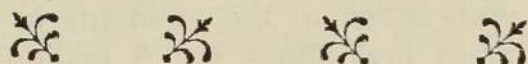
THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH EAST ASIAN NATIONS: ASEAN which was a coming together of Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, the Philippines

and Indonesia in 1967, is in effect the illegitimate child of SEATO which had to be abandoned with the US defeat in Vietnam. Thailand and the Philippines were members of the South East Asia Treaty Organisation—Thailand providing the main airbases from which USAF bombers carried out a genocidal war in Vietnam. The USN Seventh Fleet of the West Pacific operated out of Subic Bay in the Philippines. Australia, the lynch pin of SEATO, is now increasing its military involvement with ASEAN countries. Australia is training the Philippine Air Force. Royal Thai Air Force personnel are under-going training in Victoria, New South Wales and Queensland. A few weeks back RAN warships which had served 'honourably' in Vietnam called at Sri Lanka. Clearer than their complicity in Indo China, more degrading than their subservience to US interests, is their single-minded authoritarianism. None of the ASEAN countries have anything that can be remotely called a legal political opposition. Not one of them has a liberal press. Their opposition politicians and unobliging journalists are locked up in jail.

The ASEAN countries are precious to the West because of their rich supply of natural resources. These include fuels, forests, plantation crops, oil, gas, nickel, copper, tin and bauxite. Equally attractive is their cheap, disciplined labour and low levels of pollution control. The ASEAN countries are increasingly being meshed into the world capitalist economy. There has been a dramatic growth in the extractive industries. So also in the area of agribusiness; rice estates, ranching, sugar, pineapples and bananas. "The upper classes in all five countries have grown in size and wealth since the mid-sixties as in the social distance by which they are set apart from the rest of their respective societies," says a study conducted by the Asian Bureau Australia. "There has been an emergence of new business groups associated with transnational corporations and the expansion of the state apparatus. Foreign business activity has been associated with a proliferation of cultural links between local upper classes and their counterparts in the major centres of the advanced capitalist world. Cosmopolitanism is a feature of this class, as revealed by their styles of housing, dress and leisure pursuits. Luxury hotels, Golf courses, tennis courts, night clubs, casinos, discos, massage parlours, swimming pools, are not only for foreign tourists but also for upper class local residents."

IN SPITE OF THE FACT that the people in the ASEAN countries are living under dictatorial regimes—military ones in the case of Thailand and Indonesia—or perhaps because of that, there is violent opposition. The most dramatic is the uprising of the people of East Timor. Equally violent is the rebellion in Northeast Thailand, the guerillas on the Thai-Malaysian borders and the opposition of the hill tribes in Northern

Luzon, Samar and Mindanao-Sula in the Philippines. The only way one can oppose or contradict the regimes in ASEAN countries is by resort to arms. In the Philippines large sections of the Catholic Church have identified themselves with the growing opposition. In Malaysia a racist Government which is the ideal of Cyril Mathew—blatantly discriminates against the Chinese, Indians and even the Indian Muslims. Thailand is a comic opera of revolving-door coups, reminiscent of South Vietnam in its terminal stages. Singapore is the classic example of a mute society. ASEAN countries are characterised by spy-ridden university lecture halls, heavily-censored newspaper offices, intimidated courtrooms. Parliaments, the judiciary and the media are puppets. Indonesia and Thailand are military dictatorships. In the Philippines a one-man dictatorship exists. Malaysia and Singapore have one party dictatorships.



U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE

To Guatemala Again

By Jim Lobe

Washington, June 27 : Despite strong signs of Congressional resistance, the Reagan administration is busily preparing to resume a military assistance programme for Guatemala that was suspended in 1977 as a result of that country's poor human rights record. Reliable government sources who requested anonymity told IPS that the administration will move to sell 2.5 million dollars worth of helicopter spare parts to the government of Romero Lucas Garcia sometime in July. They will also begin a programme for pilot training for the Guatemalan military within the next month and possibly within the next two weeks, according to these sources. These moves follow a controversial 3.2 million dollar sale of 150 military trucks and jeeps to Guatemala when the administration circumvented Congressional human rights legislation on June 5. Because of Guatemala's poor human rights record—regarded here as the worst in Latin America—as well as the administration's attempts to avoid human rights provisions in US law, Congressional forces are mobilising to prevent any further attempt to restore a military relationship with Guatemala.

The proposed sales and training programme could spark the first major clash between the administration and Congressional human rights leaders since the unprecedented defeat of Reagan's nominee to the chief human rights position in the State Department last month. Within one week of the disclosure of the June sale, over 50 US Congressmen signed a letter protesting the action. Hearings on the administration's intentions toward Guatemala are now

scheduled for the second week of July. "The Reagan administration has taken the first step towards allying the power and prestige of the United States with the brutal, undemocratic Government of Guatemala", begins the Congressmen's letter to Secretary of State, Alexander Haig. "Why must the United States send military supplies to a government with no popular base (and) no commitment to real democracy" the letter says. "Political repression has been increasing in recent months, not decreasing. (Nearly 70) leaders of the Guatemalan Christian Democratic Party have been slain in the past ten months. Their deaths must be added to those of literally thousands of labour leaders, journalists, peasants, students, and church people martyred since 1978".

What angers many Congressmen is that the State Department's own human rights bureau was deliberately kept out of the decision-making process regarding the truck and jeep sales. According to State Department sources, the Bureau is being ignored during the present discussion of the administration's anticipated new moves. That the Reagan administration is moving toward a restoration of military ties with the government in Guatemala city is not surprising. A number of Reagan's closest advisers have extensive ties with Guatemalan business figures. Many Reagan advisers, both in and outside the administration, argue that the corporate and landholding sectors in Central America are the last remaining bulwark against what they regard as the "Communist threat". But the public uproar over the administration's early moves to step up military aid to El Salvador surprised Washington, which has moved more cautiously ever since. In May, however, one of Secretary Haig's chief advisers, General Vernon Walters—former Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency—was dispatched to Guatemala to discuss restoring US military aid. Walters reportedly promised Guatemalan officials that the United States would treat them as friends and offered them hope of a quick resumption of military aid. Officially, the Reagan administration says the human rights situation in Guatemala must improve before it can establish closer relations that would permit to "help the Guatemalans defend themselves against the guerillas". Although State Department sources admit that no such progress has been made since Walters' visit, the administration is now reportedly determined to go ahead with military assistance to Guatemala. Recent reports that Guatemala has discovered substantial oil reserves have given added strength to those forces in the administration who argue that rescuing the present regime serves US national interests. But Congressional human rights forces believe they can draw the line at the restoration of military assistance to El Salvador. They argue that supporting the Lucas Garcia government does not serve US national interests, and increased US military aid will only further destabilise the region.

IPS—Lankapuvath.

June 22-30

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; **S**-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**-Dinakra; **EN**-elanadu; **IDPR**-Information Dept. Press Release.

MONDAY, JUNE 22 : The Ceylon Shipping Corporation, the first South Asian national line to operate a fully containerised service calling at British and Continental ports will face a new and strong challenge from a consortium of European lines that have declared their intention of making a pitch for this trade; the CSC currently offers the fastest container service to Europe from this part of the world; operating two ships chartered from the Singapore national line, the CSC which recorded an all time high Rs. 80 million profit for the financial year ended December 1980 has been gradually building up revenue on the container trade—**CDN**. A Swiss national is the first foreigner to be deported for committing a homosexual offence and organising male prostitution in Sri Lanka. The Bank of Ceylon has stepped into help push up the country's rubber exports and give the industry a much needed fillip; yesterday the Bank which invited some key figures in the rubber export market told them that it was willing to give them 100 per cent credit to cover export duties on rubber -**CDM**. Around seventy demonstrators demanding "Tamil Eelam" occupied the Pilleyar Kovil in Kalmunai and staged a satyagraha on the premises on Saturday morning. The police have launched a country-wide operation to gather information about all IRCs and other criminals, as well as those on parole who had even a minute link with extremist organisations and militants; according to authoritative sources, police intelligence sleuths are being helped by a group of state lawyers in this offensive, the main objective of which is to curb the incidence of terrorism in the country - **SU**. The token satyagraha organised by the TULF was held very peacefully; Members of Parliament DDCs and local government bodies from the Northern and Eastern provinces took part in the Satyagraha—**VK**. A separate unit has been set up to clean up the police department; those police officers who violate law and order will be dismissed immediately—**DP**.

TUESDAY, JUNE 23 : Two senior police teams headed by DIGs have completed parallel investigations into the various incidents in Jaffna between May 31 and June 6, authoritative governmental sources said yesterday; meanwhile the Defence Ministry has ordered that a special unit be permanently established in Jaffna to deal with terrorists and terrorism in the area; this unit will be named by specially trained officials. Health Minister Gamani Jayasuria will draft a new salary structure for government doctors in consultation with the Government Medical Officers' Association—**CDN**. A multi-million rupee project for direct dialling telephone facilities to all parts of Sri Lanka will get underway this year; financed by the World Bank, this project is expected to be completed in 1983. Three hundred incidents of burning and looting of shops and trade establishments took place on the first three days of this month in Jaffna peninsula, police revealed yesterday—**SU**. Six people were killed in the incidents in the North early this month and about Rs. 6 million worth of buildings and vehicles were damaged—**DP**.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24 : The visit of China's Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua to Sri Lanka beginning next Tuesday is seen in diplomatic circles as part of a new drive by China to further develop friendly relations with South Asian countries in the face of a thrust by the Soviet Union to wield together greater influence in this region; earlier this month, the Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang visited Pakistan, Nepal and Bangladesh; now, close on the heels of that visit, Mr. Huang is undertaking a tour which will take him to three other South Asian countries—India, Sri Lanka and Maldives. —**CDN**. Tourist hoteliers were yesterday warned to bring their rates to realistic levels; it came from the Ceylon Tourist Board Chairman, H. P. Siriwardena, at a meeting with hoteliers and representatives of tourist resorts. The village re-awakening movement, President J. R. Jayewardene told a massive gathering at Debaraweve yesterday, had gone on from strength to strength since its inception and no person or government would be able to destroy it—**SU**. Very important information has been obtained at the high level police investigation team investigating the violent incidents in Jaffna after the 31st of last month; as a result of such information several high-ranking police officers have been transferred to other stations; inquiries will be held against these officers in Colombo; severe disciplinary action will be taken against them if they are found guilty—**EN**.

THURSDAY, JUNE 25 : Defending himself before the Special Presidential Commission yesterday, former Lands and Agriculture Minister Hector-Kobbekaduwa said that land acquisitions had taken place in all parts of the country and land belonging to people he had never seen or known had been taken over; to say that I have acted with political

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motivation or revenge is, to say the very least, very far-fetched and uncharitable he said in a prepared text tabled before the Commission—**CDN**—Construction work of the House Officers' Quarters opposite the Colombo General Hospital has come to a standstill due to lack of funds —**CDM**— Police will impose spot fines on traffic offenders from next month, Traffic Police Chief Ernest Perera announced yesterday; fines varying from Rs. 50 to a minimum of Rs. 15 will be levied from those violating 23 types of traffic offences he said—**SU**—

FRIDAY, JUNE 26 : President J. R. Jayewardene yesterday rebuked British MPs who have been cabling him and writing to him accusing the Government of imprisoning people without trial and even murdering them; "if I may say so, they are talking through their hat; when you meet your colleagues, please tell them I said so", Mr. Jayewardene told the British delegates here for a Commonwealth Parliamentary Association meeting. SLFP leader, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike walked out of a Politburo meeting of her party on Wednesday following a sharp exchange with her son, Anura—**CDN**— Government is examining amendments to the Constitution to enforce new provisions relating to antinational activity; the idea, authoritative Government sources said yesterday was to curb actions of individuals or groups demanding secession of any part of the territory of Sri Lanka. The Ministry of Labour will tighten the regulations governing the recruitment of foreign employment by local job agencies. Dr. Otto Graff Lambsdorf, Minister of Economics of the Federal Republic of Germany will pay an official visit to Sri Lanka from August, 19 to 23—**SU**—

SATURDAY, JUNE 27 : Attempts by Mr. A. Amirthalingam to get aid for the Jaffna Development Council from agencies abroad have failed, the Cabinet was informed yesterday; Cabinet spokesman Anandattissa de Alwis said at the press briefing yesterday that among the aid agencies canvassed by Mr. Amirthalingam were the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The area immediately around the airport at Katunayake has broken out in a rash of shanties and slums. Thugs, touts and pickpockets harass and fleece incoming tourists and departing passengers, at the terminal building; they snap their fingers at the security authorities and gangland has clearly set up its kingdom there. Prominent citizens in Colombo have banded themselves together in a bid to rebuild the Jaffna Public Library destroyed in the June disturbances; the Citizens Committee for National Harmony (President Sir Senarath Gunawardena now warded at the General Hospital) is spearheading the campaign --**CDN**— A decision will be taken as to what action will be taken against the Tamil United Liberation Front, after the no-confidence motion against the Leader of the Opposition Mr. A. Amirthalingam is debated in Parliament.—**VK**

SUNDAY, JUNE 28 : The Vice Premier and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China Huang Hua will arrive in Colombo on Tuesday. A number of top level Police changes are being made in Jaffna; they include the posting of a new DIG, SP and four ASPs shortly; about 15 per cent of the Police force in the peninsula was being transferred and replaced with personnel familiar with the Jaffna District. Today is the SLFP's crucial All-Island Executive Committee meeting; key party members countrywide have been summoned to the party's Darley Road headquarters to adopt a Constitution at a meeting where the sparks are expected to fly. The CID has questioned a number of youths from the North leaving for what they describe as holidays in East bloc country.—**SO**— A new newspaper **The Island** has been registered by Upali Newspapers Ltd., 223, Bloemendhal Road, Colombo by the Registrar of Patents and Trade Marks; a similar trade name for a Sinhala newspaper has been registered by the same company, according to a notice published in the current issue of the Government Gazette. The Government has decided that there would be no further allocations of land for 5-star hotels in the City of Colombo.—**ST**— Recent developments involving foreign diplomatic missions in Sri Lanka and the close connections that some of them have with an emerging local political party have come under the intense scrutiny of the Defence Ministry's Security and Intelligence Division. Several Civilians, Police and army personnel are likely to be indicted for their involvement in the series of incidents that took place in the first week of this month in the Jaffna peninsula.—**WK**—

MONDAY, JUNE 29: The Finance and Planning Ministry has commissioned a team of well known US economists to undertake a study of inflation, interest rates and exchange rates in Sri Lanka. India and China today ended three days of talks in New Delhi and agreed to hold further discussions on ways of settling their long-standing border dispute; Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua told a press conference he was personally optimistic that the border dispute, which has bedevilled relations between the two Asian giants since they fought a war in 1962, could be settled. SLFP moderates led by Maitripala Senanayake and Anura Bandaranaike yesterday overwhelmingly carried party's All Island Executive stalling moves to give new muscle to the party president via constitutional changes; there was no vote taken at the meeting which began last morning at the party's Darley Road headquarters and went on till evening: if there was, one insider said, the Maitripalai Anura combine would have got better than a two third majority; "the way the wind was blowing was very clear", he said, "efforts to give the party president the power of nominating electoral organisers and getting rid of those Politburo members who did not tow Mrs. Bandaranaike's line on Attanagalla was completely unacceptable." The outcome

of the meeting was a significant defeat for a radical group led by Chandrika and Vijaya Kumaranatunge who enjoyed Mrs. Bandaranaike's support; a 5-member committee comprising of Mrs. Bandaranaike Maitripala Senanayake, Anura, T. B. Illangaratne and S. K. K. Sooriarachchi will now consider the various controversial amendments to the constitution - **CDN**. The prevailing "seer madness" is one of the major factors contributing to the rising prices of fish in the country; this comment was made by Mr. Festus Perera, Minister of Fisheries, in an interview with the **Mirror** on the high price of fish. Leading hoteliers in Colombo have informed the Ceylon Tourist Board about the reduced prices of food items after the BTT increase was revoked by President J. R. Jayewardene last April.—**CDM**. Six private concerns in the city will handle agency post office work from July 15. The MPs of the Tamil United Liberation Front held their third "fasting campaign" yesterday at the Batticaloa esplanade. Opposition leader and TULF Secretary-General A. Amirthalingam, during his visit to New York, Washington and Boston, met representatives of the Human Rights' Organisation in United Nations, the human rights section of the State Department (which, with the defeat of Dr. Ernest Leferer is without a head), the Sub-Committee of the House of Representatives dealing with the subject, the Washington-based International Human Rights Law Group, other private organisations and some individual members of Congress—**SU**. The police will this week ask the Ministry of Private Omnibus Transport to frame stringent new traffic laws to curb the high incidence of accidents, a number of them fatal, involving private motor coaches, a police spokesman said today—**CO**. The Police high command is taking immediate action to arrest the Sub-Inspector, a Sergeant, two constables and a driver of the Jeep of the Chunnakam police station who are absconding since the violent incidents in Jaffna recently—**VK**. Teachers will be appointed district-wise in future; a scheme in this respect is being prepared by the Minister of Education Ranil Wickremasinghe; this scheme will be implemented from next year—**DP**.

TUESDAY, JUNE 30: Chinese Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua arrives in Sri Lanka today on the second leg of his three nation tour of south Asia; Mr. Huang who comes here after intensive discussions in India, will have a comparatively relaxed time during his three-day official visit in Sri Lanka. Mahaweli contractors are pushing hard to recruit heavy machine operators from abroad to fill a vacuum created by skilled Lankans quitting the country to take lucrative jobs abroad; yesterday many of the foreign contractors working on various projects under the accelerated Mahaweli development scheme met Mr. Gamini Dissanayake, Minister of Land and Mahaveli Development and told him that the exodus to West Asia had reached crisis proportions; a hundred heavy machine operators have left

the Victoria project and another hundred have quit Kotmale, Madura Oya had lost sixty and fifty skilled heavy machine men on the Manipe right bank have also gone. Will the TULF, now keeping away from Parliament, be ready to continue its boycott to the point of TULF MPs having to forfeit their seats. The Sri Lanka Aid Group meets today at Tokyo under the chairmanship of World Bank President David Hopper to consider Sri Lanka's request for balance of payment and budgetary support; Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel, leader of Sri Lanka's delegation who will make a strong case for additional aid to meet cost escalation on on-going projects due to world inflation, will present the meeting Sri Lanka's public investment program for the next five years; the programme titled, "The Public Investment Programme for 1981—1985" envisages an in of Rs. 89 million within the next 5 year period; the report prepared by the Treasury gives a detailed program of investment to complete the on going projects. A minor fire at the United States Information and Communication Agency (USICA) at Galle Road, Kollupitiya was tackled last evening by the Colombo Fire Brigade; the fire had apparently originated in the basement of the building due to an electrical fault. Akaraipattu Police reported to police headquarters yesterday a case where the first MP for Pottuvil Dr. M. A. M. Jalaldeen's house at Akkaraipattu was stoned by some unknown persons on Saturday. Iran's Chief Justice and head of the country's dominant political party was among at least 64 leaders killed last night when a bomb destroyed their party headquarters in Teheran, the Prime Minister's office told Reuter. Three youths from Slave Island on Sunday picked up a bundle of letters which they had found floating in the Beira Lake and handed it over to Lake House security. Chinese Communist Party Chairman Hua Guofeng, Mao Tse-tung, chosen successor was today replaced as party leader and for the first time publicly criticised for leftist errors—**CDN**. The Minister of Trade & Shipping Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, has recommended that the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act should be amended so that its provisions would be applicable to the killing, abduction or other attacks on candidates seeking election, ex-Members of Parliament etc. A common outlook on major International issues is expected to emerge from talks between Mr. Huang Hua, Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China who arrives here today on a five-day visit and the Sri Lankan leaders. **CIDM**. A city travel agent has been grilled by police detectives in connection with large groups of Tamil youth leaving the country for an East European destination; the travel agent, police sources said yesterday, had been responsible for arranging the flights and visas for over a thousand youths; the exodus of groups of twentyfive to thirty youth from the norther areas for the same East European capital on one particular airline, was noted by Customs and Immigration authorities first. Additional

Magistrate Vijitha de Alwis issued notice on the Commissioner of Police Douglas Ranmuthugala to inquire into and report on a manner in which Superintendent of Police is alleged to have aided two persons by way of a note to the OIC in the area, in a land dispute. The retail price of Lakspray has been increased from Rs. 12.50 to Rs. 15 with effect from June 26. President J. R. Jayewardene has agreed to a request to utilise around 300 Armed forces personnel who are heavy equipment operators to ease a serious shortage of these skilled hands in the Mahaveli Development programme, an official press release said yesterday.—The Ministry of Power and Energy is to seek a grant of Rs. 1.2 billion from the governemtn this week to purchase more diesel power plants to meet the shortfall of power anticipated in 1983-84—**SU**. The new breed of private bus drivers, described by a top Police officer as "maniacs" yesterday will find themselves in hot water if they throw the Highway Code to the winds; Police top brass and big wigs of the Ministry of Private Omnibus Transport at a meeting yesterday morning decided to crack down hard on private bus operators who flout the Motor Traffic Act.—**CO**. Mr. A. Ponniah, a M. P. from Malaysia who visited Jaffna recently will give a donation of Rs. 50,000 to the Jaffna Library—**DP**.



COVER

Elephants

Elephants are very much in the news at the moment and we have therefore chosen to spotlight them on our cover this week. The Wild Life Conservation Department will shortly launch a carefully mapped operation to move about 120 or more elephants trapped in small patches of jungle within the Kalawewa area into the safety of the Wilpattu National Park. The elephants will be herded across the Puttalam-Anuradhapura road across the Kala Oya river by using signal flares, thunder lashes and the human voice (hooting and shouting). Sightseers from Colombo and elsewhere are least welcome because they might get in the way of elephants and may even get killed in the process — "an enraged elephant is a hazard even more perhaps than an enraged one"

This is excellent but we hope that the tragedies which overtook similar attempts in the past to move elephant herds will not mar this operation. People still recall with horror the sad fate that befell many splendid animals of the Deduru herd which some foreign experts had tried to "tranquillise" before being moved.

This is not the only elephant news of significance. The **Sun** of July 10 had a fascinating headline

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ELEPHANTS WERE IN CUSTODY. The report read: Six elephants were involved in the illicit felling operations detected in Habarana last week which led to the interdiction of two government officials yesterday. The elephants, although taken into custody along with the timber and implements used in the operation, were subsequently released. Though taken into custody, the elephants were reportedly released." As productions in Court they would have been a handful for any magistrate or his staff. Apart from everything, else, finding the breakfast, lunch and dinner for six elephants (if we are not mistaken each of them need 500 to 800 pounds of appropriate foliage) would not have been easy. The irony of it all is that the robber barons despoiling our forests use elephants to destroy their own habitat.

Govt.



Notice

My No. EA/4/300.

THE LAND ACQUISITION (CHAPTER 460) AS AMENDED BY THE LAND ACQUISITION (AMENDMENT) ACT, NO. 28 OF 1964

Notice under Section 7

It is intended to acquire the land described below for a public purpose. For further particulars, please see Part III of the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 150 of 17.7.1981.

Situation : Situated in the village of Nallahena in Ward No. 5 Nallahena within the Urban Council limits of Beruwela, D.R.O.'s Division of Kalutara Totamuna South, Kalutara District in Western Province.
Name of Land : (1) Illeperumachchiyawatta, Assessment No. 1/5, Mangala Road. (2) Elabadawatta Assessment No. 519, Mangala Road. (3) Elaowita alias Elabadawatta Assessment No. 198, Galle Road. (4) Kerewaowita, Assesment No. 200, Galle Road. (5) Elaowita alias Kerewaowita Assessment No. 202/1, Galle Road. **Lots and Plan No** Lot Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 in P.P.K. 1774.

M. V. P. Silva,
 Assistant Government Agent,
 Kalutara District.

Kalutara Kachcheri,
 29th June, 1981.

CONFIDENTIALLY

More About Nestle

IS IT NOT SIGNIFICANT that **Tribune** has received a great deal of material about Nestle and other infant milk manufacturers from many organisations abroad, especially the USA, UK and Japan? That in the coming weeks we shall refer to them and cite extracts from them in this column and elsewhere? That one such publication received by us is "The Corporate Examiner—A Publication Examining Policies and Practices of Major US Corporations..." of March 1981 Vol. II No. 3? That it is published by the "Inter-faith Centre on Corporation Responsibility" with headquarters in New York? That in this issue its lead article is entitled "**Washington Post** Discloses Nestle Memo Outlining Anti-Boycott Strategies?": "That in a January 4, 1981 **Washington Post** article, 'Infant Formula Maker Battles Boycotters by Painting Them Red', staff writer Morton Mintz describes two internal Nestle documents, top level correspondence, leaked to the **Post**. While disclosing no hint of concern on the part of the company's top leadership for the substance of the issue raised by its critics, the documents 'provide an unusual behind-the-scenes glimpse of a large multi-national company in combat with liberal critics,' according to Mr. Mintz?.... That Nestle, Swiss-based multinational with annual sales of more than \$ 12 billion in food products worldwide, is the producer of approximately one third of the infant formula sold in the Third World. At issue is not the infant formula itself, but the aggressive marketing practices used by the industry to sell the formula in the Third World and low income communities. The Nestle boycott was started in 1977 by the US-based Infant Formula Action Coalition (INFAC). Concern for the effects of the industry's practices on infant nutrition and health spread through the network of Protestant and Roman Catholic church hunger organisations. Through the International Baby Food Action Network (IBFAN) forty-eight affiliated groups in thirty-five countries, the boycott has spread to eight other countries beside the US? That the industry has recently claimed that practices such as free samples, 'milk nurses', inducements to hospital employees to recommend formula and direct consumer advertising largely have been stopped. Critics, however, documented 682 instances when these techniques have been used by 34 companies in 50 different countries during 1980 alone in a pamphlet, 'Infant Formula Promotion 1980' (New York: International Baby Food Action Network, 1981). The World Health Organisation will meet May 4, 1981 in Geneva to adopt a code of conduct designed to support breast feeding and to regulate the marketing of artificial baby foods in developing nations? That one of the documents obtained by the **Post**— a memo from E. W. Saunders, Nestle

vice-president for nutritionals and president of the infant formula trade association, the International Council of Infant Food Industries (ICIFI) to Nestle's Managing Director"?

THAT **Tribune** has been sent a photostat of the full text of Saunders, memorandum? That we shall cite from it when the occasion arises? That in the meantime, extracts from a document released by the "Group Concerned About The Infant Formula Issue" c/o National Christian Council of Japan in Tokyo has some interesting revelations: "Nestle is a familiar brand of coffee and chocolate, even amongst the Japanese. But it is not quite so well known that Nestle's infant formula for babies has a market in Africa, Asia, Latin America and other Third World countries worth one billion dollars a year. Nestle's infant formula is promoted with colourful posters in hospitals and clinics and also through the distribution of free samples to new mothers. The skillful advertising gives mothers the wrong impression that infant formula is superior to breast milk? That in lower income families the cost of infant formula consumes 30-60% of their total income. Mothers over-dilute baby formula to make it last longer, resulting in infant malnutrition. Poor families have insufficient fuel to sterilize baby bottles and lack refrigerators to keep the formula from spoiling. Such conditions have caused various sicknesses and deaths...?" That the **Asiaweek** June 19, 1981 in a cover (scandals) story entitled "Battle of the Bottle" stated: "No less than most other globe-girdling corporations, the companies that make and distribute the commodity known as 'infant formula' do not take kindly to criticism. The infant-food industry—led by giants such as Nestle (**Lactogen**, **Nido**), Abbott (**Similac**), Mead Johnson (**Enfamil**), Wyeth (SMA) and Cow-& Gate—is a multi-billion-dollar business; it also operates some of the most powerful lobbies ever known. Thus, when two United Nations agencies announced plans to press for a marketing code of ethics aimed at countering the proven hazards of infant formula misuse, the howls of rage could be heard in boardrooms from New York to Zurich. Yet last month, perhaps the most significant international consumer protection standard of modern times was finally approved by a gathering of nations, both rich and poor, That standard is the **International Code of Marketing of Breastmilk Substitutes** endorsed by 118 countries on May 21, at the annual World Health Assembly in Geneva, Switzerland. Three countries—Japan, South Korea and Argentina—abstained, though why they did so wasn't clear. Only one nation voted against the Code, which was drawn up by the World Health Organisation and the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF). That country, amazingly enough, was the United States of America?" That we will have more about the Code, Nestle and its marketing practices in the coming weeks?

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