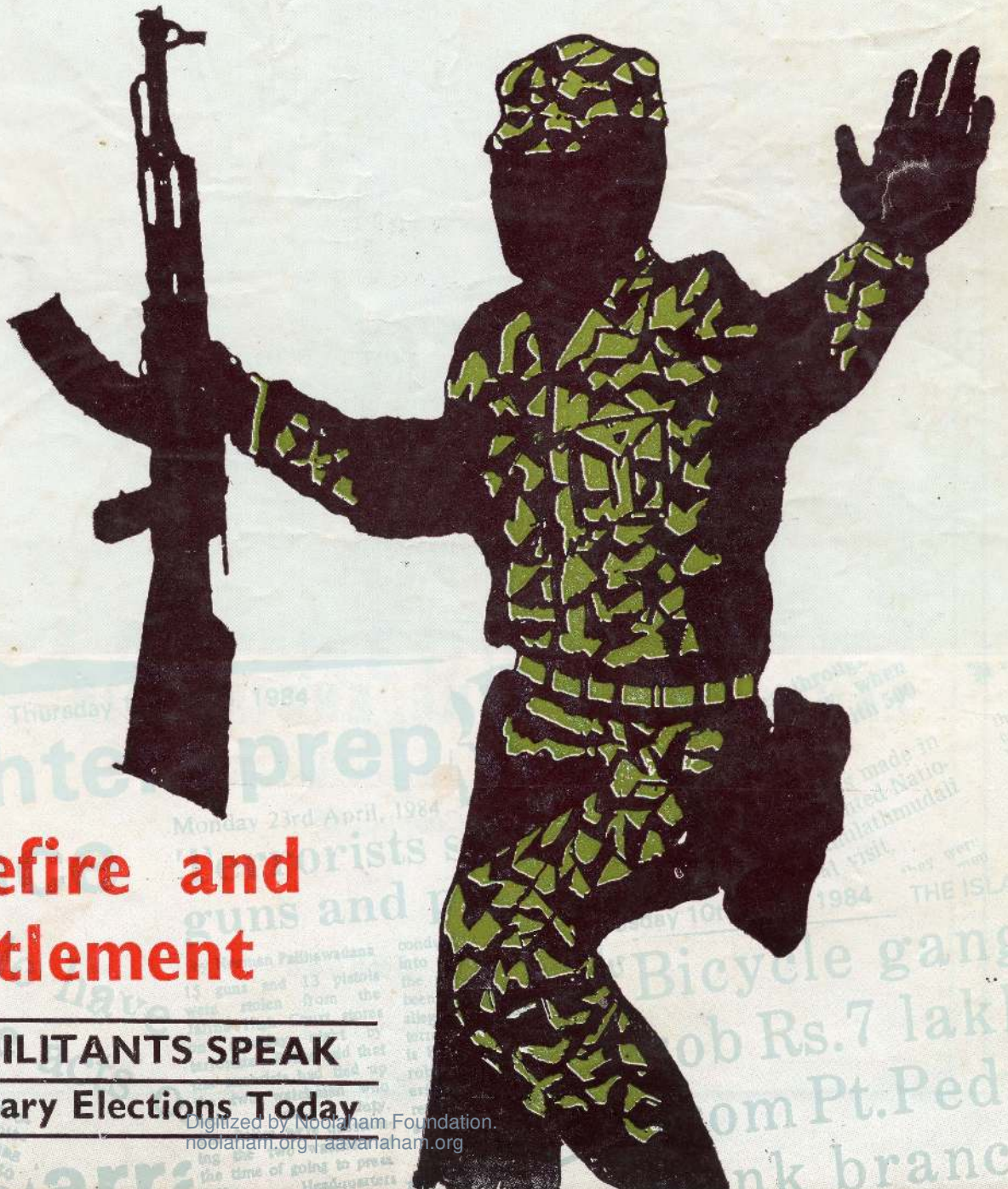


Quarterly of the Christian Workers Fellowship

CHRISTIAN WORKER



Ceasefire and Settlement

TAMIL MILITANTS SPEAK

Parliamentary Elections Today

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CHRISTIAN WORKER

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From our readers

Our Refugees Abroad

The Editor
Christian Worker

We would be very grateful if you could give publicity to the following general address, via your publication the *Christian Worker*.

It is a matter of considerable distress to us the citizens of Sri Lanka who have been forced to flee our homeland and seek refuge in foreign lands, that the Sri Lankan state—the existence of which is justified by its commitment to the protection and welfare of its citizens—has failed to acknowledge our distressed situation and take any steps to attend to our insecure and unstable situation while attending to the task of solving the political crisis faced by the nation.

It appears to us that the least the government can do, would be to request the UNRO to attend to our political status as refugees and see to the satisfaction of our needs until the necessary conditions for our return are created.

These conditions and how they are to be created, must be one of the factors dealt with at the Thimpu or at any other future talks which deal with the formulation or implementation of any solution to the crisis facing the nation.

Since the government has failed to live up to its responsibility towards us as citizens of Sri Lanka, and since it appears to be adopting all possible means to drag out and delay the formulation and implementation of a solution to the present crisis which will enable us to return with safety, we call upon all political parties and organizations who are genuinely com-

mitted to the welfare of the citizens of the land to give voice to our situation in Parliament and in all available public fora.

Further, since none of the political factions who have easy access to us have made any effort to take up the question of our return and our future with the government of our land, we call upon you to take up these questions in a systematic and sustained manner in the parliament and all governing bodies and political institutions of our land.

Thanking you
Yours faithfully

Confederation of Ceylon Refugees
Room No. 2 Safar Mansion
33 Kiledar Street
Trichy 620-002
INDIA
24-09-1985

A General Election to Revive Democracy

The leader of the UNP addressing members of his parliamentary group on the 8th of January 1985 stated that he had no intention of holding a general election shortly and gave as his excuse the extension of the tenure in office of the last government that came about as a result of the constitutional assembly. If that can be regarded as a blackmark on the democratic record of the previous regime and offered as a reason by the founders of 5-star democracy for postponing General Elections long past the due date of July 1983, we the people can submit an endless list of undemocratic actions by the present rulers as reasons for holding a general election right now. We cannot forget the manner in which the life of a parliament ending in July 1983 was extended by a dubious referendum in December 1982 that gravely damaged the democratic process, that had flowered in Sri Lanka. The manipulatory techniques and the use of imaginary sinhalese naxalites while real tamil naxalites were in full swing by then are worth recalling. There are many valid reasons why a general election should be held soon in order to avert volcanic social eruptions that are round the corner.

A general election should be held because a stable political solution to the deteriorating relations between the sinhala and tamil ethnic groups cannot be negotiated in a background of emasculated democracy, no law and order, of widespread violence and practice of terrorism by also segments of society including the law makers and protectors, of corruption that shakes to the core all decent people, and a mismanagement that is spiralling the cost of living.

To refresh the minds of those with short memories, incidents that contri-

buted towards the present crisis-situation are recapitulated: (1) the post elections violence of July 1977 which resulted in 5,660 complaints and a report of the committee of inquiry that never saw the light of day (2) the communal violence of August-September 1977 and the Sansoni report which was never published (3) the brutal attacks on trade union pickets and demonstrators by thugs with no police action against them (3 incidents) (4) assaults on women strikers and demonstrators (2 incidents) (5) assaults on University students by thugs from outside with no police action (10 incidents) (6) disruption of public meetings (4 incidents).

In one, the notable sinhala intellectual, Dr. E. R. Sarachchandra was assaulted within the premises of the Buddhist Congress. (7) The Jaffna DDC elections which was marked by blatant irregularities with a number of ballot boxes being forcibly removed (8) the infamous December 1982 referendum when the election laws were openly flouted by the ruling party, but disregarded by the police. The campaign and the polling vitiated by flagrant acts of abuse, intimidation of polling observers of opposition parties, harassing and preventing attendance at polls, intimidation and prevention of voters from recording their votes, intimidation of polling officials, mass scale of impersonation of voters—all with complaints to the police ineffectual (9) Promotion of police officers found by the supreme court to be guilty of illegal seizure of opposition leaflets and wrongfully arresting Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene, the very next day after the judgment. (10) Attempts to intimidate supreme court judges by organised thugs with no action although claims for responsibility for the incidents were publicly made by an alleged organiser. (11) The crowning star of the 5-star democracy where undated letters of resignation were extracted from all UNP members of parliament, which is a telling story of the calibre

of not only the leadership, but equally of the legislators of our country—Will even the most humble and menial employee anywhere in the globe ever accept employment on condition that he or she has to submit an undated letter of resignation from the post he or she is accepting? This is the fraudulent democracy Sri Lanka boasts to the world and therefore must be corrected through a fair general election, otherwise the consequences can be devastating to all.

There is no doubt that those who sit in parliament today are no longer the true representatives of the Sinhalese people. In fact, if the 5-star democracy supposedly practising a vibrant type of democracy is to negotiate a peaceful settlement, then its the true representatives of the sinhala people and the true representatives of the tamil people, identified through a general election, who should dominate the negotiating table.

Those who tremble at the very thought of a general election because of the disclosures of UNP's economic pundit Mr. Esmond Wickremasinghe, will naturally come up with the theory that this is not the time for it. This theory however can be demolished by the recent polling in India. India a country with a population of 780 million people of diverse racial and religious groupings went to the polls immediately after the murder of a revered leader Indira Gandhi and an aftermath of frenzied rioting and the festering communal problems in Assam and Punjab. Rajiv Gandhi is an honest man and wanted to start a government on a new slate. We in Sri Lanka need a general election very badly in order to start once again hopefully on a new democratic state. The current acts of terrorism, or the fact that Mrs. Bandaranaike demands an election is no excuse for a postponement. We have been fooling most of the people with a democracy that is growing into a Frankenstein monster, but the economic, social and political results of a disastrous type can be unleashed if we still imagine that we can fool all the people all the time.

—Dr. Mervyn D. de Silva
240/11, Torrington Avenue
Colombo—7. 10/09/1985.

Ceasefire and Settlement

How ceasefire violations have continued to frustrate attempts at negotiating a political settlement of our vexed National Question can be seen from the events of the last few months. The efforts of India therefore as an intermediary in this task had necessarily to be directed in the first instance towards renewed attempts to ensure a proper observance of the ceasefire by all concerned in order to create a climate in which rational dialogue could take place on a "working paper" that India herself has promoted for continuing the negotiations. The prolonged deadlock between the Government and Tamil groups over the setting up of an acceptable and effective ceasefire monitoring authority was at last broken through the intervention and exertions of Indian External Affairs Secretary Romesh Bhandari in particular and the stage thereby set for renewed negotiations in a friendlier climate hopefully, not dogged by continued charges of ceasefire violations. We certainly hope too that the meeting of President Jayewardene and Premier Rajiv Gandhi with president Jayawardene in October and with Minister Athulathmudali in November will pave the way for fruitful dialogue leading to the resolution of conflict, with Indian mediation if required.

Misplaced skills

Not that Phase II of the Thimpu Talks, apart from the allegations made of ceasefire violations, showed much signs of such a hopeful dialogue when the required skill of a statesman at such talks was sought to be replaced by the Court craft of an eminent counsel. This became all the more apparent on the opening day of the Talks (August 12th) when Queen's Counsel H. W. Jayewardene representing the Government tabled a harsh statement rejecting outright the four "cardinal" principles put forward by the Tamil delegation, striking them down in typical lawyer fashion as a negation of the sovereignty and integrity of Sri Lanka. These four principles were recognition of the Tamils as a distinct nationality, respect for the territorial integrity of the Tamil homeland, recognition of the Tamil's right to self-determination and citizenship rights for plantation Tamils. What was worse, Mr. Jayewardene's attempt to even question the nature of the Tamil representation at the talks created a furore and unnecessary diversion which was only cleared up apparently after Indian External Affairs Secretary Romesh Bhandari flew into Thimpu on August 15 and Mr. Jayewardene acknowledged later that the delegation's presence at the talks was itself recognition of the fact that there was indeed "sufficient" representation for the Tamil interests to arrive at a settlement. He was then permitted to table the "new" Government proposals which however turned out to be nothing more than the earlier

ones "dressed up" a little! Hard on this disappointment came the news of an alleged army massacre in Vavuniya. When the talks were continued on August 17th, a member of the Tamil delegation read out a statement rejecting outright the "new" Government proposals. *The Island* of August 18 reports that all the Tamil delegates then "stunned the Government delegation" by walking out of the Conference in protest against the incidents in Vavuniya the previous day. The situation was made worse by news received by the Tamil delegates about alleged killings in Trincomalee too. Soon all the militant Tamil organizations in Madras recalled their delegates from Thimpu, although a compromise was later struck with a part of the delegation remaining in Thimpu to give an impression that the talks were suspended awaiting a new initiative by India.

INDIAN GOVERNMENT PRESSURE

There was apparently some Indian pressure (according to ENLF sources and repeated in the Indian magazine *Frontline* of September 7-20) put on the Tamil delegation to lay aside the Vavuniya and Trincomalee incidents and resume the talks. "How can we?" asked an LTTE ("Tiger") spokesman in Madras. "We are a military organization. With two massacres in two days, if we resume the talks, our cadres will put a bullet in our back." This seemed to have resulted in displeasure among the Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF) militants especially (comprising the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam—LTTE, the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization—TELO, the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front—EPRLF and the Eelam Revolutionary Organization of Students—EROS), who felt that the same kind of pressure exerted on them to resume talks was not applied on the Sri Lankan Government to make it stop the killings of Tamil civilians and come up with more realistic proposals. There were also reports of a fierce exchange between Bhandari and N. Satyendra who represented TELO and then of "a cleavage among militant groups with EROS, EPRLF and PLOT reportedly taking a sober line from the Indian angle —(*Frontline*). This wedge was reflected in Madras with Prabakaran of LTTE vanishing completely and Sri Sabaratnam of TELO also making himself scarce when they were wanted for talks by the Indian Premier. The Sri Lanka Government's *Lankapuvath* news report (reproduced in *Sunday Observer* of August 25) that PLOT leader Uma Maheswaran was reported to have fled to Lebanon was however totally without foundation. An official spokesman of LTTE A. S. Balasingham said; "There is no meaning in the observance of ceasefire. It is better for the Tamils to fight and die rather than die without fighting. The Indian Government cannot blame us for resuming our armed

struggle as we went to Thimpu talks with a reasonable approach. However the Sri Lankan Government is not sincere." (Some background information on the ceasefire and its alleged violations as well as on differences among militant groups appears elsewhere in this issue and should be of special interest to our readers since such statements have not appeared in our "national" press).

On August 23, the Indian Government decided to deport A. S. Balasingham and two close associates S. C. Chandrahassan and N. Satyendra. The last named had already left for London. The deportations on the first two were withdrawn later but the decision to effect the deportations was obviously ill-advised on the part of the Indian Government since it diverted attention from the failure of the militants to meet the Indian Premier and gave an opportunity to the Right-wing politicians of Tamil Nadu through their organization the Tamil Eelam Supporters Organization (TESO, consisting of the D.M.K. led by M. Karunanidhi, the D.K. and the Kamaraj Congress of Tamil Nadu) to successfully stage a "rail-roko" agitation in the State on August 31. The Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran and his AIADMK kept a studied silence during this agitation but later, on September 24th staged a "Bandh" (hartal) throughout Tamil Nadu to show his own party's opposition to the massacre of innocent Tamils in Sri Lanka. In this connection, it must be noted that especially since the D.M.K. made pan-Tamil nationalism politically fashionable in Tamil Nadu, all electoral parties have treaded carefully on the Tamil issue in view of the sympathy it has generated.

Meanwhile, the Indian Government, after the collapse of Thimpu II had apparently also pressed the Sri Lankan delegation leader and Government to take a more positive approach towards reaching a settlement. The result has been a "Working Paper" now circulated and discussed at different levels by Tamil groups with Indian officials. However, a necessary pre-condition for any negotiations to succeed would obviously be **the proper maintenance of the ceasefire.**

Ceasefire Violations and Violence

With the collapse of Phase II of the Thimpu Talks and despite the Government's announced unilateral extension of the 3 month ceasefire (effective from June 18), there was a marked increase of violence and counter-violence in the North and attacks on innocent civilians both Sinhalese and Tamil in the East. The almost uninterrupted incidents of reported violence in the press since make depressing reading and we do not propose to go into a recital of all such events, but we have had regular reports of army attacks on militant outposts and militant attacks on police stations in areas like Eravur, Kilinochchi and Mahavilachchiya. A prolonged curfew in Trincomalee on September 4th following clashes between Sinhalese and Tamils reported in *Daily News* of September 5 has been followed by further violence alleged to be directed against Tamil residents more recently.

There has also been sustained agitation in the North and East by students and joined in by many non-

political organizations too over the continued detention of some 175 Tamil youths in Colombo, many of whom have languished for long periods—some for over 18 months contrary to even the provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act. *Saturday Review* reported that on August 27, undergraduates of the Jaffna campus began a fast in relays inside the University premises in sympathy with the detenus some of whom had commenced a fast unto death. *Sun* of September 3 reported that a million students in the North and East had boycotted classes and participated in a massive hartal on the same issue staged in both provinces the previous day.

Senseless Killings

Apart from the tragic loss of valuable human life resulting from guerilla attacks and army retaliations (the ENLF have alleged that nearly 800 Tamils were killed by security forces and armed Sinhalese civilians especially during the 3 month truce, though denied by the Government—*Daily News* of September 19), Jaffna has more recently reacted with horror to the abduction and brutal assassinations on September 2 of two former M.P.s belonging to the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF)—both popular figures in Parliament and outside it, who chose to stay among their people rather than enjoy the privileges and benefits of certain other ex-patriate Tamil politicians now abroad. There was reaction among the average Sinhalese living in the South too against these same senseless killings. Conditions being what they are today in Jaffna, it would obviously have been impossible for anyone but Tamils to have such easy access to carry out the abductions and eventual murders. A note found near the body of Dharmalingam which read ; "This is the punishment for those who betray the Tamil race and those who pawn Eelam, especially the TULF" and signed "A Tamil with self-respect," would on the face of it point to the murders having been carried out by a militant Tamil group. The suspicions naturally centred on LTTE especially since Velupillai Prabhakaran its leader was reported to be then in the Northern part of the island. Furthermore, Alagarsunderam, 3 years ago was tortured and shot in the leg by the LTTE and Dharmalingam was the father of Siddharthan, PLOT spokesman at the Thimpu talks. PLOT is a bitter rival of LTTE. Besides, the LTTE and its Front ENLF were also fully aggrieved that while they had not kept an appointment with Premier Rajiv Gandhi, after Thimpu II, the TULF and PLOT had proceeded to Delhi for high level talks there in their absence. Siddharthan himself in a statement from Madras said "so-called Tamil freedom fighters have murdered my father," while PLOT accused "immature renegades within the ENLF of committing the murders." The EPRLF in a diplomatic statement appealed to all "Liberation groups" to refrain from acts that did not advance their cause. The next day all the constituents of the ENLF (the LTTE, EROS, TELO and EPRLF) in a statement denied they had anything to do with the killings. It was hardly convincing.

"Lamp-post killings" i.e., executions by militant groups at lamp-posts have been common in the North and East for a period. All groups have apparently indulged in this exercise for some time as a punishment

for informers and "traitors" nor have such executions been confined to Sri Lanka. *The Island* of September 22 carried the news report of an alleged kidnapping of Santhathiyar a *ias* Vasantham, a one-time deputy to PLOT leader Uma Maheswaran, who along with some others had broken with that organization. According to *The Island*, several such persons including V. I. S. Jayapalan are missing in Madras. Since we are unaware of the truth or otherwise of the allegations made, we may remark in passing that violence and killings as a method of settling political differences is hardly in accord with the professions and ideals of people's liberation. As Franz Fanon has put it, such actions and attitudes only show an "internalization of the oppressor" and can in no wise reflect the spirit of freedom fighters. We might also add that a pre-occupation with armed struggle as distinct from a political mobilization of the masses, must lead inevitably to the supremacy of the gun over politics.

Refugees in India

The outbreak of racist violence in Sri Lanka has naturally led to mass migrations to neighbouring India, where some observers have put the number of refugees at around 200,000, half of whom are reportedly in refugee camps. There are today some 108 refugee camps for Sri Lankans in Tamil Nadu.

It has been observed by many visiting South India that there are two types of refugees presently living there. The first sort consist mainly of Tamils (mostly of recent Indian origin), who have lived among Sinhalese people and **who express their own cultural identity in India by being Sri Lankan even to the extent of speaking in Sinhala!** In contrast to them, those refugees who have lived their lives in Tamil-speaking areas and who therefore have only heard Sinhala spoken by members of the Armed Forces and State Officers, react differently and tend to look upon Sinhala as an "oppressor's language." In Trichy, there is today a considerable population of Sri Lankan citizens and even businesses bearing name like 'Lanka Pharmacy' and 'Kandy Stores' are to be seen. Those in refugee camps here number around 2,500. It is the hope of these refugees to return to Sri Lanka as soon as conditions permit and we carry in this issue elsewhere a letter we have received from an organization representing the interests of these folk, which sets out the nature of their plight quite plainly. A number of these refugees want to live again among the Sinhalese people as they have done in the past, in peace and dignity. They are Sri Lankan citizens and a separate state can have no meaning for them, accustomed as they have been to living in various parts of Sri Lanka. It is surely incumbent on our Government to do all it can for people in such circumstances so as to enable them to resume their normal life again in our land.

A Realistic Approach

All this would again pinpoint the pressing need for an act of statesmanship on the part of the Government especially, to put an end to the present fratricidal strife and senseless slaughter through a negotiated and rational political solution. We say so because the present crisis is the result of the Tamils losing con-

fidence in the Sinhala leaders and the several governments they represented. We pointed out earlier in these columns that there was a total lack of confidence in the *bona fides* of the Government on the part of the Tamils from the very commencement of the Thimpu negotiations; they felt that the Government was most probably playing for time and not really interested in reaching a genuine solution. It is this same attitude that is reflected in a recent statement made in India by TULF leader A. Amirthalingam on the Working Paper drawn up in Delhi after consultation between Mr. H. W. Jayewardene and the Indian Officials: "What India has now worked out is the basis for discussions and is not the final agreement. Now the Sri Lankan Government should bring this as its proposal to the table. We will reserve our comment until we see what comes ultimately from Colombo, till we see it in print. We know from the 'Annexure C' experience how Jayewardene could quickly change under pressure" (quoted in *The Week*, India September, 8-14).

It is imperative therefore for the government to show its *bona fides* and create a proper climate which can unmistakably show its willingness to reach an honourable settlement. Deeds must also match words if the latter are to carry any conviction. Therefore measures such as the contemplated mobilization of citizens over 18 years for compulsory military service through the Mobilization and Supplementary Forces Act that was rushed through Parliament in October, could hardly inspire trust and confidence in Government's professions to work towards a peaceful resolution of the present conflict. It is surely time we realised as pointed out by the Army Commander himself, that no "military solution" was possible. This is a war which no one side can possibly win; protracted hostilities can only lead to a 'Lebanonisation' of Sri Lanka.

The "National Front" (its organizers obviously innocent of the fascist implications of that name!) that came into existence especially as a reaction to the eviction of Sinhalese from their villages in Vavuniya and Trincomalee areas and comprises some well-known figures among the Sangha headed by the Mahanayake of Asgiriya, certain Buddhist organizations and a motley array of politicians, prominent among whom is Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike and her SLFP, has called for the unity of all Sinhalese to protect country, race and religion: "terrorism" had to be wiped out and the Sinhalese forced out of their homes in Vavuniya and the East coast re-settled before peace talks are resumed. This call has however not evoked much response openly in the way of mass action. In any case the Front's very first move to organize a satyagraha in Colombo on August 14—exactly 3 months after the Anuradhapura massacre—did not have the desired impact. Not to be outdone, the still proscribed Janata Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) which led the 1971 insurrection also joined the bandwagon of Sinhala chauvinism through a poster campaign of its own. In this context, the consistent and principled stand taken by the Three Party Alliance of the LSSP-CPSL-SLMP which continue to press for a negotiated and rational political solution, needs to be commended. It would of course be naive to expect the two main right-wing parties—the UNP and SLFP—going by their un-

scrupulous past records—to take such a responsible and principled position.

The Working Paper

It is against such a background therefore that we have to consider the "Working Paper" that the Indian Government officials have been able to get up after some 10 days of talking with Mr. H. W. Jayewardene in New Delhi, as a fresh means to revive the negotiations that so abruptly broke off at Thimpu II.

While the document is marked "Confidential," some of the proposals said to be contained in it have already found their way into the Indian press. So a brief comment on some of these matters here could be useful.



H. W. Jayewardene

What the Tamil groups are expected to accept in place of their demand for a separate state (in any case not a practicable proposition economically or politically) is of course a form of regional autonomy based on the setting up of provincial councils for the whole island which will include one each in the North and East. (We have repeatedly advocated such a devolution of power throughout the island as a means to counter the ominous trends towards authoritarianism and not just to solve the Tamil question alone). A positive advance over the earlier proposals is the new provision that **elections to these Councils would be direct** and not take the ineffective form of representation contained in the district development council system. The new proposals are said to include a chief executive councillor appointed by the President from the party that gets the majority in the Council and upon his advice the team of executive councillors would be formed, the chief executive councillor being responsible to the President and also to the council he heads. A real difficulty could however arise if the President keeps for himself most of the executive powers including the power to dismiss a provincial chief and dissolve a provincial council. Indeed it would appear to us that there may well be contradictions in reconciling a genuine devolution of power with the present executive form of Presidential rule devised by the 1978 Constitution. However, there is

still hope that the extent of the powers to be devolved to the provinces could be worked out through negotiations at any future talks. While the unification of the north and east has been strongly opposed by our Government leaders, there could surely be no principled objection to the right of two or more provincial bodies to act in concert on any subjects of common concern. (Indeed we cannot really see the objection to even an amalgamation of areas if the people of such areas through a referendum so desire it). Small wonder then that perhaps in fear of being betrayed at negotiations, the Tamil delegation at Thimpu advanced its four "cardinal" principles for Government's response. What was at the back of this move was perhaps an attempt to firmly secure at least the recognition of the Tamils as a people with a distinct cultural identity of their own within an unitary Sri Lankan nation state. The word used by them to express this identity and distinctiveness was "nationality," but nonetheless within the context of a single state that is Sri Lanka. So also their claim to the right of "self-determination" also in recognition of being respected as a separate social entity in such a context. It would appear to us that what the Tamils really desire (to quote our own words in last quarter's comment) is "a settlement where they could live in peace and honour as citizens of Sri Lanka on just terms with the Sinhalese; equal rights and not just concessions thrown to them by a "master race." We surely have enough ingenuity to spell out these aspirations in mutually satisfactory terms! It is indeed time that our Government recognised the legitimate aspirations of the Tamil people and allayed their fears through word and action.

We have never had illusions of course that this or any other capitalist government would be able to effect a completely satisfactory resolution of our national problem. While that has to be left to a genuinely socialist government in the future, a way has to be found right now to stay the present internecine conflict and to enable our people to come together regardless of differences in language, race or religion. Only in this way would we pursue our common and urgent task of real liberation from neo-colonialist and capitalist structures which alone could put an end to racism and other social ills. But the cowardice and bankruptcy of our capitalist class and its politicians is such that even a *modus vivendi* of this kind is apparently possible only through an Indian intervention, which again brings us to the role of India in the geopolitics of our region.

The role of India

It is not without significance that in the colonial period, our country's politics and especially those of the radicals and Left were to a large extent influenced by the nationalist and anti-imperialist movement in India. The LSSP went so far as to constitute itself into a "Ceylon Unit of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India"—which party its leaders had helped to found after their jail-break and surreptitious escape to India consequent on the banning of the LSSP for its opposition to imperialism and the Second World War; it could not envisage our country's freedom apart from the success of the Indian revolution. We did get our political 'independence' later in 1948, and that too



Romesh Bhandari

largely on account of the freedom struggles of the Indian masses which necessitated the relinquishment by Britain of direct colonial rule. We however accepted our grant of 'independence' by signing away the bases at Trincomalee and Katunayake to the British through "Defence Agreements" (revoked only after 1956). We sought then to distance ourselves from India and even indulged in some anti-Indian sentiment with the disenfranchisement of our plantation workers of recent Indian origin (who did not vote for the UNP) soon after our Independence. We were then enabled by circumstances to live in comparative isolation from our big Indian neighbour and to pursue our own insular politics as if we were self-contained and the rest of the world simply did not matter. In later years our prestigious position in the Non-Aligned Movement prior to 1977, no doubt helped to give us a greater sense of importance and to even strengthen this feeling of self-contained bliss.

This charmed climate has now been rudely shattered by the present UNP government. We have been made to feel the full impact of the capitalist world market through the "open economy" policies of the Government which have destroyed our nascent "import substitution" industries and agricultural efforts. We have seen too the pressures on our country of United States interests now symbolised by the "Voice of America" station in our land which is said to be the largest apart from that in the U.S.A. itself. But, for all our subservience to imperialist interests, the U.S.A. has been in no way disposed, despite all inducements, to intervene in our ethnic conflict at the cost of antagonising India and the prospect of jeopardising its own investment opportunities too in that great land. And so, having behaved earlier in a rather churlish and even contemptuous fashion towards our Indian neighbour, we have even reluctantly had to turn in that direction now for assistance to resolve our own internal racial conflict.

Both our Government which now looks to India for assistance as well as the Tamil militants who have sought to make Tamil Nadu a haven, must now reckon with India as the paramount power of the South Asian region. In this context, the strength and ability of Rajiv Gandhi as a capitalist politician to enter skilfully into settlements with the separatist forces in his country, stands in marked contrast to our own. And Rajiv Gandhi can hardly permit a Tamilian South India of some 50 million persons to be disturbed for long by Sri Lanka's racial strife. He can as little permit separatist politics on an island bordering Tamil Nadu (itself rife with anti-Hindi and pan-Tamilian sentiments) as ignore anti-Tamil or anti-Indian moves on the part of its rulers. And indeed we have through our conflictive politics and the seeking of our petty chauvinist and capitalist politicians been brought dangerously close into becoming a client state of our big neighbour. The sooner we recognise this reality, the better. ☉

THE BOY'S DUET

*I am dying for a Separate State (the Boys)
I am dying for a Unitary State (Sinhala Soldier)
We are dying for the State
While Statesmen are making statements*

*Whom are they cheating? the people of course!
Why are you instigating and inciting us?
Is it not for you to be in Power
Is it not for you to go places?*

*Allow us people to live in Peace
You Politicians: men in religious garb
Does Religion teach warring for Peace?
You Fanatics—give us youths a chance to live!*

*You who promised us employment
Now eradicate us through enlistment
While we cling to dear life with rifles
You enjoy everything in life—Trip to trifles!*

*The day is near for us to get together
We will expose you together
Where you will surrender
To the youths of our motherland.*

—Loving Son

P.S.—Sinhala Tamil New Year 1985. It is unfortunate that I cannot write my name owing to the present situation which will never come to normal, even after the "Thimpu Tammasha"

DON'T ABANDON PEACE TALKS!

Statement of the 3 Party Alliance of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, the Communist Party of Sri Lanka and the Sri Lanka Mahajana Party.

In a strongly worded statement signed by Bernard Soysa (LSSP), K. P. Silva (CP) and Vijaya Kumaranatunga (SLMP), the three parties urged all concerned to conduct themselves in the interest of all the Lankan people rather than the representatives of any particular community

TEXT OF THE STATEMENT

The Thimpu talks have been interrupted. They must not be allowed to be abandoned. In order to ensure that the talks are resumed, it is necessary that the cease-fire (or 'stoppage of hostile actions', as the government prefers to call it) is revived.

As was clear during even the imperfect cease-fire that we had, there was distinct easing of tensions that had long prevailed and heightened here in Sri Lanka. This easing of tension made it possible for discussions to start between the Sri Lanka government and the Tamil organisations over the latter's steadily widening revolt against the existing Sri Lanka state.

It is necessary that this atmosphere of reducing tensions should be created once again—and even better and more fully. Those who now shout "war!" are recklessly indifferent to the grave dangers in the present situation. Those who want to promote a major Sinhalese-Tamil clash seem determined to revert our peoples to primitive savagery.

All those concerned should realise that any resumption of the senseless slaughter and violence that we have witnessed in the recent past, and which have resulted in the mass displacement of innocent and uninvolved Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims, can only be a major impediment to the success of the negotiations.

The creation of conditions which will enable the displaced persons of all communities to resume their normal lives in their accustomed surroundings will greatly assist a fruitful outcome of the negotiations.

Our three parties are also of the firm opinion that a negotiated settlement would be more easy to achieve if the government and its spokesmen as well as the Tamil and other organisations and the extremists conduct themselves in the perspective of the highest interests of all the people of Sri Lanka and not primarily or solely as the representatives of any particular community in Sri Lanka.

It is also essential that the government comes forward with new proposals which take account of the desire of the Tamil people to be ensured conditions which will protect them against violence to their persons and property, discrimination, injustice and affronts to their self-respect.

Our three parties were the first to call for a cease-fire and for direct negotiations between the government and the Tamil organisations including those which had embarked on an armed struggle,

We remain convinced that such negotiations are the only immediate way in which a settlement of the ethnic crisis can be reached, thus removing the present threat to the integrity of sovereign Sri Lanka and making it possible for the people to avert the political, social and economic disasters that confront them.

(August 28, 1985)

FOR PEACE NOT WAR

Beginnings of a Peace Movement

About 80 members from 23 organizations and groups committed to a Just Peace held their first Convention at the Catechetical Centre, Negombo from the 20th to 22nd Sept. 1985. They belonged to all ethnic and religious groups. They shared experiences of their varied activities for Peace and drew up a programme for the next three months. These include —

- Convention in Batticaloa—Nov. 16th-17th 1985.
- Celebration of World Peace Week—Oct. 20th to 27th
- Peace Activities around special occasions such as Deepavali, and Christmas (next 3 months)
- Seminars
- Peace Education Courses
- Drama
- Visits to various groups outside Colombo (already 20 such invitations have been received)

A Preparatory Committee was set up to make plans for setting up a Peace Movement as a network of the different organizations and movements working for Peace. The following Resolution was unanimously accepted.

"We the participants of the Peace Convention at Thammita (20-22 Sept.) resolve the following:

That this meeting should initiate a peace movement in order to organize

people as an active force towards educating people for just peace. We as a group have decided to:—

- a) Accept the human rights of all people in Sri Lanka.
- b) Agree to a political solution based on devolution of power through Provincial Councils (with a possibility of collaboration among 2 or 3 of them on specific common concerns, within a framework of a united Constitution).
- c) Reject hopes for a solution through war.
- d) Direct itself towards a settlement of the present problems through negotiation.
- e) Try to convince people to agree to the above needs of a just settlement.

GOAL:

Ultimate aim is to build a people's force for peace based on Justice.

IMMEDIATE NEEDS:

- a) Appoint a preparatory committee to continuously carry out the organizational stages.
- b) Pool resources for education and publicity of all participating groups for a National Peace Movement."

The Negombo Peace Convention was a hopeful sign indeed in the midst of a situation of intensifying racial strife and

tension in Sri Lanka. With both extremist militant groups and the State security forces engaging in armed conflict the declared ceasefire has been negated and the result—a big preparation for war by the Government—a wasteful war which would be an unmitigated disaster for this country with Sri Lankans killing other Sri Lankans. The government has also brought in a new law—"Mobilization and Supplementary Forces Act" by which our youth will be forced to do a period of national service. It is encouraging to note that many organizations have protested against this growing process of militarization and that the (Anglican) Church of Ceylon Diocesan Council of Colombo at its 100th session passed the following resolution:

"This Council affirms its conviction that the National problem should be resolved through negotiation and not by resort to armed conflict. We are heartened by the decision of our Government to observe a cease-fire indefinitely. We appeal to the leaders of the militant youth to reciprocate this and to pursue peace through dialogue and negotiation.

"We appeal to our Government to refrain from enlisting persons compulsorily under the proposed Mobilization and Supplementary Forces Act as an earnest of its intention to reach peace through negotiation".

It is hoped that more and more organizations and religious institutions will join the broad Peace Movement and reverse the current for war which will surely destroy any hope of a united Sri Lanka in the future. Act now—tomorrow will be too late!

Ceasefire & Background

TO THIMPU TALKS

We reproduce below without comment, the terms of the Ceasefire between the Government and the Tamil militant groups and the protest of the latter over ceasefire violations, taken from Spokesman (official organ of the EPRLF) of August 1985. We do so specially because such statements have not been made available to our public through Sri Lanka's "National" Press.

Reproduced from Spokesman of August 1985

Terms of ceasefire

The following four phase plan for a ceasefire, between the Sri Lankan Government and the Liberation Organisations, came into effect on June 18.

"Talks", which were to take place during phase IV of the agreement, were advanced to phase II in order to create a "congenial atmosphere" for an acceptable political solution, on the advice of the Indian Government.

The details of the agreement is as follows:

Action to be taken by Sri Lankan Government	Reciprocal steps by the militants.
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Phase I: Start on June 18. For three weeks

1. Government will lift restrictive legislation on use of roads and vehicles and suspend enforcement of the Prohibited Zone.

Stop using Prohibited Zone as staging area for carrying men and material.

2. New settlements will be suspended.

Stop attacks on civilians—both Sinhalese and Tamils—in the North, East and elsewhere:

3. Security forces will carry out cordon and searches and operations in the presence of local officials and magistrates.

Cease attacks in the North, East and elsewhere on government offices, economic targets and private property. Stop induction of men and material in affected areas from outside Sri Lanka.

4. Lift Surveillance Zone and stop infusion of further resources to Armed Services and police establishments.

Phase II: Three weeks

1. Security forces will suspend raids and suspend curfews.

Cease attack directed against convoys of security forces including police, establishments, mining of roads, railtracks and bridges. Stop carrying of arms.

Phase III: Two weeks

1. Observe ceasefire.

2. Police stations which had been closed down will be reopened and the law and order function will be carried out by the police.

Observe ceasefire.

3. Amnesty will be declared and those in custody against whom charges have not been filed will be released. (Those who have been charged will be released after the conclusion of successful discussions). Observe ceasefire.

Phase IV

Secret talks on substantive issues for reaching a political settlement to take place between the emissaries of the government and representatives of the Tamil political leadership and Tamil militant groups. The venue of these talks could be a third country acceptable to both sides. Every effort should be made to maintain the secrecy of these talks and, in any case, of the course of the discussions. The search for a solid foundation for a political solution must be completed in this period of three months from the date of declaration of the ceasefire and the amnesty. Depending on the result of these secret talks, open and direct dialogue between the Government and the representatives of the Tamils can commence as soon as the necessary groundwork is considered to have been laid.

ENLF Protest

The Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF) consists of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the People's Revolutionary Eelam Liberation Front (EPRLF), the Eelam Revolutionary Organization of Students (EROS) and the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO).

Text of Statement Issued on July 20, 1985

At the outset, we, the constituent member organisations of the Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF) wish to express our vehement protest over the continuous military violence and terror unleashed against our people by the Sri Lankan armed forces in flagrant violation of the truce agreement. The continuous state terrorist violence in the Tamil homeland, the failure to provide an acceptable political framework as a basis for negotiations at Thimpu conference, the refusal to honour the commitments agreed upon in the ceasefire accord, the belligerent provocative statements made by the Government leaders, clearly indicates that the Sri Lankan government has no sincere intention to bring about a fair, just and permanent solution to the Eelam national question by peaceful political practice.

Having agreed to implement a set of pre-conditions to create a congenial atmosphere and conditions of normality in Tamil areas as a gesture of goodwill for peace dialogue, the Sri Lanka government is deliberately promoting state violence particularly in the Eastern Province, instilling terror and tension among the Tamil civilian population in that region. The creation of such uneven conditions in the North and East, we strongly suspect, is a devious strategy advanced by Sri Lanka to systematically alienate and eventually bifurcate the Eastern Province from any possible integration of that region in the structural unity of the Tamil homeland.

In callous disregard to the commitments pledged in the ceasefire agreement to suspend all induction of arms the Sri Lanka government is fast building up its military machinery with massive purchase of military hardware from Pakistan, China and South Korea. In the meantime, utilising the conditions of ceasefire to its advantage, Sri Lanka has accelerated the process of militarisation of Sinhala civilian settlers in the most sensitive bordering areas of Vavuniya, Mullaitivu and Trincomalee.

Though the Sri Lankan government originally agreed to lift the sea surveillance zone as a pre-condition for ceasefire, it later refused to abide by its pledge. The Sri Lankan delegation at the Thimpu conference promised to release a section of the political detainees numbering 643, but so far no action has been taken to set them free. Such violations of pledges which is characteristic of Sri Lanka's art of political deception, make us deeply suspicious of the 'good intentions' of the Island's rulers.

We participated at Thimpu conference in appreciation of India's initiative and good offices to find a permanent solution through peaceful negotiations. Our willingness to enter into a rational discourse with Sri Lanka is also prompted by our genuine desire for peace. We are fighting for a legitimate cause. We are engaged in a struggle to bring peace, freedom and security to our people. Therefore we were prepared to talk and explore all possibilities to seek an everlasting solution that guarantees the liberty and dignity of our people.

To our dismay and disillusionment Sri Lanka did not respond positively at the Thimpu deliberations. The Sri Lankan delegation submitted an old package of proposals that had already been found totally unacceptable to our people. Such a display of intransigent, irreconcilable attitude amply proves that Sri Lanka is not serious nor sincere in finding a just solution to the Tamil issue. On our part, we have proposed four principles, which are crucial and cardinal for any meaningful solution to the national question, principles that embody the legitimate national aspirations of our

people. These principles call for the recognition of Tamils of Sri Lanka as a distinct nationality, recognition and guarantee of the territorial integrity of Tamil homeland, recognition of the right to national self determination of the Tamil nation, and finally, the recognition of the right to full citizenship of the plantation Tamils.

The basic principles that constitute the very foundation of the Eelam freedom movement, have been evolved historically through decades of bitter struggles. These principles articulate the political aspirations and the national will of our people. Sri Lanka has outrightly rejected these concepts at a Cabinet meeting recently without discussing the significance of them with Tamil representatives. We are well aware that these principles outlined by us are inconsistent or rather, contradictory to the unitary structure of the present Sri Lankan constitution. This constitution, as far as we are concerned, is an institutionalised structure of Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism that upholds Sri Lanka as primarily a Sinhala nation with Buddhism as the privileged state religion and Sinhala language as the only official instrument of communication. Within such a racist system that does not recognise the very existence of the Tamil nation, it is impossible to work out a practical, viable framework for a lasting political solution.

We have evoked the principle of self-determination as a consequence of the collapse of a co-existent unitary system of Government as a historical necessity to have our own policy to protect and preserve our national identity from gradual and systematic annihilation by State organised genocide. Our people have a legitimate right to shape and design their own political destiny.

We therefore demand that the Sri Lankan Government should recognise the inalienable rights of our people and put forward a new set of proposals in keeping with the principles enunciated by us. We wish to state categorically that any meaningful, lasting solution cannot be evolved unless Sri Lanka recognises the legitimate national aspirations of the Tamils of Eelam. ●



Leaders of the ENLF

Left to right, Sri Sabaratnam TELO, K. Pathmanabha EPRLF, V. Prabakaran LTTE, and Balakumar EROS.

Statements of Tamil Militants

It is generally assumed by many readers of the "National" Press that all Tamil militant groups hold identical or at least similar views and are in any case, "Terrorists".

For the benefit of our readers we publish without comment, excerpts from recent statements issued by the People's Liberation Organization of Thamileelam (PLOT).

Uma Maheswaran on

'Hit and Run' Tactics



Uma Maheswaran
P. L. O. T. Leader

The people's army and the use of arms, in the final analysis is an extension of the political struggle. The armed struggle is not outside the framework of politics. Therefore, the functioning of the people's army must necessarily be under the direction of the people's party involved in the liberation struggle.

Today the hit and run tactics and assassination of isolated armed service personnel is outdated and should be given up. They served a purpose of giving our people encouragement and the morale to join in the armed struggle.

Today the only persons not actively involved in the armed struggle are the Sinhalese masses. If it is our aim to isolate the fascist state, then individual assassinations and the armed attacks on police stations, the mining of roads etc. . . , are proving counter-productive.

The armed services are made up of mainly the sons of the workers and the peasants. Today these people are living in fear for the lives of their sons who are placed in the north. As such they are blindly lending their support to the self-same state which is suppressing them as well, under the guise of fighting to save the Sinhalese people from terrorists.

This does not mean however, that PLOT has never involved itself in the armed struggle. In fact it was the People's Liberation Organisation of Thamileelam which in 1981, gave a new direction to the armed struggle, when it attacked and captured the Annakottai police station. Until this time the armed struggle was confined to attacks on individual armed servicemen and police informers. . .

The isolated attacks often ill-conceived and without forethought, have in fact given the liberation struggle a bad reputation among the international community. It also causes confusion among the working class. The attacks on the Kent and Dollar farms, followed by the attacks on the Sinhala fisher community at Nayar and Kokkilai are excellent examples of a group falling headlong into the trap set by the fascist state. The state has over the years been trying to make out that the Tamil liberation struggle was against the Sinhalese people.

We recognise that the Sinhala settlers planted on the Kent and Dollar farms by the state were not civilians in the true sense of the word. They were armed hoodlums and hard-core criminals who were

also armed and guilty of attacking Tamil villages and harassing young Tamil women in the vicinity. They were settled on lands from which the upcountry Tamils were evicted. They are therefore militarised civilians or para-military forces.

They were planted to provoke just such an attack. The attack carried out without advance propaganda of the activities of these criminal elements, or explaining the causes for the action, in addition to the killing of children only led to the liberation struggle being classed at the same level as that of the fascist state. It also led to widespread support for the government among the Sinhalese people who did not know the facts of the matter.

What is worse, these actions were undertaken with the motive of liberating the Tamil areas. The effect of these and other allied actions has in fact had the opposite effect. As a result of the attacks on the armed services, several villages have been evacuated. A security zone has been set up leading to over 100,000 persons losing their means of living. As a result of attack on Kent and Dollar farms over five whole villages in the area surrounding the farms have been evicted of Tamil people and burned down. In addition, a large number of persons were brutally done to death. These actions by the armed services led to widespread fear among the people who have begun to flee their traditional homes in Trincomalee, Vavuniya and in the Mannar district. Today over a hundred thousand of them have left their homes and country and live as refugees in India.

Our analysis of these hit and run attacks is that while they served a purpose during the initial days of the struggle, today they have proved themselves to be counter-productive. They only strengthen the hands of the enemy. That is the local lackeys and their imperialist backers. Any organisation which does not have a long-term overview of its action or foresee the repercussions of such acts, and their reaction on the people, is not a responsible organisation which can claim to be aligned to the people.

Excerpts from a Radio Broadcast of April 23rd and reproduced in a pamphlet entitled "Our Enemy is Imperialism" (Madras 1985).

Breakdown of Thimpu II and Deportations

(Statement of 14th September issued by the Press and Information Secretariat of PLOT)

The People's Liberation Organisation of Thamil-eelam has watched with growing concern the controversy surrounding the deportation of three Tamils of Sri Lankan origin from India. We have noted with concern the cheap political capital certain groups with vested interests are trying to make out of this tragic incident. The propaganda and the mischievous disinformation which is doing the rounds demands that we no longer remain silent spectators on the issue.

Rajiv Gandhi and the Militants

A number of issues need clarification. According to rumours and statements in circulation, Premier Rajiv Gandhi does not have the political stature of his mother, nor does he sympathise with nor appreciate the role the militant groups play in the liberation struggle.

With all due respect to the late premier, and in no way taking away from the contribution she made to the cause of the oppressed people of Thamil-eelam, it is to the credit of the present Indian Premier that today, the groups involved in the armed struggle have been accepted as being representative of the popular will of the people of Thamil-eelam. It was the insistence of the Indian premier which enabled the militant groups to participate in the discussions to find a solution to the problem of our people. It was this action of participating in the negotiating process which signaled to the international community that the government of Sri Lanka had recognised that, the mainstream groups and organisations involved in the armed struggle to liberate our people, represented the popular will of the masses of our country.

Until this time it must be remembered that it was only the TULF which negotiated on behalf of our people.

A Correct Perspective

In the first instance we must see the negotiations at Thimpu in their correct perspective, their importance, the reasons why we should participate in them and see who stands to benefit by their collapse, breakdown, or rejection. Interested parties would like it to be believed that the reason behind the Sri

Lanka regime coming to the negotiating table has been the attacks of the militants.

The facts belie this belief. In the hit and run attacks and the mining of roads, a few armed services personnel were killed and led to the loss of a limited quantity of arms and ammunition. This in no way would force Jayawardene to come to the negotiation table because for every one military personnel assassinated, between a hundred to fifty of our own people are brutally done to death. The numerous atrocities committed on a helpless people, are leading to mass exodus of our people from their lands. Again the isolated attacks also helped Jayawardene to justify in the eyes of the international community the killing of civilians, whom he claims to be terrorists. As for arms Jayawardene realises that the imperialist powers which back him will immediately replace these losses. He has therefore nothing to lose on this score.

...Jayawardena also recognises that the attacks on the Sinhalese civilian population, like that at Anuradhapura, and others which preceded it could only lead to a hardening of feelings against the Tamils in the minds of the Sinhalese people and lead to communal clashes. Again, the communal nature of the present style of attacks by those supposed to be enjoined in a revolutionary struggle only takes away from that struggle and leads to situations of anarchy. This is all to Jayawardene's benefit.

...What brought Jayawardene to the table was the fact that only one organisation in the midst of all the groups correctly analysed the problem, identified the enemy and adopted the correct strategy to face the problem.

Based on its analysis of the problem, PLOT recognised the hand of imperialism using racism to divide our people and maintain their stranglehold on our society.....

Faced with the mounting contradictions within his country, and pressure from both the racists as well as from the progressive sectors in the south of the country, rejection of the talks at this stage could only help Jayawardene unify the now divergent forces which are splitting the country, by claiming intransigence on the part of the Tamil people.

In this situation it is our bounden duty to help the forces of progress to isolate Jayawardene and ultimately overthrow his fascist rule. It is clearly not our duty to help Jayawardene overcome his problem. The role of a revolutionary party during times of social crisis is not to prop up bourgeois regimes but to organise the masses to overthrow these bankrupt forces and capture power. Failure to recognise this and act accordingly could only strengthen the hands of Jayawardene and those of his imperialist backers.

This then is what is at stake at the Thimpu negotiations.

Talks & Deportations

It is in the light of this background that we have to judge the action of individuals like Chandrahassen

and Satyendra on whom deportation orders were served. We have to understand whose cause these renegades were serving as well as whether the deportation is in fact an act against the interests of the people of Thamillelam.

A few journals and magazines reported that one of the Indian mediators spoke to the Thamillelam delegates in abusive language, and attempted to intimidate the delegation into accepting terms and conditions unfavourable to it.

To the credit of that official, it must be said that when a delegate of Thamillelam, Satyendra, took exception to his manner of speaking, he immediately withdrew the offending words and unconditionally apologised for the same. He also explained that it was his way of speaking when in the presence of friends, but said he would not do so in the future as it appeared to offend the delegates.

On the other hand Satyendra who was planted on the delegation by Chandrahassen at all times attempted to terminate the talks. It was only the close surveillance maintained by the members of the PLOT delegation which prevented his twisting words and phrases to achieve this end.

Additionally, at all times Satyendra went out of his way to be rude, boorish and cause offence to the Indian mediators at the negotiations. Satyendra's attempts to sour the good relations which existed between the people of Thamillelam and the Indian government became transparently clear when in a sudden and unexpected outburst, he suddenly falsely accused the Indian government of originally backing the militants, prodding them on to creating problems in Sri Lanka and subsequently disowning them.

This charge was immediately denied by all the participants. But the damage was already done.

To understand the reason for Satyendra's peculiar behaviour and actions, one has to view them in the context of his background, and role in the turmoil in which the country is today caught up in.

Satyendra was and continues to be a supporter of the ruling United National Party. He was the chief polling agent of Sri Lankan cabinet Minister Gamini Dissanayake. Satyendra is also one of the chief authors of Jayawardena's 1978 constitution.

Satyendra was also the vice president of the UNP controlled Lanka Jathika Estate Workers Union (LJEWU). He was also the secretary to the Labour Department during which time the most draconian labour legislation was drawn up. Satyendra was also the government - appointed director of Union Carbide (Ceylon) Ltd.

Satyendra's relationship with the liberation struggle is as recent as and confined to his appearance at a world Tamil conference held in New York as the guest of his close friend and associate Chandrahassen.

Chandrahassen like his friend Satyendra enjoys excellent relations with the ruling United National Party and the US.... Chandrahassen's close links with the ruling United National Party and its leadership are better understood in the context of his close relationship with the United States of America to

which country he holds a five-year multiple re-entry visa.

When confronted with this, he attempted to brush away this incriminating piece of information by claiming that he was given the multiple re-entry visa to attend Congressional hearings. What Chandrahassen did not reveal however was the fact that his wife too holds a similar multiple re entry visa to the US and that multiple re-entry visas to the US are granted only to persons who are considered important to US interests.

Chandrahassen who claims that he intends to camp in India until the birth of Thamillelam did not reveal that has he has made an application to be domiciled in Canada.

Nor has he explained why the Canadian government made a special exception in his case and interviewed him in New Delhi. This facility has been denied to other Sri Lanka nationals who have been advised to call over at the Canadian embassy in Colombo.

Since his arrival in India this agent of imperialism has been using large finances he controls to successfully divide the groups involved in the liberation struggle. His near total control of the groups within the ENLF (Eelam National Liberation Front) was clearly demonstrated in the manner he foisted Satyendra as spokesman of a constituent member of a group without the knowledge or consent of these groups. This despite the fact that the other groups pointed out the danger Satyendra would do to the entire cause, once they learnt of the choice of delegate.

Sabotage

The aim of Chandrahassen and Satyendra in attempting to sabotage the negotiations at Thimpu, as well as to sour relations between the people of Thamillelam and India is clearly designed to frustrate Indian mediation in the problem, and once this becomes a reality, to draw in his paymasters in the US to fill the vacuum in the mediatory role. Both Chandrahassen and his paymasters in the US Central Intelligence Agency see the danger of people's movements to their power and political aspirations. Their common aim is therefore to subvert the revolutionary process and keep power to themselves. This plan also fits neatly into the US power - political aspirations in the area.

The deportation orders on the individuals Chandrahassen and Satyendra therefore represent a correct appreciation of the danger they present to the south Asia region. We shed no tears over their expulsion. But bitterly regret the souring of relations between the people of Thamillelam and the government of India. . . . The People's Liberation Organisation of Thamillelam demands that the ENLF grouping break its links with these agents of imperialism, their imperialist backers, and publicly denounce their actions, both past and present.

Failure to do this clearly indicates the willingness of ENLF to be further used as pawns by the imperialists in their attempts to subvert the south Asia region into an armed imperialist base, in imperialism's mad pursuit of world wide hegemony. ●

Eelam & The Right-wing Politics of Tamil Nadu

The western imperialists, Great Britain, France, West Germany and U.S.A. wish India, Sri Lanka, Singapore and Malaysia under their effective control. They have understood how far the 'Tamil Factor' is going to be vital in these countries. They, therefore, are using this 'Tamil Factor' as a basic strategy in their attempt to control these countries.

Meanwhile, in 1984, a 'World Tamil Conference' was held in New York under the benign guidance of Dr. Panchatcharam. The delegates from Tamil Nadu; The D.K. General Secretary Mr. K. Veeramani, D.M.K. M.P. Mr. V. Gopalsamy, Mr. P. Neduraman, D.M.K. Chief Mr. Karunanidhi's close friend and close associate of the U.S. Embassy (both openly and clandestinely). Mr. T. P. Radhakrishnan, and the recent 'deportation fame' Mr. Chandrahasan.

Janata leader Mr. Era Sezhian and (A.D.M.K. Minister) Mr. K. Rajaram offered to do their all for the conference. It was here that the 'Tamil International' movement was fashioned. All progressive and leftist elements of Tamil Nadu should be able to recognise these 'champions' of Tamil. We cannot dismiss them lightly as small time bourgeoisie or as harmless. They are firmly rooted in the rightist camp. To look at them they may seem like side roots. But look closely and you will see a main root, going through them.

D.M.K. Chief Mr. M. Karunanidhi, Murasoli Maran

Janata leader Mr. George Fernandes

Lok Dal leader Dr. Subramaniaswamy

Dr. Karan Singh who bridges the Bharatiya Janata Party and the R.S.S.

Karnataka Chief Minister Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde

Andhra Chief Minister Mr. N. T. Ramarao—All these champions of Tamil Eelam, clubbed aboard the 'magic carpet' of U.S. imperialism under the blanket of 'Tamil Eelam' as desired by Dr. Panchatcharam. These are the 'knots' that tie the sideroots to the main root.

It is against this background that Dr. M. Karunanidhi, Mr. K. Veeramani and Mr. P. Nedumaran formed the Tamil Eelam Supporters Organisation (TESO).

The seed for TESO was planted in 1984 in New York at the Tamil Conference. That took so long to

sprout is in itself a tribute to the fact that the Tamil Nadu politicians can outmaster even the imperialists. They understood that to oppose Mrs. Indira Gandhi openly would be suicidal. So they worked out a true schedule which compromised the opposing principles. It kept Mrs. Indira Gandhi satisfied and also their imperialist masters. The Tamil Nadu politician has a rare virtue—to abide and await his bird—of infinite patience!

These 'champions'—who proclaimed to the high heavens that they would not rest till Eelam was *de facto*, and *de jure*—did they do anything to strengthen the military limbs of the Eelam liberation groups? Not a thing! When these liberation groups began to speak out against imperialists these champions lost their 'fire'! Any liberation group showing leftist leaning became *persona non grata*—outcastes!

These 'champions'—do you know who they are? They are the very same who tried to use any imperialist tool with the liberation groups for their own political gains! They even embraced the political turncoats discarded by the people of Eelam itself! Why? To receive the bounties served by their imperialist masters. Those poisonous seeds of Imperialism, Mr. Chandrahasan, Satyendra and Balasinghsm and co., were brought to the forefront of the Eelam platform with TESO and as the corner-stone. But history has taught us that the schemes of such as these never last long nor do they bear fruit...

When the purely political Tamil Eelam struggle escalated into a bitter armed conflict, Imperialism lost no time in turning it to its own advantages. To this end it used many covert and overt political and economic strategies.

The 'champion' of Hindu revivalism, Dr. Karan Singh a known stooge of imperialism through the Vishwa Hindu Parishad offered a 'gift of gold'. But Mr. Amirthalingam saw the game and rejected it. Dr. Karan Singh made another attempt through the D.M.K. leadership, stating that gift was for the renovation of temples in Eelam. Again Mr. Amirthalingam declined. But imperialism achieved its objective through the 'deportation fame' Chandrahasan who was able to use the World Council of Churches as a conduit! Thus it is crystal clear that our recent 'deportation fame' heroes are all imperialist fashioned tools.

Racially bigoted Sinhala ruling factions, 'TESO,' deportation fame 'Tigers'—all these are the claws of the same eagle! When will the people of Tamil Nadu see this? That their eyes will open in time, I am very certain.

The progressive forces of Sri Lanka and India must on war footing expose and eliminate the fascist forces and those mercenaries of racism, neo-colonialism, and stop the gruesome slaughter of Tamils. To this end all right thinking—progressive forces in both countries must devote and dedicate themselves.

(Excerpt from "Caesar's Carnivores! Reagan's Rambos!" by Sembian, Madras Progress Publications, September 20th, 1985)

Parliamentary Elections Today

Changes imperative to ensure fair elections

— Lal Wijenayake

It was reported that at its meeting of June 12th, the "Cabinet decided to put aside for the time being a proposal to demand voters to produce their identity cards at polling booths" to eliminate impersonation at elections but passed certain other amendments to the Parliamentary Elections Order in Council to revise the times for presenting nominations and to increase the amount of deposit to be paid by candidates to discourage people from contesting on 'frivolous grounds'. (Sun of 13 June).

The article below written by a lawyer from Kandy who is active in politics, pinpoints the pressing need for changes in the election laws especially in the light of the more recent experiences in the Government's "new" mode of electioneering.

The U. N. P. candidates at the three Bye-Elections held recently at Kundasale, Minneriya and Mahiyangana won with large majorities. This fact and the heavy turnout of voters at these bye-elections as reflected in the returns at the bye-elections need careful study for us to see whether the large majorities registered by the U. N. P. are due to an exceptional rise in the popularity of the U. N. P. or whether it is due to any other reason and whether the high turnout at these bye-elections is due to a new enthusiasm generated by these elections. The writer who was involved actively in the bye-election campaigns at the bye-elections in May 1983 to elect 18 M. Ps (i.e. immediately after the Presidential Election and the Referendum) and at the bye-elections at Kundasale, Minneriya and Mahiyangana, sees a definite change in the mode of electioneering adopted by the U. N. P. (of course forgetting for a moment the farce that was enacted in the name of a Referendum).

New Pattern of Electioneering

The new pattern of electioneering adopted by the U. N. P. at Minneriya and Kundasale, was adopted in a more organized and more developed form with a vengeance at Mahiyangana. Therefore an account of what the writer witnessed at Mahiyangana will enable one to fully understand this new pattern. It is useful to have in mind the statistics as shown in the Table below regarding the voting at the 18 bye-elections held in May 1983 and the three bye-elections at Minneriya, Kundasale and Mahiyangana

to understand the significance of what was seen at Mahiyangana and the other two electorates: (See Table I).

It is revealed from the given table that in all electorates, except one in the first 18 electorates, the percentage of the votes polled at the bye-elections was less than the percentage polled at the Presidential election. And the average drop in the percentage polled was 5.75 percent, whereas in the last three bye-elections the total percentage polled at the Presidential and the bye-election has been almost equal. Usually at a bye-election, the enthusiasm is not so high as at a General Election. **But in the case of the three last bye-elections the percentage polled is exceptionally high. Especially at Mahiyangana where there were many factors that made one expect a very low poll.** Firstly there was no enthusiasm at all regarding this bye-election. It was not considered so important in national politics and even in the area it did not have any special significance. Secondly the election was held immediately after the Sinhala New Year. In Mahiyangana, this is the time when colonists visit their villages in far off places like Hanguranketa, Matale, Nawalapitiya, Kundasale etc. They return to their colonies after the Vesak to start the next cultivation. Thirdly the S.L.F.P. as well as the J. V. P. called for a boycott of the elections and though it did not play a significant role at the elections and did not carry much weight, at least the local leaders would have adhered to the party decisions. In fact the S.L.F.P. distributed leaflets containing a call to boycott.

Finally, this is a vast electorate with poor communication systems and no proper election campaign was carried out by both parties to raise the enthusiasm of voters. In effect the campaign was restricted to almost 4 or 5 days and this period was not sufficient to reach the rural masses in far off areas.

Under these circumstances it is surprising to note that there was a high turnout. But how this happened is very interesting. On my way to Mahiyangana from Kandy on the morning of the 14th, hundreds of vehicles (mostly jeeps and double cabs) overtook us, and that was a sure sign that the U. N. P. had started its election campaign. As I got

down at the S. L. M. P. Office (which was set on fire after the election) at the Mahiyangana Bazaar, I saw the office full of people surrounding Vijaya Kumaranatunge. Many people were bleeding from injuries and all were complaining of attacks made on them the previous night and that morning. At first we thought this may be more the after effects of the previous day's New Year celebrations than of politics, but as the day went by we saw that there was a pattern in these attacks. The people who were subjected to attacks were from the leading anti-U. N. P. families in the area (and they were from the families that had faced similar attacks after the General Elections in 1977) and the victims were well from all parts of the electorate, one or two being from each village. Our task was to go to these villages, look into the situation and take these victims with witnesses etc. to the Police Station and from there to hospital. One factor that was common in all these instances was that the victims were threatened with further attacks on the 19th (i. e. after the elections). By the afternoon of the 16th there were 125 complaints of incidents relating to the election made at the Mahiyangana Police Station according to the Officer in-charge of the subject. This reached a climax and the situation became worse when Rev. Bogala Wimalavasa Thero, one of the monks, who worked for the S. L. M. P. candidate, was attacked and his face and hand was slashed with a tapping knife. This frightened the people. S. L. M. P. supporters from the villages were scared even to come out to watch the never ending convoys of the large and costly vehicles that paraded the roads. According to a correspondent of a pro-Government newspaper about 500 vehicles were used in the campaigns. In this situation the President addressed eight meetings on the 16th and wound up his campaign with a rally at Mahiyangana Town.

The U. N. P. had booked all available venues for meetings at Mahiyangana from the 12th to 16th. Therefore the S. L. M. P. had to hold its last big rally in Mahiyangana on the 11th which was one week before the election. The President's speech was consistent with the situation that was being built up. He made a threatening speech. He warned his opponents in Mahiyangana Town by naming them that they will have to land themselves in the jungles. He reminded the audience that though the people have problems, it is no solution to their problems to send the S. L. M. P. candidate to Parliament as the U. N. P. Government is in power. It is under this background that the people went to vote on the 18th. On the 18th morning we saw two M. Ps posted to each polling booth (in a few booths

there was only one M. P.) and with the M. Ps were the Vaga Niladari and the Vishesh Seva Niladhari of the village. They were surrounded by U.N.P. supporters from the village and those who had come with the M. Ps wearing green caps. Anyone going to vote had to cross the barrier. Many S. L. M. P. supporters who came to vote turned back when they saw this situation at the Polling Booth. By 10 o'clock things changed for the worse and they started transporting people in vans, jeeps, lorries, and even tractors without any fear or hesitation. These vehicles were parked just in front of the Police officers and the people who were transported ran into the Polling Booths with cards in hand and when they came out after voting they were taken back in the same vehicles. Numerous complaints were made to the Police officers on duty, to the Police Mobile Unit and to the Superintendent of Police himself. But they were helpless. The M. Ps were in command of the situation and no Police officer dared to challenge them. We gave the numbers of many vehicles that were seen transporting people to the Polling Booths. In certain instances, we were able to point out the vehicles and people being transported but the Police just looked on. At one Polling Booth, an S. I. of Police had the audacity to challenge two lawyers of the S. L. M. P. candidate who requested him to stop an M. P. interfering with the voters and to get the M. P's car that was parked well within the prohibited area, out.

There is no doubt that most of the people who were transported were not voters but were people who were brought from far off places. The Polling Agents of the S.L.M.P. candidate who objected to impersonation were threatened and had to leave the Polling Booths in fear of their lives. Chandrika Kumaranatunge had to ask for Police protection to bring back some of the SLMP polling agents who were threatened and unable to get out of the polling booths. We had to ask for Police protection to bring a lawyer who was threatened by an M. P. and was being followed by thugs because he objected to mass impersonation that was going on at a Polling Booth.

Thugs did not stop even after the elections. The SLMP office was set on fire and a jeep belonging to the SLMP candidate was burned. Therefore the result of the election was a foregone conclusion and the high percentage polled and the huge majority obtained by the UNP can be explained. What remains is to understand this new phenomenon.

TABLE I

ELECTORATE	Percent of total votes polled at Presidential Election	Percent of total polled at Bye election	Percent polled by U. N. P.	Percent polled by Anti-U.N.P.: S.L.M.P., S.L.F.P., J.V.P., L.S.S.P., C.P. & N.S.S.P.
1. Ambalangoda	82.85	72.72	49.61	48.74
2. Akmeemana	82.56	74.89	44.55	51.81
3. Baddegama	83.16	77.89	47.76	50.14
4. Beliatta	81.61	80.17	53.53	46.12
5. Devinuwara	81.20	74.17	39.17	44.58
6. Ehaliyagoda	85.66	83.61	50.55	48.36
7. Hakmana	84.99	79.94	51.02	45.92
8. Habaraduwa	79.36	74.49	52.82	42.52
9. Kesbewa	78.78	73.67	53.18	45.80
10. Kamburupitiya	80.22	72.22	54.77	43.78
11. Kalutara	83.04	73.80	47.88	52.24
12. Mahara	82.54	78.89	48.24	48.06
13. Maharagama	76.98	68.14	43.59	55.46
14. Matugama	82.97	74.06	46.95	49.06
15. Mulkirigala	79.10	79.27	50.70	42.97
16. Ratgama	82.93	79.26	52.73	46.93
17. Tissamaharama	78.91	70.83	53.82	36.13
18. Tangalle	85.41	80.69	48.27	47.48
OTHER THREE ELECTORATES				
1. Minneriya	85.06	86.00	51.72	44.08
2. Kundasale	84.95	84.16	70.66	25.58
3. Maihyangana	85.82	85.61	77.58	22.42

Politicization and Fair Elections

A deep study would be necessary for this purpose. The incidents we saw at Mahiyangana are no doubt a part of a plan to make people weary of the whole election process itself. The high degree of politicalisation of the masses of Sri Lanka was no doubt due to the exercise of the Universal Franchise for a long period and the ease with which Governments were changed by the democratic process. This campaign to make elections a farce is a part of the campaign to depoliticise the masses. It will be worth studying this process in the light of the experiences in Singapore and Philippines.

If we are to think of a fair election in the future it is necessary that machinery should be created for the enforcement of election laws. The police has failed in this task and the situation will be much worse in the future. Of course bye-elections are not being held in electorates that are politically mature and more educated where the electors themselves may be able to face this situation at least to a certain extent. Whether this will be so has to be seen.

It will be relevant in conclusion to mention some of the suggestions that were made by the LSSP delegation (of which the writer was a member) before the Select Committee of Parliament on Franchise and Elections. The suggestions were based on the experiences gained at the Referendum and can be the basis for agitation for reform of Election Laws. They are:

- (1) While the Commissioner of Elections retains his powers, a Commission with the Commissioner of Elections as the Chairman and consisting of the secretaries or representatives of all recognised political parties should supervise the Election.
- (2) That the Commissioner of Elections and his subordinate in charge of the elections be given Police powers.
- (3) The Commissioner of Elections be given the powers of the I.G.P. as far as officers of the Police force who are seconded for election duty are concerned and other subordinate officers be given appropriate powers of lower ranks so that the Police officers on Election duty will be directly under the Commissioner of Elections and other subordinate officers during the period of the elections.

- (4) The National Identity Card be a compulsory requirement to prove the identity of a voter.
- (5) Involvement of Government and Corporation executives in Election campaign should be made a corrupt practice.
- (6) Polling Agents at Polling Booths should be given special protection.

Mulkirigala Bye-Election

Violence, at least 3 deaths and the imposition of a curfew consequent on the Mulkirigala bye-election in September, once again highlights the need for a conduct of fair elections as pointed out in the article above, although in this instance it was the UNP goons transported to Mulkirigala who reportedly suffered more! Since however the contest here was confined to the UNP and SLFP, it was not surprising that casteism and competition in racist chauvinism became the main election issues.

PRESIDENTIAL IMMUNITY AND ELECTION LAW

C. R. M. STATEMENT

The Working Committee of the Civil Rights Movement considered the implications of the majority judgement of the Supreme Court in the appeal in the Mahara election petition case, and decided to urge the government to amend the Constitution.

The law provides that an election may be set aside if either the candidate or his agent (that is to say someone acting on behalf of the candidate) commits an election offence such as bribery, intimidation or making a false statement about the other candidate's character or conduct. The law further provides that in the legal proceedings to set aside the election, not only the successful candidate, but also any agent alleged to have committed such an offence, must be made a party.

It is clear that this law is essential to safeguard the basic right of fair and free elections. Indeed its purpose is to find out whether the particular election in question can in fact be considered an election at all, in other words whether the result reflects a fair and free expression of the people's will. If not it must be set aside and a fresh election held.

The Supreme Court in the Mahara election petition had to consider a situation where it was alleged that the President in the course of the campaign for the successful candidate had committed an election offence as a result of which the election should be set aside. The Court by majority decision held that as another provision of this Constitution gives the President immunity from legal action, he cannot be joined as a party to the election petition, and that therefore the election petition cannot be proceeded with.

It is clear that this is a highly unsatisfactory situation which strikes at the very root of the concept of fair elections and representative democracy. A situation in which an unlawful election cannot be set aside if the person whose acts render it unlawful happens to be the Head of State is, furthermore, contrary to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights to which Sri Lanka is a party, and which provides:

"Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity without any of the distinctions mentioned in articles 2 and without unreasonable restrictions:

- a) To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through **freely chosen representatives**;
- b) To vote and to be elected at **genuine periodic elections** which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held

by secret ballot, **guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors**;

c)

(Article 25 emphasis ours)

It should, furthermore, be noted that whereas under earlier Constitutions the President was a titular Head of State who by convention did not take part in election campaigns, the situation **under the Executive Presidency of the present Constitution is totally different and the President can, and in fact does, play a leading role in election and other political campaigns.**

CRM therefore urges the government to amend the Constitution to enable the courts to hear and determine an election petition and, if need be, set aside the election, no matter whose actions are alleged to render the election void.

Amendment before Parliament

A proposal to amend the Constitution to permit the President of Sri Lanka to be cited as a respondent in an election petition has been placed before Parliament in a motion sponsored by the Left MP in Parliament Sarath Muttetuwegama.

Although there was a stir when the amendment was first taken up on October 24th in Parliament with the M.P. concerned being forcibly carried out of the chamber when he defied the order of the Deputy Speaker, the motion has not been disposed of yet by Parliament. ●

Multiculturalism and Ethnicity

— Prof. D. L. Jayasuriya

This condensed summary of Prof. Laksiri Jayasuriya's writing explores the philosophy and rationale of multiculturalism and underlying social policies. It should be of topical interest to us in our present Sri Lankan context. Prof. Jayasuriya works at the Department of Social Work and Social Administration, University of Western Australia. He is the former Chairman of the Ethnic Affairs Commission of Western Australia.

The concept of multiculturalism as a social goal is often viewed normatively rather than descriptively. In its normative meaning, multiculturalism refers to ways in which society should be organised to respond to the social reality of a community which abounds in social and cultural diversity. The philosophy and rationale of multiculturalism is in fact a shorthand for

'cultural pluralism'—and it is this pluralism which needs to be subject to scrutiny and comment, especially because it is used to fashion policies relating to social life as education and the media.

According to the doctrine of cultural pluralism, the host society permits, and even encourages members of migrant and ethnic groups to cultural differences and at the same time to have mutual respect, tolerance and understanding for each other, especially an acceptance of 'cultural differences', or what I would call, 'an equality of respect'.

Ethnicity

A key element of this pluralism is the sense of ethnic identity arrived at through one's ethnicity —

denoting 'a sense of peoplehood', a feeling of belonging, arising from sharing a common heritage or cultural or physical attributes. What is important for us to note is that when 'ethnicity' becomes an 'organizational strategy', it gravitates between two major objectives. One relates to its expressive dimension and the other its instrumental aspects. The expressive aspects of ethnicity signify the need for group belonging and continuity on the part of its members. The instrumental aspects, on the other hand, are concerned with the more material aspects of living - in particular, the need for economic, social and political power on the part of ethnic group members.

I believe this distinction hides perhaps the most crucial feature necessary to understand the way in which multicultural social policies have evolved - policies in which we have invested considerable public funds over the last ten years. To put it very briefly, I have recently argued in my Lalor Address to the Human Rights Commission, that Australian multiculturalism for a variety of political and economic reasons espoused a 'culturalist' view of multiculturalism which exaggerates and romanticizes the 'expressive' dimension of ethnicity by an exclusive emphasis on cultural maintenance, enhancement and the need for safeguarding at all costs 'equality of respect'. Another way of saying this is to say that we have pursued a policy of pluralism which highlights a 'lifestyle' view of multiculturalism strengthening the 'subjective' aspects of cultural and ethnicity in social life.

Paradox of Pluralism

What is most characteristic of this form of cultural pluralism is the insistence on the need to preserve unity, the need to maintain and safeguard social cohesion while allowing for diversity. Hence, the ever-present paradox of pluralism, how one can reconcile expressions of difference with the equally compelling need of the modern nation state to safeguard and defend its unity from fragmentation arising from encouraging difference and diversity, especially by structures designed to promote pluralism. Another way of expressing this paradox is to highlight the tension that resides in the conflicting effects of cultural and structural pluralism. One needs to ask again and again - however difficult the answer may be whether it is possible to maintain separate customs, languages and media and not develop a kind of structural pluralism.

An equally persistent dilemma with this kind of pluralism or model of multiculturalism is the resolution of the issue of the collective rights of ethnic groups by virtue of their ethnicity. To put it differently, what is the role of the State in promoting multi-culturalism? Does the State merely guarantee not to interfere in the private domain of ethnicity or should it take positive measures to protect and promote ethnic cultures?

This kind of multiculturalism, which I prefer to call the ethnic identity model, is in my view essentially a first generation strategy, of great value and utility to settlers. As Hal Porter pointed out, its

value in the Canadian scene is that it provides a 'psychic shelter' for newcomers and their alienating vulnerable experience of rejection and cultural exploitation.

A Social Structural Approach

An alternative model of multiculturalism, highlights the **instrumental** aspects of ethnicity and focuses on the issues of 'life chances' for members of ethnic minorities in the public domain. In essence, this view espouses a 'structural' view of ethnic groups and looks at their position in the social and economic system. Basically, it focuses on the interface of class, gender and ethnic interactions in the social structure and examines issues of inequality, deprivation and discrimination for persons and groups in society.

This model views ethnic groups as 'minority' groups. As one eminent scholar in this field, the late Jean Martin, observed, the term "ethnic group" refers to "a group of people who, because of physical or cultural characteristics receive unequal treatment and have a consciousness of group identity and regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination." In other words, they are groups which are singled out for differential and perjorative treatment by the majority - the dominant groups - on the ground of their ethnicity. As a result, they tend, in varying degrees, to be stigmatized, oppressed and discriminated against as regards their fundamental rights. In this way, we come to view ethnic groups as interest groups cutting across ethnic affiliations. **What is being advocated here is what I have termed a 'minority group rights' model of multiculturalism. This model sees multiculturalism not as an end in itself but as an ideology for change. It is basically a 'social structural' approach which addresses itself to issues of unequal power relations, access, equity and participation as matters of priority.**

These two models have critical implications for policy development. **To emphasise the 'ethnic identity' model means to generate 'expressive' multicultural policies such as those pertaining to ethnic media, multilingual educational programmes and maintenance of ethnic identity. The primary policy goals are those of a 'cultural' nature.**

By contrast, the 'minority groups rights' approach to multiculturalism pursues different policy objectives and adopts a decidedly more 'structural' and 'political' approach focused on the social economic and political aspirations and interests of members of ethnic groups. The ultimate objective of these multicultural policies is to achieve the fullest degree of participation in society via access to political power and its attendant rewards and benefits.

Choice of Models

The choice between these alternative ideal type models or even a mixture of these is not just a matter of ideology, but one dictated by changed circumstances and the constantly changing needs of ethnic

minorities in any given society. We have, by and large, in Australia, pursued so far what I have called the 'ethnic identity model' of cultural pluralism while at the same time being cautious about the dangers of slipping into a form of structural or social pluralism. It is, in my view, an approach which is deficient in several respects but more importantly, it is an approach or strategy which has outlived its attractiveness and utility as a typical first generation adaptation strategy. My contention is that the emerging social reality dominated by the second and third generation Australians, no longer transient newcomers but permanent established settlers, warrants a sharp shift in our thinking about the goals and purposes of multiculturalism. We need to move to what I have termed the multicultural minority group rights model.

The 'culturalist' model pursued so far has marginalized ethnic groups and trivialised their social position to questions of 'life styles' - dances, culinary delights and so on - well exemplified in 'celebrations of ethnicity' patronized by the dominant groups such as the Shell Folkloric Festival and the Indian Ocean Arts Festival. While these festivals glorify the popular folk culture of ethnic groups and are meant for the 'ethnics', the high culture manifested via such events as the Perth Festival is managed and designed for the dominant groups in society. This kind of thinking only makes possible the continued oppression of vast numbers of people through hegemonic dominance, cultural and otherwise, and sustains patterns of ethnic stratification created by labour market segmentation.

A Basic Problem

Having stated the logic of contemporary multiculturalism in these terms, I must confess that the inescapable dilemma for any theory of cultural pluralism lies in **having to resolve the tension that lies concealed in the issue of diversity and equality.** It is no easy task to accommodate ethnic diversity, identity, self-esteem and equality of respects, especially at the primary group level and yet enable ethnic minorities to overcome the dominance-cultural, economic and social - and oppression by the dominant groups in society at the institutional level. Even Australia's leading theoretician of the 'culturalist' view of multiculturalism, Professor Zubrzycki concedes that cultural differentiation in the long run may be incompatible with the doctrine of equality and goes on to admit that ethnic stratification via specific ethnic occupational structures could stultify the striving of migrants for, as one writer put it, "securing a place on the ladders of property, prestige and power."

I am an optimist at heart, and I do not share the views of people like Birrell, who argues that "the problem of diversity and equality is not remediable." We urgently need to reconsider the social policies we have pursued under the guise of multiculturalism and consider the costs and benefits, for society as a whole and for the ethnic minorities whose interests are allegedly being catered for by such policies. ●

Courtesy: **Ethnos** (Journal of the NSW Ethnic Affairs Commission) Australia, May, 1985.

Workers' Struggles

T. U. Rights under attack

Bank Employees' Struggle

by Mansoor Rasseedin

The recent confrontation of the Government and the Ceylon Bank Employees' Union (CBEU) was in fact and in effect a test of the possibility of trade union action under the present Government. Above all, it is the ILO that should be interested in this test. When in July 1980 the Government imposed its Emergency Regulations and treated over 40,000 strikers as persons who had vacated employment, the ILO came down hard on the Government and refused to accept the Government's positions as drafted by N. Satyendra the then Secretary to the Ministry of Labour. Satyendra's

draft was the Government's reply to CFL Secretary Batty Weerakoon's complaint to the ILO on behalf of the strikers. The ILO rejected the Satyendra-presented positions that the ILO had no business to intervene and that in any event the strike was political.

The CBEU's legitimate trade union action has drawn the Government's Emergency fire on two occasions.

The first was when the CBEU in an effort to obtain expeditious relief on its long felt needs embarked on a

'No-Overtime' campaign in the State Banks. The Government proceeded to declare banking service as an Essential Service to the life of the community and in terms of the Emergency Regulations with which it was armed, promulgated special regulations which deemed any bank employee refusing to work overtime as having vacated post. The Government's recourse to these regulations was unprecedented, and, understandably evoked the derision of the organized working class in the country.

The more recent occasion the Government was seen resorting to strong-arm tactics, was when the CBEU decided to stage a walk-out on 16th August 1985 in protest over the manner Government and its Agents

had procrastinated on the matters in issue. The Government's response to the 16th August walk-out in the State Banks was to victimise those who took a leading role in organizing the action. The General Secretary of the CBEU and the Branch Secretary in the Bank of Ceylon were arrested and subsequently released on bail for the 'sin' of issuing a bulletin calling for the 16th August action.

The demand of the bank employees in the State Banks taken in the context of its history speaks for itself. The demands were presented to the Government at the beginning of last year (1984). All what has been done by the Government, in the interim, was to appoint a one-man Committee to inquire into and report on the matter of salary revision in the state-owned banks. This was in October 1984. "The Punciappuhamy Committee" as it came to be known, did not enter into negotiations with the CBEU and as a consequence an early resolution of the issues did not materialise. The delay caused by Mr. Punciappuhamy's departure from the island for medical treatment abroad further accentuated the problem. In the meantime the CBEU began to see a noticeable exodus into its ranks from the Govt-tied Jathika Sevaka Sangamaya (JSS).

It was in this situation Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel had talks with representatives of the CBEU on 22.3.85. The Finance Minister held out the following assurances to the Union:

- (1) to request Mr. Punciappuhamy on his return from medical leave abroad to open negotiations with the Union.
- (2) to place before the Cabinet of Ministers the request of the Union for an interim wage increase of Rs. 300/- pending final settlement of the wage question by the Punciappuhamy Committee.
- (3) to permit the State Banks to decide on the request of the Union for a moratorium on Staff Loan deductions.

None of these assurances were honoured by the Minister. In June 1985 Mr. Punciappuhamy whilst still refusing to negotiate with the CBEU, received representations made

by it. The findings of the Punciappuhamy Committee are not made known. Nor has it been possible for the CBEU to wrench from the Government anything up to now. More recently the CBEU wrote to the President seeking his intervention. The Government maintains a stony silence on the issue.

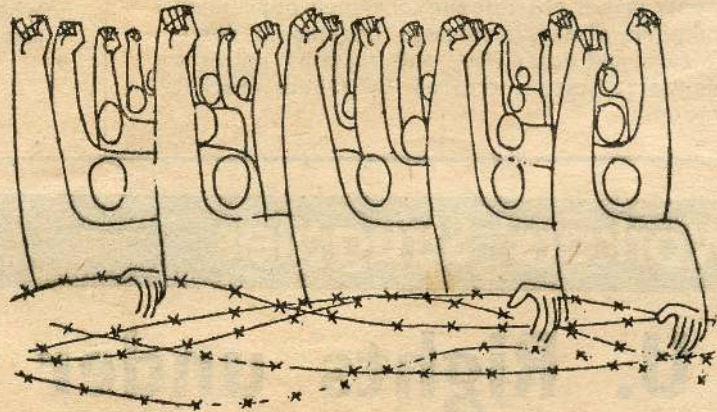
The Government's aversion to wage demands and trade union action over them derive from its policy of subservience to imperialism and its lending institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank. The hall-mark of their policy is that wages have to be pegged down in the larger interest of capital.

The sectional nature of CBEU's demands have no doubt enabled the Government armed as it is with draconian powers under the Emergency to isolate the bank employees and make them vulnerable to the Government's big stick.

The Ceylon Bank Employees' Union has taken some very necessary steps to defeat this manoeuvre of the Government. It has sought the support and solidarity of other sections of organized workers. It has through leaflets endeavoured to apprise the broad mass of the people of the issues involved in their dispute with the State Banks.

Sacked for Unionising

Shortly after forming a branch of the All Ceylon Commercial & Industrial Workers Union in their workplace, 8 workers in the Ratmalana K. M. L. Cables Company have been sacked without charges or the semblance of an inquiry against them. The Union has now demanded that the Company reinstate these workers and threatened to take trade union action if the Company was adamant in its refusal to do so.



Company Provokes Strike

Workers in the printing department of Aitken Spence & Co. Ltd., numbering 117 and belonging to the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU) have been on strike from September 16th. While outstanding demands including that of a wage increase were agitating the workforce for some time, the removal by the Company on Friday - September 9th, of two machines—an off-set colour separation machine and a normal printing machine - to be installed elsewhere, sparked off a spontaneous stoppage of work the next working day i. e. Monday, 11th September. It also precipitated the present strike.

The Company had for sometime complained about under-utilization of their machines as a result of an "unco-operative" attitude on the part of Union members, but contended that the removal of the two machines did not affect the terms and conditions of the workers presently in service. Union members however see in the removal of the machines an obvious effort on the part of the management to weaken the Union and the struggle of the workers for better conditions in pursuance of which they were already contemplating trade union action before they were precipitated into the present strike struggle by the provocative action of the Company.

State Crackdown on Peasants

The last issue of **Christian Worker** carried a report of peasant resistance to the alienation of land to multinationals in Vellassa for sugar cane cultivation. They have been supported by progressive sections of the Sangha and clergy and other organizations of working people, apart from the peasant unions. But the authorities seem determined now to beat down this resistance of the peasants and the alienation of land which was held up in certain areas due to this resistance is now being proceeded with, forcibly.

The sugar cane nursery of the multinational interests operating as the Moneragala Sugar Company Ltd., which comprised 80 acres has now been expanded to 400 acres in extent and steps taken to erect a long barbed wire fence to protect the land so taken over. The land so fenced off includes 148 plots fully cultivated by

peasants and 5 homesteads most of which property is officially recognised as belonging to them. It also covers two ancient reservoirs and paddy land as well.

This action of forcible wresting land from the peasants is said to flatly contradict some assurances given by the Land Commissioner and the Secretary to the Ministry in discussions held earlier at the Ministry of Agriculture. It has been carried out with the assistance of a squad of armed policemen. In order to effectively quell popular opposition to this move and intimidate the peasants, 15 armed police officers from the Badulla and Bandarawela Police stations are reported to be deployed daily to police this area. A special vehicle too has been allotted for this purpose and the officers are said to be paid a special allowance of Rs. 75/- daily in addition to their meals. Furthermore, 12 wat-

chers, also armed with guns have been recruited to guard the enclosed nursery land. It is reported that attempts are also being made now to evict 5 more families and secure a further 50-100 acres to site the sugar Factory of the Company.

The peasants who have thus far fought valiantly to safeguard their traditional homeland cultivations on which they and their families depended, have now been placed in a precarious position. Obviously the action of the police even in violation of the Law, has in this instance the backing of the Government, not to speak of the connivance of the M. P.s. Many people's organizations have already expressed their wholehearted opposition to this ruthless act of State terrorism.

Meanwhile, opposition to the imposition of the water tax continues and court cases have been filed against peasants in Moneragala, Polonnaruwa and Anuradhapura for refusal to pay this tax.

World Affairs

40 Years After...

The United Nations at Bay

— A. H. Karunaratne

This year the world celebrates the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. The system of international peace and co-operation which came into existence with the promulgation of the UN Charter on the 26th of June 1945 has during this period built up a global network of agencies that reach out to all parts of the world to solve human problems of every conceivable form and description. It has presided over the virtual liquidation of the old colonial empire and has succeeded in keeping the nuclear monster at bay for four decades. Its activities in the fields of children's rights, health, nutrition, eradication of disease, disarmament and peace have brought fresh hope and solace to the submerged four-fifth of the world's population.

The purpose of this short essay is not to recapitulate the achievements of the UN in these and other fields

but to draw world attention to the concerted attacks now being levelled at the UN and its agencies by certain forces whose interests are threatened by the success of the very strategies of the world body and its attempts to bring about a new international order based on the principles of reciprocity and respect for human dignity.

Conflict over Development Models

The confrontation between the UN and the forces referred to above arises from the competition to persuade developing countries to adopt one of two development models—one based on the indiscriminate exploitation of non-renewable natural resources for short term gain and the other based on sustainable growth. The protagonists of the first are multi-

national corporations which seek to promote in third world countries a pattern of development that is closely tied up with the economies of developed countries. The protagonists of the second favour a strategy designed to satisfy basic human needs of all without jeopardising the interest of future generations. Development in this sense may be defined as "the use of natural resources so that they yield the greatest sustainable benefit to the present generation while maintaining the potential to meet the needs and aspirations of future generations." (Marc Nerfin - **Ecoforum**, December 1984). Hence the crucial point is not WHY we should develop but HOW development should take place. The United Nations system has chosen the second option and the programmes and projects launched by its agencies to give effect to this

development strategy has brought it into open conflict with those who favour the first. In the ensuing paragraphs we shall endeavour to place on record the manifestations of this conflict and their impact on the lives of people in what are euphemistically called the developing countries.

Multinational Operations Promote Death

One of the earliest manifestations of the conflict arose from the sale of infant formula food in third world countries using high power advertising gimmicks to promote and expand sales among third world mothers. The increase in infant mortality resulting from the consumption of diluted milk unhygienically prepared by illiterate mothers brought UNICEF and WHO into the scene. Working against tremendous odds they have succeeded in reversing this trend by compelling the multi-nationals concerned to make good the damage done through controlled and positive advertising and by promoting breast feeding.

It is a matter of common knowledge that third world countries have become a lucrative market for drugs and pharmaceuticals. Very often these can be bought across the counter without prescriptions. Even if prescriptions are required there are no qualified pharmacists to do the dispensing. Sales outlets are so numerous that control is virtually ruled out. Drugs banned in the countries of origin find their way to third world countries swelling corporate profits. WHO confronted with the seriousness of the problem countered with a list of two hundred minimum drugs permissible for sale in developing countries. The purpose is to rationalise the import and distribution of two thousand odd preparations that flood the market under numerous brand names.

Another area in which multi-nationals operate is in the collection of plant genetic resources. These are

stored in Northern gene banks and constitute the base material for the creation of new strains and varieties through genetic engineering. 75% of the collection comes from developing countries in the South. Research and production is monopolised by giants like Shell, Ciba-Geigy, Sandoz, Monsanto and several others. According to FAO's Director of Forestry "the encroachment of private breeding in the third world was leading to increased seed and other input prices, inappropriate advertising and an orientation towards cash crops production.....Developing countries have been required to pay royalties for varieties the germ plasm of which originated in their own countries." The Director's report goes on to add that "this has led to the breeding of new varieties on a limited genetic base resulting on several occasions in widespread disease epidemics."

The new plant varieties developed through genetic engineering and exported to developing countries though high yielding require for their successful cultivation costly inputs like chemical fertilisers, insecticides and weedicides all originating from agribusinesses and their subsidiaries in the developed countries. Agricultural modernisation of the type promoted by multi-nationals have a negative impact on the environment. Use of artificial fertilisers result in soil exhaustion, pesticides and weedicides pollute the water destroying life forms that provide a protein rich diet to the poor thus making them more dependant on expensive imported substitutes. UN agencies like the FAO, WHO and the United Nations Environment Programme are fighting a rearguard action to stem the adverse ecological effects of the indiscriminate use of agrochemicals. But they have to contend with powerful forces which see in the success in this struggle for the forces of progress a threat to their own survival. The recent tragedy in Bhopal bears testimony to the lethal potential of agro-chemi-

cals making their destructive capacity second only to that of nuclear weapons.

Challenges to UN Programmes

Recently Japan cautioned UNESCO to give up controversial programmes covering refugees, arms control, human rights, population and environment. UNESCO has incurred the displeasure of powerful countries and concerns primarily because of its efforts to introduce a New World Information and Communication Order which would ensure a balanced presentation of news and views in place of the present system heavily weighted in favour of the developed countries. Such a system would necessarily cover all the above fields which certain countries have characterised as being controversial. The result has been the resignation of the United States from membership and impending withdrawal of the United Kingdom. A major Eastern power has gone to the extent of calling for the formation of a rival "UNESCO".

The development strategy favoured by the UN, mention of which was made at the commencement of this article gives the highest priority to the protection of the environment and calls for the minimum interference with the balance of natural forces. Experience has shown that the construction of high dams, the impounding of millions of acre feet of water, and the denudation of forests have created more problems than they sought to solve. The Aswan High Dam has not lived up to expectations. Unforseen health hazards have resulted from accelerated breeding of disease carrying parasites in the impounded waters. The loss of the natural fertiliser left behind in the wake of the annual flood, the rising import bill for chemical fertilisers and the collapse of fisheries sustained by the nutrients that flowed down the Nile to the sea prove conclusively that unwarranted interference with

nature for short term gain can have disastrous consequences.

The Nairobi based UN Environment Programme in a special issue of Ecoforum has highlighted the imminent danger to the Amazon and the rain forest in the world. Since the developed economies are confronted with a crisis arising from escalating costs they have to export consumables, intermediate goods and capital to maintain their economies at the present level. Highly capital intensive projects promoted in developing countries though inappropriate and expensive to the countries concerned have vastly benefited foreign consultants, contractors, managers and manufacturers of capital equipment. Hence any attempt by UN agencies to promote rational forms of sustainable development is not only viewed with suspicion but provokes retaliatory action in the form of cuts in grants, withdrawals and threats of withdrawal and other forms of coercion both overt and covert.

One of the areas in which UN system has been least successful is in containing and eliminating pockets of conflict in different parts of the world. Peace keeping forces have been ineffective in pacifying warring factions and nations. For commercial and ideological gain weapons are made readily available to both parties in a conflict. This ensures a steady flow of profits to manufacturers and exporters of conventional weapons which are more often than not made redundant in developed countries by new technological advances.

UN Defied

The biggest challenge to the UN is the one posed by the stalemate in Namibia. South Africa backed by multi-nationals continues to defy the UN with impunity. Uranium rich Namibia is being exploited by the Corporation called Rossing Uranium.

46.6% of the shares of this company is owned by the Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation (RTZ) of the United Kingdom; 13.3% by the Development Corporation of South Africa; 10% by Rio Algom Ltd of Canada, a subsidiary of RTZ; 10% by Compagnie Francaise de Petroles of France and whose subsidiary General Mining and Finance Corporation of South Africa own 6.8%.

The principal companies processing uranium are: Camurhex which has two plants in France; British Nuclear Fuels Ltd; Urangesellschaft and Yeba—two state owned Corporations in the Federal Republic of Germany; Ultra Centrifuge of the Netherlands and the Mitsubishi Corporation of Japan.

In Europe EURATOM is the contracting agent for all Namibian uranium used in the European Common Market.

The above facts have been gleaned from the report The Plunder of Namibian Uranium—Major Findings of the Hearings on Namibian Uranium held by the United Nations Council of Namibia—July 1980.

In the light of these revelations no further evidence is necessary to understand the magnitude of the challenge to the UN system.

The foregoing facts covering a number of areas in which the UN is actively engaged in have been marshalled and presented to convince all concerned that the UN system itself and not merely a few of its agencies is in imminent danger. It is therefore the duty of all peace loving peoples either individually or through their organizations to give the maximum publicity to the underlying causes of this crisis as their major contribution to the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations Organization.

The Constructive Engagement

Plans and pants
In the brief case,
There comes the expert,
The sage
From the Pentagon
All the way to Africa.
"If there's Starvation
Why not try the Green
Revolution?"

Suggests the benevolent Sage,
Bartering his opinions readily
For the facts
Supplied by 'the natives'
Back he comes,
Sits by his computer.
Now, there's a report,
As he goes
Before the Congress Committee.
Much lauded by "Voice of
America".

In Africa
No longer will there be hunger.

— Basil Fernando,
51/2, Seevali Lane,
Wattala.
24.04.85



Korea's Economic Miracle

Stagnation

In the 1960's and the 1970's South Korea enjoyed a surprisingly high rate (more than 10%) of economic growth in GNP terms through several stages of successive 5 year economic development plans. The main axis of this development was the labour-intensive export oriented industries based on low wages and foreign capital. But this model of development faced a dead end in the late 1970s. In 1979 the rate of GNP growth decreased to 6.4% and in 1980 the growth rate dropped to 6.2%, a minus rate of GNP growth being recorded for the first time since 1960. Subsequently the growth rate was 6.4% in 1981, 5.3% in 1982, 9.3% in 1983 and 7.5% in 1984. The stagnation in the Korean economy is evidenced by the high rate of unemployment (4.1% in 1984). The collapse of Park's regime in 1979 has been interpreted as a political expression of this economic crisis.

Dependency

This stagnation of the Korean economy had much to do with the overall stagnation of the world economy. The Korean economy could not help pushing the export promotion policy. This only resulted in deepening dependency and an increasing trade deficit. This in turn necessitated the increase of foreign debt. The foreign debt swelled from 20.5 billion US Dollars in 1979 to 37.2 billion US Dollars in 1982 and to 47 billion US Dollars in 1984. **Now South Korea ranks 4th in the World in terms of the size of its foreign debt following Brazil, Mexico and Argentina.** Many Trans-National Corporations have come to Korea. In 1980 the Government implemented a series of open-door policies towards imports, direct investment of foreign capital, introducing foreign brands

and technology. **These open-door policies are intensifying the dependency.** Among the TNCs operating in Korea 50% are from Japan and 30% are from the the U.S.A.

The intensification of external dependency goes side by side with the deepening internal imbalance and inequalities. The 30 biggest companies produced about 76% of the GNP and 43% of the bank loans in 1984. **In spite of high economic growth the income distribution has not improved but deteriorated-** The total income of the upper 20% of the population amount to three times as much as that of the lowest 40% of the population.

The foreign debt totals 50 billion US Dollars and the repayment of the principal and interest amount to 10 billion US Dollars per year. Construction in foreign countries, colligated companies and Shipping Industries, which had been core elements of Korean economic development until the middle of the 1970s are now reduced to "play-out industries". The outlook on exports is very gloomy due to the stagnation of the international economy and the strong protective trade policy of the U. S. A.

Repression

The sufferings of the **workers, farmers, white collar workers and lower level civil servants** are increasing due to the **wage freeze imposed on workers' incomes and the price freeze of agricultural products.** The resultant struggles of the workers and farmers have been crushed by the might of this military regime. The unemployment of youth especially of college graduates (about 60% of whom are not employed this year) is another acute problem. A crackdown by the Government on the Korean Student movement is currently underway (about 66 students from

nine different universities were arrested on 29th June), since the students are in the forefront of the support given to workers on strike.

A glaring example of the repression of a Christian congregation through the use of thugs is given below:

The Revd. Park Hyung-Kyu assumed duties at the Cheil Presbyterian Church in 1971 and became a full time Minister in 1972. He has been very active in the human rights movement and been imprisoned frequently. Beginning with about 50 persons the congregation had grown to about 200. The Church had also produced a large number of activists in the ecumenical, human rights, urban, rural and industrial mission fields.

Several attempts were made from 28th August 1983 onwards to disrupt services of worship at this Church. A Church elder called Chung was used by the thugs and the two factions clashed violently on 2nd October 1983. Rev. Park obtained a Court injunction in September 1984 to prevent the thugs from entering the Church. Thereafter the thugs picketed the Church to prevent other members of the congregation from entering the Church, leading to weekly factional clashes. One Sunday the Rev. Park was manhandled by a mob in front of the Church and a number of church members were seriously injured. **Since the Rev. Park had evidence to believe that the violence was engineered by a government agency to silence him, he thereafter held an open-air Sunday service regularly in front of the Chunbu Police Station which has jurisdiction over the Cheil Church, as a gesture of protest. This has gone on since December 1984.** The police and the prosecutor had taken no action to punish the

thugs even though Rev. Park and the PROK Assembly sent frequent appeals to the authorities to protect worship and prevent injuries.

The Secretary of the CWF attended Rev. Park's Sunday worship on the street as an act of solidarity on 23rd June. The congregation on the pavement opposite the Police Station numbered about 150 including other participants at the CCA-URM sponsored People's Forum. The former General Secretary of the CCA was also present and gave a brief message. The spirit of devotion and courage of these Christians was truly inspiring.

The order of service was distributed to passers-by some of whom followed the service from a distance. A big white banner was held aloft by two members of the congregation bearing these words: "Please! Help protect us (the Cheil Presbyterian Church) from the violence that attacks our worship. For the democratisation of our country and to solve the problem about the survival of the people!"

40th Year Commemoration

HIROSHIMA — NAGASAKI

August saw a plethora of anti-nuclear meetings organized by different groups in Japan, including

— Hiroshima - Nagasaki 40th Year International Forum (Tokyo, Aug. 1-2)

— 1985 World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (Hiroshima, Aug. 2-3)

— A meeting of representatives of local governments in Japan that have declared their areas non-nuclear zones (Hiroshima, Aug. 3)

— a meeting of anti-nuclear motor bike riders (Hiroshima, Aug. 6)

There were as well ceremonies in both Hiroshima and Nagasaki marking the 40th anniversary of the dropping of the bombs. The annual Peace Memorial Ceremony was held in Hiroshima August 6 at 8-16 a. m. with a record number of 55,000 in attendance. Mayor Takeshi ARAKI, himself a survivor of the bombing, dedicated 25,419 additional names to the list of victims' names inscribed in a Peace Park monument. The names, which bring the identified death toll to 138,690, include 4,165 bomb victims (hibakusha) who died in the past year. The others are names of victims

whose identities have been confirmed in the past year. (When the bomb was dropped, 118,000 people were killed immediately. Another 22,000 died before the year was out, with the total death toll over 40 years estimated at over 200,000.)

During a speech at the ceremony, Nakasone vowed to adhere to the 3 non-nuclear principles and work for the "ultimate abolition" of nuclear weapons.

Outside the Peace Park, 600 peace activists, mostly young people, staged a "die-in" in front of the Atomic Dome in memory of A-bomb victims.

24,000 people gathered in Nagasaki to honour the more than 70,000 that were killed as a result of the 22-kiloton plutonium bomb called "Fat Man" that exploded at 11-02 a. m. on August 9, 1945. Nagasaki Mayor Hitoshi MOTOSHIMA urged the United States and the Soviet Union to make the 40th anniversary of the atomic bombings a "turning point in the post-war history of the nuclear arms race." He continued, "Nagasaki must be the last place on Earth subjected to the horror of nuclear weapons."

Japan Militarism Monitor, Aug. 1985.

Tomorrow is August 6th A Meditation

On the Feast of the Transfiguration and on the events in Hiroshima on August 6th 1945

Upstairs, our three children are sleeping;
 Dreaming perhaps of
 Football and climbing trees.
 Just the same as millions of other kids
 Across this great land.
 It was the same in Hiroshima
 40 years ago,
 on August 5th,
 Thousands of kids were sleeping,
 Dreaming perhaps of
 Football and climbing trees.
 And within 24 hours they were all
 burnt to ash. Not even their shadow
 remained on the pavement.
 Victims of the first atomic bomb.
 It was a transfiguration all right,
 But there was nothing to celebrate

* * * *

Upstairs our three children are sleeping.
 Dreaming perhaps of
 Football and climbing trees.
 Just the same as millions of other kids.
 Across this great land.
 And tomorrow is the Feast of the Transfiguration

when we remember how the disciples
 saw the face of Jesus shining like the sun
 and heard the voice of God.

* * * *

And tomorrow when the kids wake up
 which transfiguration do we tell them about?
 We would love to tell them only about Jesus
 and not about Hiroshima.
 But that is very hard
 because it was only this morning
 that our little boy asked us
 to explain 'Star Wars'.

* * * *

Tomorrow is August 6th
 and tonight kids all over this land
 are dreaming of football and climbing trees
 while their elders spend
 two million dollars a minute
 making enough bombs
 for a thousand Hiroshimas.
 And as the dawn breaks
 We hear the tears of Christ.

Dorothy and Peter Millar, Madras, India.

(See also page 32 Do You know that...)

Effects of a Nuclear War

Recent Scientific Studies

Until recently, many war strategists and military advisers have operated on the assumption that a nuclear war is containable, winnable and survivable.

But now, new research results both in the USSR and the USA confirmed by the research community world-wide, have completely changed our picture of what the disastrous effects of a nuclear war would be like.

What we had overlooked was the enormous impact on world-wide climatic conditions which would result from the smoke, soot and dust from large city and forest fires set off by nuclear explosions. We know now that these fires produce large quantities of smoke and soot which will fill the atmosphere. At the same time the upper atmosphere becomes loaded with fine particles of dust. This combination of high-altitude and lower altitude soot effectively blocks sunlight from reaching the surface of the earth, bringing about disastrous consequences to all living beings.

The first consequence almost immediately after the blast is that the earth's surface would become pitch-black. This would be equivalent to far less than 1% of the normal sunlight on a clear day. This is extremely dangerous for plant photosynthesis and would cause the death of a large variety of plants. The darkness will last for months and possibly much longer. Any humans who might have survived would face a future of starvation.

Because of this intense darkness the temperature on the land surface drops to very low levels - in many areas to freezing conditions of minus 20°C or even lower. The consequences are clear: plants, animals and

humans will freeze to death. In coastal areas, where water temperatures are higher, the climate may not be as severe but the differences in temperature between the land surface and the water will produce violent storms and blizzards.

Still another terrible effect is that the fires, in addition to their own destructive power, will generate huge clouds of toxic fumes which will shroud the land with a poisonous smog persisting for long periods of time.

In addition to darkness, freezing cold, and toxic gases, the victims of a nuclear blast will be bombarded with radio-active particles not only immediately after the blast but for months on end. As a result of this the immune system of any human survivors would be so seriously damaged that, in addition to famine, people would face world-wide epidemics. Even if survival were possible for some time, the damage to reproductive organs drastically reduces the possibility of giving birth to normal children.

When at last the darkness has cleared away and the sunlight returns to the earth, the damage to the ozone layer in the stratosphere will mean that the sunlight will have an abnormal amount of dangerous ultra-violet radiation for several years. This will have two major effects: it will drastically increase the rate of skin cancer and it will affect the food chain by interfering with the pollination of plants through insects and by destroying marine plants in the upper ocean layer.

Another important aspect in this changing picture is that we now know that all of the phenomena which we have described will be world-wide. Scientific studies indicate that even subtropical and tropical normally

warm areas will be subjected to severe frost, which, even if it lasts only for very short periods, will be sufficient to kill all vegetation. Though we once believed that there would be sanctuaries in the Southern Hemisphere to which a few people could flee, it is now clear that these effects will also be felt throughout the Southern Hemisphere—even though there may be a short delay.

The combined impact of these phenomena will be to destroy the life-support system of humanity throughout the world. But what is most shocking about all of this is the realization of how little of our present nuclear stockpiles it would take to unleash this horrifying scenario. In fact it would require less than 1% of these stockpiles, an amount that could be fired off by only one or two modern nuclear submarines.

It should be admitted that there are many uncertainties and unknowns and that there remains much work to be done. But the notion of Nuclear Winter is not a fantasy of the scientists. None of the present uncertainties are large enough to call into question the overall conclusions that have to be drawn from these findings, namely: **in a Nuclear War there will be no winners even if the attacked nation does not retaliate. In a Nuclear winter it is doubtful that there will be any survivors.** But unlike the normal winter and seasons which are parts of the cycle which gives us life, **Nuclear Winter is not inevitable but the results of human decision.** Therefore, all of us who want to be survivors must use all our energy to make sure that a Nuclear Winter never sets in. ●

— From the final Documents of the Round Table Conference of Theologians and Experts on New Dangers to the Sacred Gift of Life: Our Tasks. February 1985, Moscow.

Fallout!

Poisoning the Pacific.

— Darlene Keju-Johnson

The Marshallese people have been governed by the United States for more than thirty years. Soon after the US took our island from Japan in World War II, it signed the United Nations Trusteeship agreement for Micronesia. In this agreement, the United States promised to protect our health and to prevent the loss of our lands and resources. It is a promise that the United States never kept.

In 1946, the US military commander came to Bikini and told the people that the nuclear testing was "for the good of mankind and to end all world wars". The chief didn't really understand this but one word stuck in his mind and that word was mankind. He thought mankind was like God, so he told the military commander: "if the testing is for the good of God, then I will let my people go".

What the Americans didn't do was tell the people they would never see their islands again. Instead, the Americans promised the Bikinians that they could return home when the tests were finished. The Bikinians thought this would be very soon—perhaps a few weeks, or at most several months. What they didn't know was that they would never return to their home again.

Before we knew it, our islands were exploding into the air. In all, the United States tested sixty-six atomic and hydrogen bombs at Bikini and Enewetak Atolls - bombs which continue to affect the people today. **During the testing, six islands were completely blown off the face of the earth.**

The Bikinians were resettled three times and the Enewetak people, whose islands were used for 43 nuclear tests, also were relocated. They suffered many problems because the new islands did not have enough

resources to support their growing populations. You can imagine the psychological problems the people had because of moving from one island to the next, without any explanations.

Radioactive Contamination

The sixty-six nuclear bomb tests contaminated hundreds of Marshallese and American servicemen with radioactive fallout during the 1950's. The list of health problems resulting from this exposure is virtually endless, and includes many cases of thyroid cancer, leukemia, cataracts, miscarriages and stillbirths. I have interviewed many women from the affected islands who have had more than four miscarriages.

The Marshallese describe these mis-carried babies as "Jelly fish". The baby is born on the labour table, and it breathes and moves up and down, but it is not shaped like a human being. It looks like a bag of jelly. These babies only live for a few hours. Sometimes, babies are born with growths like horns on their heads, while others have six fingers or toes.

I grew up on the Northern islands, which are downwind of Bikini and Enewetak. Today, I have three tumors in my body—one was taken out recently. I don't know what causes them, but like many Marshallese I am afraid for the future and I am concerned about what will happen if I have children.

As if nuclear tests were not enough, the United States set up the Kwajalein Missile Range in the Marshalls to test its long range nuclear missiles. These missiles are fired from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California and land in Kwajalein's once peaceful lagoon. Again, the US relocated hundreds of Marshallese from their home islands in Kwajalein

for the missile testing. These people were moved to Ebeye island, where today 8000 people live crowded on this tiny sixty-six acre island.

The island has been called a "biological time bomb" and the hospital is so understaffed and so poor it cannot possibly provide adequate health care for the Marshallese. My family has lived on Ebeye for many years, and it was as I grew up that I experienced the U. S. military's racist discrimination against the Marshallese an attitude that continues today.

Kwajalein Island, where the Americans live with a first class hospital, good schools, and numerous recreational facilities, is just three miles away. But it might as well be 3000 miles away for the Marshallese must obtain a pass before they can travel to their own islands. It is very difficult to gain access to Kwajalein's hospital, even in emergencies and there have been many cases of children being refused entry into Kwajalein because they don't have a pass and then they die on their return to Ebeye.

Additionally, the Army police searches the Marshallese workers who travel to Kwajalein daily - as if they are criminals. It is a degrading situation that shows little sign of improving. The Army only leases the islands, and yet it acts as if it owns them - imagine what it would do to us if it owned the islands.

Operation Homecoming

After 30 years of accepting this treatment as second-class citizens, the Kwajalein landowners got together in 1982 and sailed out to their off-limits island in Kwajalein atoll. For four months the people took back their islands in protest of the conditions on Ebeye and the discrimination on Kwajalein. More than 1000 people set up camps on eleven islands. The

people were glad to be on their own islands and felt a sense of freedom and peace. For many younger people, it was the first time on these islands, and it felt good to eat food from the islands and do things that the people cannot do in Ebeye.

The protest, called Operation Homecoming, forced the U. S. to make certain concessions to the Kwajalein landowners to help the problems on Ebeye. But the basic system of injustice remains today. Since signing a three-year lease for use of Kwajalein, the military's treatment of the Kwajalein people has gotten worse with many new restrictions imposed on the Ebeye community.

All of this activity in the Marshall Islands has been to develop the most destructive weapons of war. Just this June, the the U. S. tested the first MX missile at Kwajalein, and plans to continue with many more, including the Minuteman and Trident. The U. S. tells us that it is in our island to protect us. But our response is: "Protect us from whom?" We do not have any enemies. **There is no word in the Marshallese language for enemy.** ●

Courtesy: **Movement (SCM, England)**
Winter 1983/84

1st Anniversary Dec. 3

THE BHOPAL GAS MURDER

As reported in our last quarter's issue of **Christian Worker** apart from an estimated 2,000 people who perished on **December 3rd** last year as a result of **noxious fumes** emanating from the pesticide **plant** of the U. S. based multi-national Union Carbide at Bhopal in India, several of those exposed to its effects have been dying a slow agonising death. This scandal has attracted much attention internationally especially among human rights activists social workers, trade unionists and humanists concerned with the preservation and advancement of human life.

We reproduce below a statement issued in this connection by the Christian Conference of Asia—Urban Rural Mission after a consultation held at New Delhi and dated September 17:

WE, THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE CCA—URM CONSULTATION on the "Affirmation of the wholeness of life in the context of struggle against powers of death and destruction", held on September 12 to 17, aware of—and horrified by—the tragedy that struck Bhopal nearly a year ago, express our further shock and abhorrence at the callous disregard and total irresponsibility which Union Carbide Corporation has shown towards the suffering and losses of the people of Bhopal.

WE CONDEMN the cynical disregard that Union Carbide has demonstrated in setting up a faultily designed pesticide plant in a residential area, and without adequate safety contingency measures.

WE STRONGLY CONDEMN the manner in which Union Carbide has sought to evade responsibility, to suppress information, and to mislead victims as well as the general public about the nature and effects of the MIC gas.

TO DATE, REGRETFULLY, we have seen very little efforts on the part of the

Indian government to deal with this grave tragedy in the serious manner that it deserves. This has definitely given an impression internationally that the Indian government has become a willing partner in the campaign of misinformation and duplicity that Union Carbide is actively engaged in.

WE EXPRESS ALARM over such a state of affairs, and urge the Indian government to exercise its sovereignty and responsibility to its people, and initiate all necessary efforts to deal with Union Carbide firmly.

WE SUPPORT the struggles of the people of Bhopal. Their struggle to get justice and fair compensation is an effort to affirm their dignity as human beings.

WE SUPPORT their demand for a thorough and public enquiry, as well as their demand for full and free access to all information pertaining to the gas leak—what caused it, and its effects on human health and the environment.

TOGETHER WITH THEM, WE DEMAND that Union Carbide be made to account for its mass murder.

WE CALL UPON PEOPLE THE WORLD OVER—mass voluntary organizations, ecological movements, trade unions, church organizations, political parties, scientific and medical associations and other agencies to do all they can to ensure that this violation to human life and dignity does not go unpunished.

WE WARN other dealers of death and destruction that the peoples of the world will no longer remain passive as they commit acts of industrial genocide.

THIS IS OUR AFFIRMATION OF THE WHOLENESS OF LIFE.

DO YOU KNOW THAT...

Today's nuclear arsenal	=	800,000 Hiroshimas?
5 hours of military spending in the world	=	UNICEF's total budget?
The training of US military personnel	=	Twice the budget allocated to educate 300 million children in South East Asia?
One day's military expenditures	=	The cost to wipe out malaria in one year?
The cost of a modern fighting plane	=	The salaries of 250,000 teachers for one year? The building and equipping of 75 hospitals with 100 beds each?
The cost of a nuclear TRIDENT submarine	=	Annual expenses to educate 16 million children in the Third World? 400,000 houses for 2 million people?



THE FLESH TRADE

— Sharon

International tourism as it is now practised in Southeast Asia has raised a lot of questions about the actual effectiveness of it and the advantage it supposedly brings to the people and societies involved. Perhaps even more significant is the pervasive selling of young women as advertising lures, social escorts, masseuses, sauna bath attendants, performers in sex shows, dance hostesses and bar attendances in nightclubs and cocktail bars which are often a thin disguise for the actual prostitution market in many of the advertisements in sex tour brochures.

Although prostitution has always existed in human history, the pervasiveness of it is arousing many concerned groups, especially women's groups in these countries and around the world to investigate into what has been described as 'the most dehumanised form of sex and economic

exploitation of women'. While a large number of the studies on prostitution focus primarily on the economics of the trade and the involvement of the tourist industry in increasing the dividends of the prostitution market, it would be imperative for us to look not only at prostitution as a practice but also at the prostitute as a person, her background, motives, aspirations, the risks she has to face and her situation as it is affected by the system in which she operates.

Thus it is within this context that the article seeks to understand why young women in many of these countries are pushed into what has been commonly known as the 'flesh' trade and to examine the extent of the cultural and social impact which it has on these young women and the societies concerned. Furthermore, any attempt to understand the pos-

ition of these young women in the type of employment that had grown up around tourism, must therefore locate them within the concrete contexts in which they participate.

Prostitution

By definition, the word 'prostitution' carries a negative connotation exemplified by its frequent application as synonym of 'wrong' or 'unworthy' use, a view particularly prominent in the Judaeo-Christian tradition that brands prostitutes as being in a sinful state, devoid of religious and social grace. Since then, additional considerations in attempts to define prostitution have been included. While attempting to, avoid value judgements or worse, yet to take a professional moralising stand, prostitution in this article is defined as a transaction by which a woman engages in sexual interaction

with a transient partner for monetary gain. Therefore, cash is the primary motivation and focal point in the interaction and power struggle between the prostitute, the client and all those other persons involved at intermediary levels of all the transaction, and the transiency and relative anonymity of the encounter accentuates the business nature of prostitution.

Who is the prostitute and why?

What the following sections will do is to ask who is the person who becomes a prostitute - whether we can say anything about personality or her background or more importantly about the motives for her becoming a prostitute - and lastly what are the social structures and institutions that have either created or influenced these motives:-

1. The Child Prostitute

One thing that is abundantly clear is that the prostitute is not always an adult. The most vulnerable group of prostitutes are very young girls who are coerced into the business. According to a 1975 UN estimate, there are almost 42 million children under the age of 15 working in S. E. Asian nations. Many of these children are sold into brothels and a lot of them come from rural poverty-stricken areas. Some agents buy rural children as young as 10 years old from their parents using the ploy of offering them work in the city. Many end up in the child labour market working under hazardous conditions, suffer malnutrition and live in poor housing. Therefore, it is easy to make these young persons believe that life is easier in the prostitution trade, where the person does not 'really work' but 'entertains'. Besides brothels are always on a lookout for young virgin girls and pay a relatively high price for them.

Pre-pubescent girls end up sold to the brothels, where they work as domestic help until they reach puberty. Because these young girls are sold or pawned, they are virtually slave prostitutes owned by the brothel keepers who keep them within the brothels and determine all their conditions of work. Many often have to work off a debt on behalf of their parents or relatives. While this may sound surprising to some, it must be remembered that in many rural societies in S. E. Asia

and urban poverty groups, child work is part of the process of socialisation and the child is incorporated in working life between the ages of 5 and 15. The distinction between childhood and adulthood as well as between the economic and the non-economic is not as well defined as in the case of the better off classes. When groups are faced with the situation of poverty and the indebtedness that poverty brings, it is common practice to pledge children as workers as part of a debt payment.

Which child is eventually chosen to be sold off or bonded depends on the demand in the child market and also the supply factors within the household. Both male and female children have been found in bonded labour. However, when a female child is selected for sale, she is often given into domestic service or prostitution unlike the male child, who is often in unskilled agricultural work or small-scale commodity production. It is only recently that reports have emerged indicating the use of young boys in homosexual prostitution in some countries.

2. The Adult Prostitute

It is emphasized here that this arbitrary distinction between child and adult prostitute is used here only out of convenience to highlight the special and utterly deplorable practice of child prostitution and the way children are coerced into it. This does not mean that child and adult prostitutes are different to other ways and much if not all of the following discussion will equally apply to child prostitutes as well.

Her Personality?

There has always been a tendency amongst social scientists, politicians and religious leaders especially of the more conservative minded sort to come up with a formulation of a concept of a prostitute's model or typical personality. These attempts at popular psychology especially by the more religious-minded, would include personality characteristics such as having low morals and such like. The objects of coming up with such a concept are only too clear to have to be explained. It is clear however, that there are broad individual differences amongst prostitutes that prevent the formulation of any sort of concept of a 'prostitute personality'. A prostitute is as likely

to be extrovert as she is likely to be introvert and even if it is possible that one can speak of high and low sexual morals (and this I very much doubt), it is far from clear that such 'morals' have a causal relationship with respect to whether a woman becomes a prostitute.

Background, and Formative Experiences

On the other hand, it is possible to say something meaningful about a woman's entry into prostitution and her background and formative experiences. The factors operating can be broadly classified into economic and socio-cultural groups and it must be kept in mind that these will always be linked and often overlap.

1. Economic Factors

In most cases, the operative motive for entry into prostitution would be economic necessity arising in various ways. Their families could be living below subsistence level on a small patch of land or in debt. For others, widespread certain unemployment could make prostitution a viable and attractive option. Lack of education can give a feeling of hopelessness, or lack of control over one's destiny, which prostitution at least with its initial superficial attractiveness, can help overcome. In Manila, almost all prostitutes interviewed stated that they had arrived at the brothel out of necessity and 53% in the sample indicated that poverty had been a precipitating cause. The earnings enabled the girls to look after themselves and in some cases send cash or gifts to their relatives in the villages. In this way, the loss of face by engaging in prostitution, if it existed at all, might be compensated or rationalised-

A popular argument regarding prostitution is whether a woman has entered into it voluntarily or involuntarily. For those who wish to justify its existence as a 'natural' and therefore 'acceptable' phenomenon, showing a large degree of voluntary entry would certainly help their case. For most children it is clearly involuntary and for a large number of adults whose alternative is poverty and destitution, it would be unacceptable to label their entry into prostitution as voluntary. Even for those with some kind of choice, it is clear that the economic rewards of prostitution

are far greater than those of other occupations open to unskilled and uneducated girls. Pasuk Phongpaichit in her recent studies of migrant Thai masseuses, in fact, rejects the idea that these girls were fleeing from a rural society that oppressed women but rather that they were engaging in a rational entrepreneurial move to improve their economic situation. It seems to me that when the economic attractions of prostitution are such that it is the obvious rational choice or as often the only choice, then the argument of voluntary or involuntary is academic especially (as emphasised further on) when we look at what happens after entry into prostitution. It appears more fruitful to question the structural arrangements of a society that presents the option of prostitution as a rational one.

2. Socio-cultural factors

It has been accepted generally, particularly among sociologists and psychologists alike, that personality development, role acceptance and the internalisation of social norms are transmitted in a way that reflects and perpetuates the existing classification system of the larger society of which the individual is a member

Thus, for many young women in many Asian societies, the loss of virginity even through rape means that they are socially stigmatised. They are considered as 'fallen' women, not quite 'proper' women. There is social pressure to make the women believe that 'once a fallen woman, always a fallen woman'. As such, young girls who have lost their virginity go about in shame and hide the fact that they are 'already spoilt'. Where such social pressure exists in a situation of few employment alternatives for women together with family pressure for financial support, the young women easily turn to prostitution as an income earning opportunity, especially since they themselves believe that their lives are 'already spoilt' and they already belong to the category of 'fallen women'.

One can also see this happening in the case of unmarried women. In societies which strongly emphasize the institution of marriage especially for women about a certain age which is usually about the late teens, prostitution becomes an option for those past prime marrying age and who are under some form of economic duress.

3. The Pimp System

There are obviously some prostitutes who work relatively independently, ranging from the sophisticated well-clad call girl who directly approaches clients in fashionable hotels or 'classy' night-clubs, the waitress or entertainer who, while not being a full-time prostitute, supplements her income through occasional deals, to the ordinary street walker of the red light districts. However, the majority of prostitutes are dependent on a series of contact for the maintenance and the procurement of clients. These intermediaries who are mainly specialised pimps but who also include club owners, foreign tour guides, hotel personnel and taxi drivers take considerable proportions of the fees. According to one report-prostitutes earn less than 10% of the fees paid by their clients. Pimps are also quick to focus their attention on hotels and similar places, military camps and rural bases which are fertile areas for creating a specialised system of prostitution.

The pimp is the linchpin of the whole system. Not only does he (or occasionally she) see the need that exists in society for prostitution and then acts to supply that need but they also make sure that the supply is always there and frequently this is done by violence, or coercion of other forms. It is only too clear that once women enter the trade, it is very difficult to leave it. Pimps are often gangsters, or in cahoots with them. They control prostitutes lives completely and deter them from leaving with threatened or actual punishment. There are only too many reports of physical intimidation by brothel operators and also of collusion between the police and brothel operators forcing the girls who have escaped back into the ostracization of society and the economic pressure, of surviving which may in the end work just as well as physical threat.

The ideology of male sexual needs

The pimp is the shrewd, unscrupulous person who spots society's demand for prostitutes and acts to supply it. As to why this need exists, we have to look to society itself and the ideology of male sexual needs and the double standards of sexual morality.

The ideology holds that there are differences between the sexes

in terms of their sexual needs and behaviour. In this socialisation process, males are expected to be the initiators while 'proper' women are expected to be docile. This is the 'macho' image of 'the man.' Also women are often trained to emphasise affection rather than sex. As such males 'demand' sex and women 'supply' it. Because of this unequal set-up, women are often convinced that 'men only want one thing', so the women frequently give sex to get affection while the men give affection to get sex. The fact that the sexual 'demand' is socially defined as natural for men and unnatural for proper women, in a male-dominated society, brings with it the right of males to sexual servicing outside the household. In contrast, the 'proper' woman is one who limits sex to her marriage relationship. Hence, a category of socially ostracised women exist whose purpose is to meet male sexual needs - i. e. the prostitutes.

Conclusion

In combating the problem of young women in prostitution, there must be less sensationalism in dealing with the problem and more accurate identification of 'the problem groups'. The traditional approach in most societies in S. E. Asia is to regard the women in prostitution as promiscuous and as 'the problem group' who have to be rehabilitated.

The issue of who or what is 'the problem group' is in fact complex and will involve questions about how some of the basic structures of society are currently organised. From the above discussion, the problem group definitely includes other groups that are in existence in our society than the prostitutes themselves who would be better regarded as a 'vulnerable group'. Therefore there is certainly a need for greater social responsibility and a serious restructuring of the organizational and ideological relationships in which men and women are engaged, in order to bring about a more humane society for vulnerable groups in our society.

Courtesy: Fijar (FUEMSSO) Summer 1984 (Bi-monthly of the Federation of United Kingdom and Eire, Malaysian and Singaporean Student Organization.)

Bihar Government's Savagery

— George Mathew

Dr. George Mathew is a Social Scientist from Delhi and an activist in the Indian civil liberties movement

It was a twelve kms drive from Sahibganj Railway Station to the Banjhi village where fifteen **Adivasis** (Tribals) along with the former Member of Parliament, Father Anthony Murmu were shot dead by the Bihar State Police. Within a few minutes our jeep left the plains and began its climb. The hills were denuded and occasionally one could see the **Pahadias** (hills people) walking down ill-clad and barefooted with headloads of logs or 3-4 long bamboos tied together. Women carry sal and tendu leaves in bundles. Their destination is the Sahibganj town market. My thoughts began to wander: on the way the forest officials would be harassing them; in the market they would become victims of traders or middle men but they struggle to survive. The policemen on a 'Bullet' motor cycle passed our jeep. More than ever, these days motor cycles and jeeps of policemen constantly disturb the peace and tranquility of this hill area.

Scene of the Massacre

We reached the plateau. A large stretch of cultivable area, studded with two hamlets nestles in the hillocks. The sky was dark blue. There was a heavy monsoon shower; it came early this year. Bathed in the morning sun filtering through the scattered clouds, Banjhi presented an enchanting look. The frogs croak. Were they welcoming the visitors or crying over the tragedy that betook their village?

As our jeep approached the village one of the Santhals accompanying us said: "On your right is the

pond where Matku Murmu's dead body was floating". I looked out eagerly to see the spot which sparked off the situation leading to a massacre of poor innocent tribals along with my friend Father Anthony Murmu by the State Police. (Anthony left the Jesuit order in 1973 to involve himself fully in the social action programmes in the tribal villages. However, the tribals and all those who knew Anthony still call him affectionately "Father".) The pond is covered with weeds; water visible only here and there.

Fish is nature's food for Adivasis. As other hill produce is getting scarcer and scarcer day after day, fish has become their main source of livelihood. But the government in their wisdom decided that about one lakh rupees they could collect through auction of all such tribal ponds in Bihar is more valuable than the traditional livelihood of the poor Adivasis! Since the government began the scheme of auctioning ponds (this particular pond was auctioned for a couple of thousand rupees) only once it went into the hands of a tribal. On all other occasions Motiram Bhaget the **Mahajan** (Santhals call all those non-tribals who trade with them Mahajans or **dikus** meaning those who take away their properties) had auctioned the fishing rights of the pond.

He would not allow the Santhals to fish in the pond after he had lifted the catch once or twice at the height of the fishing season, though this is a general practice. This hostile attitude of the **Mahajan** leaves the tribals (whose life is inextricably intertwined with fishing and hunting) with precious little for food. What could the poor Adivasis do without

any money to buy the fish from the market? The transformation from their barter economy to cash economy itself had broken the backbone of their sustenance. Now more and more deprivation stare at them. In a social milieu where ownership was something alien, Motiram Bhagat's argument that since he had auctioned the pond from the administration, it was his right to allow or not to allow anyone to fish was a serious blow to tribal collective consciousness. This was adding fuel to the fire because Santhals knew that Motiram the **diku** was giving poor prices to the hill produce they bring to the bazar. On the top of it the tribals suspect that Matku Murmu one of their kinsmen was killed by the **dikus'** men. Matku was a eunuch and he wore ornaments which Motiram's men wanted to steal. Thus the rage of Santhals was rising against the exploitation.

As we enter the village the policemen with rifles are seen in front of three public buildings: the Panchayat Office, the Primary School and the Primary Health Centre. Our friends in the jeep told us that there may be at least one hundred armed policemen camping there. We pass through the first hamlet. This is Banjhi Bazar—the hamlet of **Dikus** (population 686 with just one Adivasi family in it). The inhabitants are mahajans who have come to the tribal areas and through usury acquired large areas of land. Of course, Tribal land alienation is illegal. So the Mahajans have not sought title deeds. They want only possession and enjoy the produce. Through unscrupulous business practices, the Santhals are forced to mortgage their belongings to the **Dikus**. Motiram Bhagat and

Dilip Bhagat the main culprits have acquired vast areas of Tribal land including forests. The police and forest officials are with **Dikus** and nothing is impossible for them.

The bazar wears a deserted look. No one is on the road. The imposing house of Motiram Bhagat is the largest one. It was from this house that Motiram's men fired at the Adivasis on 19th April morning. But the SDO had dismissed them saying they were not bullets but **pataks** (crackers).

The post office is completely destroyed except the letter box standing on the road—the red box has become a black box in the fire. My informants tell me that the burning of the post office was deliberately done by the Mahajan's men to discredit the Adivasis and to bring the wrath of the police and administration on them. One cannot easily discount this argument for, the Tribals generally wouldn't destroy a public property. Moreover, the post office is situated right at the Centre of Banjhi Bazar.

The bazar narrows down to a culvert and from there begins Banjhi Santhal, the hamlet of Santhals (population 1109). Our jeep stopped near an important place. It is a sacred place too. It was made sacred rather recently by the Santhals. Here, on the top of a few tall poles there are remains of some leaves most of it is dry and flown off. Sal branches with dry leaves are scattered around 15 mud heaps the Santhals have built in memory of their kinsman killed by the police. It gives the look of a simple, rugged burial place but there is no dead body under those 15 heaps of soil (After the firing and killing on April 19, the dead bodies were taken on police trucks to Bhagalpur, 60 kms away; postmortem was done in **camera** and the report is still kept a secret, 14 bodies were hurriedly cremated by the police; although some of them were Christians and their bodies should have been buried according to Christian rites. The tribal custom is to bury their dead).

None of the relatives nor next of kin were called to hand over the body. The police thinking might have been: if the bodies were buried, they could be exhumated later and they may have untold stories to tell. However, Father Muamu's body was taken for burial through his brother's intervention who is a government officer (Supply Inspector) in Bhagalpur town. He buried his elder brother, leader of his community, in Bhagalpur unsung, unwept. Only three others were present to say farewell to that meek, gentle social worker who shed his blood for his people. By then Bhagalpur was in the dark; so also the whole world. The world was yet to know the goings on in this part in that hot April where barbarity knows no limits. At the site we stand in Banjhi, the names of those killed are written on a black painted iron sheet, 13 of them in a row at the rear and 2 in front. The two are those of Father Anthony Murmu and Madan Murmu. Their plates are a shade bigger than the rest and there are two crosses on those mud heaps.

Madan Murmu was the youngest brother of the Village **Sarpanch** (Chief). He went with Father Anthony Murmu and three others to meet the SDO to find out why on 19th April morning some tribals who demanded that the logs of wood stacked in their fields by mahajans be removed as they wanted to cultivate their fields, were fired at, by the goondas of the Mahajan. While the news of the firing spread, the villagers collected together by beating **Dug-Dug** (drums) as a sign of restlessness and call to come together. The police took Father Murmu and Madan Murmu into custody and opened fire on the crowd killing 13 people and seriously injuring 19. Anthony Murmu and Madan were witnessing the police firing on the crowd who were running for life at the unexpected turn of events. The villagers believe that the police in an attempt to destroy evidence—Father Murmu's and Madan's statements would have created problems for the police—beat

them to death and later emptied their guns on their dead body to show that the two also died in the melee and firing on the mob.

Peoples Heroes

Father Murmu and Madan are Santhal heroes now. They were honoured by villagers distinctly for taking up their cause and dying for them. Looking at this sacred memorial dotted with the names of the poor Adivasis who were born to die in the hands of the State, tears come to one's eyes. A drop or two fall on Father Anthony Murmu's name plate. That was a wreath of love to my dear friend whom I knew as a fighter for the cause of his people, and philosopher, guide to several grass roots social action groups since 1977 when he used to live at 175 South Avenue as a Member of Indian Parliament.

The village **sarpanch** Jetha Murmu's house has a distinct appearance of tribal aristocracy. Few pigs, cows, chicken and dogs roam about in the courtyard. It is a joint family; several women were seen doing the daily chores in the kitchen wing unmindful of the visitors from plains. Our guide shout in Santhali for Jetha. No reply. Some movements but an enigmatic silence. A young man comes out. He is brother of Sarpanch, elder to Madan who was killed. He informs us that Sarpanch is not here, but promised that he would send for him. We waited and waited; so sign of Jetha. One of our guides whispered that it would be a futile waiting, for the villagers have got the news that a jeep has come from outside. Since none want to talk to the visitors, Jetha Murmu may not come to meet us to all. As far as the Santhals are concerned all those who come from outside are their enemies, agents of the government. Fear has gripped them in an unusual way.

The Home

We decided to go to Father Murmu's house. It is about 15 minutes walk through narrow strip of paddy field. Monsoon water was gushing

through the small winding streams. Father Murmu's house is not in the village proper; it is isolated on a sloping terrain. There is an open well, mango trees, plantains. It reminded me of the Kerala villages. (Incidentally, while I was in Ranchi recently a tribal leader an anthropologist himself, told me that tribals in Chottanagpur area have intimate similarity with the Dravidians of South. He said he can follow with ease some south Indian languages, although he had never learned them). Murmu's house is a fairly good one. Some wooden chairs, a bench and a cot are on the verandah. A crucifix hangs on the wall. Babulal Soren, Father Murmu's personal assistant was there. He recognised the important person in our group: Shri George Fernandes. He was the Union Cabinet Minister, when Murmu was Member of parliament of the then ruling party. Moreover, George's is a household name in Bihar. Babulal tells us that the police dragged Father Murmu inside the room of the Panchayat building. Outside, his screams could be heard when the police beat him to death. According to Babulal there were 3 shots on his dead body; one on the forehead, another on the chest and the third on his abdomen. His right hand was severed from the body.

Bibiana Baskey the young widow of Murmu in her early 30s came to the verandah, sobbing. She is the epitome of Santhal womanhood. One could see that she was trying her best to control the uncontrollable sorrow. Anthony married Bibiana in 1974 and he was 54 when he was killed. She greets George with folded hands. She knows him as her late husband's party leader and a close friend.

A boy (about 4 years old) came running from the kitchen. He is Clement, Murmu's son. Father Murmu's first son, Sylvester died about 6 years ago falling in a small pond temporarily built to store water to construct the present house. Clement doesn't know what happened. the pang of cruel death is unknown to him now. But when he grows up and realises the great loss the insensitive system and society had inflicted on him, what would be his attitude to the society? To the State? To life itself?

What has the government done? The Chief Minister and I. G. of Police

came to Banjhi Bazar and left. Later the government sent Rs. 5000/- to Bibiana which she declined. (We were told that relatives of only 8 killed got Rs. 5000/- each. It seems the government doesn't have a full list of all deceased). We enquired about their present condition. She said that she had a Rs. 200/- salary in the local Anganwadi but she has not been going for work since her husband's death. She was not knowing that her husband had died till 22nd April—after three days. When someone broke the news, she said 'no he may be arrested by the police, that's all'. She could not see her husband's body.

How much property do they have? Will its yield see them through? No. the land where Murmu built his house was given by Bibiana's parents who live in another village. It is a small plot and there is not much yield from it.

It is time for us to go. We got up, said good bye. We moved closer to Bibiana and enquired how she manages their day to day expenses. She said nothing? Her face had a helpless look. Nobody had come forward till then to help her. More than a month had passed. While walking to the main road George told me that Anthony had big plans to uplift the tribals in that area which he used to discuss with him. Anthony has gone for ever; but will his plans ever come true? I thought to myself.

When we reached the main road, rifle wielding policemen were seen going on jeeps. Whom are they policing? The frail looking, impoverished Santhals? Are Santhals criminals. I didn't really know.

We reached Motiram Bhagat's house once again. I asked our guide 'where is Motiram Bagat now?' 'He has left the village.' 'Is he arrested?' 'No!' as an after—thought he said, 'Motiram may be enjoying hospitality at some ruling-party politician's house!'

The Bihar Police

What about the police who committed so much atrocities? The police officer Birendra Singh in charge of the Borio Police Station under which Banjhi village falls is just suspended. Not just for killing 15 Santhals. He was responsible for 3 earlier killings. The Bihar authorities waited till such a ghastly situation as that of 19th April developed before suspending him. The Sahibganj SDO

Hari Narayan Prasad is just transferred to Patna. Is suspension a punishment to such a gruesome crime? Transferring an officer to Patna, is it a punishment/or a promotion? There is hardly any place in Bihar where tribals are not exploited to the hilt. Everywhere they work as slaves. Their women are raped. if they raise protest they are beaten, even done to death. But surprisingly police records do not show any case of atrocities on tribals. So the Home Department and Government are happy. In the Banjhi case, the Judicial enquiry headed by the Retd. High Court Judge (Patna) Mr. Birish Kotu Narayan Sinha has not yet taken off the ground.

Will our justice system, entangled in the worst political manoeuvres ever charge sheet the policemen for the murder of innocent people under 302 IPC and arrest them? I wonder.

This was my second experience of witnessing the aftermath of the exploitation of tribals. The first one was when I was a member of the fact-finding team of the People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) to Singhbhum (South Bihar) in 1979. For protesting against the destruction of sal trees by forest authorities, five Adivasis were shot dead by the Bihar Police in Chaibasa areas (Sal is Tribal's symbol of life). Not only that, for entering their unquestioned realm for enquiry, 4 of our team members were roughed up, threatened with death, by the police. When Jayaprakash Narayan heard about this incident and the ordeal from the team members on his sick bed in Patna, he wept perhaps thinking about the condition of human rights in his own state. Bihar Police can do whatever they want and get away with it: seems to be the norm prevailing in that part of the country for quite some time now.

On the same evening George Fernandes addressed a largely attended public meeting opposite the Sahibganj Railway Station. There was deep gloom writ large on the crowd which gathered to hear him. Sitting on the dais in the public meeting, I thought to myself, how many more poor Adivasis should die before the exploitation of Mahajans on Adivasis stop? And in the present corrupt system, will the government be ever able to stop brutality on the poorest of the poor—the Santhals of Santhal Parganas?

The Untouchables of Japan

The problem of *buraku* discrimination in Japan appears to have attracted some degree of international attention more recently. Its origin is traced to various economic, social and political regulations found in Japan's traditional society.

Over 1000 years ago (1871) at the beginning of the country's modernization under the Meiji Restoration, Japan declared an Emancipation Proclamation. This was for appearance's sake at the time the country was being opened to foreign relations. The status system was abolished, the emperor became the head of the nation, a new status system of family registry was organized and the *burakumin*, 3 million persons in 6,000 *buraku* communities, were kept out of important sectors of modern industrialization including manufacturing. They were not provided with any regular employment, their children had no guarantee of an education, they were deprived of civil rights with respect to freedom of marriage and so forth. There was no change from feudal times.

On March 3, 1922, the *burakumin*, seeking liberation by their own power, organized a nationwide *Levellers' Society*. The word "leveller" implied equality and freedom and their symbol became the crown of thorns, the sign of Jesus Christ's suffering. (Even today, the Crown of Thorns symbolises the *Buraku Liberation Movement*).

In 1969, the government enacted the *Integration Policy Counter-measures Act* as part of an attempt to counter discrimination. But closely related to this effort as a form of backlash, was the appearance of "Director-ies of *Buraku* Places and Names" both of the former names and the current names. Till now nine different types of these books have been published describing the number of households, occupations etc. They are sold illegally and used as resource material by personnel departments of companies in order to exclude *burakumin* from employment - thus depriving them of their right to a livelihood. According to the White Paper issued by the Prime Minister's office, there are approximately 30,000 incidents of discrimination a year against these people.

The article below is reproduced from *Subhooni*, a new Indian monthly of November 1984 and is taken from *The Telegraph*, (India) of 31. 08. 84.

Even as the countries of East Asia develop and evolve their distinctive contemporary identities, traces of the profound cultural and religious influence that India once exercised in this region linger on, both prominently visible and under the surface. Nevertheless, it is surprising to discover that Japan, that most modern of Asian countries, clings to an egregiously obscurantist practice, supposedly inherited from our subcontinent more than 10 centuries ago; discrimination on the basis of caste-system.

The *Burakumins*, Japanese society's version of the 'untouchables' are the unfortunate recipients of this adverse discrimination. For centuries, like the *Harijans* they have been identified with "unclean" jobs, such as animal skinning and garbage collection. This stigma of uncleanness led to their being segregated as *hinin-polluted* subhumans unfit to marry or mix with other Japanese.

Despite modern-day legislation aimed at eradicating discrimination in employment procedures, bigotry persists against anyone known to be a *Burakumin*

Japanese pride in having produced a homogeneous society was recently dealt a severe blow by the publication of a report on the current plight of the *Burakumin*. Some of the instances of ingrained prejudice cited in the report - issued by a board of advisers to the Prime Minister - seem to suggest attitudes one would associate with the most retrogressive social system. Landlords deny accommodation on learning of the tenant's occupation. Applicants are denied jobs when identified as *Burakumins*, school children are taunted by class-mates. And a mother deserted her husband, a university educated clerk and refused even to touch her three-week old baby when she discovered that her husband was born in one of the poorest areas of Kyoto and thus had to be a *Burakumin*.

The estimated 3 million "outcastes" are ethnically and culturally indistinguishable from other Japanese. But about 1.2 million of them live in 3,300 semi-segregated areas and ghettos, outside village or city limits which are euphemistically called *Buraku* or hamlets. In order to avoid discrimination, many *Buraku*-dwellers change addresses in the major cities. But their place of birth betrays their origins when they fill in forms while seeking employment or getting married.

The beginnings of the caste system which militates against the *Burakumin* remain hazy, though the prevalent belief is that it is modelled on the Indian system and was introduced to Japan by Buddhist missionaries from India in the 7th century. The *Burakumin* were relegated outside the hierarchical medieval structure comprising the Samurai warriors, farmers, artisans and merchants. To keep them beyond the pale, in 1778 the shogunate issued a decree which severely punished any *Burakumin* who attempted to pass as an ordinary Japanese. An especially offensive decree in 1808 obliged all such "untouchables" over the age of seven to wear a leather patch around their necks and to hang an animal hide over the door of their house. This was followed in 1859 by an infamous regulation which judged the value of the life of a *Burakumin* as one-seventh that of other Japanese.

A 1871 law emancipating them from their outcaste condition and a subsequent government order in this century, which enjoins employers to evaluate applicants only by ability and academic qualification, have only partially alleviated the situation of the *Burakumin*. Most Japanese still associate them with uncleanness and criminal tendencies, and would rather not talk about them in polite conversation. The report points out that where blatant prejudice does not intervene, a vicious circle of poor education leading to poor job opportunities, continues to plague the *Burakumin*. Even those who manage to acquire a good education and obtain a satisfactory job cannot escape the haunting prospect of being identified as "untouchables" one day.

The *Buraku Liberation League* campaigns strenuously for their acceptance into the Japanese mainstream. Indian visitors to Japan, who meet members of the group, find them remarkably well-informed about the problems faced by the Indian *Untouchables*. Both are victims of unfortunate legacy, and in Japan the *Burakumin* continue to fight for equality in a supposedly egalitarian society.

Theology of Liberation and the Liberation of Theology

By Bishop Alberto Iniesta

On March 3, 1984, the Spanish daily El Paris published the following essay by Madrid's Auxiliary Bishop Alberto Iniesta. Iniesta reflects on many Europeans' fears of liberation theology, challenging his readers to recognize the great importance of liberation theology for Latin America's poor. This translation of his article is by Latinamerica Press.

Anyone can speak of theology without having to be ashamed. Yes, even redemption can be discussed. And with a touch of bravado, one can even mention liberation. But what does seem obscene, impure—it can't be mentioned without certain rather pious ears pricking up suspiciously—is the phrase theology of liberation. That begins to sound bad; it smacks suspiciously of ideological contamination. By leftists, of course.

I don't know whether Jesus Christ was a leftist, a socialist, a communist, or an anarchist. What is clear is that he was in no way bourgeois, a conservative, or a defender or champion of capitalism. Or so it seems to me. In other words...

In other words, Jesus Christ in no way limited his preaching just to the kingdom, or to the reign of socialism on this earth. Neither did he speak only of the needs of the body, or limit his message to a call for social improvements or to the transformation of structures. He also wanted to change hearts. The preaching of Jesus of Nazareth announces the Kingdom of God among men and women enslaved by one another and each of us a slave to his or her selfishness, and is aimed at liberating all of us from every kind of enslavement, in every way and forever.

A liberation of the heart, but one that is reflected in social freedom; a liberation for eternity, but one that must begin right now; a liberation, finally, for heaven, but one that must start right here on earth.

You cannot mutilate the Gospel without betraying Jesus Christ. He

multiplied bread for the body, and he also multiplied the bread of the Eucharist for us all; he cured bodies and pardoned hearts; he made the blind see and at the same time he illuminated our eyes of faith. And while he did not do everything that is necessary in material terms, it is also clear that he did not do everything on the pastoral level either. Rather, he left the Church many tasks, as well as his example and his powers. This is how the first Christian community understood it, as we see in the Acts of Apostles and in the epistles. That Church performed great acts of charity: it cured the sick and shared material goods in community. At the same time it proclaimed liberation from sin and death through the death and resurrection of the liberating Lord.

Birth of liberation theology

Is it merely a historical coincidence, or is it a true sign of the times that the theology of liberation was born on the continent where there are both more Christians and more oppressed people than anywhere else? Throughout America, many people have suffered and continue to suffer economic, cultural and social oppression. They have been robbed of their lands, their customs and even their dignity. They are exploited, abused, tortured and savagely murdered by puppet governments that are supported by multinational corporations and an international capitalism that is primarily North American.

It is in that very Latin American Church—virgin and martyr, strong and overflowing with newly rising Christians' sap—that liberation theology took root in the combined efforts of experts in theology with simple people, of bishops and lay catechists, of courageous religious and priests—all of them perpetual candidates for martyrdom, be it by ambush, by kidnapping or by torture.

Liberation theology was born out of the very entrails of the Gospel! that Gospel made relevant for our time by the second Vatican Council, the Bishops' Synod and the Latin American Bishops' Conferences at Medellin and Puebla. **All of this grows out of the experience of a Church that, along with its people, suffers an oppression as cruel as that suffered by the Israelites in Egypt during Moses' time. Liberation theology does no more than update and incarnate the liberating message of Christ and the prophets for the the enslaved peoples of Latin America.** It invites them to be liberated in an exodus towards a better country—not by leaving their homeland but by leaving behind enslaving institutions and replacing them with others that respect and foster the dignity of human beings as children of God, and that more faithfully reflect the principles of the Gospel, which is the Good News of freedom, justice, solidarity and human community. While faith itself does change, the circumstances under which it must be lived by each person and each generation are constantly changing. In keeping with the law of the Incarnation ("the Word became flesh and dwelt among us") Jesus of Nazareth chose a particular historical moment, a particular land and culture into which "he took on the likeness of a human being in everything but sin". He was in every sense a Jew—in his language, customs, feelings, traditions and hopes. **His Church in him and he in his Church must continue that process of germination, of aculturation and of permanent incarnation in which God becomes present among the people in every age, in every circumstance and situation.** And it is the task of both pastoral action and theological reflection to constantly search for the ways and forms of this adaptation. We bishops and theologians, along with the people of God, are making our way through history guided by the light of faith, by the flame of the paschal candle that symbolizes the Risen Lord. And while the light is the same, the terrain is always new and different.

It has always been thus, since the theology of the first Church Fathers,

who were greatly influenced by Hellenistic thought and culture and on through the theologies of Augustine, Aquinas and Occam, the Salamanca and Neo-scholastic schools, etc.

Now then, remembering that theology must mediate between a temporal faith and a local and time-bound culture, it could happen that theology lagged permanently behind the times, failing to adequately serve the Church in any given period. Ever since the Renaissance and on through the Enlightenment, theology has always responded with a time lag to the demands, needs and questions of a European bourgeois society that was liberal, enlightened and capitalist. Even though bourgeois society was a very important step forward from oppressive feudal structures, it today is a hindrance to the resolution of the historical crisis confronting us, as we face a new world that wants to be

born when we don't know just how. Today, then, theology, ecclesiology, ethics, spirituality and pastoral practice come to us heavily weighted by the bourgeoisie. While at one time they did perform the service of mediating faith, today they constitute more of a burden, a stumbling block, a prison even: a kidnapping of the Gospel of Christ and the Church.

Liberation theology, on the other hand, responds to precisely the situation of the majority of people today—people who long for a socialist society, a society without classes, a society where persons are valued for who they are rather than for what they have, where solidarity is valued over competition, where all of us are fundamentally equal and have the same chance of fulfilling ourselves according to our own capabilities.

Just as Europe once evangelized America, today America is evangeli-

zing Europe. And Europe today has no right to be scandalized by one or another defect or slight exaggeration or imperfection that may occasionally be mixed into the overall message it receives, especially if it remembers how much worthless trash, how much ambiguity and how many contradictory messages Europeans once carried to the American continent along with the Gospel: the cross and the sword, blessings and cannons, the message of the beatitudes and insatiable plunder, saints and the adventurers, defenders of the Indians and genocidal invaders.

If bourgeois theology, which is predominantly European in its origin and development, has kidnapped Christ, the Church and theology itself, the theology of liberation could then be the liberation of theology and bring about the reappropriation of Christ and the Church by the poor.

Archbishop's Testimony

I've been a bishop since May 20, 1962. That year I was named bishop of the diocese of San Angel in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil.

I was transferred in 1973 to the diocese of Fortaleza in the Northeast. But soon after my arrival I began to change the way I perceived my ministry. In San Angel I had simply taught; I had not bothered much with the concrete problems of the people. I was intent on transmitting theoretical knowledge, which the people were then to apply to their own lives.

I celebrated the sacraments in the same way, and paid little attention to the meaning they might have in the daily lives of the people. I brought the faith to them as if it were some pre-packaged cure-all and failed to reflect deeply on its meaning in light of the socio-political, economic, cultural and religious situation the people were living. I played the role of teacher and presider over liturgy and sacraments, rather than evangelizing within the context in which the community found itself.

However, in Fortaleza I came into contact with a different type of church community, one that was born not of the need for worship as much as from a desire to seek Christian solutions to concrete problems. My ministry began to change.

Because I was new to the area and ignorant of its history, its culture and even at times of its language, I was obliged to listen in order to have an idea of what was happening in the diocese. And this "listening process" later became a habit, and began to transform me as well as my ministry.

Soon I saw clearly that my ministry would have to take on more appropriate forms. I would have to be more a part of the community, and while I maintained my own role.... I could not allow myself to be

regarded as the head of the community or its superior. Rather, I was to be one more member of the community, available to the people when they needed my services or when I felt that, in the spirit of love, I could guide them in their journey. I had ceased being the teacher or instructor and became a learner before I could think of becoming a teacher.

Gradually, the celebration of the Eucharist and the other sacraments took on a new spirit: they became celebrations of the mysteries of faith with the people's situation and celebrating their life.

I also discovered a new way of praying with the people, one that profoundly unites prayer and action. Now it is much easier for me to make pastoral visits; I don't have to go with a prepared talk—everything follows from the reality being lived out by this poor but deeply religious people.

Through this experience I have also come to have a different view of the vocation problem affecting the church. **I believe that rather than recruit people for convents and seminaries, we should create small but dynamic Christian communities.** Different ministries and services will flower in these communities as they are needed by the people of God. **A new structure of church life is being born.**

Finally, this new way of being-brought about through direct contact with communities of poor believers leads a bishop to adopt a simple life-style. It makes him understand the need to identify constantly with Christ present in the poor, avoiding anything that might suggest grandeur or control. **In this way the bishop continues to be transformed into one more brother within a community of brothers and sisters.**

— Cardinal Aloisio Lorscheider
Archbishop of Fortaleza, Brazil
(Taken from *Concilium*, November 1984)

Boff vindicates Liberation Theology

“The interests of the Poor are the interests of God!”

The following is an exclusive interview given by **Leonardo Boff** (leading Liberation Theologian now silenced by the Vatican) to the Chilean magazine **Apsi**. Ironically, before it could be published in Santiago, **Apsi** was closed down by the Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet. The interview was later published in the Brazilian magazine **Tempo e Presença**.

The silencing of Boff by the Vatican has been sharply criticised by some leaders of the Roman Catholic Church as well as by leaders of several other churches. In fact, legal action has been initiated by a very large number of Brazilian human right groups and other entities related to the Roman Catholic Church to appeal the ban that prohibits Boff from publicly speaking, teaching or writing for an unspecified (“a convenient”) period of time.

What direction is the theology of liberation taking today in Brazil and in Latin America?

I believe that the theology of liberation is opening up new frontiers and is channelling its practice into increasingly more concrete forms. For example, it began in a working class setting where university students participated in the workers' struggles in a process of awareness building and union organizing. Then it passed through the level of Christian base communities, this time with people participating in Bible study groups which met to discuss their economic, social, political and religious situation in light of the word of God. A further step was taken when different centres of the defence of human rights were opened in Brazil where people came together to confront repression and abuses. Today there are more than 300 of these centres in Brazil.

Another front is represented by the “**Union and Black Conscience**” movement, a movement in which Christians place the situation of the blacks at the centre of their concerns, at the level of reconciliation, of affirmation of black resistance, of recuperation of the culture and

the memory of black culture that has been crushed and destroyed by white domination. Here religious themes are rethought from the typically black experience — the secular and the sacred, symbols and celebrations—something very different from that of white culture.

There is also another area (that liberation theology is affecting) and that is the one related to the subject of land through the CTP (Pastoral Land Commission) and of indigenous people through the CIMI (Indigenous Missionary Council). These are institutions that defend not only the corporate interests of the church, but also the interest of peasants who have been expelled from the land and of indigenous people who are being threatened with extinction. The theology of liberation is a reference point for all of these.

In this sense, is the theology of liberation irreversible?

It is irreversible because it is action/practice. Liberation in this sense is not a subject for reflection. It is an historical process, one that is real and concrete. For example, this past July in Salvador (Bahia), I noticed a lot of enthusiasm as the prostitutes themselves and the pastoral workers there were organized

around the reflection of liberation theology. As they became conscientized at the level of Christian faith, the pastoral team that works with the prostitutes, as well as the women themselves, saw that the theology of liberation supports their struggle for dignity. Together with other oppressed people, what they seek then is to express (*articulacao*) themselves and to become involved in community organizations. Within their neighbourhoods, they have Bible study groups and they organize **Christian base communities**. Despite particular difficulties, such as turnover, for example, there are always meetings and they have maintained a certain continuity. I see that in this way, liberation is having ever more profound effects, leading those who most need liberation to come together and thereby become the subjects of the process. I think that in this way **those who will judge whether or not a document is valid** (the reference is the Vatican's document, “*Instruction Aspects of the Theology of Liberation*”) **are those groups who have made a commitment**. They will see if documents from theologians, bishops, or the Vatican itself are texts that help and clarify or if they are texts that sometimes gloss over a very real problem without the perception of nor consultation with those who endure the painful experience of the oppressed, those who are seeking life and freedom.

Does the institutional church, at least in Latin America, now understand this theology that is implicit within the people's struggle?

It is evident that very important segments of the Latin American church and in Brazil, even the most hegemonic sectors see that there is a concrete way, with the people organizing themselves within the church, in groups and communities, and that they have reflected on this way. The theologian comes and is looking for the theological roots, explicit in what he has lived by way of reflection, the social scientists come and

they detect the deep roots of exploitation and the need for expression of the people themselves. More and more the churches are perceiving the union between a practice on the way (where there are allies, persons who are oppressed, and others who align themselves with the oppressed) and together with this practice, there is serious reflection at a level of theology, the social sciences, and anthropology and that this forms a whole. The church, therefore, is becoming accustomed to incorporating this reflection as a necessary element that illuminates the way, but that it is not a substitute for it.

The church is dedicating the 1985 Brotherhood Campaign to the question of hunger. How do you analyze this problem in the light of the theology of liberation?

The great scandal that shames humanity is not so much oppression at the political level (that can exist in a socialist system and does exist in the capitalist system). For us Christians, the great scandal is that there are millions and millions of people who die from hunger, every year, especially our compatriots who are enduring a level of hunger never seen before in the history of Brazil. Our country could be the banquet table for the hungry of the whole world because two-thirds of our land is agricultural land but it is a country that does not produce even the minimal amount of food for its own people.

The problem is that our economy is a disaster. It is a political project that is against the people and this, in theological terms, is a major sin against the God of life because the Christian concept of God is someone who defends and encourages life, who takes the side of the poor when he sees them in need. This is the theological root of the option for the poor: God and Jesus Christ made this option and the church is carrying it on. The fact that there are 86 million Brazilians that are hungry, the fact that two-thirds of them do not have one meal a day, means that we are living in a shameful situation of structural sin, political sin, that affects the supreme gift that God gave to human beings: life The theme of the 1985 Brotherhood Campaign is profoundly evangelizing: to give bread to the hungry and also to do great works of mercy.

Is it true that many people who do not feel affected, consider hunger something normal?

The tragedy is that we have become accustomed to this scandal and we almost cynically pass it by. I believe that any reflection of faith that is, any theology and any pastoral work that today does not deal with the subject of hunger as a fundamental theme, cannot be free of being criticized for being anti-popular, alienated and detached from the real interests of human beings. **Keep in mind that the interests of the poor are fundamentally the interests of God.**

Now to speak about the processes against you and Gutierrez; how do you analyze the situation?

The document on Gutierrez ... is a critical document that recaptures the fundamental values of the theology of liberation. It is not absolutely condemnatory. It highlights its theological importance and underlines the pastoral significance of this theology but calls attention to several risks, especially those of ideologizing faith and certain reductionisms. On the other hand, reductionisms have always existed in the tradition of the church for example, that of reducing faith to merely a transcendental dimension, and forgetting its historical commitment. Here (in Brazil) the danger of attending to urgent human needs is so great that liberation might not be integral. And Christian faith always affirms that liberation is integral; it would not be human if it were not liberation from more than the sin of hunger, of injustice, of the direct sin against God, of religious expression that is "an encounter with the absolute.

Any and all theology run risks. The theology of the past had deep reductionisms, the seriousness of which we are only now discovering. The reductionisms of that theology allowed Marxism to become attractive. It left aside all corporal and political dimensions; the concept of the new person and the Kingdom of God with political religious dimensions was translated into purely spiritual terms. All of this was assumed in a secular and political version of Marxism, and all within a Christian tradition, especially a Biblical one. **Today, through careful examination of faith and life, Gospel and the social process, we are rediscovering the Biblical roots of liberation theology: that**

the Kingdom begins here now; that the "new person" is not only a reality at the end of history but is rather the object of a collective effort of gestation within history that culminates, obviously, in God. However, what is possible within history is that human beings can be more fraternal, more adept at dialogue and in collaboration and not in exploitation.

Is all of this pressure against the theology of liberation a passing thing or is it part of a final offensive against this way (of doing theology)?

It is not something final nor definitive because the process of liberation is going on. Theology of liberation is one thing. Concrete, historical liberation, which the poor are carrying out, is another. This process is irreversible, or it is only reversible by means of extreme violence. The question to answer is whether the church and theology are producing a synchronous discourse that is adequate for this process. **I believe that the greatness of the theology of liberation is its ability to be in tune (contemporanea) to the situations that our people are people are experiencing and suffering.** Likewise, if by chance this theology is condemned, it will not mean that the people will quit the struggle or that the church will lose its base communities, or that the oppressed will remain without their centres for human rights and their union groups.

This process of liberation demands Christians involved in it and because, objectively, the secular fact of liberation poses questions for theologians: What does this process mean in the eyes of God? How does this liberation fit into God's historical plan? Maybe because of possible repression, Latin American theologians should step back and do a theology that is less ecclesial, less tied to the social process, but the questions continue, challenging the Christian conscience. And there will always be sufficiently evangelical spirits who are going to think according to this line, who are going to rely fully on the presence of God who is already active in the historical process and the language that is barely explicit, and make it known. And in doing so, will reinforce the presence of God at the level of conscience in those who are struggling.

Courtesy: LADOC
(peru) Sept/Oct. 1985

An Open Letter to Pope John Paul II

by Blase Bonpane

Blase Boupane served in Central America as a Maryknoll Missioner and subsequently taught at the University of California and California State University as a Central American specialist. He is currently a Senior Research Fellow at the Council on Hemispheric Affairs. This letter written in May 1983 makes a powerful criticism of the Pope for complicity in U. S. intervention in Central America and in particular in the destabilization of Nicaragua.

Your Holiness,

I wish to address you today in the same spirit that St. Anthony of Padua addressed his bishop saying, "I am speaking to you with the mitre on!"

You have just completed a trip to Central America. It was a bold and courageous venture and I am certain of your good intentions. It was obvious however, that you are isolated and severely misinformed of the dynamics of the area. Poor advice has separated you from the people of God and the march of history. As a result, you have contributed heartily to the destabilization of Nicaragua and the further advance of United States intervention in Central America.

You visited a family in mourning. That family is called Nicaragua. Some twenty of the finest of Nicaragua's youth had just been murdered by an invasion force which was trained and paid for by the United States. You walked into the home of the deceased, you ignored the bodies in front of you and to the scandal of the faithful you publicly chastised a prominent hero of the Sandinista Revolution, Father Ernesto Cardenal. History will not forget your attack on one of Latin America's best known literary figures, on the Minister of Culture of Nicaragua, on a saintly priest, a poet, and a model for the faithful.

Even were you so mistaken as to consider Father Cardenal as the prodigal son of the Gospel, you might remember that Jesus spoke of a father who ran up to his son and embraced him. Contrary to the example taught by Jesus you publicly chastised this holy man and you publicly embarrassed him in front of the Nicaraguan people. You were wrong to do this, Your Holiness.

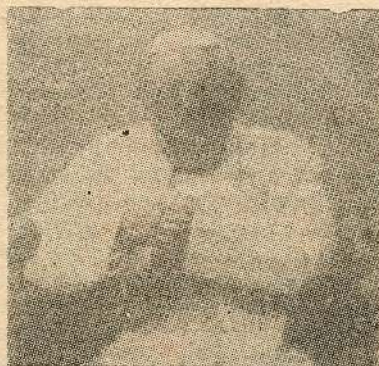
You did not chastise the murderer of Archbishop Romero, you

honoured him. You did not chastise the fanatic murderer who is head of state in Guatemala. You did not chastise any of the officials of the United States who plot, plan, and carry out murder each day.

Holy Father, your conduct toward Father Ernesto Cardenal was a scandal and you owe him a public apology. He knelt at your feet to honour you and you dishonoured him.

It was curious indeed to hear you oppose the concept of a popular Church. You seemed to interpret the matter as "alternative church". Are you unaware of the practice of democracy and people's power down through the centuries? Would you have tried to silence the faithful of Milan as they demanded the selection of Ambrose as their bishop? They demanded in the same way as the Nicaraguans, popular power. Ambrose had not been consecrated, he had not been ordained, he had not even been baptized when he was chosen by the people to be their bishop. Would you have said to the people of Milan, "Silence!"

You did not shake your finger at Cardinal Mario Casariego of Guatemala. This Prince of the Church has been comfortable with the savage Guatemalan government for many years. This Cardinal reminds us of the prelate which Michelangelo chose to paint in hell. See the Sistine Chapel.



When the Guatemalan army denounces a priest, the Cardinal is apt to question the apostolate of that priest. Again and again this scandalous prelate has said by his action, "We have no king but Caesar!"

As the senior Churchman in Central America, it was probably Casariego who gave you your information on the saint of America, Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero. I would expect Casariego to tell you that the Archbishop was killed because he was a communist. I say this because at the time of our expulsion from Guatemala this same tragic Cardinal Casariego referred to us as "communists and anti-Christ."

Were you not so misinformed about the life and death of Archbishop Romero you could not have reacted to his death with such coldness and lack of attention.

Holy Father, should Jesus Christ walk the streets of Salvador today, He would be crucified as a communist. Anyone who is truly incarnate with the poor of Central America is called a communist.

But you, Holy Father, came to Nicaragua to criticise the educational system of that government. Where was the Pope when the people of Nicaragua were illiterate? If their education would have depended on the Pope they would still be illiterate. Their illiteracy was very political but we did not hear complaints from the Vatican about the politics of their illiteracy. Why did you choose to complain about the politics of their literacy? Where was the outcry from the Vatican as the people of Nicaragua died of polio and parasites? But we hear complaints now.....now that polio has been removed from Nicaragua by a new government.

Sincerely, Your Holiness, I believe your vision has been clouded by the poison of atheistic capitalism. The poor of the earth are simply not going to tolerate this institutionalized violence any longer. The Nicaraguans believe that health care is a right in a developed economy, they believe that education is right, and they also believe in the freedom of religion and the separation of Church and State.

The new person of whom St. Paul spoke now lives in Nicaragua. Father Ernesto Cardenal is such a

person. Had your mind not been so poisoned by misinformation about him you could have learned more about the new person.

This new person does not make distinction between male and female, Jew or Greek. This person does not worship the gods of money and power. This new person sees the whole human race as family, loves all children as one's own and identifies with the common good of all. This new person has the discipline to turn the other cheek when slapped in the face but knows that no one has permission to be passive before the rape and murder of one's family or the diabolical presence of United States napalm, white phosphorous and genocidal helicopters.

This new person, Your Holiness, makes history. History is not the prerogative of Popes and Kings. Those who are faithful to the past do not repeat the past. Those who are unfaithful to the past repeat the past with its ignorance and malice.

The new person, Your Holiness, can make a value judgment. The two sides in this conflict are not the same. One side represents the rich which Jesus said would have as much chance of getting into heaven as a camel passing through the eye of a needle. The other side represents the poor of which our Blessed Mother said: "The Lord has shown the strength of his arm, he has swept away the high and mighty. The Lord has set kings down from their thrones and lifted up the humble. The Lord has satisfied the hungry, and sent the rich away with empty hands."

Your Holiness, you met the future in Nicaragua and you failed to recognize it. You were as one of the disciples on the way to Emmaus, you failed to recognize Jesus in Father Ernesto Cardenal, you failed to recognize Jesus in the Nicaraguan people. On the contrary, you insulted them and their miraculous achievements. May you now recognize them in the Breaking of the Bread.

Respectfully,
Blase Bonpane.

Cardinal Arns Defends Liberation Theology

by Fernando Reyes Matta

Rome (IPS)—"It is a sin to call liberation theology Marxist ideology," declared Sao Paulo's **Cardinal Paulo Everisto Arns** in an interview here on July 1.

The Cardinal added that this accusation is "an injustice against the poor, who do not seek wealth or any form of power whatsoever, but only wish to live in dignity."

Arns was in Rome as a guest of the Society for International Development and was to address organization's 18th World Congress on the theme of North-South economic relations and Third World poverty.

The Cardinal, one of the best known figures in the Latin American church, has questioned the position the Vatican has taken toward liberation theology and its major proponents, including Brazilian Leonardo Boff, who was recently silenced for affirmations contained in his book *The Church: Charism and Power*.

"There can be no theology that is not intrinsically linked to life" said Arns, "just as there can be no spiritual life that is not linked to material existence and the needs of human beings."

"It is important that the situation of our continent and its democratic aspirations be understood", said Arns. "Today there is a feeling in my country, through out Latin America and in many countries of the world, that **democracy must be deepened on all levels**. Those who share our situation need to make a great effort—one that goes beyond government—level actions to move ahead creatively here."

Commenting on the economic situation of his country, which has just returned to democratic rule, Arns underlined the great poverty

engulfing the people. "In Sao Paulo, the industrial heartland of Brazil, there are 650,000 unemployed heads of household which means that over three million people are having a very hard time surviving."

Asked about the impact of liberation theology on this situation, **Cardinal Arns said the Gospel cannot be read outside the context of the economic, social and political lives of millions of poor people in Latin America.**

"It will very soon be clear that it has been a great error to classify as ideology what is really a sincere search for justice in Latin America", said Arns. He added that **it is significant that liberation theology is now taking root in Asia and Africa**, and attributed its spread to **"the inescapable fact of poverty and of humanity's efforts to overcome longstanding injustices" that leads them to struggle for liberation.**

Asked about the role of the armed forces in Latin America and their impact on efforts to restore democracy, Arns replied: "The military in Latin America has always been an independent force and has always generated rivalry between countries. That is why the armed forces are not capable of creating a culture of understanding among our countries. What we need is to share a broad cultural vision that can offer the basis for social and economic development."

Regarding Nicaragua, the Cardinal said he believes the attitude of the United States towards this tiny country is based on the fear that it will offer the continent an alternative the United States cannot tolerate.

—Latinamerica Press 11 July 1985

Fellowship in Action

HATTON

The C. W. F. Organizer for Plantations work attended the **Ecumenical Church Conference** held in Kandy from 5th to 9th August; Christians of all denominations (including Roman Catholics) participated. An important statement on the theme of "A Just Peace" was issued by this Conference after a serious dialogue between Sinhalese and Tamil Christians.

Two Workshops for new teachers of English in the AGA's Division of Ambagamuwa Korale were held at the Hatton Centre, in collaboration with the National Youth Services Council, on 1st September and 6th October. 18 teachers are following this series of 5 Workshops.

A Study Camp for new CWF members from Bowhill and Drayton Estates was held at the Hatton Centre on 26th and 27th August. 19 plantation workers (male and female) participated.

The Annual General Meeting of the **Co-ordinating Secretariat for Plantation Areas** was held in Kandy on 4th September and the C. W. F.'s plantation sector was represented. The C. W. F. Organizer for plantations work was elected Secretary till 31-12-85.

The Organizer for Plantations work led a Study Session on the "Christian Approach to Development" at a Leadership Training Course organized by the National Council of YMCA's in Mount Lavinia. He also attended **two Seminars** on Development held at Gami Seva Sevana, Galaha in July and September. Along with another member of the C.W.F. Plantations Service Committee, the Organizer for Plantations work attended a Peace Convention held in Negombo from 20th to 22nd September. He has also attended two joint meetings of the Roman Catholic and National Christian Council Justice and Peace Commissions held in Colombo as well as the 100th Sessions of the Diocesan Council of the Church of Ceylon.

The **3rd Rural Interaction Workshop** bringing together rural and plantation leadership in the C.

W. F. was held at Kamkaru Sevana, Hatton from 11th to 14 October. The delegation from the Anuradhapura area and Galaha (including a Buddhist monk) visited two tea plantations on successive evenings and learnt much. A Report of this Workshop is being prepared.

GALAHA (Rural Service Centre)

The Organizer of Gami Seva Sevana too participated in the **Ecumenical Church Conference** of Kandy in August.

An **ACFOD-Asian Workshop** group met at the Centre to discuss organic farming which our Centre has been helping to promote over the year.

George Barnagala represented our group at a **CCA-URM Consultation** in Delhi in September which covered health and environmental hazards posed by multinationals in Asia.

The Galaha Organizer addressed a **YMCA Development Workshop** on the theme 'Tools for Development' during this period.

The **World Food Day** was celebrated at the Mahahena Rural Development Society Hall with an art exhibition on Forestry and Environment. A slide show on saving the soil with a frame was presented by the Gami Seva Sevana as a part of this programme.

KATUNAYAKE

A new CWF group was started at **Kudahakapola** in August.

In September a new CWF group with a drama group too commenced its activities at **Pitipana**.

A **Study Programme** for prospective new members for the CWF in Katunayake has commenced recently. Members of the Katunayake branch also participated in the **National Unity and Peace Movement Meeting** held at the Cardinal Cooray Centre in Negombo from 20th to 22nd September.

RATMALANA

As in the case of the Hatton and Galaha Centres, the organiser

of the Ratmalana Kamkaru Sevana too was a participant in the **Ecumenical Church Conference** in Kandy in August. In September he was one of the C.W.F. representatives who took part in the **CCA-URM consultation** in Delhi on the theme: "Affirmation of the wholeness of life in the context of struggle against the powers of death and destruction". This consultation which considered the deadly effects of TNC operations in Asia, also included a visit to Bhopal the scene of the gas-leak disaster last year at Union Carbide's Pesticide plant.

The educational programme at the **Workers' School** has continued satisfactorily during the quarter under review. The same applies to the **pre-school and other activities** conducted by the Kamkaru Sevana. The acute need of more building space for activities is however being increasingly felt, with the expansion in work.

SARATH NAVANA

Christian Worker expresses its sorrow at the loss of one of its close friends-Sarath Navana who died suddenly in September. Courageous and forth-right in his espousal of justice and working class causes, Sarath never minced words when the truth had to be spoken. He was no respecter of persons either.

Sarath was from his student days a dedicated LSSP man and Samasamajism was for him his way of life. Varied were the capacities in which he served the movement-youth league organizer, trade unionist, journalist and member of the Party's Central Committee, making appearances before the Labour Tribunal too on behalf of workers when he had the time. He was also free of sectarianism and rancour and warm in his personal relationships.

Sarath was most appreciative of **Christian Worker** and the work of the CWF and we always enjoyed his breezing into our office at the Y. M. C. A. for what was always a lively chat. We will certainly miss him. Farewell Comrade and Shalom!

With Compliments

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