

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 2 No. 12

March 19, 1983

The Board of Management of the Jaffna District Textile Weavers Co-operative Society has been dissolved!

The dissolution of the Board comes less than a fortnight after SATURDAY REVIEW'S expose (5 March) of the Society under the headline **Jaffna Textile Weavers Co-operative Society heads for a collapse?**

The Director of Textile Industries, Mr. P. A. T. Goonesinghe, informed the Deputy Director of Planning, Jaffna, Mr. S. Sivathasan on Tuesday (15 March) that he had removed the Ministry nominees on the Board—Messrs. S. Viswalingam (President), S. P. Selvanayagam (Vice President), T. Seenivasagam (Secretary) and N. Mahadeva—and wanted Mr. Sivathasan to take charge of the affairs of the Society immediately. The Government Agent and District Secretary, Mr. Devanesan Nesiah, was also informed.

The Ministry nominees on the new Board are: Messrs. S. Sivathasan, S. S.

Jaffna
Textile
Weavers
Co-op
Society

BOARD SACKED!

Tharmapalan (Registrar, University of Jaffna), R. Virasinghe (Deputy Commissioner of Motor Traffic Jaffna) and Rajasuriyar Chellappah (a retired World Bank expert).

Following a one-man report on the Society submitted on 13 August, 1982 by an Additional G. A.,

the Govt. Agent, Jaffna, Mr. Devanesan Nesiah, had strongly recommended to the Ministry that 'the composition of the Board of Management be completely changed.' The report had cited mismanagement by the Board, its inertia and lack of initiative, and inaccurate and continuous revision of the

feasibility reports as the main factors responsible for the deterioration of the Society's position. Despite gentle hints to resign, the members of the old Board stayed put till they were 'guillotined' on Tuesday.

The new Board of Management held its first meeting at 4 p.m. on Thurs-

day, convened by the G.A. Jaffna.

SATURDAY REVIEW had originally intended to comment in detail on ex-President Viswalingam's reply (See P.4) to our report of 5th March. The sacking of the old Board, while vindicating our report, makes comment superfluous.

Save us
from thugs,
plea by
undergrads

Save us from goon squads! This is the gist of the urgent telegram the President of the Inter-University Students Federation, Mr. H. M. Pushpakumara, sent the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. A. Amirthalingam, on Tuesday.

The telegram states that about 300 thugs had come in CTB buses to the Sri Jayawardenepura University on Tuesday morning, harassed and threatened striking undergrads in the presence of police officers.

SECURITY ALERT IN THE EAST

Government has ordered a security alert in all Police stations in the Eastern province following a death threat on a leading Tamil politician. Precautionary steps are also being taken against possible attacks on Police stations.

Viewpoint

PUT OUT THE LIGHTS

Among the many distressing inadequacies that SATURDAY REVIEW suffers from is the absence of a War Correspondent on its editorial staff. (Readers may please stop lifting their eyebrows). It is obvious to anyone living in the North that Brigadier Balthazar's battalions are now engaged in what they think is a WAR! From all accounts, the government of Sri Lanka despite its budgetary problems, has seen to it that they are well fed. Most of them would of course never have heard of Sandhurst, but they are certainly full of man-thirst. Action is what they are looking for, all the time.

In the absence of a War Correspondent, our office boy files this copy to us from the Point Pedro front:

Sri Lanka's glorious army emerged triumphant in a well-planned sortie in this coastal town of Point Pedro on Saturday night. Two truck loads of patriotic soldiers suddenly saw through their binoculars the enemy advancing on bicycles. The enemy who were disguised as Hartley College schoolboys returning after a cricket match were of course no match for the brave boys of the Palaly battalion. Dedicated as they are to their motherland of Sri Lanka, and knowing no fear in their hearts, the troops immediately went into attack, fearless of consequences. It was a well-fought but one-sided battle, led by Corporal Kapilavastu, and the enemy retreated in confusion, beaten and bruised badly. No casualties on our side, but the enemy lost 2 bicycles on land, 2 in the sea, five cricket bats etc. The enemy sustained head

injuries, bruises on the face, and God knows how many other injuries. The Corporal, according to knowledgeable circles is being recommended for a promotion.

Another report filed from the Anaicottai front, says: Sri Lanka's gallant forces keeping vigil on the Anaicottai road suddenly saw enemy approaching in a car from the direction of Jaffna at the desperate hour of 3 a.m. Immediately the Sri Lanka Army shouted "Halt". The enemy perhaps thinking that retreat was impossible, halted. The Sri Lanka Army then commanded: "Put out lights". The enemy put out the lights. The Sri Lanka Army then surrounded the car with pointed Sten guns, and ordered: "Get OUT!". The enemy at the wheel got out along with another in the front seat. A third enemy behind showed no attempt to get out. It was discovered that this third enemy was in disguise as a son carrying his dead father from the Jaffna hospital mortuary. Since the fourth enemy lying outstretched was a corpse, the Sri Lanka Army found it difficult to interrogate him, although one brave soldier was getting ready to prod him to life with his bayonet. On being questioned, the third enemy admitted and confessed that he was a Tamil expatriate working in a foreign land come to see his father who was critically ill, and now he was carrying home the dead body for the cremation. The brave lieutenant in charge of this ambush then told the third enemy: "So you are the fellows working abroad and sending money to the Tigers?". The third enemy thereupon lost his power of speech. The Sri Lanka Army sustained no casualties whatever in this early hour operation. Enemy was also spared casualties, the fourth enemy having become a corpse before this operation.

In the absence of a full-time War Correspondent, the SATURDAY REVIEW will bring more despatches from its office boy from various fronts; until then we will put out the lights.

**Sunday
Review** SRI LANKA

No. 118
4th Cross Street
JAFFNA

EDITOR
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Contracts — Rs. 15/-
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Budget: The pinch is yet to come!

Minister of Finance, Mr. Ronnie de Mel with his bag of tricks euphemistically called the Budget emerged after the 3-hour TV show without seeming to heap any new burdens on the people through his proposals! In fact, he gave a number of reliefs, through the Rs. 100 salary increase and increases in a number of producer subsidies!

But the trick had been done, as had been the practice since Dr. N. M. Perera's time of announcing the main revenue proposals before Budget Day by Gazette notification in the stealth of night.

Let no one misinterpret it: the increases in the

SPECIAL OFFER

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business turnover tax and import duties is going to affect every man, woman and child because the prices of almost all goods and services will begin to escalate.

Coupled with the oil price hikes, which will have an impact on passenger and goods transport and fuel and energy costs, the sky will be the limit as the prices go on spiralling—thanks to a Government which came to power pledging to bring down living

man's income than they do of the rich man's. That is why they are regarded as "regressive" compared to personal and corporate taxes, which are regarded as more "equitable" and "progressive" because individuals and companies pay according to their income levels.

President Jayewardene was reported to have said in New Delhi that the price increases were forced on the Government by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, while earlier in Colombo he was reported to have said that the Government

by our Economic Correspondent

Reporting on the outcome of the Sri Lanka Aid Group meeting in Tokyo last year, the Minister said that he would initiate a number of harsh revenue measures to keep the deficit in the Budget to reasonable limits.

"These measures would involve certain sacrifices from our people, particularly from those who are able to bear the burden—the rich and those who have directly benefited from our policies. I would like to repeat what I said last year that the private sector and affluent classes in Sri Lanka should realise that they must contribute something for the public good."

But what has he actually done? He has placed the main burden on the middle and lower income groups, while the rich have escaped lightly! But what else can you expect from a capitalist Government?

What the Minister has done is in keeping with the thinking of the Ministry of Finance that "Sri Lanka has gone as far as it can on direct taxation and that the revenue the Treasury so desperately needs must be raised by indirect taxes. There are very clear indications that the Government is considering the use of the BTT as a potent revenue raising instrument... the BTT is going to be the tax of the future."

The problem with indirect taxes, like the BTT, sales taxes and import duties, is that they take a larger fraction of the poor

would not be dictated to by these two institutions! The later statement is an acknowledgement of what I have always been saying: that the major economic decisions of this Government are made not in Colombo but Washington.

The officials of the Bank and the IMF cannot see the economic and social realities in the developing countries. For instance, an American IMF official visits Sri Lanka for a survey. He is told that the price of some commodity or service is so much. "Damn it, that's dirt cheap. In my country it costs so many dollars he says. So up go the local prices. Little heed is paid to the fact that out income levels are nowhere near America's.

When incomes do not keep pace with rising living costs, what do most people do? The sensible thing is to try to increase incomes. But how, when there are few legitimate avenues open to most people? What generally happens is that, with rent, transport, fuel and medical costs being out of their control, people cut down on food, leading to increased malnutrition, especially among children.

(Continued on page 12)

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After a long time, I find the Government fighting for a great principle—that any person with a grievance should have a right of appeal.

The Minister of Lands and Mahaweli Development, Mr. Gamini Dissanayake put it nicely when he moved the resolution to appoint a Select Committee to probe the conduct of two judges of the Supreme Court.

He said, "No complaint made by a citizen, whether big or small, of an injustice done to him should be ignored..... There should be an adjudication of any such complaint."

In this particular instance, there was another consideration, he said. "The matter was one of public importance..... leaving aside personalities, the principle raised was of paramount importance."

If the opposition argument was accepted that a complaint should be ignored merely because it referred to two judges of the Supreme Court, then the complainant in this instance would have "no remedy in law—no appeal, no review, no reference to a fuller bench"

Well said, Mr. Dissanayake. This is the stuff that statesmen are made of.

In the process, you were defending Article 12 (1) of the Constitution: "All persons are equal before the law and are entitled to the equal protection of the law."

But I wonder whether you have forgotten that you were party to the enactment of a law that gave accused parties no right of appeal at all?

Section 9(2) of the Special Presidential Commissions Act of 1978 states:

Any report, finding, order determination, ruling or recommendation made by the Commissioner under this law shall be final and Conclusive, and shall not be called in question in any court or tribunal by way of writ or otherwise."

A principled Government should observe its own principles which, moreover, have been incorporated in the Constitution. But the great principle that you have trotted out and defended so ably was not observed in the case of Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike.

The ex-Prime Minister had "no remedy in law—no appeal, no review, no reference to a fuller bench" from the findings of the Special Presidential Commission.

It is significant to note that the petition of Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike against Mr. K. C. de Alwis was heard by three judges of the Supreme Court while the Commission consisted of only two Supreme Court judges and a comparatively junior judicial officer who, in the words of Mrs. Bandaranaike, "was the recipient of an unprecedented double pro-

Political Causerie

by

Gamini Navaratne

motion: he was appointed to the Court of Appeal bypassing the High Court and many of his contemporaries Mrs. Bandaranaike appealed to the Supreme Court against the findings of the Commission on the ground of bias, under the fundamental rights provisions of the Constitution. Before the Court could give a ruling, Parliament rushed through a resolution sending her into the political wilderness, with a spokesman for the Government having the gumption to say on the occasion that even if the Court invalidated the findings the resolution would not be rescinded!

It came about through a deliberate decision of the Executive. And we can see the painful consequences.

The Minister of Trade, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali denied in Parliament that the appointment of the Select Committee was part of a Government plan to get rid of the two judges, as claimed by the Opposition. But what happens if the findings are adverse? Nothing? Then why go through the whole exercise of holding an inquiry at public expense?

The crucial question is: Do we want an independent Judiciary? If we do,

justice without fear or favour and for treating alike those whom the UNP Government despises and those who enjoy its bounty and bask in its patronage."

Her charge is a serious one because we are only too aware how the Government has used constitutional means (its preponderant parliamentary majority) and unconstitutional means (brute force by UNP supporters, or the "Thug Corporation") to put down dissent.

I should like to appeal to the Government to prove Mrs. Bandaranaike wrong at least where the

One law for the govt. & another for its opponents!

The Court could not invalidate the findings because, as I pointed out earlier, the Special Presidential Commissions Act provides no right of appeal.

Then, how about those thousands of people who have lost their jobs under this Government through political victimisation? I have in mind particularly the strikers of 1980 who have still not been taken back. Where is their right of appeal? Nearly a score of them are reported to have committed suicide in desperation.

Where then is the equality before the law, the rule of law and the due processes of the law that Government leaders talk of so much?

In this situation, can anyone be blamed for coming to the conclusion that the Government has a different set of laws for those who differ with it?

Sinister Design?
When the Judiciary gets dragged into the political arena, it inevitably gets involved in controversy which, also inevitably, leads to a diminishing of its esteem in the public eye.

The involvement of the Judiciary in politics under the present Government began with the appointment of the Special Presidential Commis-

then political interference in the Judiciary must cease.

As one Opposition MP said, "If Parliament arrogates to itself the power to review judgments of the Supreme Court, they would be rocking the very foundation of the Constitution."

As another asked, "Could anyone who was dissatisfied with a decision of the Supreme Court go to the President and have that decision reviewed?"

Or, are we to believe Mrs. Bandaranaike that what the Government is attempting is to demolish the last power centre in Sri Lanka that could pose an obstacle to the Executive and Parliament, the last bastion of democracy?

In a statement, the leader of the SLFP said, "During the past six years, the UNP Government has been destroying one by one the institutions whose continued existence is vital if Sri Lanka is to remain a free country. A free Press is virtually non-existent. The Legislature is controlled. The Public Service has been tamed. The clergy is threatened and bullied. The trade union movement has been silenced. A student body that dares to protest is subject to police attack. Now the Judiciary is being brought to task for administering

Judiciary is concerned by not going ahead with the Select Committee procedure. The proposed probe cannot do the Judiciary, Parliament, the Govern-

ment of the good. **Free Education In Peril**
The UNP "Thug Corporation" is again at work, in some instances aided by the police, this time pumpelling University students who have dared to raise the banner of revolt over a crucial issue—the gradual erosion of the free education system.

The student leaders have correctly diagnosed that the opening of a fee levying medical college followed by fee levying courses at the Colombo University are the beginning of an indirect attack on free education, which the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund would like to see scrapped altogether.

These two institutions have been insisting that all social welfare expenditure be eliminated or slashed to the bone. In the case of education it has been insisting from the late 1960s on the charging of fees for higher education, initially from children of parents in the higher income groups and later from all except the children of poor parents who should be helped through scholarships.

The developing situation, from Colombo to Jaffna, appears to be too big for a man like Dr. Stanley Kalpage to handle. If anyone thinks that the students could be cowed by force, he is mistaken. The use of force could lead to an escalation of the situation, involving students in the higher forms in our schools, as happened once during the last regime over a different cause.

It is time the Minister of Higher Education intervened and gave a categorical assurance that the free education

(Continued overleaf)

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Textile Weavers Co-op Society

reply

The alleged lapses referred to are:-

1. Commissioning of the Finishing plant and the accruing of interests of Rs: 7500/- daily on the bank loan etc....

According to the feasibility study done in 1979, this project ie; the finishing plant was to cost Rs: 11 Million. Tenders were called for the construction of the building on 5-4-1980 and had to be cancelled due to a certain error in the specification about the building committed by our officer who was entrusted with the sole responsibility of piloting this project. Fresh tenders were called and awarded on 14-06-80. Due to the increase in the prices of materials etc, the society informed the bank in December 1980 and applied for an additional loan of Rs.5 Million in April 1981 which was granted only in October 1982. The society has utilized only Rs.8 Million and fifty thousand of the bank loan for this project so far. The interest accing daily is not Rs:7500/- but only Rs:3800/-

Initial errors committed

The finishing plant is to be commissioned before the end of May 1983. The delay has been mainly due to the initial errors committed by the official entrusted with the project and the undue delay on the part of the bank in granting the additional loan.

2. Secret connection with Thulhiriya

Thulhiriya Textile Mills is a state sponsored organization. I cannot understand how a Cooperative Society can have secret connection with a government owned undertaking. The simple fact is that the power-loom industry in the country faced a severe setback due to the governmental policy of open economy.

This society with 54 power loom faced a situation with a heavy stock of power-loom products pilling up daily without a market and was on the verge of putting up the shutters leaving nearly 75 workers without any work.

Rs. 400,000/-

Verties-unsold

At this stage in December 1980 Thulhiriya Mills agreed to purchase our entire power-loom product provided the society used the sized warps and wefts supplied by them for the production. This was fair and reasonable and there was nothing secret or sinister about this deal. The Tellipallai M.P.C.S., Chavakachcheri MPCs, some cooperatives in other parts of the Island and some private sector power-loom workshops are also supplying textiles to Thulhiriya Mills on the same basis as we are supplying.

The society reserved 6 looms for the production of

verties for the local market and today there is Rs. 400,000/- worth of verties lying unsold. what would have been the situation if Thulhiriya Mills did not come to the rescue?

The sizing plant at the society is no doubt having less work at present but I must state that the profits earned in this Sector during the past has exceeded the Capital invested in this plant and cannot be deemed a drag on the finances of the society.

3. "Boiler at Rs:450,000/-....."

The cost of the Boiler is Rs.350,000/- and not Rs: 450,000/-. This was the purchase made 1979 out of the profits for the purpose of supplying steam to both the sizing plant and the finishing plant. The necessity to use this boiler did not arise as very limited sizing was done 1981.

Boiler to be

commissioned

This boiler has now been erected and would be commissioned before the end of May 1983 simultaneously with the finishing plant.

4. "Production both Power-loom and hand-loom has hit rock bottom"

I give below the annual production figure on our power-loom from 1978:-

Year	Quantity
1978	464,752 Meters
1979	447,174 "
1980	451,469 "
1981	514,804 "
1982	538,598 "

In the hand loom sector too the level of production has been similar to that of the previous years. The allegation that "it has hit the rock bottom" is incorrect.

5. "Employees who refuse to cooperate are harassed and the society had spent nearly Rs: 15,000/- per year on litigation"

'No favouritism

in appointments'

It is admitted that the administration sits tight on employees who consider this as secondary employment and shirk responsibility without doing a full days work. There were only two disciplinary inquiries during the course of last year which cost the society only Rs: 4152

6. "Irregular appointments were made during

the last 8 months"

Appointments were made strictly in accordance with the regulations framed by the C.E.C. There is no favouritism. This is the first time a charge of this nature has been made.

7. "Funds are misused on ceremonial openings"

No ceremonial openings were held in the years 1981 and 1982. The only function held in 1983, was the laying of the foundation stone for the water tank. The total expenditure was Rs. 870/-. This had to be done to afford an opportunity to the Members Parliament and to the members of the District Council to have a first hand knowledge of what is been done by the society to develop the textile industry in the North.

8. "Workers who boycotted the function were harassed by closure of the factory for three days"

It is true that there was a boycott by a section of the employees followed by unruly incidents around the society premises.

The factory was closed for security reasons. The Labour Department which inquired into this, held that the closure and pay cut were justified.

9. "E.P.F. contributions had been not paid for a number of employees."

This is totally incorrect.

10. "Key office bearers had not been removed inspite of the recommendations of a One-Man Commission."

I am not aware of the contents of this report.

11. "Mismanagement and questionable transactions."

Officers of the Department of Textile Industries and the Department of Cooperative Development have carried out regular inspections and audited

the accounts of the society and have never observed or pointed out any act of mismanagement of any irregular transactions. A few anonymous petitions were inquired into by the then Deputy Director of Textile Industries and he too had not pointed out any irregularities.

The profits

earned

Before I conclude I would like to inform you that I was transferred as Assistant Director Small Industries and Textiles, Jaffna as from 6-9-1976. From that date I was very closely associated with the society. I took over as President of the society as from January 1977.

The profits earned by the society from 1974/75 to 1981 are as follows:

1974/75	Rs. 143,440/-
1976/76	Rs. 226,864/-
(8 months)	
1976	Rs. 135,716/-
1977	Rs. 340,514/-
1978	Rs. 742,419/-
1979	Rs. 1,014,412/-
1980	Rs. 498,337/-
1981	Rs. 136,972/-

The drop in the profits for 1981 is due to the liberalised import policy of the Government.

I give below very briefly the various development that took place during my stewardship.

1. The sizing plant was put up in 1977 at a cost of Rs. 598,636/- was put into operation in 1978 and during the first three years of its

operation, that is, 1978, 1979 and 1980 earned a profit of Rs. 627,274/-. Thus the entire cost of the project was recovered within the first three years.

2. Constructed a parapet wall 8 feet high right round our power-loom workshop 54 lachams in extent at a cost of Rs. 86,000/-.

3. Constructed a hostel 90'x40' at Kondavil for our workers at a cost of Rs. 200,000/-.

4. Purchased 6 power looms from the People's Republic of China at a cost of Rs. 316,000/-.

5. Purchased a Boiler from U. K. at a cost of Rs. 350,000/-

6. Started work on the finishing plant which the society had invested Rs. 2,000,000/- from its profits.

7. Ploughed back from the profits of the society nearly Rs. 3,500,000/- on capital expenditure from 1976 to 1982,

8. Imported for the first time after a number of years Rs. 2,000,000/- worth of handloom yarn during 1978 and 1979 which yielded huge profits to the society.

Finally I would like to stress that this society had been for the last 40 years striving to promote the textile industry in the North. It is unfortunate that certain employees are trying to sling mud at a time when a massive project is to be commissioned at a cost of nearly Rs. 16 Million.

It is my wish and prayer that who ever is at the helm of affairs is provided with maximum support and encouragement to achieve the objects for which this society was started.

S. Visvalingam.
President

T. Seenivasagam
Secretary

S. Selvaratnam.
G. M.

Political

Causerie....

(Continued from page-3) system would not be tampered with. But how could he, when the Government is tied to the umbilical cord of the World Bank and the IMF? Police Brutality

The attack on Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene and other at the Kollupitiya police station by a police officer must be

condemned by all those who value basic decencies. What is the crime committed by Mrs. Goonewardene? Is this the sort of thing we must expect and accept without protest in a "Dharmista society"?

And will the police officer involved also get a promotion, like the one who figured in the "Pavidi Handa" case?

Words & Deeds

Many years back the writer presided at a poll in a village not far from Colombo in the Western Province to determine whether a tavern was needed for the place. The writer among his staff took one from the locality. Only those who wanted a tavern needed to vote. The large staff waited for a whole day and none turned up. It was heralded as a great success for prohibition. At the close of the poll speaker after speaker praised the local people in their determination to stamp out 'liquor' from the area. The next day the person from the locality who assisted me in the

and his followers would not want them to commit a sin by arresting the congressmen that day, a holy day for the Christians. The officials were so moved that a Judge and a Police Superintendent resigned and went back to England. This example illustrates how the congress under Gandhiji which professed mutual respect for each other's religion carried this out in practice.

There is the recent case of

How many people act

according to what they profess?

cally perhaps this is correct—too many words are wasted in life. However, what we are concerned is that the few words which are to be taken seriously should not diverge substantially from deeds which follow the words. This is not anything new to us. King Harichandra stood by his words. We have also Yudhishtara of the Mahabharata and the later Yudhishtara in Gandhi who fought valiantly for truth the oneness in word and deed.

Once Churchill ably said that one should become a politician only if he had the following quality:- He (the politician) should be able to predict what would happen tomorrow, next month and next year and when the day

concerned passes, he should be able to convince the people why what he said did not happen.

With this knowledge I was not surprised to read the S.R. of February 19, 1983 where **Gamini Navaratne** writes on "Govt's divergence in word and deed".

Let us therefore confine ourselves to areas outside politics. We have the common man and the young child whose word and deed should not show divergence. How do we set about it? There has been enough preaching on the subject—every religion preaches it and for the Tamil people there was a Thiruvalluvar who had given a code of conduct on everything imaginable for mankind. Can we claim

because of Thiruvalluvar that we are behaving better than others? The crux of the matter is that the leaders to whom we look up, have to live up to their words. This could be clearly seen that in India during Gandhiji's leadership and for about a decade after him there were many men and women who spoke and did in unison. Can we say the same thing now? Every country cannot produce a Gandhiji and in every age. So what we are left with is to produce a calculus to work out how much of the spoken and written words could be taken seriously. This is a poor consolation but we have to face the stark reality of uncertainty in the use of words.

PERSPECTIVES

By
Nagamuttu

'poll' turned up rather late to the Kachcheri with an apology that due to the celebrations in the village on the success of the poll, he could not go to bed till it was early morning. When the writer inquired how they celebrated the event, the officer was rather evasive. Eventually he said liquor was freely served. Alas! success of prohibition celebrated with "drinks" So the words of the speakers and those who professed to be tee-totalers did not carry any meaning—if the words conveyed anything, it was to the contrary.

Double Standards

We are faced with such situations in life. We hear words which are not meant to be applied. Sometimes the speaker who himself does not follow a particular way of life might insist on that way of life to his listeners. This in fact means double standard—one for the speaker and another for the listeners. The person who acts according to what he professes is the person most seriously taken by the public. Let us take a few cases from real life.

Babu Rajendra Prasad the First President of the Indian Republic was leader of the Congress Party in his State, Bihar. He and his congressmen used to conduct satyagraha by attempting to walk through a street in Patna, the capital, which was closed on Sundays—a street where exclusively the British officials lived. Arrests followed satyagraha and subsequently they were tried in courts. One Sunday it happened to be a Christmas day and so Rajendra Prasad decided not to perform satyagraha so that the Britishers could celebrate their X'mas. When the British officials were expecting the 'march' of satyagrahis instead they received a letter informing them that Prasad

an opening of a 'Bhavan' office in London. The Bhavan, the religious organization from Bombay, bought a piece of land with an abandoned church for their London home. When knocking down the church to put up a small shrine room and hall, the big Cross on the wall had to be knocked down. The Bhavan representatives have always held the typical Hindu view that all religions lead to the same goal and therefore they could not be a party to knock down the wall with the Cross. They then decided to build around leaving the Cross intact. When the building was formally opened by the then Prime Minister Callaghan he was received by **Lord Louis Mountbatten** on behalf of Bhavan organization. When Callaghan was shown round the place he inquired what the Cross was doing there. Lord Mountbatten replied that only the civilization of India could do such a noble thing. Here we have another case where words have been correctly interpreted, and acted upon.

Lee Kuan Yew's example

The third example comes from Singapore. The writer happened to be at Singapore airport when suddenly Prime Minister **Lee Kuan Yew** visited the place. There was great excitement and when I inquired, I was informed that the P. M had come to see his son off to UK and refused to use the VIP lounge as it was a private visit—he used the public gallery to wave to the son. Lee Kuan Yew has had the view that private and public duties should not be mixed up and applied it to himself first and foremost.

Eddington the famous astronomer and philosopher of science stated that perhaps 90 percent of words spoken have little or no meaning. Statisti-

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Hinduism in Ceylon-3

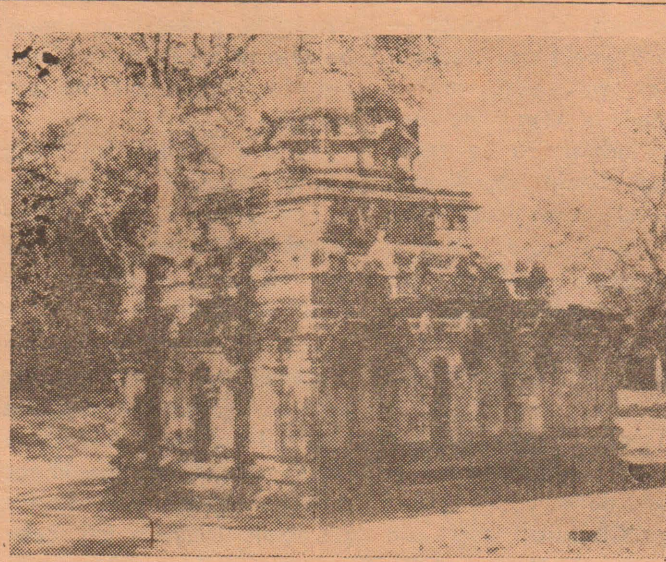
Circa A. D. 1000-1250

The ancient temple of Konesvaram on the summit of the rock at Trincomalee received Chola support and patronage as suggested by two recently discovered inscriptions from Manankeni and Nilaveli. The fragmentary inscription from Manankeni dated in a regnal year of the Chola prince Illankesvaratevar who was consecrated as ruler of Lanka, mentions Maccakesvaram which was another name for Konesvaram. The missing portion of this epigraph probably contained the details of some grant made by the Chola prince to this temple. The fragmentary epigraph from Nilaveli which could be assigned to the Chola period on palaeographic and other considerations records a grant of 250 Veli of irrigable and non-irrigable land in the localities called Kirikama and Kirikanta Kirikama to Maccakesvaram, the temple of Mahadeva on the promontory of Tirukonamalai. The **Konecar kalvettu** which records the traditions concerning the temple of Konesvaram seems to perpetuate in a confused manner, some of the Chola activities in relation to that temple.

Hindu - Buddhist harmony

Hinduism and Hindu institutions continued to make considerable progress even in the period that followed the restoration of Sinhalese monarchy under Vijayabahu I in 1070. The support extended by the rulers, the growing strength of Hindu communities in the island facilitated by further migrations of Hindus from South India and the general prosperity among the Tamil mercantile, military and artisan communities who held positions of considerable influence in society had contributed towards this development. The remarkable development of Hindu culture was also a reflection of the progress in constructional, artistic and cultural activity generated by agricultural prosperity in the north-central plain to an extent never before attained. Archaeological evidence reveals that society in this wide area which was the most developed and favoured one in the island was no longer homogeneous. Architectural and iconographic remains and inscriptions show that the population in important towns like Polonnaruwa, Padaviya, Kantalay, Panduvas nuvara and in many other localities in Rajarata, in the northern part of **Dakhinadesa** and in the eastern littoral was a mixed one—Sinhalese and Tamil. The art and architecture of this period such as they appear to have been from extant remains, represent two cultures—Buddhist and Hindu—which flourished together and in general harmony.

Hinduism and Buddhism as religious traditions, especially



Siva Devale No. 2, Polonnaruwa

at a popular level, were not mutually exclusive or antagonistic, and generally could and did co-exist in harmony. Even a zealous Buddhist ruler could worship Hindu deities and support Hindu institutions and such action on his part would not be regarded as detrimental to Buddhist interests. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries court life at Polonnaruwa was saturated with Hindu influences. The dynastic marriages contracted with the Pandyas of South India and the ruling house of Kalinga further exposed the Sinhalese court to Hindu religious and cultural influences. Indian princes and princesses, especially the ones from Kalinga, who had been accommodated at the Sinhalese court continued to follow their traditional ways. Hindu practices were adopted at the court and ideas and concepts

expressed in Hindu treatises came to be accepted and assimilated into the corpus of Sinhalese tradition.

The increasing exposure of the court to Hindu influences and their assimilation to some extent generated some degree of tension and a sense of conflict among the court circles. The manner in which they were resolved or exploited depended on the personality and outlook of individual rulers.

An episode recorded in the **Mahavamsa** in connexion with the behaviour of Tilokasundari, the chief queen of Vijayabahu I, suggests that influential members of the court had at times conflicting views and ways about religious observances which on occasion proved to be irreconcilable. She is said to have been publicly rebuked by the king on representations made by members

of the Sangha for her ways were considered to have been inimical to Buddhist sentiment.

Although Vijayabahu I is represented in traditional history as a great patron of Buddhism and espoused its cause with partisan zeal Hinduism and Hindu institutions seem to have continued to flourish under his rule as suggested by epigraphic evidence. The **Palamottai** inscriptions dated in his 42nd year records an endowment made by a Brahmin widow to the temple of Ten Kailasam otherwise called Vijayaraja-isvaram at Kantalay which was known as Vijayaraja-Caturvedimangalam. Both the Saivite temple and the Brahmadeya within which it was situated were significantly named after Vijayabahu. As this Brahmadeya had existed earlier with the name Rajaraja Caturvedimangalam it may be assumed that the temple of Ten Kailasam was a Chola monument which like the Brahmadeya was renamed after Vijayabahu I during his reign.

The Brahmin lady Nangai-cani made a substantial endowment to this temple for the merit of her deceased husband Yagna Kramavittan and the arrangements made in that connection brought to light some important details regarding the affairs of the temple. A Crown of the weight of six **Kalancu** of gold and a gold chain of three **Kalancu** were donated by her to the Shrine. A gold coin of one **Kacu** was deposited for the lighting of a lamp. Besides, the compound interest on eight **Kacu** deposited by her was to be used

or maintaining a flower garden in the temple premises. She also deposited twenty-three **Kacu** for the maintenance of seven **devadasis** who had to perform certain services in the temple. The endowments were placed under the custody of the **Velaikkarar** of the military unit called **Vikkirama Calamekatterinta Valankai** presumably named after **Vikramabahu**, the king's son.

Temple at

Nikaweratiya

Vikramabahu II and his son Gajabahu II who held authority over Rajarata in succession for 42 years until 1153 had strong leanings towards Hinduism and so was Manabharana I, the nephew of Vijayabahu I. The expressions Parvati pati dattasir vira Mahavrsa, 'the great bull of a hero to whom benediction has been granted by the husband of Parvati' and Rajanarayana, 'a king like into Vishnu', applied to Vikramabahu in the Sanskrit preamble of an inscription issued in his reign unmistakably shows that he was a devotee of Siva. It has been suggested with some degree of plausibility that he was, like his son Gajabahu, denied the consecration as he was not a Buddhist.

A Saivite temple that was found during the time of Vikramabahu at Magala otherwise called **Vikkiramacalamekapuram** was **Vikkiramacalameka isvaram**. The temple and the town named apparently after this ruler were in the neighbourhood of the Magala tank at **Nikaweratiya**. (Cu) **ntamalli alvar**, the daughter of **Kullotunga Chola** and a consort of **Virabahu** (another name of **Manabharana**) is said to have made a donation of a lamp and ten gold coins for burning a 'perpetual lamp' at this shrine.

(To be continued)

Follow the North, says 'Desha Vimukti'

"Follow the North" says the 'Desha Vimukthy' the Sinhala journal of the **Desha Vimukthi** organisation, in its editorial of Vol 5:7:-

From the very inception "Desha Vimukthy" has pointed out that the will of the people of this country was not reflected either through the Presidential Polls or the Referendum. We have consistently argued, with the support of facts and data, that both these "elections" fraudulent exercises.

"Today we state something more. We say that, bogged as it is in the marsh of the fermenting crisis of capitalism the compradore ruling class, would not in the future, hold elections which would even be

as "clean" as the ones they have just held. If this is the position, could it be the duty today of the progressive forces of this country to clamour for such elections and thereby entangle the masses in gigantic frauds?

"It is now certain that the U. N. P. government would hold a number of "elections" in 1983, both big and small. It is their scheme to hold selective by-elections, local government elections, district council elections etc. There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly, in their heads linger still a feeling of guilt regarding the frauds perpetrated by them on our people. Secondly, even in countries like the U.S.A., where the real masters of our rulers live,

there is a strong view that the "elections" of 1982 were mere frauds. (One of the reasons behind the Munro Scott expulsion incident too was this) Our rulers need badly to erase this image and display to the western world that basic democratic rights still prevail in Sri Lanka. Thirdly, it is also one of their aims, through these exercises, to divert the mounting opposition of the people to the economic burden which are being regularly foisted upon them.

"It was Premier Premadasa who said that the people of this country would time and again be despatched to "polling queues" in 1983. If that be their plan what should be our reaction to it? Would

the question of even governmental power, let alone the question of state power, be resolved by any of these "elections"? Further, how would the masses of this country assess those progressives of ours who once called for the boycott of district councils polls, should they now say "let us participate in local government elections?" It should be noted that the time has come when even the J.V.P'ers having experienced the hollowness of the district councils, today say aloud "boycott the local government elections".

"Even as regards an agitation for a general elections in 1983 we have very little to add. It is time that our political (Continued on Page 7)

The Marxian theory of the State

One of the achievements of Marx, whose death centenary we commemorate on March 14th, is that he penetrated the mystique surrounding the State and exposed its true historical origins.

Apologists for capitalism had argued that the State (whose main form is the armed forces but which includes the judiciary, the jails, the highly paid bureaucracy etc.) existed from the time that human civilisation evolved and that it was a neutral body that stood above society and above classes and did not take sides in the class struggle that went on in society.

It is easy to disprove this assertion. The State did not exist at the beginning of society. It is something that grew only at a particular stage of the development of society. Two of the important organs of the State today are the standing army and the police. Let us see when these institutions came into being.

The first

Standing army

The standing army was first established in England when William III returned to England from Normandy. Before that there was no standing army anywhere in the world. When kings or nobles went to war, they recruited mercenary soldiers who were disbanded at the end of the war. It was much an army that Megallana marched from India against his brother Kasappa of Sigiriya fame.

Similarly, the police force came into existence in England for the first time during the latter part of the first half of the last century when Sir Robert Peel, who was Home Secretary, introduced a Bill in Parliament for the establishment of a police force. That is why to this day the English policeman is called a "Bobby" - a shortened form of Robert.

Thus, we see that the State as we know it today did not exist from time immemorial. In the primitive communal society, which existed at the beginning of civilisation, there was no state. This was because the basis had not yet

been created for the suppression of one class by another. Classes had not yet come into existence.

The reason for this was that, because at that time productive forces were at such a low stage of development, man did not produce a surplus. Therefore, there

was no basis for the enslavement of one man by another. There was also no private ownership of the means of production (which, then, was the spear and the bow and arrow) for the simple reason that these could be fashioned easily by anyone.

How was order maintained in such a society? Each tribe freely elected one among them as the leader or the chieftain. Usually, he was the person physically most fitted to lead them in the hunt and in war. But he had no state machinery neither an army nor a police force to enforce his authority. He was voluntarily obeyed. Every one accepted his word. No powerful potentate in the modern world ever enjoyed the sincere respect and obedience accorded to a tribal chief.

With the development of the productive forces, man learnt to create a surplus through his labour and thus created the basis for one man to enslave another and the coming into being of slave

society. As class contradictions developed and as society advanced to its subsequent stages, the need for a strong, repressive state machinery made itself felt. The standing army and the police force were established. A judicial system and jails came into existence. Little by little, the

state machinery grew until, under capitalism when class contradictions developed to their highest point, the present highly militarised state came into existence. The armed forces are the principal form of this state machinery. Thus, it can quite clearly be grasped that the State arose as a result of the development of classes and class contradictions. That is why Marx described the state as an instrument of oppression of one class by another. It is not a neutral body standing above classes and society. It is an instrument of oppression by which the exploiting classes keep the exploited classes in subjection. It is an instrument that was gradually built up by the exploiting classes to keep the exploited classes down. It is the real force that governs in class society. Governments and parties come and go. But this state machinery goes on for ever, as long as the system of exploitation continues to exist.

It must be quite clear

that, without such a repressive state machinery, exploitation cannot last one minute. Without the guns in the hands of the armed forces and the police, the exploiting classes cannot keep down the exploited, who after all, constitute the overwhelming majority

of the population in any country. Anyone who has participated in a strike knows this. As soon as a strike breaks out and at the first telephone call of the employer, a truck load of police can be seen at the gates of the strike-bound factory.

They have come to safeguard, not the workers, but the person and property of the employer; And they have come armed. It is the guns in their hands that afford protection to the employer and his class. Without those guns the workers would not submit to exploitation even for a day. The army and the police are the watch dogs of the capitalists. This is why Chairman Mao correctly observed that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." That explains the Marxian theory of the State in a nut shell.

It is the quintessence of Marxism.

Marx taught that only by smashing by force the repressive, bourgeois state machinery (i. e. by revolution) and replacing it by the state machinery of the proletariat, which Marx termed the "dictatorship of the proletariat," can the working class overthrow capitalism and usher in socialism. It would not be possible for the working class to take over and administer the bourgeois state machinery. It had to be smashed and replaced by the proletarian state power.

Marx and Engels themselves had not come to final a conclusion on what kind of a state power would replace the bourgeois state power when they wrote the Communist Manifesto in 1848. It was only the experiences of the Paris Commune of 1871 (which Marx analysed within two days of its defeat in his famous "The Civil War in France") that enabled Marx to arrive at the conclusion which he incorporated as the only correction he ever made to the Communist Manifesto in the last joint preface by the authors, written before Marx's death.

Another question arises. Will the state exist for all times? Engels answered this question by stating that in as much as the state arose as a result of the emergence of classes and class contradictions, along with the abolition of classes and class contradictions and the emergence of a classless society, the State will ultimately "wither" away. That is, its functions of repression will become obsolete and, therefore, it will cease to exist.

But the abolition of classes and the emergence of a classless society will take a long time and represents a historical epoch. Only at the end of that period will classes disappear and the state "wither away."

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Professor John Walter Bicknell

at
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Tuesday 22 March, 1983

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Follow the North-Desha Vimukti

(Continued from page 6)

icians grasped the basic fact, that as far as the masses are concerned, elections are not a final objective. It is a path which they have tread time and again in order to get away from their numerous miseries; failing miserably on each occasion. We say that it is the duty of the progressives to redeem the masses from this futile myth rather than cultivating it further. However, our left, used as it is to decades of exhibitionism and parliamentarianism find different political paths totally unfamiliar. These gentlemen, who do not desire to take a

more arduous or protracted though more meaningful path, say in unison "we are adopting parliament merely as a platform" and slip back to the old, familiar, easy-futile path. We ask them how it could ever be the duty of the left to push the suffering masses today towards the parliamentary game which is the surest method of sacrificing them to one capitalist party or another.

"It is our strong belief that those who today show our masses a path external to this game are the northern youth. We are not embarking here on a debate as to their final objectives. But let us

state the facts clearly. The people of the Jaffna peninsula very clearly rejected the 1982 Presidential fraud'. A fact that is often forgotten is that even at the Referendum, 42% of the Jaffna voters kept away from the polling stations. (The boycott ran counter even to the calls of the opportunistic leadership of the T.U.L.F.). Yet it is the youth of the north, clearly the force behind the boycotts, who have prior to the 1982 electoral frauds as well as thereafter, effectively hurt this" government. Should we not then learn a few basic political lesson from them ?

LETTERS

The Palmyrah Industry

Parvathy Villa
Thikkam, ALVAI (P.O.)
The Editor,
Saturday Review
Sir,

Mr. Thevarajan writing in the *Saturday Review* on the Palmyrah Industry harks back to the past. What of the present and future? There is a vast untapped market for palmyrah arrack both in Sri Lanka and abroad. The significant attribute in Palmyrah Arrack is the low percentage of fusel oil (higher alcohol) which in other distillates are removed by maturing in casks. This gives a mellow smooth drink. This quality is further enhanced by trace elements present in Palmyrah toddy which has an inherently beneficial effect on the drink. This combination of properties makes it extremely attractive to the foreign market particularly in Scandinavian countries. The present demand for arrack is about 6 million gallons, partly met by alcohol from cocount and molasses.

Already a potstill distillery with a 200 gallon capacity is in operation at Kaithady under the auspices of the State Distilleries Corporation. This setup has no nexus with the Palmyrah Development Board. In view of the large quantum of unconsumed toddy going down the drain daily, the District Development Council decided in its wisdom in August 1981 to set up a Patent Still in Thikkam (Point Pedro electorate) with a capa-

city of 300 gallons to absorb the waste. It will become a reality in April this year.

Last month the Finance Ministry initiated steps off its own bat to set up a third Pot Still distillate—500 gallon capacity. This will be run by the Palmyrah Development Board, although its infrastructure does not permit it. This Project is in the preliminary stage of "calling for tenders." Nobody knows whether this is for home consumption or for export. If it is for the export market, it is better to instal foreign machinery of a reputed brand.

Recently the FAO sponsored a workshop in Jaffna on the Palmyrah Industry. Curiously enough there was very little talking at the workshop. Most of the delegates were tongue-tied as they were apparently born two arracks below par. It was not a status-symbol oriented talking shop as there was only a sprinkling of Members of Parliament to be exact only three were present. Where were the rest? Not even a message from the Minister of Regional Development was read. According to the local press, the conclusions it reached go back to square one—namely the recommendations made by the Sivasubramaniam Committee 11 years ago in March 1972.

Round and round the mulberry bush! Otempora, Omores!

Yours etc
M. Vadivetkarasan

A Presidential opportunity not to be missed

P. O. Box 406,
Bauchi, Nigeria.
28 th February 1983
The Editor,
"Saturday Review",
Dear Sir,

For quite a long time, I have been following with great interest the frank and outspoken comments by Mr. Gaminu Navaratne in his popular column; in his comments of the 15 th of January 1983 he has decided to see the better side of things. No doubt that occasional deviations may work wonders. True enough, President Jayawardene has hurdled the Presidential election and Referendum with unprecedented success to have more breathing time to complete the economic process which he started.

President Jayawardene is

hailed as being "greater than most of our ancient kings"; judged by any standards he will be all powerful for the next six years and now is the time for him to shed all parochial feelings, throw away the garb of a politician and to act as a true statesman. His mature political wisdom and his long and wide experience must be brought to bear to give practical shape to attain the much—publicised "JUST AND FREE SOCIETY".

The muzzling of the free press from time to time, curbing the just and fair activities of the Trade Unions, the unjust detention and torture of many innocent youngsters by the security forces either under the Prevention of Terrorism Act or under the Emergency are some of the dark

Ian's griping & the Queen's English!

Market Lane,
Manipay,
08-03-83.

The Editor,
Saturday Review,
Sir,

I read Mr. Ian Goonetilleke's article—Go national with English - (S.R.5-2-83.) with an astonishment which led me eventually to wonder whether you had read it yourself. For had you done so the internal inconsistencies would have aroused your editorial concern — to spike or not to spike the article. One should not be surprised if your correspondent like many others in Sri Lanka gets caught up in the cliches of militant Singhaputras.

However it strikes me that Mr. Ian Goonetilleke

is the only Englishman surviving in Sri Lanka along with his cater cousin Mildred from Mentmore (Week-end Sun). He rises up like an old issue of the Morning Star edited by Armand de Souza. Who else writes Queen's English these days apart from Godfrey Goonetilleke of the Marga Institute, Ajit Samaranayake of the Island, Mervyn de Silva of the Lanka Guardian, not forgetting you Mr. Editor. Why is Ian Goonetilleke griping about the Governor General, his namesake bedecked in his imperial regalia in a commemoration stamp issue?

It is not for nothing that Mrs. Shanti Arulanatham has done her valiant best to boost the British Coun-

cil production of Twelfth Night. As a toddler she would perhaps have watched better performances of Twelfth Night by the Old Girls of Chundikuli in a bygone era produced by Miss. E.M. Thillaiampalam. Those of us who have arrived late for the banquet of English, Literature still pine for more English better English and Queen's English modelled by your correspondent, a top notch wordsmith.

Yours etc,

Mrs. Mayanthie
Arunachalam

(Editor's Note: Aren't we glad that we did not consign Ian Goonetilleke's gripings to the spike? How else could we have provoked these pleasant musings from Market Lane, Manipay? —Editor SR)

Absence of safety during crises have driven Tamils to separatism

P.O. Box 5902,
Bahrain.

The Editor,
'Saturday Review'

Dear Sir,

The letter by M.H.M.Saheed (SR 19-02-83) is thought provoking, more so because Mr. Saheed is the President of All Ceylon Moors Association.

His idea of establishing four provincial administrations for the major ethnic groups (Up country Sinhalese, Low Country Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims) and a central government in Colombo appears to be a pragmatic solution for a cosmopolitan country like Sri Lanka. However, one wonders whether is it not too late to try out this hypothesis as a remedy for the problems of the Sri Lankan Tamils, who have been led the one way path of SEPARATION, over the years by the racist regimes of the country. Whether the Tamils would accept a provincial administration with fair autonomy as a permanent solution remains a question to be answered with the passage of time.

patches that have made serious inroads into the shape of "just and fair" society. President Jayawardene has as his goal. Nobody with a fair attitude ever challenges the fact that all culprits should be brought to book **but under the normal Laws of the land**—an action that will hail President Jayawardene a true democrat in word and deed.

The Dharmista and the builet are poles apart and the wailings—of those who have lost their bread—winners or

However, in the political history of a nation, no one can spell out with any degree of certainty a permanent solution to a national problem. Solutions to a national problems have to be evolved with the course of time. Let alone, the eventuality of these provincial administrations in Sri Lanka, it is certainly a fertile topic for critical analysis in the forums of your courageous journal.

After all the people of a nation, and not the "short sighted" politicians are the ultimate judges of the solution to any national problem. Once a set of Provincial Administrations are set up with language rights and fair degree of autonomy in the practical sense, and the people at large are happy and contented, naturally any cry for separation will lose its momentum. Once separate entities with 'Equality of opportunity' and right to exercise human liberties are established for one and all in one part of the

country or other, all the ethnic groups are bound to co-exist with Self-respect and feeling of SECURITY.

It must be realized that the feeling or the firm belief that, no part of the country is safe and secure at times of crisis, has been the driving force which led even the elite of Tamils, who were born and bred in Colombo also to the decisive solution of a separate state.

So, if the provincial administrations can provide Self-respect and Self-esteem to all the ethnic groups, well it could be a very palatable solution to most of our problems. Isn't it?

Further, this could well be the last resort for Hon. J. R. Jayawardene to accomplish his cherished dream of 'Statesmanship,' by oozing out the glue to keep the falling parts of the country intact.

Your admirer

S.K. Karunaharan

their cherished ones, of those who are discriminated against on the basis of language or religion, of those who were at the receiving end of the security forces, of those who have lost their basic democratic rights—will never go to shape the JUST AND FAIR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY—Instead, repression in any form will make it a far flung ideal.

Now is the big challenge to President Jayawardene to utilise the mandate and authority given by the people to

clear through partisan feelings and to show the world that he is a true democrat, a mature statesman and a real PHILOSOPHER KING in whose realm, JUST AND FAIR things happen, where all feel that they are free and independent citizens under the normal RULE OF LAW and where HUMAN RIGHTS are ensured. He must not miss this golden and rare opportunity to create a happy land where all could live as peaceful and peace-loving citizens.

V. Sivasubramaniam

Prize-day address at Jaffna College, Vaddukoddai

How sad this human shrinkage!

Principal Kadirgamar, Chairman and Members of the Board of Trustees, Parents, Members of the Faculty, Alumni and students, Ladies & Gentlemen.

As I have said to several other audiences in Jaffna and Colombo, it is a great honour for Mrs. Bicknell and me to be invited to be in Sri Lanka with you and especially to be asked to be principal guests at this Prize-giving. It has been a wonderful experience for us to be here at Jaffna College, to renew old acquaintances and friendships, to form new ones, to smell the old fragrances, to hear again the old sounds, whether they be the clip-clop of bullock feet on the pavement or the shrieks of "kuil" in the morning or of "kili" in the late afternoon, to see the familiar but ancient rhythmic movements of the paddy harvest, and to walk and talk among you as we once did nearly fifty years ago; to talk in the faculty and work with students.

What is a prize?

I have been asked, as you can see from the programme to say a few words at a time to you when you parents are impatient to see your children get their prizes, when you students are anxious to receive them, and when you faculty members are eager to see your star pupils get their recognition. You would really prefer not to have me say anything, I expect, but I promise not to trouble you long; but I do hope to trouble you!

What is a prize? In one definition a prize is something one takes by force, as a prize fighter or pirate does, but since this is a prize giving, not a prize snatching, we can set that definition aside. A prize is also defined as something won in a competition, or as something to be valued, or the act of valuing, as when we say "I prize your friendship". This definition is more apt, for in a real sense those who receive prizes today have competed, (and fairly I trust) for something we all value, or intellectual experience, and athletic prowess. We are here to recognise their achievement and award them some outward sign of that achievement.

Education and Society

For the prize itself is not what will be placed in their hands or recorded in their school record: no, the quality prized will be what actually went into the educational process—the mastery of information, and the experience of using it, or thinking about it. And it is precisely the educational process

that interests me as an educator and a human being concerned not only with the future of my own country but the future of Sri Lanka. I hope it concerns you parents, teachers, and the students gathered here today. While one cannot say that the kind of education a generation experiences solely determines the future of a society, there is no doubt that it has a significant effect. To ask therefore what kind of education we have in Sri Lanka now is to ask what is to be the future of Sri Lanka in 20 years? What kind of world do you want to live in 20 years from now?



Professor John Walter and Evangeline Bicknell

by Professor John Walter Bicknell

What I am getting at may be illustrated from a famous chapter in Twain's "Tom Sawyer" in which Tom manages to win a prize in Sunday School by trading off tickets that the other students earned until he has the required number to receive the 1st Prize—the Bible: when asked to recite the verses that he presumably had learned in order to win the prize, he was left in embarrassed silence.

Or we can recall T. H. Huxley's remark that students ought to pass out and ought to learn, but the fact is, he lamented, that "they do pass and they don't learn". We are all familiar with the tyoe, but perhaps the point can be highlighted by Lincoln's riddle: "If 3 pigeons are sitting on a fence and you have shot one, how many are left?" The obvious answer is easy, but as Lincoln told his friends it would be wrong, for with the sound of the gun, the other two pigeons would fly away, and none would be left. The first answer - 2 - would probably get you a pass, but would prove you have learned very little.

My conversations with teachers and students in Sri Lanka thus far suggest (unfortunately) that my three illustrations are not mere

jokes. One reads of tuition boutiques getting examination questions in advance, or of students transferring from one locale to another in order to have a better chance of qualifying for the University (the Tom Sawyer device); one hears of students getting material for examinations by heart and writing it down regardless of the question, and university lecturers complain to me that students can reproduce information by rote but cannot think about what they know or what it means.

The questions change from year to year, one professor said, "but the answers remain the same". In short students are passing, not learning, and as for wisdom, "it crieth out in the streets and no man attends it", as Falstaff put it over 400 years ago. What do we want? A generation of young men and women with cassettes and tape recorders in their heads instead of brains? A generation that doesn't know how to think or how to deal with a question unless there is a tutor or a handbook nearby to give them the answer? A nation of young buckets empty unless someone fills them up? Is that what you parents want? Is that what you students want to be? I cannot really believe it, and yet it is hard not to believe it when we see how much money

people are ready to spend at tuition boutiques, cramming their children's minds with in-

formation as though they were geese. A former Prize-Giving Speaker remarked from this platform that not only was there no free education in Sri Lanka, there was no education at all except perhaps in some of the private colleges; there was only teaching, but what he describes is hardly what I would call teaching — I would call it the art of stuffing.

I know what you will say: the government schools are ineffective, the teachers are badly prepared, our children will not get on unless they pass their O-Levels or their A-Levels; there are only 5000 places in the University even if 10,000 qualify, What am I to do, you will say? Who are you to tell me I am doing the wrong thing when you do not live here and know nothing about it? Well you have a point, but I assure you, the same thing is happening in my country, though perhaps not in the same way. And I have some claims to be interested in education in Sri Lanka.

Listen to this little story from an alumnus of Jaffna College. He told me that he had recently met a doctor who when asked if he were going to see the Shakespeare play in Jaffna, answered "Who is Shakespeare?" My alumnus friend was shocked, but not I, for I knew that even in America one might get such an answer, but that certainly if asked who Kalidasa was or about the Gita or Rama and Sita most Americans would draw a blank.

(Continued Overleaf)

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Starlit CE.

Modern man is essentially an incomplete man; having renounced the religion for which he was born, he is losing rapidly the culture that is based on that religion and humanity that is based on that culture.

Evelyn Waugh, the celebrated writer of contemporary England dealt with this theme in his novels which are a rage with English readers long after his death.

Sri Lanka which has seen centuries of alien rule fits in with the theme though writers of Waugh's calibre had not dealt with it in story or song. But we had something better—workers in the field who kindled the lamp of native culture in huts and hamlets throughout the country.

A rich Beggar: It was a lively meeting full of wit and humour. It was a rapid revision of the colossal work done by this hero of a hundred fights the king of the realm that stretched from Delft in the high seas off Kayts to Badulla near Kataragama the sylvan shrine in further south. He was indeed a king of a State, but the Emperor of a great cause. Talking to this legendary figure with due reverence and admiration I could gather that he had nothing to call his own; that he needed nothing; his family had been left to fend for themselves. He said, he was no reformer, savant, philosopher or statesman, but a simple plain blunt man that continued the great work started by Navalar. He summed up by saying "All school should be state schools; the freedom of the child's infinitely greater than the freedom of the parent with religious indifference. Of all freedoms religious freedom is the most precious"

It is good to remember this truly honourable man.
National Heroes — Ana-

A man called 'Hindu Board Rajaratnam'

garika Dhammapala in the South and Sri La Sri Arumuga Navalar of the North rank as national heroes whose genius did much to dispel the hybrid culture that enalved the people of this country ages past.

Though the Anagarika continues to inspire the Sinhala people and their Buddhist faith which has gained international recognition, Sri La Sri Arumuga Navalar who worked for national upliftment and felt proud of being a Ceylonese, has not attained the recogni-

tion which is his due in Free Ceylon. Nor is it difficult to see why when the two communities are getting far apart. Navalar's pioneering work in the educational field takes us to the subject of this title. "Hindu Schools for Hindu children every where" was the quest that fired Navalar in all his labours in Sri Lanka and South India. Translated educationally his dictum was that the environment that a school provides is the largest single factor contribution to the gradual evaluation of the distinct personality of the child.

champion reformer of the Hindus' and Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan who entered the Council after him, mainly on the efforts of Navalar, cleared the ground and paved the way for building Saiva Schools for the Hindu Children — a project that was obstructed by many an oppressive legislative that favoured the foreign missionary in his rapid establishment of Christian schools in towns and remote villages of the Jaffna District.

Then came "Honourable"

lar to me and would not allow me to rest till I translated Navalar's dream into reality," was the late Rajaratnam's tribute to this intermediary between the two.

The Hindu Board of Education founded about the end of 1923 activated this enterprise which in the educational history of this country would be a fitting subject for a doctoral thesis: but to the the ordinary man and woman it kindled the lamp of learning in many a



Schools came in December 1960, he graciously handed over a network of about 180 Tamil Schools, seven English Schools of secondary status, 15 weaving schools and 16 handicraft centres to the State. He retained the only orphanage he personally managed to the end of his life his last love and the best monument to his philanthropy and humanity.

Feeling relaxed in his eighties he called on me in my home to seek admission to his protegee who accompanied him. Lo and behold! What a metamorphosis in the man whom I had seen in my teens coated, suited and turbaned, with a moustache that meant business; I had seen him later even in his national dress with the inevitable cigar and the Chinese silk shawl that deserved to be retired on account of age. But here was a completely different man getting out of his rickety car and balancing himself on his wooden sandals, looking like the Sages of Old and still declaring that he was in 'loco parentis' to met the Principal of Jaffna Hindu College—'to beard the lion in his den' were his words. He was a veritable picture of Peace and Goodwill.

by

N. Sabaratnam

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Fore-Runners: Sir Mutucumaraswamy, the first Tamil Legislative Councillor who described Navalar as 'the

Rajaratnam a young, smart, tall and unbending young cricket playing lawyer elected to the 1924 Legislative Council which happily lasted for seven years. A simple pleasant looking man called Arunasalam from Karainagar who had spent a huge fortune and all his energies on the Saiva cause started Rajaratnam on Saiva Training College for teachers. It was the need for an army of teachers that delayed the Renaissance of Saive Schools for Saiva children who were hitherto debarred from wearing Holy Ash if they went to a Christian School.

"The villain of the piece is that wonderful man who carried the message of Nava-

humble home that was able to keep its traditional way of life intact.

Metamorphosis. Architect of the Hindu Board quit politics for full time work in the Board in 1931; and to the end of his life he was indeed the Hindu Board itself. Like Sri Kanthiah Vaitthianathan about two decades later who renounced politics after being a Cabinet Minister to the service of the Lord of Ketheeswaram, Honourable Rajaratnam ceased to be "Honourable" and was engaged in the really honourable task of defending and protecting the freedom of the child.

When the take-over of

Prize-day Address: How sad this human shrinkage!

(Continued from Page 9)

The real question is whether your children are to be nourished on some of the mental food to be found in your own classic literature, art and music, whether Buddhist, Hindu or Muslim—and perhaps from some Western masterpieces translated into Tamil. In the Prize giving Address I just mentioned, the Principal of University College, Colombo, spoke mournfully of "generations of students who can read and write their mother tongue but know nothing of our great writers and poets or of their writings." How many here, one might ask, have read through the book of wisdom written by Tiruvalluvar, a weaver and a pariah from the Madras area, who centuries ago gave to the world his Kural, now translated into many many other tongues? How many of you know who

Kalidasa was or have read or seen his great play Sakuntala, as I saw it performed here in Jaffna perhaps 55 or 60 years ago?

What is the value of all that, you may ask, what does it matter, literature, art, music, philosophy and history? I shall deal with this at length on another platform, but let me make a brief attempt here today. I will not claim too much we know from recent history that people of the highest so-called education and culture can become human monsters as in the Concentration Camps of Germany to mention only the most obvious example. Be that as it may, my first point is that we need to educate ourselves and others as human beings. We are born men and women; shall we live and die as men and women or as computers, tape-recorders?

My father used to say that one of the saddest life

summaries he ever heard was this: "he was born a man and died a boutique-keeper." It was not that he had anything against boutique keepers; one might just as well say he was born a man and died a surgeon; or she was born a woman and died a nurse.

and books and the society about them they would become pieces of human beings, ploughs not humans ploughing, a typewriter not a person who types, a welding torch not a man welding, an M.P. not a man or woman who sits in parliament. In short the per-

ingful or if the policy of the minister makes sense.

Some critical study of the best that is known and thought in the world" can at least put us in touch with authors who have asked the fundamental

... a human being ending up as his or her vocation

No, what shocked my father was the fact of the shrinkage; a human being had become his or her vocation.

He no doubt remembered the American philosopher and writer, Emerson, who called a scholar "man thinking" and told his fellow countrymen that unless they studied nature

son that narrowed has not only shrunk from the child who heard the birds and watched the stars and asked "ain (why) Uppah, ain Ummah" to a limited and docile instrument of the bureaucrat or foreman who is delighted that you never ask why or wonder if what you are doing is mean-

questions about human life and such ideas as truth, justice, beauty and love as well as the artists who have shown us what the world looks and sounds like and how chaos may be harmonized.

To be continued next week

Govt. tampering with justice: L.S.S.P. protest

"Recent Government actions constitute a threat to the administration of justice. We enter our strongest protest" says the Lanka Sama Samajist Party in a statement issued by the Party's General Secretary, Mr. Bernard Soysa.

Here is the full text of the statement:

"Government's behaviour towards the Supreme Court has created the fear of a serious and dangerous interference with the course of justice. Whatever defects there have been in the system of administration of justice in Sri Lanka there has persisted in the public mind a confidence in the judiciary to the extent that it has been believed that whatever the political leanings judges may have, the Judiciary will not necessarily lend itself to being the mere instrument of a Government to do whatever the Government wants it to do. Government's

actions have created the fear that what is being sought to be done is to remove from the courts of law in Sri Lanka that degree of independence it has maintained.

"Let it be remembered that this Government made the inauguration of the present Constitution the occasion to deprive of office judges to whom the guarantee had been given earlier of continuance in office pending good behaviour.

"In the midst of public agitation about Presidential Elections and Referendums last year, the Government released to the press, for no apparent reason, the correspondence between His Excellency, the President, and His Lordship, the Chief Justice, in respect of a matter which touched upon the status and independence of the Supreme Court. From recent actions of Government, it would appear that the fears

entertained by the Chief Justice in regard to Government's attitude to the Supreme Court were not unfounded. The Government's decision to pay the fine imposed by the Supreme Court upon an Assistant Superintendent of Police where the Supreme Court has held him responsible for the violation of a fundamental right enshrined in this Government's own Constitution, and his immediate promotion to the position of Superintendent destroy public confidence that the Courts can be resorted to as a means of safeguarding the fundamental rights said to be recognised by the Constitution.

"The recent steps taken to inquire into the behaviour of judges of the Supreme Court appear to carry further the impairment of the status and powers of the Supreme Court.

"All these actions constitute a threat not only to the administration of justice but to the existence of democratic institutions. We enter our strongest protest against this course of action

G. C. S. U. slam the Budget

The 1983 budget could prove to be the death knell of Capitalism, says the Government Clerical Services Union in a press statement signed by the General Secretary, Mr. Gunasena Mahanama.

The statement says: "Doling out Rs. 100/- to those drawing below Rs. 1,000/- is a sugar coated pill and has not brought any relief to the working class. This is aggravated by the decision taken not to increase the present amount paid for every point increase in cost of living index at the rate of Rs. 2/- Increase of guar-

anteed price of paddy by Rs. 5/- has no effect in the face of spiralling cost of fertilizers, agro chemicals and utensils....

"The Government has warned the masses now itself to be prepared to suffer the consequences of all these. But we like to point out that the down trodden masses are not prepared to carry out the instructions of this Government who pamper capital-

"The only remedy is to accelerate the expulsion of the treacherous U.N.P. Government. This could be done only by the organized working class."

JAFFNA'S BIG MATCHES ARE ON!

Victor Kiruparaj writes:

By the time the SATURDAY REVIEW is on the public paper stands on Saturday 19th March, the two BIG MATCHES of the North, the 85th prestigious BATTLE between Jaffna Central and St. John's and the 66th BATTLE OF THE GOLDS between St. Patrick's and Jaffna College will have reached their penultimate stage—be it, a heart throbbing hair raising 'affair' or a dull and insipid 'fare'.

The picturesque Jaffna Central Maidan and the Patrician grounds will be a hive of activity with a cacophonous accompaniment this afternoon of the second and final day.

V. Paul Prahalathan a fifth year coloursman cum allrounder leads Jaffna Central, while R. Mahinda another all-rounder skipper St. John's.

S.L.P. Melanius, a fine all-rounder Captains the Patrician outfit while another good all-rounder B. Gnaneshan - leads Jaffna College.

The Jaffna Central and St. John's appear to be evenly matched. Tall scoring has been their prominent feature. Sad to say that poor atrocious fielding has been their main lapse.

As for the Patrician—Jaffna College encounter, the former appear to have an edge over the latter.

The glorious uncertainties of KING CRICKET was proved beyond doubt last year when St. John's from the throes of an imminent innings defeat, miraculously 'survived' twenty nightmarish overs to force a NERVE TINGLING draw.

Alongside is a FLASH BACK (March 1982) of the 84th ENCOUNTER—the NERVE TINGLING AFFAIR in VERSE or is it WORSE!

The scores at a glance of the four matches played last week:

- Hartley trounced Mahajana by an innings.
Hartley 1st Innings 279
Mahajana 1st Innings 124
2nd Innings 151
- St. Patricks beat Manipay Hindu by 82 runs.
St. Patricks 1st Innings 200
2nd Innings 92 wkts. 5wkts. declared
Manipay Hindu 1st Innings 103, 2nd Innings 107
- Union drew with Jaffna College.
Union 1st Innings 61
Jaffna College 1st Innings 70, 2nd Innings 27 for 5.
- St. John's drew with Jaffna Hindu.
St. John's 1st Innings 178
2nd Innings 37 for 3.
Jaffna Hindu 1st Innings 179 for 9. 2nd Innings 92 for 8.

Flashback-Big Match '82

Victor Kiruparaj

It was the Battle of the North—The 84th. The Johnian last pair, Wigna—Wijaya both For Twenty Nightmarish Overs, they stood their ground When Contral's Uma-Tom did hurl and tear and pound To no avail; St. John's did turn certain Defeat Into a Nerve Tinkling Draw—What a splendid Treat! Central's cheers, jeers and songs no more did rent the air, A Death-like Silence prevailed after such dismal fare. St. John's had indeed performed for well-Tutored Role, Gluing themselves to the stumps; wasn't it their Goal! Central at One Hundred and Eighty-Two for four, Did sit pretty at close of play on first day-phew:

With lead of Forty-Three, innings they could have closed, And sent in St. John's again, they could then have scored—The Deficit cleared, and then switched on to normal play; Wouldn't it have paved the way for Central's Final Say! But Central, for hours two, did carry on regardless On Second day; such Mammoth Score was all needless

For records we shall go—her mentors seemed to coo, It was Paul the Centurion, they all seemed to woo; When Central at huge Three Hundred and Nine for five Did declare—they near gave thought to keep game alive. Such late closure—saw St. John's their shutters lower, At tea, the score read a Hundred and one for four;

With yet a deficit of Sixty Nine to clear— To avoid the innings, they ne'er seemed to care; When all did now point to a dull and tame affair, Uma struck Terror—Wrought Havoc, five scalps his share; There was much jubilation in Jaffna Central's Camp, They all did rave and rant and turn and twist and stamp, Nine wickets had fallen with an hours play still left, The match seemed well in Central's bag—so sure and deft; But the Johnian last pair had ideas other, The vicious swings of Uma-Tom ne'er did them bother; These heroes did dourly defend, with Bat, Pad and Limb Till Stumps—looking none the worse for Ordeal grim.

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Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

An unscheduled stop for new M.P.

Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam, the new TULF MP for Vaddukodai, was 'initiated' into the hazards of life in Jaffna—especially at night—on his maiden official visit to his constituency.

He was "blooded", while he was on his way last Saturday (Mahasivarathri) to the famous Sivan Temple at Karainagar known to devotees as 'Eelathu Chidambaram' after a reception at Moolai, when around 8 p.m. his car was stopped at Ponnalai by security forces.

Neelan had to get down from his car and bashfully introduce himself as the MP for Vaddukodai before security personnel waved him on!

German campaign against Terrorism Act

An association for endangered peoples in West Germany (GESELLSCHAFT FÜR BEDROHTE VOLKER) has sent President Jayawardene 406 signatures of persons protesting against arbitrary arrest and detention of priests and others under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

In a letter addressed to the President Dr. Tessa Hofmann says: 'Please let me add that the citizens of my country indirectly support your Government by their taxes. You are receiving tremendous financial support from our government. Citizens of

this country may therefore demand that the internationally recognized standards of human rights regulations and democratic behaviour is also watched by the authorities of your country.

We shall continue our signature collection until the day we learn about the abolition of the Prevention of Terrorism Act."

'NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR NEWS ITEM

D. S. K. Sitrapalam Secretary, University of Jaffna Teachers' Association writes:

"With reference to the news item concerning the visit of the University of Jaffna Teachers' Association delegation to the Gurunagar Army Camp appearing in the front page of the "SATURDAY REVIEW" dated 12th March 1983, I wish to make it clear that the U.J.T.A. is not in any way responsible for the contents of the said item. Please publish this in your next issue to clarify the position of the delegation."

CHAVAKACHCHERI SEMINAR

A Seminar on "DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY THROUGH GRAMODAYA AND PRADESHAYA MANDALAYAS" will be held with the co-operation of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation at Chavakachcheri Ladies' College on Saturday, the 19th beginning at 8.30 a.m.

Budget pinch is yet to come ...

(Continued from page 2)

Of course there are several illegitimate ways of making money, such as by running kasippu dens, bookies or whore shops, or indulging in bribery and robbery. And increasing numbers of people appear to be taking up these trades or vocations, with the police generally turning a blind eye.

It will be several weeks, if not months, before the full impact of the latest round of price increases will come to be felt by the mass of the people. The resulting mass discontent may be of such a magnitude as to rock the Government. By then it would be difficult to find anyone who would say that he ever voted UNP!

Printed at St. Joseph's Catholic Press, 360, Main Street, Jaffna, for the publishers New Era Publications Ltd., 118, 4th Cross Street, Jaffna on March 19th, 1983. Registered as a newspaper at the General Post Office, Sri Lanka under QJ/101

U.S. Tamils give hint of loss of faith in the T.U.L.F.

A call to build a viable organization at grass-roots level to form a Constituent Assembly for Tamil Eelam has been made by the Eelam Tamils Association of America. This organization of Ceylon Tamils based in Massachusetts urges an all-party effort among the Tamils to establish a new and vibrant group of people who will spearhead the movement for independence.

In what could be interpreted as an oblique criticism of the TULF policies the statement is signed by the Secretary General Mr. T. Sritharan who at one time worked in close rapport with the TULF Leadership.

Parliamentary politics

Here is the full statement sent to the SATURDAY REVIEW by Mr. Sritharan who is also a member of the five-man Eelam Liberation Council in America:—

"The Eelam Tamils Association of America, at the Committee Meeting held on February 15, 1983 in Boston studied the latest position in Eelam and Sri Lanka. At this meeting it was observed that J. R. has rolled up and stacked in a corner the ever so popular general election scenario. There is no question of waiting for the general election so that the next government may do something for the Tamils. Perhaps Sri Lanka may have to wait longer than six years to see another general election. Perhaps never will it see one.

"More than three precious but tragic decades have elapsed in our playing the election game in a futile attempt to find national self-respect.

"The recent referendum has clearly indicated two things: 1. The support for Eelam. 2. A clear "NO"

for the continuation of the present Government and therefore any sort of participation in that Government by our leaders.

"The TULF need not wait for any more "clear" statement than this from the people.

"Let us make ourselves clear to all that our policy is not to get involved in Ceylon parliamentary politics with the idea of getting a seat in the power structure. Far from it, we prefer to mind our own business of developing a nation for our people. However, any means, if it will help us towards our goal is worthy of being used. It is in this sense that we say that the next district elections should be used to build a viable organization at grass roots level to form a Constituent Assembly for Tamil Eelam.

"Let this be an all party effort to establish a new and vibrant group of people who will spearhead the movement for independence. Discarding meaningless competition amongst ourselves let us band together as single minded nation and act with responsibility.

"All we who have pledged for the creation of Tamil Eelam should come forward to participate in this election solely for the purpose of forming our new nation.

The immediate strategy would be: 1. To demand the withdrawal of the armed forces from Eelam areas. 2. To demand the release of all political prisoners who were arrested

under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and to see that this heinous legislation is repealed. 3. To implement the wishes of Tamils at the referendum and the TULF's decision to resign from Parliament with effect from August 1983.

"It would be utterly naive and futile to expect any form of redress through negotiations with any Sinhalese government. The government is well aware of our problems as documented in the UNP manifesto before the election. If they have any semblance of sincerity or goodwill towards the Tamils, they can very well do what is to be done without our bargaining or negotiations.

No more negotiations

"Even to implement their own manifesto regarding the Tamils, there should be a change of heart. There is an acute shortage of "heart" among the Sinhalese politicians. Also it would be folly to expect them to commit political "harakiri" by trying to speak in favour of Tamils.

"Let us put a stop to this kind of expectations of humane justice from the Sinhalese rulers. Any further continuation of such expectation by Tamil leaders should be clearly understood not as a "mistake caused by lack of understanding," but as a callous attitude towards our nation.

"No more negotiations. No more bargaining. Let us act!"

A joke's a serious thing!

"President Jayawardene invited President Fidel Castro to pay an official visit to Sri Lanka. "President Castro jok-

ed: "Have you got Mr. Reagan's sanction?" CEYLON DAILY NEWS", Wednesday, March 16, 1983.