

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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U. S.

'POLITICAL' AID TOO?

Now that the pro-west United National Party is firmly ensconced in power for the next six years, Sri Lanka is likely to receive increasing doses of American economic aid as well as military aid and "POLITICAL AID".

On the issue of increased economic aid, the Minister of Finance, Mr. Ronnie de Mel was quoted in the Press as stating that the Reagan administration was happy at the turn of events in Sri Lanka and could look forward to increased support for the Government's development programme.

As for "political aid", the Reagan administration has proposed that such aid by both the Government and the private sector be provided "to promote democracy in developing countries".

Recipients are to be political parties, trade unions, newspapers as well as business and industrial enterprises.

The 'New York Times' has quoted White House Officials as saying the Reagan Administration plans to place political aid, hitherto channelled mostly through the Central Intelligence Agency, on the same level as military and economic aid. 'We are not embarrassed by providing millions of dollars in guns and butter. Why should we shrink from giving money to back up democratic forces as well?'

That Sri Lanka too, is likely to receive political aid has been confirmed in a recent report in a pro-communist newspaper which claimed the U. S. has earmarked it as one of the "chosen few" for the "new Reagan elixir."

The only other country in South Asia chosen for the purpose is Pakistan, which the newspaper noted is "a close ally of Washington".

Since the U. S. aid programme to Sri Lanka was launched in 1950 the country has received a total of nearly \$ 800 million in direct economic aid, through loans

and grants. More than two-thirds of this amount was received after 1977.

This is apart from U. S. aid channelled through multilateral organisations like the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. Over 20% of the funds lent to Sri Lanka by the World Bank and over 10% of those lent by the ADB come from

U. S. contributions or guarantees.

The "SATURDAY REVIEW" on October 9, 1982, reported there was a proposal by the Reagan Administration to grant military aid to Sri Lanka.

The report was based on a letter written to President Reagan by Prof. Ben Kupelman of Harvard University

who is President of the "Americans for Freedom" Human Rights Organisation.

Prof. Kupelman said he was "deeply perturbed to hear that your administration is considering the grant of military aid to the Sri Lanka Government....."

He expressed concern that such aid could be used for

(Continued on Page 12)

An Invitation to our Readers

A leading anti-Government Trade Unionist made the surprising remark to our staff writer the other day that the SATURDAY REVIEW did not seem to have a settled policy. "Your paper" he has said, accusingly, "backed the SLFP at the Presidential election". We are yet trying to fathom the logic of the remark. Not many months ago, another revolutionary Marxist leader told an audience at Point Pedro: Every one has his own conception of Socialism. The Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW for example has his own conception of Socialism! Rather unkind of him, we thought. Then there was the head of the English Department in a teaching institution who once made what we thought was a perceptive remark. He said: Your editorials at the beginning were very incisive; now I find that they are getting more subtle.

We may not agree with all these three criticisms, or we may, but that is beside the point. We liked hearing them all the same because we like to know the nature of the response the paper evokes from our readers. They give us fresh insights into reader psychology, and help us to look at ourselves in the mirror. Our experience of the Colombo dailies has taught us that most editors and journalists in Sri Lanka communicate with their readers on a "one-way street." They get very little feed-back. Most of the time they are addressing someone in the dark. Let alone the kind of response or reactions, they would not know whether what they write or publish causes any kind of

worthwhile reaction or impact at all! This is partly because, unlike in the West, the tradition of writing in, in order to articulate one's responses, is not sufficiently developed. It is not unusual in the West to find a reader writing to the Editor that he is forthwith cancelling his subscription to the paper because something or other in it had irked him badly.

As far as the SATURDAY REVIEW is concerned, we have been more fortunate than the Sri Lankan dailies. Apart from the odd insulting post card writer or the infrequent humorist who wants to know why we do not call ourselves MONDAY REVIEW, we get a steady flow of encomiums. But that won't do, either.

We would like critical assessments of ourselves—from our readers. Tell us what you like about SR and what you don't, and WHY? You do not need to be very polite about it. What makes you read SR? Has there been any feature material or articles that you like particularly? Something that you disliked particularly? Tell us frankly. Do you like the presentation of news and views in the present form, or do you think it needs change. How? But please be brief, preferably limiting your opinions to about a hundred words or less.

A selection of interesting comments will be published in our issue of February 5, which issue will mark the first anniversary of the SATURDAY REVIEW. SR is a paper which already enjoys a high degree of reader participation and involvement. We like to keep it that way. Thank you.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Shakespeare, and French Films in Jaffna in February

Come February — Jaffna is in for a cultural shower from the West. The London Shakespeare Group which will be visiting Sri Lanka will be performing 'Twelfth Night' in Colombo, Jaffna, Kandy, Batticaloa and Anuradhapura as well. The Shakespeare group is sponsored by the British Council.

From the 9th to the 14th,

Jaffna will also see the French Film Festival at Shanthi Theatre. This Festival will also be held in Colombo and Kandy. The French Festival which is being held in Jaffna after a lapse of several years follows the request made by the Mayor of Jaffna, Mr. Raja Visuvanathan, on behalf of the local film fans at a recent reception held at the 'Alliance Francaise' of Jaffna.

The Ambassador for France in Sri Lanka Mr. Francois Toussaint has in a letter to the Mayor expressed the hope that he will be able to visit Jaffna on the occasion of the Film Festival.

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To come back—after last week's diversion—to my familiar role as a critic of The Establishment, I should like to begin by asking: Are we Sri Lankans going to live on a diet of constitutional amendments, referendums and elections for some more months?

The tattered document that is passed off as our Constitution—it has been amended four times already—will need to be further amended if the Government is to conform with certain provisions of the Constitution itself!

The constitution stipulated that the number of members in the next Parliament shall be 196...28 more than in the Parliament elected in 1977.

It also stipulated that 36 of the members shall be elected on the basis of four for each of the nine Provinces.

Supreme Court ruling possible

This was to be independent of the number of members (160) which the electoral districts were entitled to return by reference to the number of voters.

But we already have a situation where there are 168 members!

To reconcile this contradiction, the Government plans to bring in legislation providing for the increase in the number of M. Ps by 28 and for an election thereafter.

But then the Government appears to be up against another problem: the Supreme Court may rule that the legislation will require approval by the people at a referendum because it affects their franchise.

Constitutional impasse

This was the ruling of the Supreme Court when the Government sought to increase the number of M. Ps by one in December 1980 to accommodate both the sitting UNP member for Kalawana and the member elected at the by-election. It said, "The people are supreme. If you are increasing the number of members, you will necessarily affect the franchise and in order to protect the sovereignty of the people you should go back to them."

The Constitutional impasse was resolved with the sitting member tendering his resignation.

The Government would not have been up against the latest constitution problem had it held a general election after the presidential election, as promised by President Jayawardene before his election. Fearful that the UNP would lose its preponderant parliamentary majority at a general election, Mr. Jayawardene opted for the referendum to extend the life of the existing Parliament.

An election to choose the

Political Causerie

by

Gamini Navaratne

additional 28 members would still be an island-wide affair and cost over Rs. 50 million; so also would a referendum.

At a time when the Government has no money to even buy drugs for hospitals, I think it a national crime to waste money to show the world how democratic Sri Lanka is. The world knows about it already. Why not allow the President to nominate the additional number of MPs and be finished with it forgetting constitutional niceties? After all, the sovereign people have reposed full confidence in him and his policies. And development is more important and urgent than elections.

With the undated letters of resignation of all the UNP MPs, excluding the Speaker's but including the Prime Minister's in Mr. Jayawardene's pocket, it would appear that his is a simple task of dropping



Mr. Premadasa

Mr. Premadasa. That he realises the nature of the threat is evident from his blast against Mr. Wijewardene in Parliament recently.

The talk in political circles is that the Housing and Local Government portfolios will be split even if Mr. Premadasa is allowed to retain one or the other of them. He is unlikely to take kindly to such a move.

Ceylon Workers' Congress President Mr. S. Thondaman has been openly tipped for one of the two proposed posts of Vice-President. This will be his reward for helping Mr. Jayawardene at both the Presidential election and the referendum. Who will be the other? is the big guessing

Power Struggle in the UNP?

"Terrific infighting" is reportedly going on within the UNP over the plan to drop a number of members of the Government Parliamentary Group, including several Ministers, and appoint others, and also over the allocation of portfolios and functions in the new administration.

Basically, it is a struggle for power and position between supporters of President Jayawardene and Prime Minister Ranasinha Premadasa, with the succession to party leadership as the key issue.

ing certain members and appointing others. But it is not as easy as that.

There are strong pressures and counter-pressures that the "reconstitution" of the Government Parliamentary Group, which was expected to take place before the referendum is now not likely to take place for quite some time.

That Mr. Upali Wijewardene and a number of close advisers of Mr. Jayawardene, like Mr. N.G.P. Panditharatne and Mr. Paul Perera, would come in appears certain, to that extent diminishing the power of

game in political circles now, with Mr. Premadasa not reportedly keen on taking a mainly ceremonial post without any assurance of automatic succession as President if and when Mr. Jayawardene is not on the scene.

And the next President will of necessity have to be a Sinhala Goigama Buddhist, according to the whispering campaign let loose by some UNPers!

Who will become Prime Minister, if for some reason a change is made? is another key topic of conversation with

thin the UNP. At least two senior members are reportedly ready sartorially as well as with inaugural speeches!

Not So Tough Toughness or

dilly-dallying

One of the attributes of Mr. Jayawardene, it has been mentioned by some commentators, is his "toughness". But from my observation, this toughness has not been directed sufficiently against errant members of his own party. Remember how long it took for him to ease out the former Minister of Agriculture? Remember how a member caught smuggling was influential enough to get his sister appointed to the seat he was finally forced by pressure of public opinion to vacate? Remember also the various charges made against a number of other members? Where I would have expected prompt and stern action, there has been much dilly-dallying. Now a committee has been appointed to inquire into complaints

against about 50 members. We are told to believe that the main charge made against most of them is "negligence of the electorate"!

Committees and commissions are usually round-about ways of doing things which can be done directly. Anyway, let us hope the committee will do a good job of work, acting without fear or favour.

Incidentally, what a coincidence: the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. A.C. Gooneratne, is the same person who chaired a committee appointed by Mr. Dudley Senanayake in February 1972 which recommended disciplinary action against Mr. Jayawardene for advocating co-operation with Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government!

Sri Lankan Student in India whisked away on arrival

S. Jegendran, Secretary of the Indian wing of the "General Union of Eelam Students" (GUES) who was returning home on the 13th, after many months of studies in India, was arrested by CID personnel even before he could enter his house, taken to the Gurunagar Army Camp and subjected to rigorous interrogations.

Jegendran who was arrested in front of his home at Kanathiddy, was bundled into a jeep, baggage and all, and taken to the Army Camp in front of his shocked family

which had been eagerly awaiting his return.

He was subjected to eight hours of questioning, his passport was confiscated, and though he was allowed to go home he was asked to report at the Camp on the 15th and 22nd of January.

He had been asked whether GUES had any connections with secret terrorist organizations, and whether any Tamil youths were getting military training abroad. Jegendran had replied that they had no connections with terrorist groups and that they

actually condemned terrorist activities.

Asked whether they were opposed to the Sinhalese people, he had replied, "GUES considers the capitalist government of Sri Lanka alone as the enemy; not the Sinhalese people." Asked whether they encouraged people to take up arms, Jegendran had said, "We won't force the people of Tamil Eelam to take up arms, but if they themselves did we won't prevent them in any way". He had been shown photographs of many youths who

are wanted, and asked to give information regarding them.

When leaving him at his house after the inquiry, the CID personnel had told the parents "Your son is not a terrorist, but Leftist, and hence a more dangerous element. See that he doesn't tread the path of destruction".

Meanwhile, in a press release, the GUES states that if S. Jegendran is subjected to any long duration of detention or torture, they would organise a mass protest campaign.

In a statement issued before the Referendum, our party had foretold that all signs pointed out to the fact "the referendum would be held under conditions of an absolute negation of bourgeois democracy". This proved correct. Every principle of bourgeois democracy was violated. For the first time in Sri Lanka an Election was held under a state of emergency which bestowed untold powers on the army and police. While the police looked the other side, a virtual reign of terror was unleashed on the people by U.N.P. thugs and hooligans. Hundreds of anti-U.N.P. activists, mostly from the S.L.F.P. had been arbitrarily arrested and jailed under emergency regulations.

U.N.P. goondas had terrorised still more hundreds of Anti U.N.P. activists. Houses of those opposed to the U.N.P. had been ransacked and their persons attacked. Anti-U.N.P. workers in workplaces have been victimised. Anti-U.N.P. Newspapers, like the *Aththa* and *Suthanthiran* and printing presses have been sealed without reason, under emergency regulations.

Yellow journalism

An anti-communist witch hunt, reminiscent of the days of Senator Macarthy is well under way. A deliberate lying campaign had been started to the effect that there exists inside the S.L.F.P. leadership a Naxalite group that had wanted to stage a coup after the Presidential election. Despite the fact that not an iota of evidence has been provided in support of this false allegation, it is being repeated ad nauseam as gospel truth by the mass media. Yellow journalism of the worst type was indulged in by the state-owned newspapers which attempted to rouse communal feelings among Sinhalese, with the slogan: "A vote for the pot is a vote for Eelam". Posters bearing this provocative slogan were displayed everywhere by the U.N.P.

End of bourgeois democracy

The state machinery was shamelessly perverted to serve the U.N.P. campaign. The worst example was how the U.N.P. got away with displaying their lamp posters on public places all over the Island despite a ruling from the Elections Commissioner and the I.G.P. that to do so would be illegal. The I.G.P. could not get his police force to carry out his orders to remove the offending posters.

At the elections itself, there was mass impersonation and intimidation and violence on an unprecedented scale. Anti-U.N.P. election agents were dragged out of polling booths and assaulted. Polling

officers were threatened at the point of knife while U.N.P. actions that went on and the scale on which it was conducted can be gauged from the fact that even the presidential candidate, Kobbekaduwa himself, was impersonated.

Truly can it be said that the U.N.P. has rung the death knell of bourgeois democracy in Sri Lanka. Bourgeois democracy has been well and truly laid to rest by the U.N.P. This is nothing surprising. When imperialism and its stooges get ready to transfer the burden of the economic crisis on to the shoulders of the working class the first casualty is bourgeois democracy.

'Opposition has been out-manoevred but not defeated'

Bourgeois democracy and free and fair elections are a luxury that the imperialist and the local bourgeoisie cannot afford at a time of intense economic crisis both nationally and internationally. The history of many countries has proved this.

Having long remained an exception, Sri Lanka is now set to follow the pattern of a one party (even one man) dictatorship and authoritarian rule which has already engulfed the rest of South-East Asia. A constitutional dictatorship is nevertheless a dictatorship.

It is time that the anti-U.N.P. movement understood that we have reached the stage of political development in Sri Lanka when the possibility no longer exists for a peaceful change of governments through the peaceful parliamentary and electoral process. There is now only one way by which the U.N.P. can be overthrown; i.e. by extra-parliamentary means. But this is precisely what the parliamentary parties fail to see. In the post-referendum assessments of these parties, they correctly detail the election malpractices and repression practiced by the U.N.P. during the referendum. But they end up by calling for another election in 1983! What guarantee is there that that election would be any more fair or free?

People ahead of the leaders

Besides, our Party has always warned the working class and left movement that the reactionary ruling class could not be overthrown through parliamentary elections. Instead, we had consistently pointed out that par-

liamentary elections have been used to confuse and divide the people, to dull and dampen their class consciousness, to spread the illusion about the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism through the parliamentary path and to distract the peoples' attention from the real seats of power which is the repressive bourgeois state machinery (principally, the armed forces) which protects the ruling class like a watch dog.

It is a sad but true fact that the people are far ahead of the political leaders. In increasing numbers, they have begun to realise the futility of the parliamentary path. The treachery of a section of the S.L.F.P. Leadership — from Maithripala and Kalugalla to Rajapakses in the South — did not seriously affect the voting pattern. Despite increased repression and election malpractices the U.N.P. was defeated in very many more electorates during the referendum than during the presidential elections.

It should not be forgotten that a majority of the registered electorates did not endorse the plea of the U.N.P. to extend the present parliament. The people of the North and East inflicted a humiliating defeat on the U.N.P. This fact has, for the first time, earned for the Tamils of the North and East the political respect of the progressive forces of the South. This anti-U.N.P. unity of North and South is a happy portent for the future. But this potential unity should be harnessed not for the futile pastime of elections but to build a revolutionary movement aimed at the overthrow of the U.N.P.

The people of the North gave a magnificent example of popular spirited resistance against government repression when, between the Presidential elections and the referendum, the UNP used the universally condemned Prevention of Terrorism Act to arrest and detain members of the clergy, a Varsity lecturer and his wife, a doctor and others. The scope of the protest mo-

vement was sufficiently large to strike fear in the hearts of the government.

But unfortunately, the same did not happen in the South where large scale arrests and detention of SLFP militants took place; but without any protest. The reason is that in the North, the leadership has largely gone out of the hands of the leadership of the TULF (the TULF is hanging on to the movement)

tegy and tactics. While paying lip service in the earlier days to revolutionary policies, in the main it played the parliamentary game. The parliamentary victory of Mr. Bandaranaike in 1956 destroyed whatever revolutionary potential that was left in the Left movement. 1964 saw further collapse while in 1970 the major section of the Left movement joined the S.L.F.P. in an attempt to run capitalism better than the U.N.P.

and is in the hands of the people. It must be noted, in the North, while a majority voted against the UNP a fair proportion abstained even against the call of the T.U.L.F. This has not yet happened in the South. It is about time it did.

Sri Lanka has reached a crucial junction in its history. The budgets of 1983 will demonstrate the extent to which imperialism and its local stooges will transfer the burdens of the economic crisis on to the shoulders of the people. It will then be time for the people to act. The anti-UNP movement and particularly its leadership, must reconsider its entire strategy and tactics if it is to lead the people.

From its beginnings in 1935 the left movement never spelt out correct revolutionary stra-

The fiasco of this attempt produced the parliamentary rout of the left movement in 1977 when, for the first time it failed to win a single seat in Parliament.

The anti-U.N.P. and left movement in Sri Lanka is in a critical situation today. It has been out manoeuvred because of wrong and incompetent leadership. But it has not been defeated — least of all, crushed. It is still strong. J.R. and the U.N.P. are only paper tigers.

We must firmly and steadfastly reject the futile path of parliamentary bourgeois democracy. We must, under the leadership of the working class and under the guidance of Marxism - Leninism - Mao Tsetung Thought, unite all the forces that could be united against the U.N.P. and lead them towards the overthrow of the U.N.P.

Memorial meeting in London

A Memorial Meeting and Service for the late Mr. V. Muttucumarasamy, author and researcher was held on Friday, December 31st, 1982, from 7 p.m., at the Wimbledon Tamil Hall, Revelstoke Road/Durnsford Road Junction, Wimbledon, London S.W. 19. The meeting which was co-ordinated by London Murasu, the international Tamil Monthly Magazine on behalf of Tamil and Hindu Organizations in U.K. was well attended.

Speakers at the meeting were Messrs M.P. Selvanayagam, President, London Tamil Sangam; V. Sagaralingam, Past President, London Tamil Sangam and former Trustee, Britannia Hindu Temple Trust; Dr.K.

Arumugam, Past President, Standing Committee of Tamil Speaking People; A. Vairavamoorthy, Trustee, Britannia Hindu Temple Trust; C. Krishnamoorthy, Vice-President, Hindu Association of Great Britain; Dr. Ponn-Sathianathan, Chairman, Central British Fund for Tamil Refugees; S. K. Ganapathy, London Murugan Temple; S. Thiruchelvam, Wimbledon Tamil School; Dr. S.R. Niththyanathan, West London Tamil School and S.M. Sathanathan, London Murasu.

The meeting was followed by coffee and thereafter with a special Hindu Service and Pooja. Prasadham was served at the end of the Prayer Service.

60 years of the USSR

By a declaration and treaty adopted by the Union Congress of the Soviets on December 30, 1922 the Russian Federation and the Republics of Ukraine and Byelorussia united on a voluntary and equal basis to form the Federal State of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics. Since then, on the same voluntary and equal basis, the Republics of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaizan, Lithuania, Moldavia, Latvia, Kirghiz, Tajik, Armenia, Turkmen and Estonia have all federated with the Union established on December 30, 1922 to form the "Unbreakable Union of Free-born Republics—the mighty U.S.S.R. of today. The U.S.S.R. is the product of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917.

Sixty years is not a long period in the history of a Nation, yet within this brief span of time, backward Tsarist Russia, described by Lenin as "the Prison House of Nations" has been transformed into a voluntary fraternity of Socialist States each proud of its own entity and developing its own resources and culture and all continuing with patriotic fervour and intense dedication to build the powerful Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Fascist war of Hitler

During the 60 years of its existence the Soviet Union faced hardships and difficulties which no other country in the world ever faced. At first, the Imperialists and the counter revolutionaries tried every possible means to crush the nascent state. Then came the Fascist War of Hitler in the early Forties. No nation in the world's history suffered so much as the Soviet Union suffered in that War. Many towns and cities and thousands of villages were razed to the ground costing untold billions of roubles. Twenty million Russians were killed and many more millions were wounded and maimed. Then came the hard years of post war recovery and reconstruction. Yet the Soviet people by their devoted and hard work made their country a super power within the space of three decades.

The basis of Socialism is humanism. Humanism is not confined to the spiritual domain. It is also manifested in material production. The level of humanisation of any society is measured by its ability to provide new jobs, generally accessible education systems, medical help and social insurance to build houses in which



Karl Marx

'A nation that oppresses another nation cannot itself be free'

every one can afford to live; in short to ensure a life worthy of the people.

The level to which the Soviet Society has been humanized can be seen in the constitution that governs the U.S.S.R. The Soviet constitution is the first constitution in the World that guaranteed to all the citizens of the Soviet Union full employment, free medical help, free universal compulsory secondary education and free higher education, housing at reasonable rates, right to leisure and rest and equality to each and every person irrespective of nationality, language or other differences. These guarantees are not mere verbal assurances. The Soviet Union has ceaselessly and successfully worked, throughout its existence, to fulfil these guarantees. The success achieved can be seen from the following figures and statistics:-

EMPLOYMENT: The Soviet Union had no unemployment for the last half a Century. When the 1st Five Year Plan was launched in 1929 the country had 2 million unemployed. By the end of 1930 unemployment was liquidated completely. Since then there has been no unemployment.

MEDICAL HELP, REST AND LEISURE: The health of every Soviet Citizen is the concern of the Soviet State and the Trade Unions as a whole. Pre-revolutionary Russia had 18 Doctors and 13 Hospital Beds for every 100,000 people. Every 3rd Doctor in the World is a Soviet Citizen. In the U.S.A. the wealthiest nation in the world, there are only 225 Doctors and 646 beds for every 100,000 people.

Nowhere in the world is so much spent on the organization of the people's rest and leisure as in the Soviet Union. There are over 20,000 Sanatoria, Holiday Houses, Tourist Houses and Mountain Camps throughout the country to accommodate workers on holiday. Vacationers get accommodation tickets to these Holiday Resorts either free of charge or on payment of only 30% of the actual cost. Annually about 15 million Soviet Citizens make use of these holiday resorts.

Tourism is a very widespread form of spending one's vacation in the Soviet Union. Trade Unions take care of the Tourists and organize special bus, train, boat and plane trips at concession rates for these vacationers. Annually over 10 million vacationers go on tours.

EDUCATION: All education is free. In pre-revolutionary Russia only one out of 3 adults was literate. Today there is 100% literacy. For every 10,000 people

there are 200 students. This is higher than in any West European country — Soviet people read much more than any other nation in the World, and they go to the Theatre, Museums and Cinema more often than anybody else. The yearly output of printed matter is two thousand million, i. e., 7 books per Soviet citizen. The U. S. S. R. prints 1½ times more books for children than the U. S. A. Mo-

"A Nation that oppresses another Nation cannot itself be free."

The Soviet Union is a multinational country and consists of more than 100 nations and nationalities, large and small. Its various nations and nationalities are knit together in mutually supportive co-operation on the recognition that each has the right to self-determination. The 15

by V. Dharmalingam

M. P. for Manipay

re than half of all the cinemas in the world are located in the U. S. S. R. The average Soviet citizen goes to the Cinema 16 times a year—3 times as often as an American.

HOUSING: U. S. S. R. has 6% of the World's population and is responsible for a 5th of the housing built on earth. In the last 2 decades (1961 - 1980) 44,400,000 new apartments were built and given on rent to its citizens. The rent has remained the same since 1928. It amounts to between 2 & 3% of a family's income. In the U. S. S. R. Food, Housing and books are the cheapest commodities—many times cheaper than the capitalist world.

THE U. S. S. R. IS AN UNBREAKABLE UNION OF MANY NATIONS AND NATIONALITIES:

In every multinational country outside the Socialist world all attempts to resolve problems of Nationalities have proved futile. In fact the tangle of national conflict is getting more and more involved and is a constant threat to peace and security in those multi-national countries. This is because the majority nations in those countries oppress the minority nations forgetting the Truth behind the famous words of Karl Marx

constituent Republics which incorporate many autonomous Republics, Regimes and Territories are, irrespective of their size in population or Territory, equal and each of them has the same rights and duties and is to the same extent represented in the highest legislature and executive bodies of the U. S. S. R. They have also the right to separation. The languages and cultures of the various nations and nationalities are recognised, respected and fostered by the State. The Soviet Union is a voluntary Union of Nations and is founded in Equality. That is why the Union is unbreakable. Hitler's War could not break the Union. The Soviet people's confidence and faith in the Union grew stronger.

The achievements of the Soviet Union in every field of human endeavour, during the 60 years of its existence, have been great and stupendous. But its greatest achievement lies in uniting into one mighty state the many and varied Nations and Nationalities that inhabit its vast territory. This achievement is unparalleled in the World's History.

Dehiwala-Mt. Lavinia MMC's Resolution

A resolution submitted by Mr. C. V. Gooneratne, Member of the Municipal Council of Dehiwala-Mt. Lavinia for inclusion in the agenda of the Council's meeting reads:-

This Council thanks all those people throughout the country who voted for the 'Pot' at the Referendum held on December 22, 1982 including the voters of Dehiwala and Ratmalana, and particularly the voters of Ratmalana who voted

very substantially for the 'Pot' in order to protect the people's civic right to elect MPs of their choice and also to safeguard Parliamentary democracy through the holding of Parliamentary elections on the due date, despite the widespread thuggery, intimidation, undue influence and the open violation of Election law that prevailed.

"This Council also calls upon all citizens of the country, irrespective of what political

party they belong to, to act with great vigilance to prevent the danger of a dictatorship being foisted on the country whereby individual liberty and democratic traditions would be lost and therefore effectively campaign -

- for the immediate release of all political prisoners;
- for a general election to be held in August 1983 as was laid down by the Constitution of Sri Lanka of 1978.

INFLATION

made worse by public waste & mis-government

Inflation today is undoubtedly international in origin and global in its impact. But government of the advanced countries do not adopt a resigned attitude towards the evil of inflation; they treat inflation as Public Enemy No. 1 and in framing and formulating their complex fiscal, monetary and economic policies, they give priority to the objective of arresting or containing inflation.

Mrs. Thatcher in the U. K. does not hesitate to court severe unpopularity by pursuing stern measures aimed at checking inflation. In the U.S.A., the stiff measures pursued by the present administration to counter inflation have earned the nick-name Reaganomics. In every country in the West, Inflation is regarded as something dangerous and serious measures to curb inflation are being earnestly pursued. The notion that we must learn to live with inflation has been rejected.

From two digits to a single digit

Milton Friedman, the economist who pioneered the theoretical base for the anti-inflationary recipe currently pursued by most countries was honoured with the Nobel prize in Economic very recently for a research work closely connected with inflation. The International Monetary Fund makes a strong recommendation to member Governments to pursue rigorous anti-inflationary measures. Leaders of thought, organs and institutions shaping public opinion keep a careful watch on inflationary trends and the reaction of the economy to the disinflationary measures and express great satisfaction if the growth rate of inflation is brought down from a two digit range to a single digit figure. Even if there is a slight drop in the rate of growth of inflation there is a sense of relief. That is the attitude of countries which have not bid good bye to elected legislatures.

Definition of

Inflation

Although inflationary pressures have been churned out with much vigour during the last decade by our good friends, namely the governments of the OPEC, a number of countries have been able to contain inflation within a single digit range for several years and such countries have registered sizeable rate of economic growth and prosperity. Even Third World countries that are pre-occupied with other problems have always protested their strong desire to check inflation. No Head of Government of such countries has come forward to make a pontifical pronouncement that no one can check inflation. No Chancellor of the Exchequer or Finance Minister

of any such country (as our own Finance Minister did) had ventured to invoke Lord Vishnu's impotence to check inflation in justification of his own failure to take steps to check inflation.

Incidentally Lord Vishnu has no status in the Buddha Dhamma and the Government of Ceylon - nay Sri Lanka - is permeated by Buddha Dhamma in every vein and every cell of the Governmental structure. Thus Lord Vishnu is an intruder, a "Kallathoni", into the mental processes of politicians guiding and charting the course of the ship of the State in this country conducted according to Buddha Dhamma. For that reason alone Lord Vishnu should be considered to be impotent to check inflation.

What is inflation? Sir Stafford Cripps in one of his Budget speeches gave a simple definition of inflation: too much money chasing after too few goods. It is a simple definition and had a strong appeal to one and all. But it does not go to the roots of the problem. Why is too much of money chasing after too few goods? What brought about of too much of money into the system and what led to there being too few goods?

pays for is purchased with the purse; what one gets free gratis and for nothing from the State is purchased with the ballot. It is necessary to explain this concept of satisfaction of wants with products made available free by the State. The State provides health services, educational facilities and a whole host of means of satisfying some want or other. All these are secured free.

One may ask how does Government expenditure or army and police satisfy wants. Well, the services of the army and the police satisfy the want felt for security: that is the



Finance Minister
(Ronnie de Mel
Even Lord Vishnu
cannot control)
inflation

the activities of the State except where the State undertakes commercial ventures. Now we recognize an interesting situation: money incomes generated by activities of the State that are not marketed can constitute an unbalancing slice of total market demand. That is the why and wherefore of Sir Stafford Cripps' "too much money chasing after too few goods."

Well, if the money incomes generated by State activity the output of which is not marketed, were provided for by way of taxation, then there would not be the phenomenon of too much money chasing after too few goods. The reason is simple. Those who have secured their money incomes by generating marketable production have surrendered some incomes they would have otherwise brought into the market to chase after the available supply of goods. It is a transfer of money incomes, from one sector to another. If the Government had provided the free services and goods by financing its activities with loans from the public, then again there could not be the phenomenon of too much money

chasing power of the Rupee.

In any case the Central Bank has rarely discharged or even attempted to discharge that responsibility of maintaining the internal and external value of the Rupee. The major source of inflation is the attitude of warm approval towards excessive budget deficits; there is no attempt to counter inflationary pressures from outside the country. That is only a minor fault. The Government fuels the external inflationary pressures by its own Himalayan budget deficits and reckless borrowing from the banking system.

The argument can be heard that budget deficits are inevitable when the Government pursues a vigorous investment program for development which will not produce marketable goods simultaneously with the generation of money incomes arising from expenditure on investment. That is the argument we have heard for the last thirty years. If the budget deficits were the result of investment expenditure over the last thirty odd years — there was a six year Plan highlighted by the then Finance Minister of the first U. N. P.

by

Somasundaram Vanniasingam

Modern society represents an open ended system in the full sense of the word: every one is dependent on every body else. Any one gets money by selling his labour or the product of his labour or hiring out accumulated product of past labour at his command to others engaged in the pursuit of some productive activity or other, for sale or for one's own satisfaction. In other words, money income is generated in the process of creating some product or other for which there is a want from somebody. There are two matters in issue: there is a want and there emerges product to satisfy such want. The means satisfying wants whether it be a good with physical existence or merely some services is called a product. In the process of creating such products, people earn or secure their money income.

Now such products are either purchased in market or obtained as a gift from the Government. Economists distinguish the two categories by describing them as purchased with the purse, purchased with the ballot. What a consumer

political and economic theory although the people in the North and the East of the Island of Ceylon feel an urgent want for security against the armed thugs of an alien Government wielding unlawful authority and functioning only as a de facto government devoid of any de jure authority. Now we get the picture clear. A wide range of wants are there to be satisfied. The means of satisfying such wants are secured either in the market or free from the State. But in the process of creating the products or means of satisfying wants a whole host of persons get their incomes.

The income so generated falls under two categories: incomes generated by the production of marketed goods and services and incomes generated by creation of non-marketed free goods and services provided by the State. There would be in the market a sufficient supply of goods and services to balance the money incomes generated by the production of marketed goods and services. But there would be no supply of goods and services in the market to balance incomes generated by

chasing after too few goods; people who lend monies to government have really surrendered or transferred to the Government the purchasing power they would otherwise have taken into the market. But when the Government finances its activities from loans made by the banking system, then the phenomenon of too much money chasing after too few goods gets aggravated. When budgets are in deficit and such deficits are of Himalayan dimensions and are met by loans from the banking system, then inflation is of a threatening nature. Well, the Treasury Bills issue of the Government of Sri Lanka is of the order of fifteen billions and is almost entirely provided by the Central Bank. How can Lord Vishnu control such inflation?

The original Central Bank Act specified as one of the functions of the Central Bank the maintenance of the internal and external value of the Rupee "the writer does not know whether the Central Bank has since been relieved of this statutory responsibility to preserve the pur-

Government of D. S. Senanayake—we should now be inundated with a torrential annual outflow of consumer goods and services.

Political

considerations

Investment and Development are false alibi for ill-considered and wasteful Government expenditure. Inflation in Ceylon is very largely due to wasteful Government expenditure, expenditure on totally unnecessary activities which would not be supported by any cost-benefit analysis, gross inefficiency in the administration, creation of cadre solely to accommodate political favourites, pursuit of activities dictated for by nothing other than political considerations, large leakage of funds in the public sector through frauds carried out with perfect impunity and like ills. False perspectives prevail at the top. The cadre of the judiciary at the level of the original courts has remained stagnant with the result that law's delays have rendered the adminis-

(Continued next page)

(Continued)

tration of justice meaningless; but the cadre of Ministerial portfolios have experienced growth — to use an algebraic term — at an exponential rate. The system of Administration Reports appears to have been done away with. The weekly diaries of Civil servants which kept the authorities at the top fully informed of developments have become a mere memory. But the public sector has expanded enormously.

The Railway has been consistently recording huge losses from the day Ceylon secured seven-tenths Swaraj in 1931 and Ceylonese Ministers took charge of the administration of the Railway except during two war years when Allied Army Command exercised administrative authority over the Railway. Bus magnates made thumping profits prior to the nationalization of the Road Passenger Transport Service and thereafter the C. T. B. began to register huge losses.

The cost of the Armed Forces

The Britisher, an alien, was able to maintain peace, order and security in the country with about a thousand odd — definitely less than two thousand — Police personnel. No Armed forces were assigned internal security work except during the religious riots of 1915. But after independence a ten-fold increase in Police force has been effected. A heavily equipped Army, Navy and Air Force numbering several thousands are almost continuously in active service to maintain peace, order and security. In addition there appears to be an expensible body contingent of the commando category. In spite of all these there is not even a semblance of security in most parts of the country. The question suggests itself quite automatically, Why should a self-governing state require much larger security personnel to provide peace, order and security than what the foreign Imperialist Rulers found it necessary to maintain?

The authorities are perhaps lulled into complacency in regard to the evils of the developing inflation owing to certain adventitious windfall benefits and transient gains and receipts which hide the gravity of the spiralling inflationary pressures. We have of course a substantial inflow of foreign exchange from

(a) the investment of multi-nationals;

(b) emigrants' remittances from the Gulf region and Africa; and

(c) tourism, bulk of which is just the reward for pleasantly permitting and warmly receiving the penetration of penicillin-resistant herpes.

The investment of the multi-nationals will create a dichotomy in the economy worse than what the Tea plantations of the Britisher created. Our agriculturists and craftsmen are not participants in the development; domestic entrepreneurial talent, instead of being nursed, is being stifled; unequal and inequitable wage levels differences are being generated; no sensible policy in regard to town and country planning could be pursued; slum conditions and the problems of congestion are being aggravated. Psychologically nationals are bound to be afflicted by a sense of inferiority and subservience.

The drain of our skilled youths to help production in the Gulf States and Africa amounts to the denial of their contribution to the growth and development of the national economy. The foreign exchange receipts might dry off rather suddenly if there were to be some war or other political upheavals. In any case the foreign employment opportunities are temporary.

Tourism really aggravates inflation. The foreign exchange component of the expenditure incurred in catering to the tourists is not taken into count. The erosion of moral values is very serious.

One illustration of the gravity of the consequences would be useful. Income distribution has become very unequal. Employees in the public sector and the purely domestic sector now receive incomes completely out of alignment with those received by personnel employed abroad and those employed in sectors associated with foreigners. An employee in the public service whatever his rank could, in the past, bor-

row and build, during his working life, a house to live in. Today not even the highly ranking doctors, engineers and those in the upper echelons of the public sector could hope to own a cottage of their own. Only those with foreign incomes can aspire to real estate property. What de-stabilizing forces are thus generated is better visualized than described. That a state of affairs in which those who work for the country are penalised is something intolerable.

We are not living today in a world which cherishes the ideal of the minimum of government; the government is today wielding a regulatory and coercive power in every aspect of our life and is influencing our behavior in a dominant manner. It is not wide of the mark to say that today politics is economics and economics is politics. The two are very intimately inter-twined and it is the mis-government on an inexcusable scale that is responsible for the deteriorating economic situation; the budget deficit is the correct index of the economic situation.

A major element of mis-government is the attempt to rule six out of the twenty four Districts without lawful authority solely by sheer force of high-power artillery. This imperialistic attempt robs the Sinhala sector of the polity of the opportunity of having a compact, homogeneous and qualitatively effective State that will reflect the aspirations of the people, the Sinhalese people. What the Sinhalese people want is a Sinhala only polity but this cherished ideal of the Sinhala people is thwarted from being attained by the imperialistic ambition of a few Sinhala po-

liticians who want to hold the Tamils within the polity on the basis of an illusory geographical polity and in the process find it necessary to accommodate Mr. Thondaman and his followers on the one hand and Mr. Appapillai Amirthalingam and his unruly crowd on the other and dilute the Sinhala only concept at a terrible expenditure of public funds, to provide for a Tamil administration, besides maintaining a huge army of occupation at no mean cost. It is the Imperialistic attempt that results in misgovernment and the succession of Himalayan budget deficits and it is these budget deficits that aggravate inflation and is unobtrusively paving the way for very serious consequences.

Let me quote Keynes. This is what he wrote in 1919 when the world had rather limited experience of inflation, (Very recently the Minister of Finance predicted that the price of petrol will go up to Rs. 300/- from the Rs. 50/- level operating today. In other words the Government is well aware that they have already gone past the "no return" stage on the road to hyper-inflation) What Keynes wrote in 1919 is very apposite:-

"Lenin is said to have declared that the best way to destroy the Capitalist System was to debase the currency. By a continuing process of inflation, Governments can confiscate, secretly and unobserved, an important part of the wealth of their citizens. By this method they not only confiscate, but they confiscate arbitrarily; and, while the process impoverishes many, it actually enriches some. The sight of this arbitrary re-arrangement of riches strikes not

only at security, but at confidence in the equity of the existing distribution of wealth... As the inflation proceeds and the real value of the currency fluctuates wildly from month to month, all permanent relations between debtors and creditors, which from the ultimate foundation of capitalism, becomes so utterly disordered as to be almost meaningless; and the process of wealth-getting degenerates into a gamble and a lottery."

Lenin was certainly right. There is no subtler, no surer means of overturning the existing basis of Society than to debauch the currency. The process engages all the hidden forces of economic law on the side of destruction, and does it in a manner, which not one man in a million is able to diagnose.

There is very illuminating literature about the hyper-inflation of Germany in the twenties. A Ceylonese, who was in Germany at that time wrote some graphic accounts by way of feature articles published some twenty years ago in the Ceylon Daily News. He makes mention of the tremendous advantage foreign money had in the market place in Berlin over the domestic consumers. Eastern students were able, with their pocket money to spend the weekends in the top hotels in Berlin. Another writer has spoken of the rampant night life and has observed that girls in their early teens suspected of virginity became the object of derision among their friends. Stability of the unit of account is the foundation and the essential base of all concepts of stability and civilized and orderly society.

'Wanni Farmer' states the farmers' case

The Chairman of the Agricultural Development Authority Mr. Ranjan Wijeratne, in a recent interview with a Colombo daily newspaper under the headline: GROW OR GO said that "a large number of land owners did not put their properties to the maximum use, greatly impeding the agricultural development of the country." He threatened them with an ultimatum to either develop their land holdings or forfeit them to the State. He further held out the threat that such people would be penalised under the Agrarian Services Act.

Wanni Farmer of Thachankulam, Vavuniya, gives the other side of the story:

With reference to the threatening statement made by the Agricultural Development Authority Chairman, Mr. Ranjan Wijeratna this action will only corrupt the Bungling Bureaucrats in the provincial kachcheries to do a brisk business of corruption. The authorities should come down from their ivory towers and see for themselves the sufferings of the farmers. Officials are paid by the state and they are servants of the people. The officials concerned should be made to visit the farmers and the farmers

should not be made to visit the officials. The officers are given transport facilities but these are seldom used for the upliftment of the poor farmer but for their personal use. Very conveniently the officials have fixed Wednesday as a public day and that day is full and it is impossible for a farmer to see an official. By chance if he is able to meet the official either his file will be missing or the subject clerk missing. On other days if he visits the Kachcheri the officials will be on circuit. Only God almighty

will know where they go. They have a full week with Saturdays & Sundays to go on their happy jaunts on the office vehicles at the taxpayers' expense. Most of the officers will be in a week-end mood on Mondays & Fridays. If Mondays & Fridays are made public days the officials will be forced to be in office to do their work. Just imagine the amount of work lost by the farmer in visiting officials,

How on earth is it possible to use 100% of the land? First water is needed to cultivate the land. In the Dry Zone excepting the tank fed lands the farmer is not sure of his crop even during the Maha Season. If rain fails the crop fails and the farmer is bankrupt. When other countries produce three to four crops of paddy per year even our tank fed land can produce one Maha crop & only cultivate a percentage of the land according to the allocation of wa-

ter. The highland farmer is the most hit from every angle. He has to depend on the rain for his Maha and on his well if he has one during dry weather with which he will hardly be able to cultivate between 1/4 to 1 acre if the well is capable of supplying underground water. Naturally 75% of land remains unutilised during dry weather. Can the farmer be blamed for this? The highland farmer is the hardest worked. He has to raise some crop right round the year to keep his soil going. We talk gullibly about subsidy. What is the subsidy the farmer gets when compared to the fishing industry. The fisherman is not seeding, fertilising, fencing or watching but he only goes to reap when the farmer has to do all this before reaping. From the time of our independence money had been pumped by various Governments to the

(Continued overleaf)

In the earlier article on this subject (S. R.—Jan. 15 1983) it was mentioned that quality of nutrition could be improved with food fortification innovations. India has made a success with its bread, atta flour, salt and sago.

To obtain maximum success in any scheme of applied nutrition by food fortifications, the most common items of food of the common people should be used. In our countries, these items could be rice, wheat, salt, cooking oil,.... Let us examine the big Indian experiment in this direction. India realized that if diets could be improved inexpensively without requiring conscious decisions to buy, cook or eat differently there was every likelihood of success. Consequently, attention focused on using established food as carriers of additional nutrients.

The first large venture was with bread in 1968. Large Modern Bread plants were established capable of producing 100 million loaves of bread a year. To each loaf was added the synthetic form of the amino acid lysine, to increase the bread's protein value with vitamins and minerals needed for India's major nutritional maladies. The popularity of this bread made other major bread producers to follow, by introducing fortification into their products.

Next was with atta (the ground wheat product used for chapatti). Premilled atta, the least expensive form, is the atta bought by the lowest income group. From 1970, premilled atta incorporated sizable doses of vitamins and minerals, and protein in the form of groundnut flour. Though atta reaches the lowest income group, its popularity was mainly in urban areas. So a search was made to identify low-cost, centrally

PERSPECTIVES

By
Nagamuttu

Nutrition and the common man-2

processed foods that already reached all elements of the population.

The most attractive item was salt, already used in some areas as a carrier of iodine to combat goiter. Nutritionally, salt is an attractive carrier because it is used throughout the year and its production is centralized, making it easy to add these elements before salt leaves the salt works. Salt with iron could reduce nutritional anemia. Iron and calcium fortified salt has gone through laboratory and clinical tests successfully and would be available in the market.

Rice fortification had to be given up in India as the majority of Indian rice eaters cook their rice in large quantities of water which was then discarded (in some cases given to cattle) thus any fortifying elements would probably disappear. Japan however has made a success. The bran* is needed for livestock feed in Japan and therefore the rice in Japan loses the Vitamin B. After polishing, vitamin B from other sources is introduced into the rice and thus the Japanese consume rice as it were unpolished rice for vitamin B content. With the practical difficulty of fortifying

the rice, India is using tea as a carrier (in this case Vitamin A). Tea is being given in India to children too and therefore is a good carrier.

India had another success in the use of vanaspati, a vitamin fortified oil and seed-based fat in place of the more costly traditional ghee.

What are the lessons to be learnt from India? Though she has not solved equitable distribution of food, she is making every effort to improve the quality on what is being consumed. The most important aspect of Indian nutrition programming and planning has been the scale of thinking about nutrition. The country is working on the premise that a massive attack on malnutrition could eradicate certain nutritional diseases. Therefore popular items of food had been tackled for the majority of the people including the vulnerable groups. Politically too it has been attractive. We now find the Chief Minister, Tamil Nadu speaking about nutrition on most platforms and active steps are being taken to improve nutrition in this State.

When compared to India, Sri Lanka is better off in per caput food, quantity wise but not quality wise. In food

intake we are about 2200 calories per person per day with India 2000 calories but in protein intake we are behind — 44grams per person per day to India's 48.5. This is where our direction of progress lies. We have to consume more pulses, more milk, more eggs and more meat and fish. Perhaps regular consumption of some meat and fish is beyond the means of the common man. He could however take more pulses and some milk and eggs. At the same time the Government should actively pursue fortifications of existing food which have been successfully done by our giant neighbour (India). This would help the common man without extra expenditure

The Trincomalee flour mill could be a good centre to send out fortified flour if our researches can help to work out what is to be added and how it is to be added. We can also look for research in fortifications in other daily food items like rice and salt. Cannot we evolve a local vanaspati instead of using the cholesterol high coconut oil in its pure form? The emphasis should always be on fortification of foods already known, popular and available.

In Sri Lanka, as well as in most third world countries, many people are incapable, both economically and educationally, of supplying by their own initiative the nutrients needed to meet the basic health requirements and the development of full mental and physical potentials of their children and often themselves. While most governments recognize the importance of an educated populace for development, and have provided substantial financial support for educational systems, only a few realise that a well-nourished population is of compa-

table importance. Sri Lanka is no exception to this. If malnutrition is to be overcome as stated earlier, governments must intervene. One positive way is for income increases and agricultural growth; these are however insufficient to meet nutritional needs within a satisfactory period of time. Complementary actions are needed in the meantime.

In many ways, fortification is the most attractive of all the complementary alternatives. Fortification offers a means for meeting a problem rather quickly at very low cost. More than any other solution, it offers an opportunity for poor countries to provide better nutrition at an early stage of economic development and even in the absence of broad national growth. Another activity deserving attention is the genetic improvement of seed varieties to obtain higher nutrient content. In the long run this can make a great contribution to nutrition betterment.

The consequences of malnutrition for national development are increasingly clear. Without improved nutrition, the development of human resources and the development of the nations themselves may will be retarded. It is not just the quality of life, but the quality of the people. Unless the current levels of malnutrition are dramatically checked, they may adversely affect the performance, appearance, physical well-being and perhaps even the mental capability of much of the world's population.

To meet the nutritional needs of the common man the first and foremost duty of any Government is for equitable distribution of food. This ensures that the common man receives the food needed for his minimum energy (calorie) requirements.

'Wanni Farmer' states the Farmers' case

(Continued from page 7)

fishing industry and still it remains the same. Recently the boats were subsidised to 90% to the fisherman with several fringe benefits as housing etc. What percentage is subsidised to the poor hard-working farmer? Recently a subsidy of about 30% of the cost of the windmill was given to a few 100 farmers. If a farmer wants a tube well done he has to pay through his nose to the Government Department. Whereas in India a hand drilling rig is hired at Rs. 5/- a day and a power drill at Rs. 40/- a day by the Government. I witnessed in Madras even small workshops producing tubes for the tube wells.

The Chairman is talking of under fertilising the lands by the farmer. Our people are experts in importing ideas and goods without realising our

potentials. Our experts expect the farmer to use fertilizer without the farmer knowing what the land needs. By over fertilising with ingredients that are not needed the land gets ruined. In India before every crop the farmer is advised to get his soil analysed. This is done by the field units on the spot for a fee, and the farmer is advised about the amounts of fertilizer ingredients to be used. In our country if a farmer sends his soil, all sorts of questions about his taking the sample will be asked and it may take over six months for him to get the analysis report or he may not get at all by the time the crop would have been harvested and finished.

Our agricultural Department talked of bluish green algae some years back and they have forgotten all about it. Recently they talked of Azola

and that idea too appears dead. In India they are using both. We easily cultivate both and enrich our soil with Bacteria with little cost. You can reap Bluish green algae every 20 days in our sunny climate. 04kgs. are enough for an acre and after applying for 3 years no application is needed as the bacteria will grow in the soil and enrich the soil, whereas the use of Urea will kill all the bacteria in the soil and ruin the land. We need not pay for the nitrogen in our air with local currency or foreign currency. As far, back as 1936, the then Chief Propaganda officer of the Agricultural Department campaigned for the propagation of Soya Beans and it had its natural death with his retirement or death. Again we have thought of it after 3 decades. The Department talked of inoculant for Soya Beans.

When asked for the inoculant they advised to use Urea. In India there are inoculants for every cereal whereas we have none. What is the use or all research officers? Even the researches done by them do not reach the farmers in time. If we had only sought the advice of the Indian Government they would have readily granted and our country would have benefited. India had been advising their farmers to use gypsum for ground nuts for a long time. Now only our Agricultural Department has opened its eyes and is advising to use gypsum. Gypsum and Epawella Phosphates are not freely available to the farmer.

We have started on a very small way with Wind Mills and Bio Gas. If the farmer had been given subsidy to build bio-gas plants the country would have doubly benefited.

The farmer will be encouraged to rear more cattle to feed his bio-gas plant which will produce power for his pump, light & heat and the country benefited with milk & draught animals. Inorganic manure and would have saved a large sum of money from importing fuel and milk food.

The farmers get discouraged in every direction. His cattle are robbed and slaughtered. He is not sure that he will be able to work with his animal or milk on the following day. Unless a ban of transport of animals and slaughter is imposed the farmer will not be able to give his best to the country.

Before our Agricultural Authority Chairman talks of **Grow or Go** he must look to the urgent needs of the farmer and see that his officials go to the farmers and not the farmers go to them.

Rambaikulam incidents: 'Infringement of Fundamental Rights'

Sinhalese doctor accuses Vavuniya Police

Dr. S.N. Fernando of the Government Base Hospital, Vavuniya, has petitioned the Supreme Court alleging infringement of his fundamental rights. He has named **Mr. C.P. Jayasooriya**, Superintendent of Police, Vavuniya; **Mr. Udayananda Gunasinghe**, Sub-Inspector of Police, Vavuniya; and police constable 2504 (Thilakasiri) as the second, third and fourth respondents. The Attorney General has been named as the First Respondent in compliance with the requirements of Article 134 (1) of the Constitution.

Widespread protests

Stating the background to certain incidents that happened at Vavuniya on 15th December, 1982 the Petitioner, through his Attorney-at-Law, Mr. C. V. Vivekananthan, says:

"The Army and Police in Jaffna were holding three Christian Clergymen, a doctor, a University Lecturer and his wife in detention in an army camp, incommunicado, claiming to do so under the provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Fears that these priests, doctor, lecturer and wife may be subjected to torture, cruel, inhuman and/or degrading treatment while in detention, led to widespread mass protests against the detention in the form of fasting, sittings, prayers and Satyagraha all over the Northern and Eastern Provinces, all of which were entirely peaceful.

Baton charge and assaults

The Sudhananda Young Men's Hindu Association of Vavuniya, the Gandhiyam Organization and other religious organizations had organized one such day of fasting on 15th December, 1982. Believing that the fundamental rights of the said priests and others must be safeguarded and deeply troubled in his conscience by the wrongful and oppressive use of the Prevention of Terrorism Act against Tamil people, he (Dr. Fernando)

went to the Rambaikulam St. Anthony's Church with a view to participating at the said fast. The organization had arranged for the participants to gather at the said Church at 9-00 a.m. on the said day and to proceed to the Sudhananda Young Men's Hindu Association after prayer at the said church.

He arrived at the said church at about 9-35 a.m., and noticed a large gathering including priests, nuns, leading citizens of Vavuniya, women and children at the church compound. Mr. T. Sivasithamparam, Member of Parliament for Vavuniya and Mr. S. Sittampalam, Chairman of the Vavuniya District Development Council, were also present there.

While he was there, he became aware that Dr. Rajasunderam who was one of the organisers of the fast was summoned by the 2nd Respondent and had been informed that the Police would not permit the participants who had gathered at the said church to go to the Sudhananda Young Men's Hindu Association Hall in a procession. Dr. Rajasunderam came back to the church and discussed this problem with some of the others. After some discussion with the Police Officers who were at the gate the organisers decided to fast at the church compound itself and all the participants were requested to sit down on the lawn and compound of the church compound. After the participants sat down, the fast was commenced and devotional songs were being sung.

Dr. Fernando who was only a participant, was seated on the lawn and all the participants were inside the church compound. The Assistant Superintendent of Police, Vavuniya, the Headquarters Inspector, Vavuniya, and other armed police personnel were standing on the road at the entrance to the church compound and the fasting went on peacefully inside the church compound. At about 10-45 a.m. the S. P. Mr. Jayasooriya came to the church in a jeep and

got down at the entrance. Shortly thereafter without any warning at all, Sub. Inspector Gunasinghe and other Policemen suddenly came into the church compound baton charging, assaulting, kicking and trampling the participants who were peacefully seated in the church compound. The Petitioner heard the sound of gun shots being fired and noticed tear gas shells coming and landing inside the church compound and the shocked participants including women and children taking cover inside the church and convent buildings in the said compound. The Police Party even attacked the women and children and the Petitioner noticed Sub. Inspector Gunasinghe assault and drag one of the organizers towards one of the Police vehicles on the road outside and thereafter throwing a stone at the Gandhiyam Jeep that was parked on the road outside.

Abusive words in Sinhala

After all the women and children were moved into the church building Dr. (Mrs.) Rajasunderam and he too withdrew into the church.

Sub-Inspector Gunasinghe who was brutally and indiscriminately assaulting the participants saw him and came running towards him uttering abuse and insults in Sinhala, such as "Packaya", "Avajaashakaya", "Demalunta Jathakavechcha Sinhala", etc., and started to assault him. He then said to the Petitioner in Sinhala, words to the effect "You gave an affidavit to be filed in the Supreme Court, I have been waiting for a chance to teach you a good lesson", Will you dare to give evidence also" etc, and continued to assault him. Sub Inspector Gunasinghe also asked him whether Kumarasinghe was also there and saying that if Kumarasinghe was there he was going to kill him. He then held him by his shirt, pushed him out of the church through an exit on the east and down the steps to the ground. Gunasinghe then got a baton and assaulted him with it and along with some Police Constables dragged him to the road and pushed him into a Police vehicle parked outside

the gate, sneering insultingly that the Petitioner must have been born to Tamil or else he would not have participated in that fasting.

Dr. Fernando states that when he was being assaulted outside the church on the eastern side by Gunasinghe, the other participants who saw the assault shouted at the 3rd Respondent not to assault the Petitioner. The Petitioner also noticed Mr. S. Sittampalam Attorney-at-Law and Chairman of the Vavuniya District Development Council who were near the gate, helplessly giving him a sympathetic look when he was being assaulted and dragged along the eastern side of the church.

There were four other participants inside the Police vehicle in which he was put into and taken to the Vavuniya Police Station. While in the vehicle the 4th Respondent, who also travelled in the same vehicle, assaulted him and abused and insulted him repeatedly using words such as "Avajathakaya", "Demulunta Jathakavechchi Sinhala", etc.

At the Vavuniya Police Station the other four participants and he were made to get down from the Police vehicle and he was given a blow on the back of the head and he fell unconscious. He regained consciousness a while later and he was dragged thereafter and pushed into the Police Station and was being hit with the baton and abused and insulted by Police Officers who used the words "Avajathakaya", "Demalunta Jathakavechchi Sinhala", etc. This insult and abuse continued for some hours in the Vavuniya Police Station until he went up to the 2nd Respondent and complained to him about the assault, insult and abuse by the 3rd Respondent, at the church, by the 4th Respondent in the police vehicle and other 3 police officers at the Police Station. Though the 2nd Respondent stopped further assault and insult he did not take any action against the 3rd and 4th Respondents and other police officers.

Thereafter the statements of the Petitioner and eight other persons who had been taken into custody were

recorded by the Headquarters Inspector, Vavuniya and the Petitioner mentioned to the said Inspector what had happened. The said Inspector recorded in the said statement a summary of what he stated, but took no action against the 3rd and 4th Respondents. He applied for a certified copy of the said statement but has not been issued the same up to date.

Though he was taken into custody by the 3rd Respondent he was not arrested according to procedure established by law nor was he informed of the reasons for his arrest at the time of such arrest.

Late in the evening of the 15th the Petitioner and eight others were taken before the Acting Magistrate Vavuniya, on a false 'B' report which alleged that the Petitioner and the eight others participated in an illegal procession. The Police also made an application to remand them until 27-12-1982 but the Acting Magistrate ordered all to be released on furnishing cash bail in sum of Rs. 2,500/- each. The Petitioner and the eight others were held in the Remand Prison until the morning of the 16th and were released after the said bail was furnished.

He worked for racial harmony

Dr. Fernando also states in his petition that he :

- (a) is a Registered Medical Practitioner attached to the Base Hospital, Vavuniya, and has been in government service since the year 1967;
- (b) had a part of his education at St. Patrick's College in Jaffna, in the years 1958-1960 and was a School Prefect and Hostel Prefect during such period and carries pleasant memories of such period and of his association with many Tamil students, teachers and priests;
- (c) served at the Galle General Hospital from January 1981 to April 1982 and during such period with others, inaugurated the Galle Branch of the Human Rights Organization and was a Committee Member of the same;
- (d) was an active member of "the Sub-Committee for Racial Amity and Prevention of Communal Riots" of the said Human Rights Organization;
- (e) during the Sinhala-Muslim riots that occurred in Galle, in July 1982, organized many Peace Committees, (Continued overleaf)

Some of our Sinhalese friends, mostly from the rural and southern districts nurse a belief that a strong UNP Government with limitless power to exercise a stern rule is necessary to crush the struggle of the Tamil speaking people for the right of self-determination.

Suffering under this belief they have supported the promulgation of many anti-democratic laws which they think are necessary to suppress the Tamil movements. What they fail to realise, (what some urban left movements have correctly understood) is that these anti-democratic measures will one day encircle them too. After the Presidential Election victory the UNP has now brought into popular usage with the help of a servile mass media a new terminology - 'NAXALITES' - in the south, in addition to the 'Tamil Terrorists' in the north. They have already begun using the same emergency powers and special laws framed for the purpose of dealing with the Tamil Terrorists to deal with the 'Naxalites' in the Sinhalese areas as well.

They know

oppression

Tamils in the north and east have by and large opposed these oppressive measures in the south. They do not want even the Sinhalese people who have supported the Government to oppress them in the past and in the present to get oppressed in turn because they know what oppression means. Are the Sinhalese people prepared to help the ruling classes with their age old Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism to dig the graves to bury the bourgeois democracy still enjoyed by them? Are the Sinhalese people prepared to cut their own noses to serve as bad omens to the neighbouring Tamils?

Indian Ocean

politics

One who understands Sri Lankan politics in the perspective of Indian Ocean politics and international relations will be filled with regret for the future of the Sinhalese workers and peasants more than the future of the Tamils, who have in some form or other proved their capacity to defend themselves.

One reason for this is that the Tamils are comparably well organized nationally. They are strong internationally too. The Tamils have identified themselves with opponents of the U.S. imperialism in the Indian Ocean politics, while the majority of the Sinhalese are yet by implication supporting U.S. imperialism or China, a new and strange friend of the U.S. in the east.

Comparatively, Tamils have also large politicalised human resources abroad. Although formal organizations are not

developed or properly armed with correct theory, no one can under-estimate the existence of strong informal organizations among Tamils which never failed to raise their voice in times of crises. A correct Tamil Leadership armed with correct theoretical understanding can form a strong formal extra parliamentary organization with not much difficulty by identifying and uniting the progressive sectors of the wide-spread strength of the informal organizations.

Unlike Sinhalese people living abroad most of the Tamils dispersed throughout the world are direct or indirect victims of the national oppression in Sri Lanka. This is particularly true in the case of members of the young Tamil proletariat who migrated after the 1970s in the wake of the standardization issue and the Police and military oppression in the Tamil areas.

to surrender. Where is the oppressor as big as the U.S. Imperialism? What was the lesson they learnt in the small and poor Vietnam, where they mobilised all their possible resources to oppress the peasant Vietnamese? How do the Sri Lankan bourgeois ruling class and its resources compare with the resources of U.S. imperialism? Oppression anywhere is economically unproductive, destructive and above all costly even for a more affluent third world country. Even such a country has to become technically dependent on western imperialism to oppress its own people. In the case of a very small and economically weak Sri Lanka the oppression of nationally united Tamils by an under-developed Sinhala bourgeoisie is possible only if the following national and international conditions are satisfied:

1. The rulers must be able to unite the majority of

Oppression on a national scale is as I said before not a mere technical problem. The Tamil speaking people are a more homogeneous population in their own land even after 30 years of state-aided colonization. The Tamil areas have large extents of dry zone jungles, or lagoons as in Batticaloa, as their hinterlands and natural fortifications. Concentration of the major Sinhalese colonies are mere linings on the borders of Tamil areas and cannot help when it comes to the crunch. Even the peeling off of the shallow Palk Strait full of coral reefs is not technically possible to prevent an exodus of refugees. No country can mobilise strategic weapons close to the Indian waters without taking a major risk.

There are various other socio-economic and political reasons why the Sinhalese ruling class is not capable of crushing the Tamil struggle in its own homeland or continue

from their own land. The Sinhalese working class cannot fight in that manner without being a direct threat to the Sinhalese bourgeois state. This makes the crushing of the Sinhalese proletarian movement a more urgent task of the Sinhalese bourgeois than the crushing of the Tamil struggle. In such an event the Sinhalese nation will itself become a divided nation. Father will fight against son and brother against brother.

The Sri Lanka government by increasing the public investment like the Mahaweli and with its free economic policies and encouragement of consumerism can manage to have the majority of a divided Sinhala nation with them for some years to come but they will find difficulty in containing even the minority factions of the Tamils represented by bourgeois leadership, the help of U.S.-nourished Wilsonian intellectuals, notwithstanding.

It must also be remembered that the Tamil struggle has developed without the sympathy and support of the Sinhalese people and even against their hostility. Thus it is more independent and self-contained in its basic character.

Without a proper understanding of these facts the Sinhala people's movement cannot develop fruitful dialogue with the Tamil speaking people and with their movements to ensure their own freedom against the class oppression. On the other hand if such meaningful dialogue is developed it can ensure a strong progressive thinking among the Tamils and the victory of the Tamil workers and peasants in their own homeland.

by

V. I. S. Jayapalan

Politicalised and organized foreign based human resources have played a very important and distinct role in the history of freedom struggles of various nations. Experience of most of the colonial countries have proved this. In some of these cases even the embryo of the freedom struggle developed on foreign soil. The strength of an emergent nation does not depend on the size but in its capacity for organization, its determination and the build-up of a tradition of struggle.

Apart from the above factors there are other geographical and economic factors which make the crushing of the Tamil people and their struggle impossible.

Sri Lanka is not a big resourceful country. The Sinhalese themselves do not constitute in themselves a big cohesive nation; nor are the Tamils of Sri Lanka a mere micro minority. Oppression is not an easy task. It becomes impossible and a suicidal mission when a restless, organised and politicalised population is determined not

the Sinhalese masses, in spite of class oppression and must also be able to get the support of a powerful section of the Tamil leadership to surrender the whole and undivided interest of Sri Lanka to U. S. Imperialism under the name of the national government.

2. They must also get that section of the Tamils who support the National Government to fight the Tamil Nationalists in their own homeland,

3. They must be able to win diplomatic acceptance of the Indian national bourgeois government to go against their own national interest and their own security and against the opposition of their Tamil Nadu components to establish U. S. Hegemony in Sri Lanka, to help suppress Tamil rights.

4. Failing all these, they will have to build a very powerful military machine along with U. S. military intervention to thwart any possible "Bangladesh Situation" in the Indian ocean.

It is very unlikely that the Sri Lanka ruling class can fulfil any of the above conditions.

oppression for a limitless period.

In fact it is easy for a Sinhala bourgeois class to fight the Sinhalese workers and peasants who are not nationally or internationally well organised. The majors, fact one should note carefully is that the Sinhala bourgeois' main interest, apart from the possible exception of Trincomalee, lies in the Sinhalese areas.

The Tamil struggle has been not to destroy the Sinhalese bourgeois but to expel them

Sinhalese Doctor...

(Continued from page 9)

organized persons to guard many villages that were threatened with attack by communalists and published pamphlets and distributed same amongst people to reduce the racial tensions that prevailed during such period, and

- (f) was the Secretary of the Galle Branch of the All Ceylon Health Workers' Union.

The Petitioner holds the belief that all human beings are born free, and are equal before the law, that racial discrimination, and oppression should be eliminated, and that these fundamental Human Rights constitute the higher law, which have now been embodied in International Conventions, and Rules of International law, and hence national laws should not seek to contravene such laws.

Bala Tampoe in Jaffna :

'Tigers' have won new respect for the Tamils

"The Eelam Liberation Tiger Movement has played a very significant political role in the country. I can compare it with the type of protest activity that went on in Tzarist Russia, though limited in scope. Many Sinhalese people think there is a Tamil Nation and that among them there are serious people who are prepared to stand for Tamil rights. This movement has won some degree of respect for Tamil people that they never enjoyed earlier among thinking people in the South."

So said Mr. Bala Tampoe, General Secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile

Union, who was in Jaffna the past few days, in an interview to the **Saturday Review**. While most Leftists in the South are quite guarded in their attitude to the "Tigers" and condemn them, Mr. Tampoe came out spontaneously with his remarks.

He said that he had had the opportunity of personally speaking to some of the police officers in the North, and had got a fresh insight into the feelings of some sections of the Police Force. "They have no personal animosity against the youth. They recognise this is politics and they are dealing with youth

who are ready to die for their cause. Therefore they admit that they can never totally contain this political violence. When a new Brigadier was installed in Jaffna recently, a police Officer with nearly 25 years of experience told me, "I don't think Brigadiers can handle this problem."

Reflecting on the Sri Lankan politics for the next six years under President Jayawardene Mr. Tampoe came out with a blistering attack on SLFP, CP, and LSSP for having betrayed their socialist ideals during their term in office. He said this 'Old Left' had now become extinct.

But he was also highly critical of the RMP, the NSSP and JVP which are popularly understood as the 'New Left'; the so called 'New Left' itself was pathetically splintered and torn by infighting.

According to him there was no "New Left" yet in Sri Lanka. They are only hangovers of the "Old Left".

But he said he could already see young men who had neither names nor labels, but only lessons and experience, who were converging to form a new radical opposition to the oppressive government. "It is such

earlier unheard of people like Kuttimani and Thevan who have the stuff in them to form a truly revolutionary force."

Though most of the Leftists are demoralised after the debacle in the Presidential and Referendum Polls, Mr. Bala Tampoe was very optimistic. He said, "I see history as waves. So far we have been in a receding wave. But even in the gloomy oppressive atmosphere of Jayawardene's rule, I can now see an advancing wave that will soon shatter all tyrannical forces ahead of it".

Three priests & 3 laymen to face charges of harbouring 'terrorists'

Two Roman Catholic Priests, Fr. Aparanam Singarayar and Fr. Anton Sinnarasa, a Methodist Priest, Reverend S. K. Jayatilakarah, Dr. D. W. Jayakularajah, University Lecturer M. Nithiyananthan and his wife Nirmala Nithiyananthan, who are all now held in the Magazine Prison, Colombo are to be charged on various counts under the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary) Act.

Fr. Singarayar and Sinnarasa, **Saturday Review** understands, face a charge of having knowledge of the Rs. 8.1 million robbery of the People's Bank money at Neervely on 25 March, 1981 allegedly carried out by Prabakaran along with several others and having failed to inform the proper authorities; they also face a charge of not reporting the whereabouts of those involved in the robbery and having deliberately withheld information until 24 November, 1982. They are to be further charged with having shielded suspects involved in acts of

terrorism from the authorities.

The other four accused are to face charges of harbouring terrorists and failing to report to the Police or the proper authorities knowledge of their whereabouts.

All the six accused will be charged separately on individual counts. Under the Provisions of the Terrorism Act the accused face on conviction jail terms ranging from 5 to 20 years.

Indictments are to be filed by Attorney-General Shiva Pasupathi at the Colombo High Court. Statements made by Fr. Singarayar to Assistant Superintendent of Police Punya, de Silva on 6-12-82 and by Fr. Anton Sinnarasa to ASP Chandra Jayawardene on 9-11-82 were also to be filed in Court along with the testimony given by Fr. X. J. Soosainayagam to the Chavakachcheri Magistrate on 2-12-82. 14 witnesses including Fr. Soosainayagam and Fr. Rajanayagam are to be summoned in this connection.

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Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

U. N. P. Organiser in Vavuniya shot dead

Mr. Karthigesu Thangarasa Pulendran, 40, U.N.P. Organiser for Vavuniya electorate, was shot dead on Wednesday night around 10-30 at his home in Vavuniya, by unidentified persons.

Mr. Pulendran was watching the Tamil film "Perum Puhalum" (Name and Fame) and his mother-in-law and his domestic employee Mohan (20) were with him. He was requesting Mohan to pack his clothes to travel to Colombo when the shots were fired, it was revealed at the inquiry.

Two pellets were found in his head and injuries all

over his body.

It was also disclosed that the assailants had scaled a parapet wall and entered the premises, fired a series of shots through the open window from a short distance and vanished. The shots had been timed to coincide with the whistling of the Jaffna train at the Vavuniya station. The assailants had tried to shoot at Mohan but without success.

At the time of the incident Mr. Pulendran's wife, who had given birth to a child (which died subsequently) a few days back, was lying ill in another room. Mr. Pulendran was a father of two girls.

U. S. 'Political Aid' too?

(Continued from page 1)

the suppression of the people, particularly the Tamil minority.

This report has so far not been contradicted by the Sri Lanka or U. S. Governments. However, the Foreign Ministry has said that there is a proposal to purchase a limited quantity of spares from private arms dealers.

A number of international commentators have focused on the fact that American aid, under the Reagan Administration, is becoming increasingly bilateral than multilateral, that the recipient countries are mostly those that follow economic policies similar to America's and that the aid is becoming increasingly linked to the promotion of U. S. strategic interests.

As one commentator noted, "The Reagan Administration is abandoning the fiction that aid and base facilities are separate issues..... Past U. S. administrations can scarcely be said to have been unmindful of the nation's strategic and economic interests when they extended aid. What is different and significant now however, is the open link between extending U. S. aid and promoting U.S. interests and the belief that such a link is not only not morally wrong but, in fact, morally right....."

In this context, it would not be too far-fetched to believe that continued and increased American economic aid to Sri Lanka would be conditional to the Government agreeing to grant military facilities to the U.S. such as the use of the Trincomalee harbour.

Strategically the Reagan administration has also been emphasising military than economic aid on the argument that the recipient countries are threatened by foreign powers operating directly or through local insurgents or "Terrorists". The same argument can be used in the case of Sri Lanka as well.

Referring to the new aid programme, "The Times of India" noted that "once it gets started nothing can prevent the people in charge of the funds to make their own selection of so-called friends and foes of democracy and thus intervene in the internal affairs of developing countries by providing finance and support to what they consider to be the friends of democracy. Though the U. S. has been providing secret support to political parties in developing countries all along in the past, the new move to make the support open and unashamed can have far-reaching implications for the developing world including little Sri Lanka!"

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Kuttimani says he does not expect justice from any Sri Lankan court of law!

"We will not receive justice from any Court in Sri Lanka" said Yogachandran (Kuttimani), giving evidence before the High Court Judge of Colombo, Mr. C. L. T. Moonemalle, on Thursday (20 Jan.) in the "voire dire" (inquiry within the trial) in the Neervely Bank robbery and double murder case.

Here's a verbatim report:

Mr. N. Satyendra (Senior Defence Counsel): Do you or do you not accept the right of this Court to inquire into the charges against you?

Mr. Yogachandran: I have on 2-11-82 stated that I am a citizen of Tamil Eelam. It was not necessary for me to plead to the charges and I refused to answer. This Court has no right to inquire into these charges.

Q: Mr. Yogachandran, do you or do you not believe that you will or will not receive justice in this Court?

A: I cannot say that any Court under the Sri Lankan State would do justice to us and it will be a matter of ridicule for us to expect justice from such a Court.

(Examination-in-chief concluded)

Mr. Sunil de Silva, Additional Solicitor General, then began his cross-examination.

Q: Mr. Yogachandran, you said you are coming from the Death Row of Welikade?

A: Yes.

Q: You have been placed

there under a judgement of this court?

A: Yes.

Q: Have you appealed against that judgement and sentence?

A: Yes.

Q: Was it to the Court of Appeal of Sri Lanka that you appealed?

A: Yes.

Q: Was it in the belief that you would receive justice from that Court?

A: No. I have done that to establish that we will not receive justice from any Court in Sri Lanka.

Q: You believe that you will not get justice even in that Court and you have appealed to prove that?

A: The answer to that is that the Minister of Trade and Shipping Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali had said at a meeting during the Referendum campaign that it was because of their huge Parliamentary majority that they were able to keep Kuttimani and Jegan in jail. So it is my opinion that the judgements of Courts are subject to them.

Q: When you got into this witness box was it for the purpose of securing justice or to use it as a platform?

A: I have got in with the belief that justice will not be given in this Court.

5 SLFP men released

Five key SLFP Members who had been held under emergency regulations following the Presidential Elections, on charges of plotting against the government including the assassination of President Jayawardene, were released on Tuesday night on the orders of the Defence Ministry.

Those released were Messrs. Vijaya Kumaranatunge (Vice President of the SLFP), Felix Perera (Jaela Organiser), Ossie Abeygunasekara (Kelaniya Organiser), Yasaratna Amaraturunge (Homagama Organiser) and Mervyn Silva (Tissamaharama Organiser).

Their release preceded by a day the lapsing of the Emergency Regulations in the island.

Jaffna Undergrads protest

Undergraduates of the University of Jaffna boycotted lectures on Thursday (20th January, 1983) to protest the continued detention of Rajaji, an undergrad, Nithiyananthan, an Assistant Lecturer and his wife Nirmala, Paranthaman, a University Lab. Tech-

nician, Jayaprakash, a Technical College Student, Roman Catholic and Christian clergymen and a Doctor.

Nearly one thousand undergraduates also staged a protest fast that day in the University premises.