

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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Editorial

Why breed more terrorists?

More than two and a half years ago—on July 14, 1979—President Jayawardena issued a special decree to the then Army Chief-of-Staff, Brigadier T. I. Weeratunga. The decree said: "It will be your duty to eliminate in accordance with the laws of the land the menace of terrorism in all its forms from the Island, and more especially from the Jaffna District. I will place at your disposal all resources of the state..... This task is to be performed by you and completed before the 31st December, 1979."

That, as we said, was over two and a half years ago.

Recently on 14th February, 1982, a national newspaper carried a leading news item on page 1, under the headline "Lot more terrorists in the North than estimated." The report said: "The Police have uncovered evidence which shows that the terrorist movement in the North is much larger than the number estimated earlier."

There is obviously a moral when one juxtaposes the two. While no one in his right senses expects the Government to sit back and abdicate its authority to put down violence, there are, surely, more important aspects of the question that merit attention. Can terrorism be simplified or reduced to a question of "law and order"? Terrorists, whether we like them or not, cannot be equated with robbers and thieves and thugs and looters and arsonists. The only thing in common between the two is their addiction to violence; and violence certainly cannot be condoned by any civilized society which believes in the rule of law.

But if terrorists were really a breed that could be classed alongside robbers and thugs, President Jayawardene's decree two and a half years ago would have been effectively carried out by December 31, 1979. Youth terrorism is a violent manifestation of something deeper and something fundamental to the national fabric. Human relationships are involved, relationships that affect not only two peoples, races or nations, whatever you call them, but also the future course and progress of the country.

Two and a half years ago while Policemen had become regular victims of terrorist attacks, the Army in Jaffna enjoyed comparative credibility in the eyes of the public. What has happened since?

Military solutions are no answer to political problems; What more, military solutions could never be achieved, even with all the might of a military machine—as the world's most powerful nation on earth, the United States of America, discovered in Vietnam years ago. Why breed more terrorists?

New political lobby to campaign in North: T.U.L.F. denies report about M.P.

A new political lobby is likely to emerge in the North in time for the elections, which could well lead to new faces and alignments within the Tamil United Liberation Front itself.

Spearheading the new political lobby is a group of Colombo-based Tamil businessmen, professionals and entrepreneurs already engaged in a blue print for the economic development of the North, and prepared to pull roots from Colombo and shift their interests to Jaffna.

This group consists of persons who have up to now not engaged in open politics but who have extended tacit support to the aims and objectives of the TULF.

Sources close to this group say that the intention of the group is to remain independent of any existing political party and if necessary, campaign on its own or extend support to specific candidates of its own choice; and also that their objectives are more economic than political. But it is believed that this move could bring to the surface many of the un-spoken contradictions within the TULF, such as the "HAWKS AND THE DOVES," the moderates and militants, and even the pro-American and pro-Soviet attitudes.



Yogeswaran:
The centre of speculation

Meanwhile, recent speculative reports that Mr. Vettivelu Yogeswaran M. P. for Jaffna is about to resign and go into

political exile in India have been denied in TULF quarters. A top TULF source told the SATURDAY REVIEW that there was no truth whatever in these reports. The source added that Mr. Yogeswaran, his wife and mother-in-law went on a pilgrimage to India on 28th January and were due to return to Sri Lanka within a month. It is also stated that these false reports were inspired by a pro-Peking Tamil paper which had all along been hostile to the TULF. The paper carried a report recently that Mr. Yogeswaran is on the way out as a direct result of the amity talks between President Jayawardena and the TULF.

The paper also hinted that the TULF was trying to cover up Mr. Yogeswaran's impending exit from the party by trying to make out that Mr. Yogeswaran's services were more needed abroad than here to counter attempts by expatriate Tamil groups to pursue their bid to declare TAMIL EE-LAM on foreign soil, unilaterally.

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MAHASIVARATHRI

on February 22

Maha Sivarathiri will be observed as usual at Thiruketheeswaram, with 'anna-thanams' (free meals) on 20, 21 and 22 February. There will be special trains and buses to Thiruketheeswaram for the convenience of pilgrims as well as special boat services from Kerativu. The Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation will relay the proceedings.

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News Briefs

MASONS' TRAINING COURSE TO BEGIN

A Training Course for Masons will be started soon at Nadeswara College, Kankesanthurai. Old boys and others interested will be allowed to follow the Course.

"ADVERTS THAT SELL WOMEN"

The Jaffna Women's Study Circle held a two day-long exhibition on "Advertisements that sell Women" on 15th Monday at the Evelyn Rutnam Memorial Institute, Thinnaveli. The Exhibition was declared open by Dr. James Ratnam more than 500 viewers were reported to have participated.

'SANGARAM' GOES ON THE BOARDS AGAIN

'Sangaram' a modernised play in the folk drama style, written and directed by C. Maunaguru, will once again go on the boards today (20 February) at Illavalai, Jaffna. The production is handled by the Yal Nadaka Arangakaloori. Maunaguru will also play the role of the workers' leader.

CREDIT COUNCIL ELECTIONS

Nominations for the election of representatives to the Credit Council of the Education Department, Jaffna will be accepted on 24 February. The toughest fight will be among teachers who elect 17 of the 21 representatives.

PULAVARMANI

COOMARASWAMIPILLAI PASSES AWAY

The reputed, traditional Tamil and Hindu scholar Pulavarmani T. Coomaraswamipillai—who won the respect of the late Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan and Dr. S. Natesapillai for his scholarly brilliance and eloquence—passed away on 15 February. He was a long-standing teacher at Ramanathan College Chunakam.

PROMOTED HIGH COURT JUDGE.

Mr. K. Palakidnar, District Judge, Jaffna who has been promoted a High Court Judge, took his oaths as High Court Judge before the Chief Justice in Colombo on 15 February,

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Political Causerie

It was a shameful lament by the UNP leadership at the last Government Parliamentary Group meeting that the JVP's propaganda was more efficient and effective than its own!

One would have been able to understand the situation and sympathise with the UNP were it in the opposition. For it has been the tradition in Sri Lanka since the 1970's for the ruling party or parties to endeavour to deny opposition parties even legitimate avenues of dissent and protest.

But now the UNP has been in power for nearly five years, is "impregnable in Parliament as the Sigiriya rock" (that is what some party members still say!) and has at its command, besides seven daily and five weekly state-owned or controlled newspapers, a media which was not available to any previous regime, namely, TV.

The Propaganda Outlets

With such a pervasive and powerful array of propaganda outlets, one would have expected the UNP to have been able to smother any opposition campaign before it got off the ground.

But it has not been able to do that, though not for lack of trying. Why? Credibility, my dear Sir, Credibility.

No previous regime in our country has been guilty as the present UNP administration of saying or promising one thing and doing quite another thing, so that by now large numbers of people have come to accept official statements with more than the proverbial pinch of salt.

And it is rather late in the UNP's tenure to mount a campaign to restore its credibility, though it has no alternative but to make the attempt till the last.

Over-rating of the JVP

As for the JVP, it certainly has been moving about as in the pre-1971 days indoctrinating youth on the virtues and validity of Marxian concepts. But to suggest that the entire opposition to the White Paper on Educational Reforms was mobilised by it is to give it more credit than due.

Several educationists who had nothing to do with the JVP were among the first to alert the nation about the threat to free education inherent in the reform proposals. The politicians, including those of the JVP and some of the UNP, joined in later.

Under the guise of ensuring "a more efficient utilization of resources of both the state and the community" what has been planned is no less than the dissolution of the free education system, by enlisting private sector participation, just as the Government has done in certain other spheres.

U.N.P. & credibility: Mrs. B's fears

This would have been obvious to any discerning reader without a vested interest in the proposed reforms. For the Government is under obligation to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to curb ALL subsidies and the two remaining major subsidies are those on Health and Education.

The free state health service now exists only in name, following the grant to state doctors of the right of private practice and the acute shortage of drugs and facilities in hospitals and clinics.

The establishment of a fee-levying medical school last year was regarded by many people as the first step in the plan to limit free education. Then came the White Paper. No wonder there was an eruption of popular feeling, beginning in the universities, including the Jaffna campus (where the JVP cannot be said to be active).

A cry against Marxism

In opposition circles, the attempt to portray the JVP as the biggest threat to the UNP and, hence, the biggest opposition force in the country, is regarded as having sinister significance.

Is the plan come election-time, some opposition politicians wonder, to raise the cry "Save Sri Lanka from Marxism"—a favourite tactic with the UNP since the early days and one which is likely to be accepted and even supported in the West, especially by the US — provoke some incidents involving the JVP and then postpone or even cancel elections?

Mrs. B's policy statement

One who appears to be firmly convinced that the UNP would attempt to do away with elections is Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike. She reiterated her fear at the Bogambara rally last week,

where she virtually launched her party's election campaign with a major policy statement.

But her reported statement that the manner in which this might be attempted would be by seeking a mandate to crush the Eelam movement is not convincing.

In the first place, a regime which shied of a referendum on the Kalawana issue and barely obtained a third of

signation, if the postponement of the elections had been asked to fight the Eelam movement?

by GAMINI

the total number of registered voters — the minimum necessary for endorsement of any proposal at a referendum — at the district development council elections, is unlikely to seek a mandate on the Eelam issue.

What more power can the Government ask for when it has got all the power it needs to crush any movement under the Suppression of Tigers Act?

Secondly, a referendum would also be in the nature of a general election. What if the vote is negative? Re-

In the last days of the last regime also, fears were expressed — mostly by UNP leaders — than an attempt might be made to postpone or cancel election and carry on with the aid of the military. These fears gathered strength following statements made by certain SLPers, who themselves were afraid of what was in store for them at the hands of the people!

In recent times, too, there have been statements by some UNPers that economic



Mrs. Bandaranaike

development was more important than elections, that the Government needed more than six years to complete its development programme, etc.

So, naturally, all kinds of speculation can and do arise.

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Medicine

Transplanting the Liver

Dr. Thomas Starzl of the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine is so shy about his personal life that he won't tell interviewers how many children he has. He is equally reticent about his professional career. "He's not out for the spectacular," says a colleague. "He works hard and he knows he's doing a good job other people can't do." Starzl, in truth, is a super-star of surgery one of the very few men capable of transplanting the human liver.

within twelve hours. About 80 or 90 "organ procurement" centers, linked by computer keep tabs on patients who require livers and match them with suitable donors. Starzl spends almost as much time travelling to check out potential liver for transplantation as he does in the operating room. The surgery itself is far more intricate and time-consuming than the transplantation of a kidney or a heart. "It's a Herculean effort," says the 55 year old Starzl.

(From a Newsweek report)

The slender, dark-haired surgeon performed the first liver transplant while he was at the University of Colorado Medical School in 1963. Of the 400 liver grafts performed since, he has done more than half. Considering the fact that 4,600 kidneys were transplanted last year in the United States alone, these figures don't seem imposing. But of all organ transplants, none is more formidable than Starzl's surgical speciality.

SUCCESS: Thanks largely to Starzl's pioneering techniques and methods of follow-up care to prevent rejection, the success of liver transplants has improved steadily. The first time a patient survived for more than a year was in 1967. Today 75 percent of liver recipients can expect to live that long, and of those who do, 85 percent survive at least another four years. About 30 of Starzl's patients have lived more than fifty years and one for twelve.

**"If it fails,
nothing works"**

The pinkish, triangular liver is the largest of body's internal organs and the most varied in its functions. It acts as a filter for toxic wastes and dead blood cells. It synthesizes glucose for energy and manufactures most of the enzymes needed for the complex chemistry of the body. It also makes such key blood proteins as albumin. "The liver is the center of metabolism," says Dr. Shun Iwatsuki, one of Starzl's surgical colleagues. "If it fails, nothing works."

Transplanting a liver presents a monumental problem of logistics and surgical skill. Unlike the kidney, the liver doesn't come in pairs and therefore can't be taken from a living person. It must be removed from a recently deceased donor and implanted

Princess Diana goes to Brixton

Four months pregnant and blooming, DIANA, PRINCESS OF WALES, ventured last week (reports TIME of February 8) into London's seedy Brixton area. Predominantly black, and the scene of last spring's fiery riots, Brixton was staging a fair to raise funds a local, racially mixed school. Dressed in a turquoise coat dress and squired by beaming expectant father PRINCE CHARLES, Diana was greeted with an impromptu baby shower. Among the gifts; a Teddy bear, a toy corgi (her mother-in-law's favourite breed of dog), a 12-lb loaf of West Indian bread baked in the shape of a duck, and a lapel button that said CHARLIE IS MY DARLING.

The royal couple never carry money, so an aide had to slip Di and Charles a few pence when they decided to play bingo. Di proved lucky, walking off with a set of plastic spoons and forks, just the thing for the next royal picnic. Charles won nothing.

During the 90 minute visit, Diana demonstrated her concern for the family budget. Told that tickets for a local disco night of reggae and soul music were going for \$3.78, she mentioned that the price was steep. Informed that she could come as a guest, Di took the free tickets, smiled impishly and declared: "I might just turn up."

Discrimination against Tamils (1)

Why less Tamil teachers per student ratio?

President J. R. Jayewardena in an interview to P. T. I. on the eve of President Sanjiva Reddy's visit to Ceylon repudiated the charges of discrimination by his Government against any section of the population. Hence, I feel it is my bounden duty to bring to the notice of the public including the President and his ministers some of the glaring discriminations by this Government against the Tamils.

20.5% and 4.5% Muslim teachers as against a Muslim population of 7% and whereas this reveals that on the basis of the Census of 1971, 17% more Sinhala teachers, 14.5% less Tamil teachers and 2.5% less Muslim teachers have been appointed; and whereas there are thousands of vacancies for teaching appointments in Tamil schools with 283 vacancies in 63 schools in the Kayts Electorate alone; and whereas

by **K. P. RATNAM M. P.**

I have already pointed out to the President the planned discrimination against the Tamil students in appointing teachers and requested him to take immediate action to appoint 4584 Tamil teachers so as to bring the teachers in the Tamil Schools on a par with those in the Sinhala Schools,

I have calculated the shortage of Tamil teachers from the replies given to me in Parliament. Therefore nobody can challenge this calculation,

The number of Schools and the number of Students and Teachers at present in them are as follows:

Sinhala Schools: 6,867,
Tamil Schools: 1,601 Muslim
Schools: 649

Sinhala pupils: 26,29,177
Tamil pupils: 4,44,370 Muslim
pupils: 2,07,240

Sinhala teachers 133,264
Tamil teachers: 14,570 Muslim
teachers: 8,880.

According to these figures there is a Sinhala teacher for 23.2 Sinhala students a Tamil teacher for 30.4 Tamil Students and a Muslim teacher for 23.3 Muslim Students. If there is to be a Tamil teacher for 23.2 Tamil Students as in the case of the Sinhala students **4584 Tamil teachers should be appointed immediately.**

I have pointed out this shortage of Tamil Teachers in a private member's motion for which I gave notice last year itself. The motion is as follows:

"Mr. K. P. Ratnam, - Appointment of 4,000 Tamils Teachers, - That whereas 22,399 Sinhala teachers, 1,518 Tamil Teachers and 1,164 Muslim teachers have been appointed by this Government from the time of its coming to power up to October 1979; and whereas the percentages of this appointments in relation to the census of 1971 are 89% Sinhala teachers as against a Sinhala population of 72% 6% Tamil teachers as against a Tamil population of

according to the population statistics still there are vacancies for another 4,000 Tamil teachers; this Parliament is of opinion that the Government should take steps to appoint 4,000 Tamil teachers immediately."

This motion makes it crystal clear that the injustice and the discrimination against the Tamil students were done during the regime of the present Government, as a result of partiality shown in the appointment of teachers.

During President Jayewardena's regime teachers were appointed in hundreds from the Sinhala electorates and in tens only from the Tamil electorates. For example: 869 teachers from Dedigama electorate, 567 teachers from Weligama electorate 514 teachers from Harispattuwa electorate and 455 teachers from Welimada electorate were appointed. (Hansard dated 9-6-81). But from all the fourteen electorates of Northern Province only 752 teachers were appointed. When we compare the number of teachers appointed from these 14 electorates with the number of teachers appointed from Dedigama electorate the latter had 177 teachers more than that of the 14 Tamil electorates.

In the 108 Tamil schools in Vavuniya electorate the shortage of Tamil teachers is 378. But the 21 Sinhala school in that electorate have 4 teachers in excess (Hansard dated 16-12-81).

The shortage of Tamil teachers is a serious problem which affects badly not only the life and welfare of the Tamil students but also their future and progress. It is the prime duty of President Jayewardena's Government which talks of equality, socialism, democracy and Dharmishta to remove the grave injustice and the planned discrimination against the Tamil students.

WHAT IS ASTROLOGY?

It has become a fashion among some educated sceptics and important personalities to condemn Astrology and Astrologers. Is it because of their lack of knowledge of astrology or because of self-conceit? One must at least know the fundamentals of a subject before one tries to pass judgement on it.

Astrology is a noble science like any other science. It explains the co-relation of the celestial phenomena and the corresponding terrestrial events. Man with all his scientific knowledge and super intelligence sometimes makes blunders whereas the movement of planets and celestial bodies is according to a perfect plan where no mistake occurs. Celestial bodies spin in the universe at terrific speed and yet there is no collision. The arrangement and movement are according to a set plan and precision. Everyone seems to accept Medicine as a science. But yet thousands of deaths occur daily at the hands of the practitioners of this science. Does anybody question the validity of Medicine as a science? No, they either put it down to negligence, incompetence, lack of care, lack of individual skills or Fate. But if an individual astrologer makes a mistake they rush in to disprove the scientific basis of Astrology itself?

Laws of Cause and Effect

If the science of Astrology is pursued for its own sake it will turn the mind of the aspirant inwards, leading him to the realms of abstract thought thereby developing the mind and brain. Astrology shows the laws of cause and effect working. One must realise that the conditions in life in which we find ourselves is by no accident. Deep within each heart is the germ of divinity and it is for each of us to evolve that germ into bud, flower and sweet fruit.

Astrology is the science applied to human life and unfoldment dealing with character, mind and disposition brought over by each individual from past life. Each soul brings with it into this world a record of past experiences. That is indicated in the horoscope. A horoscope cast for the exact moment of any child's birth reveals to the Astrology the child's character and nature according to which the child can best be trained.

Various people give various interpretations to the moment of birth of a child. Some say that the time of birth is the time of presentation of the head of the child, some say that it is the time when the umbilical cord is severed; some say that the time is the time the child drops on the ground ejected from the mother's womb; some are of the opinion that the time of birth is the time when the child utters the first cry. One has to accept the last for the following reason: the child is alive even in the mother's womb. It is alive even after it is ejected from the womb on to the external world exposed to the atmosphere. Yet it takes time sometimes for it to burst out with its first cry. The first cry comes out with the first breath. The first breath stimulates the mind to start its functions.

human being generates or creates what are called thoughts. These thoughts are subtle forces passed on into the universe. These thoughts if generated by a person of strong will power can either destroy if the thoughts are evil, or do good, if they are beneficial. Our thoughts contribute to form our nature or character. These thoughts and character formation are contributed by the element that is strongly influencing our mind and body. This is how we create our own destiny or fate.

Critics generally say that Astrology induces fatalism and denies free-will. It actually indicates the destiny one has made of himself and it also shows the strength of one's free-will within the fate. If we accept the divine nature of man we are bound to recognise free will as an attribute, because if we do not accept it then we have to accept that our destiny is limited. By the exercise of free-will one chooses his fate: joy or sorrow. Man is free to do what he wants but the consequences that

by **S. RATNARAJAH**

Most people-the Doctors, Nurses and Midwives-know that every child does not cry out as soon as the head comes out. It takes sometimes half an hour to forty-five minutes or even more for the child to cry after its ejection from the womb. If the Doctors think that the mothers should be attended to immediately they attend on the mother and then only they clean the child, give it a shake and a tap on the back when the child pulls in the air and yells out. It is at this time that the cosmic energy enters the child's body and starts its various functions and the child is born to the radiation of the cosmic energy. This indicates the strength of the five elements: earth, water, fire, air and ether and this will be indicated in the chart drawn for that time. When one says that a certain planet is a strong benefic, that shows the strength of the particular element that planet represents.

People say that everything happens according to our destiny but none cares to investigate what destiny is. Every

flow from this will have to manifest either in this life or in lives hereafter. Having contravened the laws of harmony by our free-will then we must face the consequences. Astrology clearly demonstrates that rebirth is the law of man's development. We fashion our next horoscope by our actions in this birth.

Astrology shows what we are today; and it also indicates what we can make of ourselves.

Some say that Astrology is a fictitious science; if we refer to the Bible, it is said that the three wise men followed the star that appeared in the heavens and they deduced that a great person was born and they located the birth place of Christ. If the three wise men did not know Astrology, could they have found that a great person was born and the place of birth? There is no use condemning astrology. Let the unbeliever study it and then decide for himself whether it is a true science or not.

Weekly Astrological forecasts from next Saturday

THE SATURDAY REVIEW is happy to announce that beginning next Saturday, readers will be provided regular astrological forecast for the week. A competent and experienced astrologer and palmist, S. Ratnarajah; (author of the above article), and former astrological columnist of the SUNDAY OBSERVER will be in charge of the column.

From the pages of Hansard - 50 YEARS AGO

Debates In The Legislative Council of Ceylon-Thursday, November 8, 1928

(Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan's Speech Continued from last issue)

We expect reason to be well poised and well balanced and our judgment also to be well balanced and free from likes and dislikes if we are to arrive at right conclusions. Upon simple affairs that are founded upon the perception of the senses it is possible for men to come directly to a conclusion which may in most cases be accepted; but even then as regards the perception of the senses, we see, for instance, that the setting sun is going apparently into the waters. This is the report of the senses—the sun has gone down. But is it so?

If we reason properly according to the laws of causation, that is to say according to the laws of cause and effect, we will see that reason declares that the sun did not go down but that the earth has been revolving and what appears to be a fact so far as the eyes are concerned is all wrong according to the true issue. So the operation of reason cannot be guaranteed to be successful even in matters relating to the perception of the senses. Then what is the guarantee upon which we can accept the dictates of reason? So far as we Hindus and Buddhists are concerned we have such a thing as *sanathana dharma* which mean the eternal laws of reason. The Romans knew it, and the Greeks knew it. Their lips constantly spoke of the eternal principles of justice and the eternal principles of righteousness as distinguished from casual reasons and provisional principles.

The eternal principles

Now, Sir, a very big community forming together more than half the population of the world are used to the belief that if we are to go right we must train our reason to the study of those eternal principles of justice and righteousness and then try to form opinions according to our worldly experience. The man who ventures upon an opinion on provisional matters, matters that begin, grow, decay, and die, must according to the wisest nations in the world familiarize himself with the principles of truth and righteousness.

The modern term is "scientific principles," but unfortunately the "scientific principles" amount to this, that if the dictates of science are not in conformity with the perception of the senses, then it is said that the dictates of science cannot be accepted. Then they have created scientists—I do not mean all scientists—who believe in spiritual life and scientists who believe in purely worldly life. There is a fluctuation between them and most scientists say that if a conclusion is obviously contradicted by the perceptions of the senses, we have to be very careful. So you see, Sir, in Europe there are a number of principles which must be taken to be wrong because they do not stand the test of experience.

"Leave our women alone"

We, therefore the Hindus and the Buddhists, accept the teachings of our sages as regards the veritable existence of the eternal principles of justice and righteousness. From that point of view we are prepared to judge of our worldly affairs, and it is easy for us to come to an actual knowledge of the actual rules of action for purposes of worldly life. I say that in the consideration of the matters that are now engaging our attention, we are in the presence of a body of principles which the European nations believe to be quite right and beyond doubt. Our difficulty is this, that everyone of the principles that they enunciate is really and truly wrong and can be admitted only provisionally for a limited period of time. We say that because we actually see that in Europe the opinions or principles accepted as true in one generation or half a generation become untrue in the next period that follows.

Because it is spread about, are we going to say that ocean water is good for drinking, and not fresh water? No. The extensiveness or the prevalence of something does not prove its truth or suitability to us. "You use these to us. You use these principles yourselves," said I "but do not ask us to use them."

Another question that was put to me was: "What about women's suffrage?"

I replied, "We must leave our women alone. You have

The First FRANCHISE debate

no conception why they were brought into being according to the great design of God. They occupy a situation which is most sacred and most necessary for the welfare of life. All their attention, all their life, all their circumspection, must be devoted to the home without which no city life can be, without which no Empire can be. The moment you distract the attention of such persons—the bearers of the home, the bearers of society, the bearers of even cities and Empires—and allow them to take part in things foreign to the sacredness of home, you desecrate the women, and we have practical experience of it, being the oldest nations on the face of the earth. You have seen the ruin of the greatest Empires, the Hebrew civilization, the Caribbean civilization, the Assyrian civilization, the Egyptian civilization, and every kind of civilization. And we say that most of those ruins took place owing to this mixing up of ideals, to the pursuit of sensuousness and pleasure for its own sake. We say we do not live for pleasure and we say we live for duty towards man and towards God. God is the great being on whom all our attention is focussed from early morning till we go to bed."

Women do all what men do

Our responsibility, I meant to tell the Commissioners, is first and foremost to God. But the European nations, whether they are E.A.'s, M.A.'s, V.B.'s, or L.L.D.'s, avoid talking about that one subject because they have become scientific and they say: "We know nothing about it. We are agnostics. We do not want to express an opinion; neither can we teach it." But we, Sir, do teach it; we do live that life; we draw inspiration from that life, and we say, therefore, that according to our teachings and according to the experience we have had in life in respect of the joys and sorrows of humanity, we find that the design of God must be carefully

observed and not be spoilt in any way. Do not allow our women to go to any other field than their own, except occasionally.

My honourable friend on my left (Mr. C. E. Victor Corea) said that he had heard or read somewhere that a mother came to a nurse with a child and wondered whose child that beautiful child was. It appears the nurse said, "Why, madam, this is your own baby."

I have been to different parts of the world, and I found both in England and in America a new system of living, rooted in the idea that women may go about wherever they like and do all that men may do.

Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan

I went first to America and I found the homes disrupted, and for several reasons. One of the reasons was a curious one, that they could not find servants well-behaved enough to serve their mistresses in the homes. The servants that used to do their work did the work badly, and when the mistress called them to account for it they said "Madam, you know my work better than I do. Settle my pay and I walk out". A household of husband, wife and many children has to be run with the help of servants, although servants do not care to help in that particular and but must have all kinds of privileges, so-called privileges. The home is ruined.

But in addition to this servant difficulty there were many other difficulties. It is needless for me to say what the father and mother did. They said "This has become a serious problem to us. We go to a hotel, or engage a flat, and live in it". When I asked them "What about the children," the reply was "We leave out

the children—send them to boarding houses, and we see them occasionally". So, Sir, those little bright souls who are the assets of a country have been bodily transferred from the training, tradition and love of parents to hard hands, to people who have been hired for the occasion and who, therefore, being hired and being poor, cannot bring into play those austere influences which only a mother can bring to play. The parents live in flats, far away from their children, the husband going one way and the wife going another way.

In the European countries marriage has become a thing of convenience. They meet by

chance, marry by accident, and divorce themselves in the course of a few months, and there is complete disruption of home life.

The question was put to me by one of the Commissioners, the Labourite Commissioner: "Have you any objection to women's suffrage?" I said, "I have, because we are concerned about the purity of the home, about the usefulness of the home to the Empire itself, and we know how to keep the peace." "I cannot admit," I told him, "that because it suits your country it would suit ours." The Commissioners, Sir, were rather put out about it. They could not understand it. They live all their lives in place which have only little windows to see through. They are narrow-minded men. They may be Members of Parliament, but their narrowness of vision cannot be overcome except by spiritual principles and by the spiritual practice.

(Continued in the next issue)



Foreign View

DEPUTY Inspector General of Police A. Navaratnam sits in his office in Jaffna, capital of Sri Lanka's Northern Tamil region, musing on the accidents that govern men's lives. Twenty-five years ago he left college with a mathematics degree, seeking a government job, and joined the police, for reasons he can now hardly remember. "I almost went to the government survey department instead," he recalls, wistfully. Navaratnam must have been one of the last Tamils into the force before the profession was virtually closed to men of his race. That, in turn, made him one of the few senior Tamil officers available when Jaffna exploded last summer in riot and arson. "And so here I am", says Navaratnam, "it's not the way I wanted to come back to Jaffna."

Police with repeater shot guns

Adjusting his Sam Browne, he walked to the window and looked down at the entrance to police headquarters, guarded by Sri Lankan soldiers with Kalashnikovs. Police with repeater shotguns were climbing into a jeep. "It's a police presence," he said, "but it's not what you could call policing."

Indeed, in the quarter century since Navaratnam left Jaffna as a young police recruit, relations between the majority Sinhalese and the minority Tamils in Ceylon have deteriorated beyond anything that could have been predicted. Then, they were cool, but Tamil politicians still accepted a unified Ceylon, although they wanted federal arrangements, and Tamils, like Navaratnam, were still joining the civil service and the security forces. Nor did the people of Jaffna and other Tamil districts see soldiers and police as an occupying army. Ceylon was still one society.

The story since then can be summed up briefly by saying that the Tamils asked for too much, and the Sinhalese gave too little. The educated

and ambitious Tamils lost their privileged access to the universities and the government service. Land colonisation schemes infiltrated Sinhalese peasants into areas which had been exclusively Tamil. No significant degree of autonomy was granted to Tamil areas.

Hostility grew between the northern population and the almost exclusively Sinhalese police and army units posted there. A small but not ineffective guerrilla movement emerged, while mainstream Tamil politics moved from the demand for federal status to the demand for independence, for Eelam, ancient name of the Tamil kingdom which held northern Sri Lanka in pre-colonial times. But, until recently, it has been a slow malignancy that seemed, if a strong government in Colombo could muster the will to make a limited number of concessions, to be almost certainly reversible.

Nineteen eighty-one, however may be seen in retrospect as the year that the situation went beyond a point of no return or at least beyond the point where restoration of trust between the two races could be relatively easy. Ironically, the troubles of 1981 began with a scheme specifically designed to meet some Tamil grievances. President Junius Jayawardene, head of state and leader of the United National Party which has been in power since 1977, believed that the Tamils could be given some autonomy within the framework of an all-island system of district development councils.

The Tamil movement, the Tamil United Liberation Front, which in spite of its name, operates as a normal political party in the Colombo parliament, was sufficiently interested to cooperate. But in the run-up to the elections, extremists on both sides moved in.

Racist speeches in Parliament

On the Sinhalese side there is considerable evidence of an attempt to manipulate the elections in the Tamil region so as to prevent the TULF from gaining total control of the new councils. On the Tamil side, there were the Tigers, the name for the two guerrilla groups who have been assassinating police, soldiers, and pro-government politicians and raiding banks and jewellery stores for the last six or seven years. They shot down a Tamil politician standing for the government party and, a few days later, may also have been responsible

The slow descent into racial war in Sri Lanka

MARTIN WOOLLACOTT

of the **GUARDIAN**, London
reports from Jaffna

for the shooting of three police at a public meeting in Jaffna. The Jaffna police augmented by units from other parts of the country who had come in for the elections, roared through the town for three days, burning, beating, and looting. The TULF, naturally, won the vast majority of the seats in the six districts of the Tamil region.

Within weeks, helped along by racist speeches in the Colombo parliament, the Jaffna troubles led by chain reaction to race riots and persecution within southern towns from whence they spread to the tea plantation areas, where the Indian Tamil population — quite distinct from the Tamils of the north — was attacked. Within two months as well, there was a second rampage in Jaffna, this time by the army, after the Tigers killed three soldiers.

Having looked over the edge of the abyss, Jayawardene and the UNP government were moved to unwonted action. The president spoke against racism, disciplined some of his own party's extremists, and instituted a "dialogue" with the TULF that has produced a few government concessions and may produce more. And this is where men like Navaratnam come in. If — at last — the police, with as many Tamil officers as possible drafted in, could be come responsive to the Tamil community, and if local administration, both by giv-

ing the new councils real powers and by putting able Tamils into senior local civil service appointments, could begin to embody a sort of Tamil autonomy in practice — then, maybe, both Tamils and Sinhalese could get off the road toward insurgency and repression. Those hopes remain, but they are frail.

Navaratnam's job, for instance, has not been made much easier by the importation of Tamil officers who now constitute perhaps half his force. Tamils or no his men no longer walk the beat but move around the region only by vehicle in armed groups of at least five. For all but short journeys, they are escorted by a truckload of Sri Lankan soldiers. As for cooperation from the local people in the fight against the terrorists, Navaratnam confesses to "an almost total lack of intelligence." Down the road at army headquarters, Brigadier Cyril Ranatunga, moustaches bristling cheerily, is somewhat more optimistic, and buoyed by a recent encounter between his troops and the Tigers, in which two rebels were killed. He is also "absolutely convinced" there will be no repetition of the army's misbehaviour in Jaffna in August.

When a battalion goes berserk

Others are less certain. The Sri Lankan army has only four regular infantry battalions and one is posted in Jaffna at any given time. Thus when a battalion goes berserk, it is no easy matter

for even well-intentioned officers to control. "Push too hard," as one Tamil official commented, "and a quarter of your army will be in mutiny." But even if police and army do begin to behave in a more restrained and disciplined fashion, that could only contribute toward a solution. "So long as the fundamental political problems remain unsettled," said the same official, "there is the possibility of provocations against the security forces and therefore the possibility of reprisals."

The only way out of that awful cycle, moderate Tamils are convinced, is real devolution of power. It could not be an independent state or even a federal arrangement, but there must be a framework which allows Tamils to run their own immediate affairs. But the district development councils, which some on both sides had seen as a step in that direction, already seem a disappointment.

Six months after they were elected their powers have not been defined but it is already clear that central ministries will fight tooth and nail to prevent the councils having any substantive functions, and that Sri Lanka's peculiar institution of district ministers also militates against their proper operation. The chairman of the Jaffna council said acidly: "All it is now is a glorified village administration."

The Mayor of Jaffna

The mayor of Jaffna, Mr. R. Viswanathan, addresses even a solitary visitor as if he were an entire public meeting, his rotund voice booming and bouncing round the mayoral chambers. "There is," he shouts, "a lurking fear in Jaffna, a lurking fear.... Nothing concrete has been achieved in the talks with the government. The development councils have no funds and no powers. The police are scared. Everything is on paper. Nothing is done."

Meanwhile the nature of the Tamil insurgency may be changing. Some of the 1981 killings by the rebels were the first where targets were chosen at random. Previous killings had been assassinations of selected figures. Now the guerrillas may be moving to a generalised campaign against all members of the security forces. Once that junction is passed, it will be even more difficult for Sri Lanka to pull back. With its low rate of population growth, its considerable resources its useful distance from areas of international tension Sri Lanka is lucky indeed among third world states. Sinhalese and Tamils alike would surely be mad to throw that away in a slow slide towards racial war, a war that neither side will ever win. They may be in the process of doing so, however.

The way we communicate determines our successes and failures more than any other human activity.

The average person is involved in communication at least 70 percent of his waking time. For many people the figure is even higher. We are almost continuously bombarded by information aimed at us through radio, television, personal conversation, telephone, billboards, newspapers, books, and many other forms of communication. Most of us are victims of information overload. It is simply impossible to absorb all the information aimed at us. In order to protect our sanity we tend to screen out more and more information.

When we read a newspaper, we skim through it quickly, stopping only at those items whose headings interest us. Usually the first paragraph determines whether we will read the entire item or switch to the next one. While it would take a person several hours to read the average daily newspaper (disregarding advertisements), the average person spends less than twenty minutes. Most people listen to radio, watch television, read printed material, and engage in conversations without picking up but a fraction of the information conveyed. In fact, every day millions of words are printed and spoken without the message getting across to the majority of people exposed to it.

A FIRM SLAP ON THE BUTTOCKS

Since the day we were born, we have been involved in communication, and if we failed to announce our arrival, a firm slap on our buttocks initiated us into the communication process. Crying is the initial form of Communication for all of us and is interpreted as our successful entry into this world. When we use this attention-getting technique beyond the diaper stage, some of us may get slapped again—not to encourage us but to silence us. Despite our lifelong experience with communication, the amazing fact is that few people are aware of their communication deficiencies.

It is commonly assumed that when people talk or write they communicate, but communication is not that simple. Communication takes place only if we succeed in making others understand our thoughts and feelings. If we hear what a person says but fail to understand what he means, communication has not taken place.

The communication process requires four components in order to function. These are the sender (the person who provides the informa-

tion), the message (the information provided), the medium (the manner in which the information is communicated) and the receiver (the person at whom the information is directed). While we have considerable control over the first three we have none over the last one.

CAUSES OF MISCOMMUNICATION

We may be able to express ourselves clearly, but this in itself is no guarantee that the person to whom we address this information will understand it or even pay attention to it. If the information is ignored, there obviously is no communication at all. If it is misunderstood, miscommunication has taken place.

Miscommunication is one of the main causes of human conflict. It can lead as easily to divorce as it can to war. In business, miscommunication often proves to be a shortcut to bankruptcy. Miscommunication is the direct result of misinterpretation.

The same word may evoke very different responses in people with different backgrounds. For example, words like abortion, capital punishment, or communism are subject to a wide range of interpretations. Similarly, gestures can convey not only different, but even opposite, meanings. For example, there are parts in India where nodding one's head means "no" while shaking it means "yes". Other forms of non-verbal communication, such as a smile or frown, can convey varying messages. A smile does not necessarily indicate that a person is happy. He or she may be merely polite or tell you without words to keep your distance. A frown may indicate anger, concern, concentration, or puzzlement. Non-verbal communication is generally more reliable than verbal communication, but it is also subject to far wider interpretation.

MEETING A PERSON FOR FIRST TIME

Communication more than anything else determines what we think of people. When we meet a person for the first time, we immediately begin an evaluation process. Our evaluation is based on a number of factors, usually in the order of the person's appearance, what he or she says, and how he or she says it.

The manner of speech or dress may be perfectly acceptable in the case of one person and totally unacceptable in the case of another. For example, we would consider it quite normal if a mechanic told us that the engine of our car is shot,

while we would be shocked if the same term was used by a doctor describing our health. Similarly, we think it is perfectly normal to see jeans, a beard, and beads on an artist, but we would most likely be quite disturbed if a judge appeared this way in court.

What we say and what we do are subject to such a wide range of interpretations that it is impossible to foresee them all. Variations in interpretation make the same person, the same words, or the same act appear different to different people. This fact, more than any other, is the primary cause of miscommunication and conflict.

Changing a course of action at the suggestion of someone else may make you seem flexible to one person and indecisive to another. A very poignant example of differing interpretations was told by a recent torture victim from Argentina. The woman noticed her tormentor wore a small cross around his neck and asked the man: "How can you do this to me? What does the cross mean to you?" Without interrupting the proceedings he replied simply "Order". It meant love to her.

HOW WE INTERPRET MESSAGES.

Factors influencing interpretation are experience, education, mood, physical and mental condition, environment, smell, sounds, space, tone, gestures, timing, to name but a few.

What is said does not only depend on the person saying it but also on the listener.

For example, you're bound to explain the details of a car accident very differently to your spouse than you would to a policeman.

What is said is only part of the message. Often more important is who says it and how, when, where, and why it is said. The importance of who is essentially a matter of status and your relationship to the speaker. It is nice if a friend compliments you about the way you handle a situation, but the compliment means more if made by your boss and is particularly meaningful if made by an adversary.

by
JOHN MOELARET

HOW things are said determines to a large extent the response you will get. Choice of words, tone, and non-verbal cues such as facial expressions are critical factors.

Knowing when and where to verbalize your thoughts requires tact and insight. Anyone who has ever been in love knows the vital importance of timing and environment for intimate discussions. Why something is said usually is a matter of speculation. If we know the real reasons, we also know the actual value of what is said and the credibility of the person saying it.

Objectivity is rarely evident in interpretation. New information is interpreted on the basis of our present knowledge and values. A fair day's wage for a fair day's work is interpreted by management quite differently than by a union. Any new information is immediately (and often subconsciously)

compared to information we already have. So to accept a new idea usually requires the rejection of an earlier one. To abandon a previously held belief for the sake of a new one is a difficult task for anyone. It is important to realize that objectivity is more common as an ideal than as a reality. In fact, beyond simple identification it does not exist. For example there are few possibilities for disagreement when we say this is a restaurant and that is a judge. But as soon as we combine the nouns with adjectives and say this is a fine restaurant and that is a fair judge, chances of agreement are much smaller.

It is not surprising therefore that new ideas are often rejected simply because they represent change. A British author, Alistair Cooke, has pointed out that people read and listen primarily to reinforce their own prejudices.

CREDIBILITY AND TACT.

A closed mind can be very frustrating to deal with. It is easier when we recognize the reason: a dislike for change. Though generally people are reluctant to change their views, they can be made to change their mind. In fact, few, if any, of our ideas and values are completely our own. Most were shaped or at least influenced—by our parents, teachers, superiors, and our friends. In order to have a person accept new ideas, credibility and tact are required.

(Continued on next page)



**HOW WELL
DO WE
COMMUNICATE?**

How well do we communicate?

(Continued from page 5)

In order to be credible you must be competent and demonstrate your competence by showing you know what you are talking about. Furthermore, to be persuasive you must be consistent (both in fairness and firmness), decisive (hesitation destroys confidence), and persevering.

In addition, you must be reliable, positive, relaxed. In other words, you must prove you can be counted on, show people what you can do rather than what you can't and convey all these qualities in a relaxed manner which generates peace of mind and receptivity in your listeners.

Tact is best shown through recognition of another person's ability and experience, and a willingness to have one's views challenged (and if necessary, changed). Tact is consideration for the needs and feelings of others. Success in communication requires that you communicate on the listener's (or reader's) level of interest and understanding.

Obviously, you will quickly lose a person's interest if you talk about a subject that he or she is not interested in.

For example, one company sent out questionnaires to its clients requesting information needed to update its files. The response was very poor. A communication consultant pointed out that writing on the reader's level of interest would result in much better response. The next letter that went out asked clients to provide the information so that any further dividend checks might reach them without delay. More than 90 percent of all persons contacted complied with the request within seven days.

Even more problems are encountered when people communicate information in a way not understandable to the receiver. In order to determine the level of understanding of another person it is very important to know his or her experience and language limitations.

(To be concluded next week)

Detainee at Panagoda alleges torture; petitions the Supreme Court

GANESHANATHAN JEGANATHAN (JEGAN) of Thondamanaru, Jaffna has petitioned the Supreme Court, seeking prevention of what he alleges as acts of torture and infringement of fundamental rights at the Army Prison, the Army Cantonment, Panagoda, where he is detained along with a number of others.

Jeganathan has been under detention at Panagoda under the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act No. 48 of 1979, since May 26, 1981.

Jeganathan is being held as a suspect "connected with or concerned in unlawful activity to wit: the murder of Police Officers:

1. Inspector Pathmanathan,
2. Inspector Gurusamy
3. Police Constable Gnana-sambandan,
4. Police Constable Sivanesan."

The petitioner states that he was subjected to torture and to cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment and punishment on various occasions both at the Elephant Pass Army Camp and at the Panagoda Army Prison.

"Ordered to clean the toilet"

The petitioner has alleged that at about 6.30 a.m., on 6th February, 1982 he was ordered by an Army Officer, whose name he is unaware of, but whom he could identify to wash and clean the bath room used by the detainees. The petitioner did as ordered and came back to his room. "A few minutes later Corporal Gunasekera, the 4th Respondent, came and ordered him to come out and escorted him to the toilet used exclusively by the Army Officers and ordered him to wash and clean the same. Corporal Ratnayake, the 5th Respondent, also ordered the petitioner to do so.

Jeganathan alleges that on his refusing to do so he was subjected to the following acts of torture and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment and punishment by the two army men:

1. He was assaulted with fists, steel hand-cuffs and slippers;
2. They dashed his head on the wall and attempted to throttle him by squeezing his neck;
3. They attempted to dip his face into the squatting pan of the toilet;
4. They threw away his belongings including some books, his clothes and his holy ash ("vipoothi");
5. They scolded him in obscene language and threatened to kill him;
6. His arms were raised and hand-cuffed on to the wall at a height which required him to stand on the tips of his toes for about an hour.

"Cannot be compelled"

Jeganathan further alleges that the clothes he wore at the time of this incident were torn. He is now left with only one sarong and the shirt that he is wearing.

Jeganathan has further stated that the dispute regarding the washing and cleaning of the toilet of the army personnel had been in existence even prior to the incident mentioned earlier, that he was subjected to similar acts of violence by the army personnel in the past. He states that as this dispute is likely to arise in the future too and that he will be subjected to torture again, that he be given relief by Court.

Jeganathan has stated that he could not be compelled to do any work, let alone menial jobs, under the law or under the said purported Detention Order by the Hon'ble Tikiri Banda Werapitiya, Minister of Internal Security. There are persons, he states in the Army Cantonment employed for the purpose of doing the work which he and other detainees are compelled to do by the Army Officers and that they are compelled to perform such jobs with a view to humiliate them.

Attorney-at-Law Thuraiappah Packiyathan who filed papers on behalf of the

petitioner says that on the 6th February, 1982 the petitioner had complained to a Attorneys-at-Law Renganathan Srinivasan, Sellathurai Perinpanayagam, S. C. Chandrasan, G. Kumaralingam S. Navaratnam and himself that he had been subjected to torture cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment and punishment that very morning, and that the petitioner had instructed him at that meeting to file this application on his behalf.

"Trampled by the Police"

Jeganathan according to his Attorney-at-Law had complained of torture even prior to his being brought to Panagoda. Among other acts of torture, he states that when he was taken from place to place in Jaffna for the purpose of investigation he was wrapped in sheet or canvass and put on the floor-board of the vehicle and was trampled by the Police and army officers who used him as their foot rest and that he had to suffer the heat of the floor-board of the vehicle during the journey".

Setting out the conditions under which he and the other suspects are being detained at Panagoda he states that the food given to them is inadequate except when personally supervised by the superior officers. At times water is poured or excess salt is put into the food items. Sometimes a little meat that is meant to be served to them is eaten by some of the service personnel

and they are given bones; most of the good clothes and prepared food items sent to them from homes do not reach them and are pilfered; medical assistance is hard to get and invariably they are only given Disprin for all ailments. Detainee Kulasegararajasingham who is visited every week by the J.M.O. continued to bleed from his rectum for days without adequate medical treatment until the J.M.O. had to insist on some drugs that he had prescribed being provided.

Jeganathan has given the names of the following detainees who were witnesses to some or many of the acts of torture and has instructed his lawyer to move the Supreme Court to summon them to testify to the same. The names of the detainees are:

1. Kulasegararajasingham,
2. Murugiah,
3. Arunagirinathan,
4. Sivaselvam,
5. Thamu Kandiah,
6. Kumarakulasingham
7. Mariyampillai,
8. Srijeevagan,
9. Vimalarajah,
10. Sivapathan,
11. Amirthalingam,
12. Nicholas,
13. Nadarajah
14. Sellathurai,
15. Yogarajah,
16. Tharmalingam,
17. Srikumar,
18. Kumar
19. Elango,
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21. Kutimani,
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23. Thevan.

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International

INDIA & PAKISTAN : A NO-WAR PACT ?

Between 30 January and 1 February, the Foreign Ministers of India and Pakistan met in New Delhi, and concluded the preliminary phase of the bilateral talks directed towards the finalisation of a no-war agreement between the two countries. In the joint press statement released on 1 February, the two Ministers noted with satisfaction that "the air had been sufficiently cleared to facilitate specific consideration of the elements which could constitute the substance of such an agreement." The Ministers also agreed that the officials of the two countries would meet in Islamabad before the end of February to continue their exchange of views on the contents of the proposed agreement.

The successful conclusion of a no-war agreement would enable both countries to concentrate their limited resources on economic development rather than squander them in fueling a sub-con-

tinental arms race. The chances of such an agreement being concluded in the near future however are, rather meagre. But both Mrs. Gandhi and the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Agha Shahi, have declared that pact or no pact, the two countries will not go to war with each other. If it is so, why the recourse to massive armament build up, particularly by Pakistan? If Pakistan will not agree, in the first place, to limit its arms purchases from the Western countries to its legitimate defence requirements, how can the proposal for a no-war agreement be taken to a successful conclusion? How can even the bilateral talks proceed, with India insisting that Pakistan should stop its arms purchases and not act in violation of the Simla agreement reached in July 1972 between Bhutto and Mrs. Gandhi?

India has already taken a firm stand on this matter both during the Delhi talks

and in the preparatory exchanges that preceded the talks. India did not fail to point out the incongruity between Pakistan's offer for a no-war agreement and its continued procurement of arms. The offer itself came as a surprise and it gave Islamabad a slight edge in the ensuing diplomatic manoeuvres. Pakistan, to begin with, wrapped its offer in a diplomatic *note verbale*, which reached the Indian officials on 15 September 1981.

It has subsequently been reported that the no-war proposal itself had formed a part of a note circulated among US legislators, who were opposed to American aid being given to Pakistan to be used for aggression against India, and who needed re-assurance about Pakistan's true intentions, particularly on the eve of their endorsing US aid commitment to Pakistan.

Quite appropriately, perhaps, Mrs. Gandhi dismissed the offer as a propaganda gimmick tailored for American consumption. However, on receiving a written proposal from President Zia, on 22 November, she decided to hint of a meaningful Indian response. This she did while addressing the students of the National Defence College, two days later. The very next day, on 25 November, the Indian External Affairs Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao declared in the Lok Sabha, that Pakistan has made a positive offer for a no-war agreement. He went on to recall, for the benefit of fellow Parliamentarians, that the proposal for a no-war agreement, had been originally advanced by India thirty two years ago, and that successive Pakistan Governments had consistently rejected the proposal. In a pointed reply, Zia queried whether the Indian Government was keen on emulating the mistakes of the previous Governments of Pakistan. His Foreign Minister Agha Shahi was more modest and disclaimed any originality

proprio to the mass of the people but directed all along to multiply the acquisitions of a few hundred families and their minions; of unmitigated repression unleashed by the ruling Juntas on the people of East Pakistan (before 1971) and now on its own people and its different nationalities. Foreign assistance, both economic and military, came to provide the catalyst for the tragic developments within Pakistan.



An embrace : India's Foreign Minister Rao and his counterpart Shahi, who has since resigned.

Who started the war in 1965 ?

When McNamara first set up his arms sales organisation in 1961, with Henry Kuss at the Pentagon the majority of the customers were in the industrial world. The sales campaigns were unrelenting, when they sold their Hercules or Tigers to Europe or the F111 to Britain; But these developed countries could be expected to defend their own interests.

Gradually, however more of Kuss's sales were going to the Third World, with a growing proportion destined for the Middle East, and here the effects of the salesmen were more far reaching: for they were in a position to influence the priorities and patterns of developing countries.

In theory the control system in the Pentagon and the State Department could ensure that countries only bought what they really needed: in the State Department, apart from the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, there was the office of Munitions Control, to supervise the licensing of all lethal weapons. But that office had no real authority to the Pentagon sales; and their staff was tiny compared to the Pentagon teams, or

to the armies of company salesmen, pushing their wares in Washington and roaming through the capitals of the Third World. Just how ruthless and effective was their pressure would only emerge a decade later.

By the mid-'sixties, Congress was becoming more worried by the effects of arms sales in the Third World, partly as a result of the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965, where American arms (together with those of other countries) were used on both sides. Pakistanis in Patton tanks fought Indians in Sherman tanks, and both armies were flown in American transports. The United States soon embargoed the supply of arms to both sides (though later relenting to supply 'non-lethal' arms) but the American role in the war aroused sharp recrimination:

"The arms we supplied under this policy", said J.K. Galbraith the former Ambassador to India, "caused the war If we had not supplied arms, Pakistan would not have sought the one thing we wanted above all to avoid: namely a military solution".

The concern about the American role was heightened by the discovery that during the embargo Pakistan had received ninety American F86 Sabra jet fighters to reinforce their tiny air force. The planes had, it turned out, been exported by West Germany ostensibly to Iran, but in fact for use in Pakistan. The deal had been done by a German middleman, Gerhard Mertins, a bombastic arms dealer who was then an associate of Sam Cummings; but Mertins at that time had loose connections with the German secret service, and it was quite clear that the sale of the planes had been permitted by the Pentagon. (Do you imagine, 'Mertins said to me later, 'that we wouldn't have American permission?') The transfer suited everyone except the Indians: the West Germans wanted to sell the planes, which were outdated by the new Starfighters; Mertins got his commission: the Pakistanis needed them urgently; and the Americans were anxious to please the Pakistanis without being seen to.

(from: "The Arms Bazaar" by Anthony Sampson pp 201 — 202)

Foreign News Review by RAJAN

Story of Pakistan

India, however, cannot be unaware of the objective reasons for the incongruity between Pakistan's simultaneous proposal for a no-war agreement and its provocative armament build-up. Pakistan, from its very birth which itself came as a tragic fusion of religious myth and geographical miracle, both before and after the dismemberment of East Pakistan, has had to, pay the price of being an outpost of western imperialism, in order to be able to obtain the much needed foreign aid for economic development.

On 2 February 1951 it signed its first economic assistance agreement with America, and three years later on 25 February 1954 it began receiving US Military aid, and commenced its course of dependent development. It is not suggested here that Pakistan could not have chosen an alternate path of development, or that its role in the cold war and its entry into military alliances (SEATO) were intended to ensure its economic sustenance. The story of Pakistan is the story of abortive experiments with Parliamentary and democratic process; of a military-bureaucratic elite dominated polity; of development utterly inap-

Externally, Pakistan has always been tormented by the image of an invading India. Even during the Delhi talks, the Pakistan journalists needed Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi to determine whether India has finally reconciled itself to the existence of Pakistan as a separate country. The questions were not certainly intended to be mischievous, and Mrs. Gandhi promptly rejected them as "utter nonsense". She recalled Nehru's communication to Ayub Khan that "the idea of a war with Pakistan is repugnant to us and India will never commit aggression against it." All the same even after the Soviet incursion into Afghanistan in 1980 when Pakistan began stepping up its defence build up, the country's spokesmen have continued to insist that Pakistan regarded "India — and not the USSR — as the principal threat to its security".

Cold War & Arms Sales

The above factors will have to be taken into account by India while endeavouring to settle down with its neighbour in a long-term

(Continued on next page)

(Continued from page 10)

and lasting peace in South Asia. Of the two India is the much bigger country, with its population eight times more than that of Pakistan, with an industrial base which is ten times larger, and with a bigger military establishment. Yet, India's quest for lasting peace does not stem from economic considerations alone. From the point of view of military strategy, the standing deployment of forces is such that in the event of any confrontation, Pakistan can inflict heavy early losses on India, before the latter can counter in strength. India has to spread its defence resources along one of the largest land boundaries in the world; of its thirty divi-

ons only a dozen are deployed on the Pakistan front as against the 16 Pakistan divisions placed almost permanently and in close range against India. India claims that if Pakistan procures the F-16 jets from America, it can attack any part of India. India will of course retaliate with French Mirages, which, incidentally are being purchased by Pakistan too. (See Box).

The re-activation of cold war and the proliferation of worldwide arms sales would invariably and inevitably vitiate all genuine efforts to conclude a no-war agreement between India and Pakistan. There is another factor which India will not fail to take note of. That is the nature of the present regime in

Pakistan. Of all the Governments that the country has had, the present one suffers the worst isolation from all sections of the people. The consideration whether a lasting peace agreement could be entered into with such a government, should weigh rather heavily in India's thinking.

If the intention of the exercise is to wrest political and subtle military advantages, one cannot be sanguine about the successful conclusion of the no-war agreement talks. The only positive outcome of the Delhi talks was the cordial agreement to continue with the talks, and in continuing the exercise neither country has much to lose.

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Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Kurikadduvan inquest

"Army men cried 'Mage Amme' & jumped into sea"

"Immediately we heard the sound of gun shots the two soldiers inspecting a launch shouted out 'Mage Amme' jumped into the sea, swam towards the bridge and hid behind a rock there".

This is what Gnanapragasam Thevasagayampillai, 38 the boatman of the launch 'Vadathharakai' (Northern Star), which regularly plies between Kurikadduvan Jetty and Neduntivu (Delft) told the Kayts Magistrate, Mr. T. K. N. Thilagan, at the inquest into the fatal shooting of Mr. G. H. M. Abeyratne Banda, a soldier attached to the Palaly Army Camp, on the noon of 13 February at the Kurikadduvan Jetty.

The Kurikadduvan Jetty, Pungudutivu, about 20 miles away from Jaffna, constructed around 1970, serves as the launching point for boats plying between Jaffna and Nainativu (Nagadeepa), and Jaffna and Delft.

Boatman Thevasagayampillai went on to say: "At about 11 a. m. on the 13th, I brought my launch from Neduntivu to Kurikadduvan. Round about 12, I was in the launch which was scheduled to return at 12-30 p. m. The Nainativu - bound launch too was moored at the jetty. A mini-bus halted nearby was loading onions. No passengers had boarded the launch at that time.

"Two unarmed soldiers boarded a launch and examined it. After they had finished their search, some passengers came on board. I saw a jeep halted in the direction of the north but I don't know whether there was a soldier inside the jeep."

"At the sound of the gunshots the two soldiers in a

launch leaped into the sea. Then two armed youths, clad in slacks and shirt, came towards me. One fired into the air while the other shouted out "We'll shoot you too if you try to start your launch."

"The youth pointing a gun at me was well set, fair-complexioned and about 5 feet tall. The other, a little distance away, was taller and darker."

Shown sub-machine guns and other weapons by the prosecution, the witness said one of the youths had two sub-machine guns (one of them cradled under his armpit) and a revolver, while the other held a repeater shotgun in his hands.

"The person who fired into the air ordered the passengers in my launch to get down and follow him. I saw them pushing a jeep halted there."

"Two or three more gunshots followed the first one and I hid in the wheel-house.

"The frightened passengers in my launch urged me to start the launch at once, saying that two persons had hijacked the mini-bus they had travelled in."

"When I started my launch, the two soldiers who had hidden under the bridge asked me to take them to Nainativu. I took them along. They asked me to put them in the launch going towards Nainativu. I did so."

The two soldiers, Lance Corporal Sarathchandra and Private Wannigasooriya, did not appear before the Magistrate to testify.

Delivering a verdict of homicide the Kayts Magistrate ordered the police to carry out further investigations.

Moving truck of Army men beat up passers — by

Nearly twenty persons were assaulted by a moving truck-load of Sri Lanka Army personnel near the Old Park Road

Columbuthurai Road Junction, Jaffna, at about 7-30 p. m. on 16th February. Victims, among whom were two Sinha-

lese, have complained that flailing belts were used in the assault.

Will K.K.S. become arid in 25 years?

Production at the Kankesanthurai Cement Factory will jump to 3,200 tons per day—the output of the present running plant is 1,600 tons a day—once the new plant, which will have three times the capacity of the present one, starts functioning.

Ecologists are deeply concerned about the insidious threats the boost in production pose for the region.

Jaffna, they point out, is totally dependent on its underground water resources—and these are limited. Indiscriminate drilling or quarrying of the limestone bedrock, which stores up the underground fresh water, will destroy the natural balance between salt water and fresh water.

What will happen then is too frightening to think about they say. The seeping-in of saline water will not only help overwhelm the underground fresh water resources but also lead to sea erosion and make all cultivable land in the Kankesanthurai area useless.

These sources also underline the fact that limestone is not a replenishable resource: cement cannot be recycled into limestone.

Estimates indicate that the new plant's production capacity will ravage the limestone deposits in and around Kankesanthurai in 25 years.

from the Municipal authorities has met with no response.

Lanka Cement Ltd—a newly formed semi-public company where the Cement Corporation holds 51 percent of the shares—which will run the new plant would by then have made its profits a hundred times over, exploiting cheap labour and natural resources.

Bengali play in Tamil—in Jaffna today

"Faceless Men", a Tamil translation of Badal Sircar's Bengali play "Evam Indrajit" will go on the boards today (20th February) at Veerasingham Hall, Jaffna.

This is the fifth time the play, directed by K. Balendra, is being performed by the Sri Lanka Performing Arts Society.

Two youths hauled up for carrying cash

Two youths taken into custody on the night of 16th February with a James Bond style brief case stuffed with currency notes are being interrogated by the Jaffna Police. The youths were taken in when they were travelling in a Morris Minor car.

Army men surround model market

Army personnel, armed to the teeth, surrounded Jaffna's model market around noon on 17th February and took away a youth working in a restaurant inside.

Electricity bills shock Jaffna householders

The new system of billing for electricity has pushed electricity way up into the category of luxury goods that an average householder cannot afford. People in Jaffna who were paying within the range of Rs. 40-Rs. 50 earlier have now received bills for Rs. 500/-

In Jaffna there are other factors which cause the high billing of electricity. Recently, a private householder who was earlier paying around Rs. 18 found to his dismay that he had been billed for Rs. 1000/-! When he went to the electrical department of the Jaffna Municipality the employees apologised to him and admitted that there had been a mistake

and struggling over a maze of figures in front of him. Fourteen such men, calculate manually, the bills of every single household that uses electricity, in the Jaffna Municipal area. Their workload has become much worse, ever since the introduction of the new tariff system which charges different rates for every slab of increased units. Very often their employees have to do three to four calculations for each establishment.

In this computer age, one finds it hard to imagine that these employees are not provided with a set of calculators which are cheaply available in the market. This would not only save on valuable manpower but also greatly minimise errors in the calculations. Apparently the request for calculators by the employees

If one goes to the electrical department of the Jaffna Municipality one meets a fagged out employee poring.