

1/3/82

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

Vol. 1 No 5

February 27, 1982

Rs. 2

# T. U. L. F. M.P. heads towards a show-down at Kilinochchi

Editorial

The little man  
looking for his own little Eelam

Petty chieftains in ancient Ceylon History used to suffer from a recurrent itch: they try to stretch themselves to their full five feet whenever they sense that the king's authority was getting weak-end. This perhaps is the moral from the pages of history that the Tamil United Liberation Front could well draw from the little posture that the M.P. for Kilinochchi Veerasingham Anandasangary is striking at the moment: he wants "his" Kilinochchi to be made a separate administrative district.

Mr. Anandasangary is a politician who has been on a constant search for useful platforms over the past thirty years. His search took him first to the Left, then he made a sharp right-about turn to the Tamil Congress under which umbrella he won his seat at Kilinochchi. Having won his seat and finding himself in an ineffectual rudderless minority party, he sought refuge under the then S.L.F.P. government, along with two other politicians who became discredited later. But then, being a man of some little resourcefulness, where the other two kept lending support to the S.L.F.P., he "crossed over" to the Tamil United Front when it was formed in 1972. and has since remained a passenger. If converted into a graph, Mr. Anandasangary's political acrobatics will look like a series of jagged mountains. This is the man who is now seized with the burning desire to develop Kilinochchi, a development in which according to him his peers in the T.U.L.F. have failed.

The picture is of course now getting more complicated with other hired chieftains trying to fish in Kilinochchi's troubled waters. As to what share of development poor Kilinochchi is going to get out of this imbroglio remains to be seen. And even if it gets some additional share, at what expense is it going to be? Trying to fatten oneself at the expense of a larger cause is not a habit unknown to politicians. But this does not happen to all of them. It come as a violent urge to some, particularly when they begin to suffer under a sense of political insecurity. Sometimes the skeletons in their personal cupboards begin to rattle so much that they run helter-skelter looking for shortcuts and violent solutions.

The Tamil people have no need to be interested in Mr. Anandasangary's personal predilections. But they have every right to guard themselves against political sell-outs!

Is government Minister Mr. Devanayagam's proposed visit to Kilinochchi on March 4th an attempt to weaken Tamil Solidarity in the North? This is the question that is being asked in Jaffna political circles today.

Mr. K. W. Devanayagam will visit Kilinochchi to meet officials and influential persons in the area to discuss the question of declaring Kilinochchi a separate administrative district, following the open request of Mr. Anandasangari, M. P. for Kilinochchi in parliament. This has been the subject of much heated discussion within the TULF for now well over three months.

The TULF has, it is reliably learnt, decided to boycott Mr. Devanayagam's visit.

There is speculation as to whether Mr. Anandasangari

will disobey party directive and encourage government moves by meeting the minister. Popular opinion is that Mr. Anandasangari's actions have the tacit support of government politicians who want to see the Tamils weekend, politically.

Unlike the innumerable boycotts that TULF has indulged in, in the past, this is directly linked with an issue that threatens party integrity. It is also to TULF circles strongly reminiscent of a time when another TULFer crossed over to the government side on the slogan of developing his district.

In such circumstances, the meeting between Mr. Anandasangari and Mr. Devanayagam might be the decisive factor in the Kilinochchi M. P.'s relationship with the TULF in the future.

If the government decides to make Kilinochchi a separate district, it is believed that there may be a serious disruption of the amity talks between the government and the TULF.

## 11 Army men on bail: Lame youth was shot from behind.

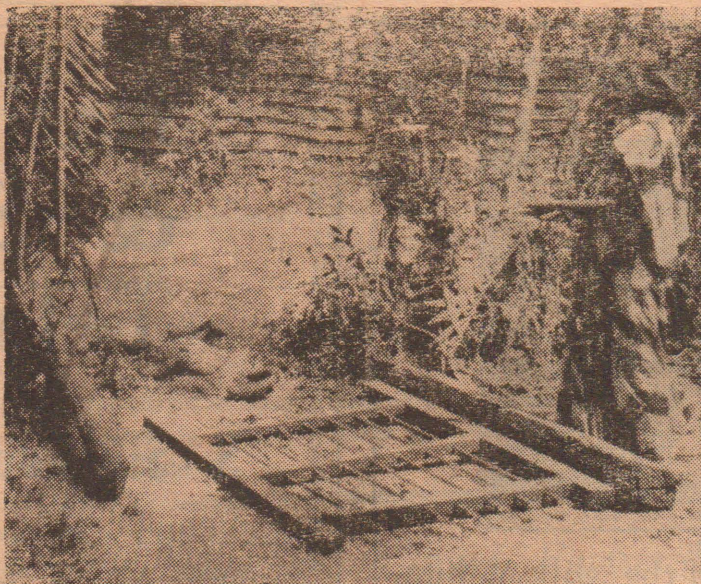
One Army Lieutenant and 10 Army Men were released on bail by the Mallakam Magistrate, Mr. C. V. Wigneswaran, at the end of the first day's inquiry into the death by shooting of Kandiah Navaratnam of Pathamenny, Atchuvvely. The shooting occurred near St. Theresa's Convent, Atchuvvely, at 10-30 on the night of February 20th.

The J. M. O., Dr. N. Saravanapavanandan stated in his testimony that the bullets had not entered the body of the deceased in front but from behind. Judging from the internal injury the deceased had been shot at a distance of over two feet and less than 30 feet. The J. M. O. said he found that deceased's left leg was shorter than the right, and that he could not have run as fast as regular people if he had wanted to.

The deceased's brother, Kandiah Gunaratnam said that the deceased normally wore a ring and watch on him that were not returned to the family after his death.

Counsel who were watching the interests for the deceased wanted two more witnesses to be summoned who would testify to the fact that the deceased had carried considerable cash on his person at the time he was shot down. Further hearing was fixed for March 10.

### What has happened here?



Whatever it was, it happened at 2-45 a.m. An old widow stands beside her broken down gate. Story on Page 12

# Saturday Review

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## Moratuwa University Thamil Sangam

The Moratuwa University Thamil Sangam will hold its annual 'Kalai Vizha' on Sunday February 28th, at the Ramakrishna Hall, Colombo. At this festival the annual magazine of the Thamil Sangam 'Nudpam' will be released.

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# MIRJE protest to President

Below is a text of a Telegram sent on 20.2.1982 to the President of the Republic, the I. G. P., the Army Commander, the Minister of Defence and Minister of Justice.

The same text without the last 8 words was also sent to the Officer in Charge, Army Camp, Gurunagar, Jaffna.

Movement for Interracial Justice and Equality Mirje has learnt with apprehension that the home of Dr. S. Rajasundaram General Secretary Gandhian Society Vavuniya and member of Mirje and the office of Gandhian Society were searched by state personnel and files taken on 18th February and that Dr. Rajasundaram was asked to collect files at Gurunagar Army Camp Jaffna 90 miles away (stop) Mirje Regrets harassment of Dr. Rajasundaram (stop) Mirje requests confirmation of above and further request that due processes of law be scrupulously observed (stop) copy officer in charge Gurunagar Army Camp.

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## Youth produced before J.M.O.

SUBRAMANIAM SRITHARAN, a youth from Paranthan, who was held in detention at the Army Camp at Elephant Pass was produced before the J. M. O., Jaffna, for examination on Wednesday the 24th.

This followed an order by the Court of Appeal consequent to the Habeas Corpus Application made by Sritharan's father Ramanathar Subramaniam of Paranthan.

## Principal interdicted

The Principal, K. K. S. Sinhala Vidyalaya lost his job as a result of a surprise visit made by the Director of Education, Jaffna, Mr. K. Sivanathan. The Administrator was found to be running the school in an irregular and disorderly manner. The Principal, Killinochchi Sinhala Maha Vidyalaya will take over at K. K. S.

## Consumer protection

The Department of Commerce and Trade, Jaffna District, has announced rewards for information on business establishments that violate the Consumer Protection Act.

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# How serious is Sri Lanka's economic crisis ?

President Jayewardene said recently that the Government was "broke." This is the inevitable and inexorable outcome of the Government's rake's progress, financially, since 1977.

There is a tendency within the Government itself to blame the Minister of Finance, Mr. Ronnie de Mel for the present economic situation of Sri Lanka, which is one of acute crisis. But Mr. de Mel has been merely carrying out Government policy, so that everyone in the Cabinet of Ministers, must share the blame equally, just as they collectively take credit for various achievements.

How serious is the economic crisis? Let us quote from a document submitted to the Government by one of its top advisers last year. His analysis, conclusions and recommendations are still valid. (We have updated certain facts and figures in it, which appear within brackets.)

The present economic situation of the country is grave. All indicators display this gravity.)

1. New opportunity of work/employment are virtually coming to a standstill. The original impetus that the UNP Government was able to give the economy between 1977/1980 appears to be exhausting itself. Agricultural exports are stagnating and industrial exports apart from petroleum and garments are of no significance. (I am attaching as an appendix data to support any statements made herein). In fact industries in Sri Lanka to day are in a state of siege. An appreciable number have closed down and a much larger number have converted their activity from manufacturer to trade thereby sacrificing both the value added to goods in Sri Lanka that manufacture provides and considerable opportunities of new employment. Except for a few industries which are strategic industries protected by licensing. On the contrary industries in general are not expanding most are with few exceptions carrying on a hand to mouth existence. The promises of opportunities of work employment for all contained in the UNP manifesto for the General Elections and reiterated by the President in Lunugavehera in June 1979 will not be realised in the present stage of stagnation by 1983.

The Balance of Payments Gap is The Foreign Exchange gap in 1980 amounted to a deficit of about 1 billion dollars or approximately

rupees 18 billion (in 1981, the balance of trade deficit was estimated to have been Rs. 16 billion).

The Budget Gap (The Rupee Gap) for 1980 is also about 1 billion dollars or Rs. 18 billion. (in 1981, the deficit was approx. Rs. 15 billion; in 1982, it is estimated to reach Rs. 23 billion) Treasury Bills (i. e. Paper Money without as-

sets to back them) have been printed for almost 8 billion rupees and if these tendencies do go on unchecked a few more billion rupees worth of treasury Bills will also have to be printed (The total amount of Treasury Bill outstanding is now Rs. 18 billion) The Domestic and Foreign Borrowing ceilings, agreed on with the IMF in letters of intent were breached in June 1980.

IMF Aid under the External Fund Facility (EFF) has consequently been suspended from the 15th August, 1980. This means a loss of support to Sri Lanka of \$ 90 billion in 1980 and \$ 10 billion in 1981 amounting to Rupees 4 Billion (approx) concessionary terms which would have been useful as a Balance of Payments support. We will have to renegotiate with the IMF, a difficult exercise till we have brought the adverse trends in our economy under control. (This facility was resumed in June 1981).

These four factors are causing

- inflation which is now running at about 30% a year on the average. (The current rate is claimed by the Govt. to be 18%)
- a fall in the parity rate of the Rupee which was originally US \$ 1 equals Rs. 15.60 but is now



Ronnie de Mel

US\$ 1 equals Rs 18.00  
(Now the rate is Rs.20.6)

If we are not careful the IMF feels that it will be about Rs. 24,00 for one US dollar. In consequence interest rates are very high in order to seek to curb inflation.

In the long run there is no solution except stimulating our agriculture and industries to export so that the overall total exports from agriculture, industries, gems and tourism will exceed current balance of Payments deficit.

At the moment (1981) imports are running about \$ 2.4 billion and our exports are at about \$ 1.2 billion. The deficit being about \$ 1.2 billion. We are trying to meet this through foreign aid but in our present state it is most unlikely that loans could be obtained except at prohibitive rates of interest creating immense and impossible problems for the future of debt servicing.

In the short run by immediately cutting drastically imports we must reduce the balance of payments (Foreign Exchange deficit) in order

foreign exchange well above our imports a task which must take some years.

But any cutting of imports has to be done in a manner which provides both economic and political solutions. We cannot try to solve the problems of the foreign exchange and the Rupee deficit by merely cutting programmes, as some IMF experts have suggested. For instance the CTB lost over 1 billion Rupees in 1980 & had over 20,000 Workers in excess. One cannot merely cut the CTB deficit by sacking the excess workers and stop all losing routes of the CTB. That is not a political solution. Similarly one cannot merely stop building houses for the people because that means a cut down the UNP's programme.

A solution which is both political and economic must achieve the targets of the UNP Programmes while simultaneously cutting down the Foreign exchange and Rupee gaps. A purely economic solution is the surest way to ensure that the 1983 elections is lost by UNP.

## by our Economic Correspondent

There is very little cash in the monetary sector, apparently due to the heavy drawings by state organization.

The accelerated Mahaweli Scheme on which the UNP depended to provide work employment for all will not become a reality till at least 1985. Further steep price rises in oil and or world inflation in the industrial countries can well make the Mahaweli a distant dream.

Therefore two immediate tasks face our Government if it is to be certain of winning the 1983 Elections.

- Create the opportunities of work / employment for all by the end of 1982 or at least before the 1983 elections
- Reduce inflation and with it the cost of living in order which automatically lower parities and interest rates and
- stimulate economic activity, thereby increasing employment

For these objectives we have to take immediate steps to reduce the Foreign Exchange and the Rupee Gaps to about half of their present levels, reduce the current parity and seek to get back the massive inflow of foreign loans including the balance EFF Aid from the IMF.

to qualify us for an adequate concessional foreign aid, but if we are to be independent we must raise our exports and other activities earning

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# What price close

## U.S.—Sri Lanka ties ?

COLOMBO: Sri Lanka's opposition parties appear convinced despite Washington's denials, that the U. S. has a secret understanding with president Jayewardene's government for the use of the island's ports by the seventh fleet, much like its reported agreements for base facilities with Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

This is the price, they believe, that the U. S. has exacted for the massive economic assistance granted to Sri Lanka since 1977 when the right-wing United National Party came to power. Independent observers concede that Colombo's relations with Washington have never been so close and cordial as now. For the same reason, its opponents say that the government has become pro-American, notwithstanding protestations that the UNP regime continues to follow the foreign policy of non-alignment.

### Suggestions in the U. S. Press

The opposition has reasons to suspect the bona fides of the government. One of these is an alleged statement in a Pentagon project report for 1980-1981 that the strategic naval base at Trincomalee needs to be developed into an Indian Ocean base for America. There have been suggestions in the American press too, including the Washington post, that Sri Lanka would make an ideal stopping place for U. S. ships as "the Government of Mr. Jayewardene is generally pro-American". The opposition has protested against a proposal to grant a U. S. company Coastal Corporation, the right to establish an oil terminal at Trincomalee to service American ships, including warships, if necessary.

### Soft-peddling of "Peace Zone"

Among the other reasons are the guarantee against nationalisation of multinationals, the soft-peddling of Sri Lanka's own proposal to declare the Indian Ocean a "peace zone", the attempt to join the pro-American ASEAN, the omission of any reference in foreign policy statements to Diego Garcia, support of the U. S. position

on Afghanistan and Kampuchea and the frequent visits of U. S. warships in the islands ports. To cap it all came statements by President Reagan and the U. S. permanent representative to the U. N. Mrs. Jeanne Kirkpatrick, that U. S. Sri Lanka relations were now "flourishing".

The U. S. has been interested in Sri Lanka from world war II days. At first, it was lukewarm because British influence was all-pervasive in the political, economic and military spheres and served American purpose equally well. After independence, Washington began to take a new look at the strategic island. It appeared keen to draw it into a military alliance as part of its overall objective of preventing the spread of communism in Asia.

Post-independence governments, dominated by the UNP, were decidedly pro-West. They did not object to the island's military base then under effective British control being used by the British in the fight against Malaysian communists and by the Dutch and the French to suppress the independence struggles in Indonesia and Vietnam. In 1950, Sri Lanka recognised China, following British lead, but successive governments refused to allow China or Soviet Union to establish diplomatic missions in Colombo or to trade with them. However, owing to the pressure of public opinion, the UNP rulers declined to get involved in a military pact.

### An abortive U. S. attempt

Despite its anti-communism the UNP in 1952 surprised observers by entering into an agreement with China to barter rubber for rice. Sri Lanka was unable at that time to find markets in the west for its rubber and so was deprived of foreign currency to buy rice. "It was a matter of life and death for us", the then Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, had said.

The U. S. had made an abortive attempt to prevent the barter deal. Later, it had endeavoured to get in abrogated, again without success. It had withheld aid, cut off sulphur supplies (required to fight a rubber leaf disease) and had even threatened to bomb ships carrying rubber.

At home, the anti-China lobby led by Mr. Jayawardene, had campaigned against the agreement and earned the derisive nick-name, "Yankie Dicky".

1956, the west, led by the U. S., suffered another major set-back in Sri Lanka with the emergence of that first socialist government, led by Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, founder of the Sri Lanka Freedom party (S. L. F. P.). He promptly put Sri Lanka on the part of non-alignment, established relations with the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries and induced the British to evacuate the Air Base at Katunayake and Trincomalee Naval Base.

Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike who became the world's first woman Prime Minister in 1960 (After assassination of her husband, allegedly in a C.I.A. plot) sought to consolidate the socialist base of the economy by nationalising key sectors controlled by local and foreign companies. Restrictions were also placed on the operation of foreign insurance companies and banks while the state's share in agriculture, industry and the import and export trade was expanded. A diversion of markets was attempted through increased trade with socialist countries.

These policies angered the west. The U. S. retaliated by cutting off aid as a consequence, Sri Lanka came to depend more for aid and trade on socialist countries, particularly China. The government was described as being "pro-china" while Mr. Jayawardene accused Mrs. Bandaranaike of planning to lease Trincomalee to the Chinese in return for aid.

The situation changed dramatically in favour of the west with the return to power of the UNP in 1965 under Mr. Senanayake. Though the new government remained broadly committed to non-alignment, there was a visible veering towards the west. But between 1970 and 1977, when Mrs. Bandaranaike returned to office there was a throw-back to the pre-1965 era where relations with America and other western countries were concerned.

In 1977, the UNP led for the first time by Mr. Jayawardene wrested power on a strong anti-socialist platform. The government promptly opted for U.S. style development by switching to a free enterprise system on the promise of aid from western sources, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

However, four years later, the strategy has not succeeded in easing to any appreciable degree Sri Lanka's economic problems, chief among which are low living standards and acute unemployment. Both external and internal factors

which opponents allege have made him a dictator in all but name. They have expressed the fear that he might follow the example of several other U. S. backed developing countries and do away with elections (due in 1982).

To get out of the economic morass the government has been forced to seek more foreign aid specially from the U. S. America has expressed its willingness to continue to assist Sri Lanka but observers believe the price will be heavy. In diplomatic circles here, there is already talk of the likelihood of granting base facilities. Mrs. Ban-

by **Gamini Navaratne**

have served to exacerbate the situation and there is considerable public discontent.

To stamp it out Mr. Jayawardene has assumed wide

daranaik heads the list of non-believers in the government's re-affirmation of commitment to "strict non-alignment".

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# 'Bahasa' heart-burning in Malaysia

*"The use of bahasa Malaysia as the main medium of instruction will continue to be progressively implemented, such that by the end of the eighties it will be the main medium of instruction at the primary, secondary and tertiary level."*

—Fourth Malaysia 1981-85

Since bahasa Malaysia (Malay) became the sole official language in 1970, the prospect of it trammelling other tongues has worried Malaysia's minorities, particularly the Chinese who comprise a vibrant 35% of the 14-million population. The prospect, nonetheless, has loomed inexorably — despite delays.

(In 1970, the goal was to achieve by this year what the Fourth Plan targets for the eighties.) As the official language made its advance, English was dropped as a language of instruction at primary level, and secondary and tertiary education was switched to Malay wherever possible. That left Chinese and Tamil primary schools teaching in their own languages, a right protected by legislation. Now there are fears in the Chinese community that this

last educational bastion of its language is being whittled away.

When the school year started early in January, a back-to-the-basics curriculum was introduced as a pilot project in 302 primary schools 62 of them Chinese, 29 Tamil. The aim of the 3Rs curriculum is to "establish a firm education foundation, especially in reading, writing and arithmetic," but it also included an unexpected element: the texts of teaching materials for all subjects except mathematics and Chinese and Tamil languages are in bahasa Malaysia. There was an immediate outcry.

"They're using the 3Rs to undermine the teaching of Chinese in the country," charged an angry Lim Fong Seng, 57, Chairman of the Chinese Schools Committee (CSC), the largest Chinese educational body in Malaysia. Lim, who stressed that he was "a loyal Malaysian and not chauvinistic," worried that his mother tongue, Mandarin, was in danger of becoming extinct in Malaysia. Joining in the protest were political parties which traditionally work for the protection of

Chinese interests. "I feel very insulted and belittled by the proposed implementation," said Lee San Choon, president of the Malaysian Chinese Association, the second-largest party in the ruling National Front government. The opposition Democratic Action Party, led by Lim Kit Siang, called for an emergency parliamentary debate on the 3Rs.

### A 'POLITICAL HOT POTATO'

To the disappointment of Chinese group, the Malaysian Indian Congress, also a member of the National Front, said it would cooperate with the government in implementing the curriculum. That decision no doubt pleased the dominant partner in the Front the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), whose officials made it clear they felt the issue was being used as a political tool to garner Chinese votes (in view of general elections widely believed to be slated for this year though technically not due until 1983). Education Minister Sulaiman Daud described the controversy as a "political hot potato."

## NEWS BRIEFS

### TWO YOUTHS ASSAULTED

Mr. M. Alalasundaram, M. P., for Kopyay has sent complaints to the D. I. G., Northern Range and the Officer-in-Charge at the Gurunagar Army Camp regarding the assault of two youths, T. Jeyanthirarasa of Urumpriy North and Balakarunakaran of Kondavil by the Armed Forces. The two are now receiving medical treatment.

### K. K. S. - NAGAPTINAM BOAT SERVICE

The Jaffna District Development Council will soon take action on the decision to run a passenger-cargo boat service between K. K. S. and Nagapattinam. The earlier decision of the Jaffna M. P. C. S. to run a similar boat service between Talaimannar and Rameswaram has been revoked on the grounds that the Mannar D. D. C. is in a better position to run it.

### TECHNICAL COLLEGE FOR MUSLIMS

Mr. Nalim Hadjiar who spoke at a meeting of the Islamic Renaissance movement stated that a Technical college, complete with all modern facilities will be set up in Colombo specially for Muslim Students.

### SALT TO BE SHIPPED FROM K. K. S.

A ship carrying a load of 5000 tons coal for the Cement Factory will reach the KKS harbour by the end of this month. 4000 tons of ground salt will be exported from the harbour to Bangladesh next month.

### SUPPORT FOR PALMYRAH PROJECTS

Jaffna D. D. C. has come forward to lend support to projects producing Palmyrah Sugar. Palmyrah product co-operative Societies in Chavakachcheri, Atchuvely, Point Pedro, Vaddu electorate and Kodigamam will receive Rs. 3 lakhs each from the decentralised budget to purchase the necessary machinery to produce palmyrah sugar.

### DETENTION ORDER ILLEGAL

The detention order against Saravanai Murugaiyah arrested in connection with the Neervely Robbery has been found illegal by the High Court.

### DR. KALPAGE AT BATTICALOA

The University Grants Commission and its head, Dr. Stanley Kalpage, visited the Batticaloa University College on Sunday, 21st February to discuss plans for the expansion of the University College.

### LIBRARY FUND - OVER 6 LAKHS

On Monday the 22nd the Jaffna Mayor announced a collection of 6 lakhs end 78 thousand rupees so far towards the Jaffna Public Library Restoration Fund.

### THONDAMAN FOR KILINCHCHI

Minister Thondaman will visit Kilinochchi early next month to declare open a milk collection centre. This centre will serve the Vavuniya, Mannar and Mankulam areas and has a holding capacity of 10,000 litres of milk.

### TALK ON INSECTICIDES

Professor M. R. G. K. Nair, Specialist on entomology from Trivandrum spoke on the adverse effects of insecticides on our environment, at the Thinnavelly Farm School on Saturday 21st.

## NEED FOR TEACHERS IN ESTATE AREAS

Thanks to permission by the Ministry of Education, the "Estate People's Services" is helping the Government Schools in Plantation area with more than 100 "Volunteer Teachers" in more than 50 Schools.

Teachers are badly needed: Ratnapura area needs more than 400 of them and Nuwara Eliya area more than 600 of them. For the past few years, a periodical promise is made: "Teachers will be appointed in January" and periodically the promise remains a broken promise. It cannot be called a ... LIE, because when the promise is made: "Teachers will appointed in January" the year is not specified. so that it may be.....January 1991 or January 2001???

The Volunteer Teachers too were given twice "great expectations" that those with 6 passes in O/L, with three

Credits, would be appointed. But their expectations have remained unfulfilled. Last December, only A/L passed students were called for an examination.

On a visit to Colombo, I borrowed a copy of the "White Paper" and sat through the night to study it. Only then I realized that the "White Paper" will make a little blacker and darker the situation of the Plantation children (as of all the underprivileged children in the country). It will DEPRIVE them of ONE YEAR of compulsory education: instead of a lower Kindergarten and 5 Primary Classes, they will have ONLY 5 Primary Classes.

Has one to expect the approval and the passing of the "White Paper" to expect an improvement of the education of the Plantation children,

or could one hope that during this "Election Year" something would take place and the necessary teachers would be appointed for the Schools in the Plantation area? While I was writing this letter, the Principal of a Government School in a plantation area, came appealing to me to appoint another Volunteer Teacher: "Father, how can I manage 230 children in six classes alone? I am the ONLY Government teacher there. Thanks to the two Volunteer Teachers you have offered to me, the education standard has improved, but I need at least two more teachers".

What have I to tell this sincere Principal who wants to improve the standard of education on 230 students?

I got a grant for. 85 Volunteer Teachers and in an effort to help in a moment

of emergency (last August, when the Jaffna Government Teachers left the area), I have now 115 of them. Instead of appointing new ones, I have been left with the painful duty of dismissing 30 of them?

I wonder whether local well-to-do people could come forward and help sponsor a few such Volunteer Teachers (to whom our group gives a remuneration of Rs. 300/-, thanks to the generosity of the German people). Or could the Government, now that it has become the ONLY owner of the Plantations, realize its obligation to the children of its Plantation Workers, the most profitable, and most underpaid, workers in the country? — Election Year will do the miracle.

Pio Ciampa, S. J.  
Estate People's Services,  
Balangoda.

**From the pages of Hansard - 50 YEARS AGO**

**Debates in the Legislative Council of Ceylon - Thursday, November 8, 1928**

# The First

# FRANCHISE debate

## Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan's Speech

*(Continued from last issue)*

Christianity has been a living religion from the time it appeared. Jesus had said that these spiritual principles had existed before the foundation of the world, before God projected his universe. All these sacred principles were necessary for the uplift of man, and they were all there, in the mind of the Deity. That is how these principles, these great principles, have come to us; we treasure them, and there are people who are ready to strain us. We are all in the hands of these guides, and we feel really pained when new fancies are brought to us and even forced upon us, when sorrow is introduced into every home in India, with her 300,000,000 people, and in Ceylon, with her 5,000,000 people. It is sorrow sorrow, sorrow, from morning till evening, sorrow caused by these poisonous doctrines and poisonous practices.

We will not utter a word. We will bear our burdens with resignation, and the time may come when these very men who are sent out by His Majesty to rule over distant parts of the Empire will carry the good news from our country to theirs and tell the people there that there is another and a higher view of life, a view more consistent with the ancient doctrines of Jesus and also of all the sages who went before Jesus. We are very much concerned about these new doctrines which are forced upon us.

I say that universal suffrage will not do for us. As regards suffrage to adult males, we must not forget the history of humanity, or fail to take notice of what statesmen in European countries are doing in their lands for the removal of ignorance. We have, Sir, in Ceylon and in India the best educationists. Here is one right opposite to me. (The Hon. Mr. Macrae) We must convert the bad ones into good ones, efface passions and develop love, and my honourable friend is there to guard over our destinies in the case of English education. I am glad to say that he is the President of the Oriental Society of Ceylon. We prize him because he is not a man with these new fancies, because he is not a man who has had no concern with education and who does not remember the

saying of Matthew Arnold about the state of things in Europe—"We are said to be educationists. We seem to think that we know all about everything, but the fact is we know nothing because neither Europe nor America has found any clue to the great phenomenon that is before us in the universe, varied, contradictory, contrary, wayward. We know nothing about it and we have found no clue to it."

These politicians in that great House of Commons, the history of which we know—these modern men—have forgotten these things. They seem to think that because the rabble sent them into the House they know the profundities of human nature, they know all about the truth that has been spoken of as the mysteries of the Kingdom of God, the great mysteries which are reserved only for people who seek them, who knock and who will find them. To those who do not seek them, who do not knock, who are self-satisfied, who think that they are the greatest persons in the world, the mysteries of the kingdom of God are a closed book. But these mysteries will be revealed in due time to all those persons who seek them.

That kind of knowledge, real knowledge, does not exist in Europe except in the cloisters and in the straightlances. It is very rarely that you come across that beautiful upright soul with whom conversation is a thing of joy to the ordinary man and who has a platform of his own, who silently works in the midst of difficulties and produces very good results in the matter of the conversion of the wicked ones into good ones.

The Commissioners speak about male adult suffrage. But do they not remember that if there were no schools, no colleges, and no Universities, in England and in other parts of Europe, the people in those parts of the world would be nothing but utter, hopeless barbarians like the Goths and the Vandals who swept over the plains of Rome and made short work of that Empire, who broke down the statues and everything that was nice and holy, and left the country steeped in the bitterest of sorrows? Have they not heard of these things? Why do they preach these rotten doctrines

to us, and force them down our throats? I say there is revolution after revolution coming and, who knows, earthquakes and eruptions of the sea coming. But the good ones will be saved. It is all lost on some of the Commissioners. Of course, I do admire some of them.

I say that, judged by ordinary experience, apart from the eternal law of justice and righteousness, and the design of God the Most High, who is in us watching us, and who will help us if we seek his help—I say that these doctrines are not for us.

What would London be without its millions of students

What would be the state of England if there were no elementary schools, secondary schools, colleges, and Universities? Will the brilliant lights here who are sitting opposite to us ever have had the chance of coming to us but for those schools and colleges?

Dr. Shiels, I believe, forgets this lesson in human experience. Education is absolutely necessary if we are to make our wicked people govern their passions and their low animal desires. If we are to do that, education is absolutely necessary. If a man can govern his low passions and desires,

self-Government. The thing is absolutely ridiculous!

The design of God is this: We are ourselves the child in the chamber. The mother or the father takes care of it. They say "This is very dear to us, and we shall educate it". They sit near the child, attend to all its wants, and teach it from day to day. The child sees the light, points to it with its finger, and looks at the parents. The parents say: "That is a light". (Pointing towards the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera) "What is that?" asks the child, and the parents answer "That is a cat." (Pointing towards the Hon. Mr. Shockdale): "What is that?" asks the child: the parents say that that is some other animal. The child is taught the first names by the earliest teachers, its parents. Then the mother and father know that the child has learned a lot of names. Later, when the child is told something, he begins to question the why of that statement. That is the awakening of the reason. So the father and the mother have to tell the child the why and the wherefore of things. Therefore the father and the mother cannot be spared from that work. They must be there to teach the child. The father has to go away to his work, and the children are left in the care of the mother whose most sacred duty is to watch every turn and movement of her child's mind, anticipate the child's difficulties, and give the child proper information every now and then. She delights in doing that: It is more to her than ordinary food.



Sir Ponnambalam photographed with his disciples on his visit to America

and schools. During the earliest times, when there was nothing but religion stirring in the hearts of everybody, people loved religion and put themselves under the control of the priest, and they were taught and told "Now, take care. There is your responsibility, responsibility to God who rewards and punishes. He is the only being whose judgement and awards and punishments are correct. Live that life".

then he can govern himself. And thus we come to the idea of self-Government in the proper sense of the term. Self-Government is for the individual—individual self-Government in order that he may govern his own low passions and desires, and become an asset of his country in due time. Men who have no conception of self-Government in this individual sense are it appears, going to be given a share in political

The Special Commissioners ask us to give the franchise to persons who cannot govern themselves. There are not many murders committed in Great Britain except under the influence of drink. Proportionately, I believe the people there are not so criminal as the people in many other countries.

*(To be continued)*

# Early Tamil Buddhist settlement in the Vavuniya district

Pernicious attempts are being made in the Vavuniya District by Sinhala politicians and officers of the archeological and cultural departments of the Sri Lanka Government to identify Buddhist ruins in the district as proofs of Sinhala settlements in ancient times. The attempt to identify everything Buddhist as Sinhala is an unpardonable historical error. It is only a chauvinistic scholar who ignores the stark and clear evidence of Tamil Buddhism in ancient history who can make such a miserable mix-up and blunder.

The enigmatic Buddha statue implanted illegally in front of the Vavuniya Kachcheri facing the Jaffna road and the politically manoeuvred cultural museum being erected without removing the illegal statue are construed by all sections of the pluralistic population of Vavuniya with a Buddhist - Sinhala minority as imperial attempts to foist this erroneous theory on the Tamil, Muslim and Christian peoples of the district.

## BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

This short article is meant to prove that there were Tamil Buddhist and Hindu settlements in very ancient times in the Vavuniya district. Ancient inscriptions are better proofs today for Tamil history in this island rather than the one-sided histories written by Buddhist Monks such as the Dipavansa, Mahavamsa and Culavansa.

In Periyapuliyanakulam in the Vavuniya district are rock inscriptions which prove that there were Tamil traders in the area in the 2nd century B. C. These inscriptions are written in Brahmi letters from which Tamil writing developed. The traders are referred to as "Dameda - Vanya". The 'd' sound is used in "Dameda" because the Prakrit speaking Buddhists monks could not pronounce the "y" in 'Tamil'.

The earliest Tamil settlers seem to have been obviously traders. Sena and Gutika were horse traders who became kings and ruled righteously before Elalan. The place names in many areas in the Vavuniya district, specially the Chettikulam area, with names such as Vengala Chettikulam, Natuchettikulam, Chinna Chettikulam etc. suggest large settlements of Tamil traders in

ancient times. These traders moved into the interior from the great ports of Mantotam and Tirukonamalai.

The Periyapuliyanakulam rock inscriptions mention "Tamil traders" clearly in two places. They seem to have patronized Buddhism and even adopted Buddhist names such as "Visakha" "Sumana" "Velu-Sumana" etc. A Tamil trader called "Visakha" had donated a cave to the Buddhist monks. These inscriptions clearly show that Buddhism was practised by Tamils in ancient times.

## by Rev. Dr. D. J. Kanagaratnam

Besides the South Indian evidence and evidence in Tamil literature there is voluminous evidence of the presence of Tamil Buddhists and their service to Buddhism. The Thalgahagoda Vihare inscription in the Matale district mentions that the cave belonged to Tamil Bhikkhus in the 2nd century B. C. Even in the 11th Century AD the slab inscription of Mahinda IV (1026-1044AD) refers to a Tamil monastery at Kibinilam in Amgamkuli. The Uttara Vihare and Naga Vihare in the northern province had large numbers of Tamil monks. There is good evidence of Tamil Buddhist temples by Tamils in different parts of the island.

Tamil names such as "Vela" and "Velu" in the inscriptions suggest the settlements of some ancient Tamil families of the Velir community. The Sangam literature refer to them as "Thon Muthir Velir" engaged in agriculture. Names such as "Rama" "Siva" "Sivakuttan" suggest that they were Hindus who also patronized Buddhism. The name "Uthiyar" and "Kasippan" are names of chieftains of the Pandyan dynasty. There seems to have been a very close connection between the Buddhists of Pandya and Chola and Ceylon in ancient times. The Nagas mentioned in the inscriptions seem to have patronized both Hinduism and Buddhism in the North.

Hugh Nevill when he was Assistant Government Agent of Mullaitivu penetrated the

thick jungle of Vavunikulam and Kovilkadu in 1889 and found a very large Hindu Temple in ruins with its "Saivalingam" broken and also a Vishnu Statue and a Buddha Statue. The place names in the area suggest the ancient "Kudimakkal" system of Tamil settlements. Buddhism and Buddha were given a very significant place by these ancient Tamil Hindus.

The "Vaiyapadal" "Konesar Kalvettu" and "Mattakalappu Manmiam" relate in Tamil poetry the Tamil settlements in the district in medieval times. These Tamil settlers were mostly Hindus but they were very friendly towards the Buddhists who in turn

respected the rights and privileges of the Tamils and Hindus.

The time has come for the Tamils to study deeply their history and the history of Tamil settlements in ancient and medieval times and the history of the Tamil kingdom in the North. Tamils must struggle and press for a correct representation of their political Social and Cultural histories in this island and not be gullible and passive when pernicious and subtle attempts are made to foist the theory that ancient Buddhist ruins in the north prove the presence of Sinhala communities. This is one of the clearest and deliberate attempts of cultural oppression of the Tamil people of this country.

# The world awaits the Gandhi film

Sir Richard Attenborough, the maker of the film "Gandhi", it seems, will have the last laugh at his Indian critics. The 30 per cent financing by the National Film Development (NFDC) had kicked up a national row in India. Even the die-hard Gandhians had put up a big non-violent resistance. The Columbia Motion Pictures have paid a record \$ 12 million for the international distribution rights of Attenborough's *Gandhi*. India stands to gain a sizeable chunk of foreign as per agreement.

At a recent Press Conference in London, the Chairman and President of Columbia Motion Pictures, Frank Price said that after watching the rushes he was confident of *Gandhi* doing well in the international circuit. Price plans to show the film coast to coast in America while extensive bookings are being made in Western Europe.

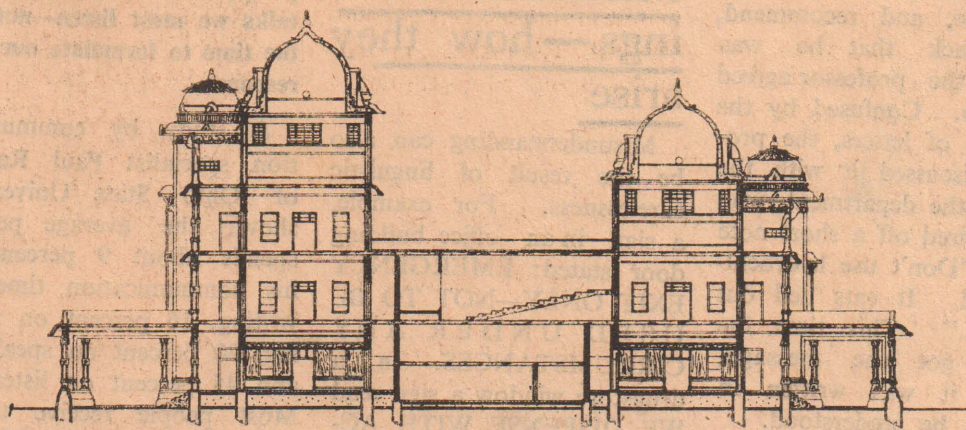
The financial prospects apart, it is the visual projection of the Mahatma who defied one of the greatest empires and won India's freedom by non-violence and as Price says, "altered the course of history" which is significant for the contemporary world in the grip of a frightening nuclear conflagration. Commented a British correspondent, "Gandhi's non-violent methods to shake a world power, could be a distinct lesson to President Reagan who believes in pouring

in strike weapons like the F-16s into the Indian sub-continent and to the Soviet Union as well which is militarily involved in Afghanistan."

As it is, anti-nuclear sentiment is sweeping Europe in the wake of hardening attitudes of the Super Powers. At such a crucial period of threatened conflagration, Mahatma Gandhi's life and message of peace and nonviolence would be projected to millions round the world, particularly in the U. S. A. The Mahatma who inspired Indians to a non-violent independent struggle will live once again to inspire the developed world to rediscover the utility of peace and non-violence. "To revive the spirit of Gandhi at this time would be a great Indian contribution to world peace," said a film critic.

The film in English will run for three hours with one intermission and is being initially dubbed only in Hindi. But there are plans to dub it in other languages - French, Spanish, Japanese, Arabic and Russian. Ben Kingsley, an Anglo-Indian, playing Gandhi, critics and distributors aver, has given a remarkable performance, as also Rohini Hattengadi who plays Kasturba. Music in the film has been given by the Sitar-maestro Ravi Shankar.

India and the world now await *Gandhi* with great expectations.



With the library week in Jaffna ending tomorrow the Jaffna Mayor will announce the collection for the Library Restoration Fund. The target of the Library Fund is Rs. 15 million, and the purpose of the Library Week is to collect Rs. 1.5 million within the peninsula itself.

The foundation stone was laid for the IIIrd Stage of the Library building on February 7th. Work is scheduled to commence on the construction of the IIIrd Stage as well as the repairs on the less damaged areas of the library building burnt down in June, 81.

The only addition to the original third stage plan drawn under the Mayoralty of Sam Sabapathy is a third storey to the 2 storey plan of the IIIrd Stage.

The artist's sketch above shows how the Jaffna Library will look after eventual completion and restoration.



# HOW WELL DO WE COMMUNICATE?

by **JOHN MOELAERT** Part 2

(Continued from last issue)

A plumber wrote to the Department of Chemical Engineering at a university about having solved a clogging problem in laboratory drains by pouring hydrochloric acid down them. One of the department's professors responded with the following letter: "The apparent merit of hydrochloric acid as a de-obstructionizing agent is off-set by its counterproductive corrosive qualities. Hence we do not advocate its application in circumstances alluded to in your letter. We appreciate your drawing this matter to our attention and recommend the use of more conventional methods that are compatible with metallic permanence."

The plumber, misled by common words like merit appreciate, and recommend, wrote back that he was pleased the professor agreed with him. Confused by the exchange of letters, the professor discussed it with the head of the department, who in turn fired off a short note saying: "Don't use hydrochloric acid. It eats hell out of pipes." This time the plumber got the message, because it was written in language he understood.

The use of jargon is another major factor in miscommunication. People in increasing numbers fail to recognize that the primary purpose of communication is to express ideas—not to impress people.

The use of jargon in specialized fields, like education and business administr-

ation, has resulted in the creation of whole new languages. Lazy students are now called underachievers. When budgets are slashed, business administrators say an advanced downward adjustment has been made. Things no longer happen, they eventuate; and officials make determinations to explain why. We live in a world where good things are positive externalities and bad things are negative, externalities, unemployment is an adverse social consequence, and subjects are listed under rubrics rather than under headings. Rationing has become end-use allocation, stressful situations may arise in the nuclear as well as in the matrifocal family, and some people are in a state of cognitive inertia because they lack self-actualization.

## Misunderstandings—how they arise

Misunderstanding can also be the result of linguistic carelessness. For example, a sign in an office building door stated: EMERGENCY EXIT ONLY—NOT TO BE USED UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES. In a drugstore window a sign read WE DISPENSE WITH ACCURACY.

Misunderstanding can also be caused by deliberate confusion. For example, in a consulting engineering report an area proposed for the building of a dam site was said to be subject to "crustal readjustments." When questioned, the consultant admitted he meant the area was subject to earthquakes!

Euphemisms were particularly popular during the Vietnam War. One American airforce colonel complained to reporters, "You always write it's bombing, bombing bombing. It's not bombing! It's air support." The new classic euphemism from that era was: "It was necessary to destroy the village in order to save it."

Effective communication is the key to success in life. In order to be an effective communicator one must communicate with open ears, open eyes, and an open mind. We must be sensitive to gestures, facial expressions, and other forms of body language and determine whether these confirm or contradict the verbal message. Above all, we must adopt an attitude that will allow us to see any given topic from another person's perspective. When someone talks we must listen—not use the time to formulate our own response.

A study by communication specialist Paul Rankin of Ohio State University, shows the average person spends about 9 percent of his communication time on writing, 16 percent on reading, 30 percent on speaking, and 45 percent on listening. Most people receive training in the first three forms of verbal communication but very few have been taught the techniques for effective listening. The lack of training in effective listening is a major flaw in our education system and represents a major handicap since nearly half of our communication time involves listening. The person who is unable or un-

willing to listen attentively can't possibly communicate effectively.

In the U.S. business correspondence costs exceed 100 billion dollars per year—more than the total amount the U.S. spends on public education during the same period. The costs of electronic communications, such as telephone and other forms of telecommunications are much higher. Yet, these astronomically high communication costs pale into insignificance when compared to the costs of miscommunication, which are beyond calculation. Miscommunication can result in cancelled orders, strikes, loss of clients, and—much more often than is recognized—in bankruptcy.

A recent study at a major company showed that in the

Obviously, such gross communication inefficiency has very negative effects on productivity and staff relations. Yet, until the study was conducted, the management was unaware of its communication inefficiency. In fact, the most common and serious communication problem today is that most people are unaware they lack communicative ability.

No responsible person in management would entrust specialized tasks, such as accounting, to inexperienced personnel. Yet, it remains the rule rather than the exception that those who speak on behalf of a company have no training in communication techniques. Too many people in business fail to understand that while it often takes years to build a

*People devote 70 percent of their waking time to some form of communication, and thus it may come as shock that most of us remain ignorant of the technique of effective communication, i. e., communicating with open ears, open eyes, and an open mind. Miscommunication, warns the author, is both costly and dangerous, and can lead as easily to war and divorce as to bankruptcy in business.*

area of listening alone, communication efficiency from top to bottom plummeted an incredible 80 percent. Here are the exact results from that study: only 67 percent of the president's messages were fully understood by his executive assistants. The percentages were 56 for the plant supervisor, 40 for the plant manager, 30 for the foreman and only 20 for the workers.

good business reputation, it takes only a few moments of miscommunication to cause it irreparable damage.

**Effective communication skills at work and in private life are one of the greatest assets anyone can acquire. Those who recognize this simple fact and improve their communication techniques accordingly are likely to succeed where others fail.**

## Book Review

# THE PRESS AND THE RACIAL VIOLENCE OF AUGUST 1981

How did the National Press conduct itself in reporting and comment in respect of the communal violence of August 1981?

The Council for Communal Harmony through the Media which is a voluntary body set up by a group of citizens concerned with the impact of the media on communal relations has now published the first of the studies that analyse the roles of all the three language media in this connection—the Sinhala, the Tamil and the English-language Press.

The report on the Sinhala Press just published, covers the three major Sinhala dailies the Dinamina, the Davasa and Lankadipa and their Sunday editions, the Silumina, Rivirasa

and the Sri Lankadipa. The study covers the period between 5th June 1981 and 5th September 1981 and pinpoints a series of instances in reporting, headlining, editorials and cartoons where the three newspapers had engaged in wilful distortions of news, omissions, and systematic anti-Tamil bias.

The grim picture that emerges from this well-documented study assumes alarming significance when one notes that four of the six newspapers are government-owned!

Copies of the report, which is in English, could be obtained from the Council for Communal Harmony through the Media, P. O. Box 601, Colombo, at Rs. 10/- each.



# HOW IS THIS WEEK FOR YOU ?



(February 28 — March 6)

## MESHA—ARIES

Be careful regarding your colleagues in the professional field. There is possibility of your getting a short journey or shift in your place of work. Health will not be satisfactory. Abdominal complaints will crop up and it would be better if immediate attention is given. In the case of some, the health of the father will cause anxiety. Good for mother. Brothers will be helpful. The partner will be of great assistance to you.

## RISHABA—TAURUS

During the first two days—on Sunday and Monday, Jupiter will be in favourable position and auspicious events will take place. Superiors will readily grant favours and change for the better in the profession can be expected. In the case of some there is likelihood of the father coming into prominence and good prospects of their profession. Certain mothers will have a worried period. This will be an enjoyable period for married couples and there are chances of bachelors coming across their partners-to-be.

## MITHUNA—GEMINI

Thursday and Friday will bring you unnecessary worries. Some will be able to gain favours from high Government officials. Professional upliftment is indicated. Sudden financial gains are indicated in the case of some. In the case of some, the health of the mother will cause a little anxiety. As Mars lord of the 6th and 11th is in retrogression in the 4th house, Kanya, this is not very satisfactory especially for the mother. Those suffering from blood pressure should be careful this week.

## KATAKA—CANCER

Some will undertake short journeys during the last two days of the week. The week for the married people will be happy one. Sun the lord of the 2nd house transiting the 9th house Meena indicates professional gains and favours from superiors. Mars Lord of the 5th and 10th is in retrogression in Kanya with Saturn lord of the 7th and 8th. There is likelihood of a child meeting with an accident and unnecessary expenses. There will be delay in the realization of debts.

## SINHA—LEO

Your personal health will be affected a bit due to lagna lord Sun being in the 8th house. There will be minor upsets in the family and married harmony will not prevail. You will be subject to emotional upsets. There is likelihood of short journeys being undertaken during the first two days of the week. Your inclination will be more towards the religious side. Be careful to avoid unnecessary drift between yourself and your father.

## KANYA—VIRGO

Be careful of accidents. People who matter will be helpful. You will enjoy happiness in the family and harmony will prevail right through the week. Superiors will be helpful and this is an ideal week for gaining favours from superiors. Unexpected changes are likely in the professional field for the better. You will be target of envy and hatred this week. A good and prosperous week for the parents.

## THULA—LIBRA

Spend Wednesday and Thursday carefully as you are liable to get into unnecessary troubles. You can expect minor differences and disharmony with your spouse, if you are married. Journeys are indicated. The parents will be prominent in society and they will exert lot of influence. Prominence in professional matters and superiors will not be very cordial with you. Guard yourself against undesirable elements.

## VRICHIKAM—SCORPIO

Children will bring happiness and prominence to their parents. Success will be achieved by them. In the case of some transactions in connection with landed properties will

be delayed. Abdominal ailments if neglected will lead to surgical treatment. The health of the mother, in the case of some, will cause anxiety. Professional gains will be made after a struggle and hidden enemies will try to have the better of you. Some can expect minor eye ailments.

## DHANU—SAGITTARIUS

You will be pestered with worries. During mid-week the health of the mother, in the case of some, will cause a little anxiety. Married harmony and prominence in the family will be experienced by some. Professionally there will be a big struggle between yourself and your hidden enemies and ultimately some good person will step in and give you a helping hand to regain your prominence. You can expect to go on short journeys in connection with professional matters. The parents will have a good time.

## MAKARA—CAPRICORN

Wherever you go you will be treated cordially with open arms. A good week to gain favours from government officials. Minor upsets will be experienced in the official sphere. Journeys and interviews in connection with official matters. Expect minor ailments for the father and a good period for the mother. A happy event regarding a child can be expected. A harmonious family life can be expected this week. There are chances of securing a good job with the help of a prominent person.

## KUMBA—AQUARIUS

You will be extremely busy this week with your professional matters. The Government and government officials will recognise your ability and grant favours. Be careful of hidden enemies and minor accidents. People who matter will be very helpful. Your mind will be unnecessarily worried especially the last two days. The father will have the help and blessings of religious people.

## MEENA—PISCES

You will go up the ladder in your profession whatever the nature of the obstruction is. Be careful of accidents. Money will be spent on religious affairs. Gains will be made with the help of your parents and friends. The spouse will have greater influence in the progress of your career. Unexpected financial gains will be made by some especially through ladies. Happy events will take place in the family in connection with children.

## Warrant out on S. I.

An open warrant has been issued by the Mallakam District Judge to bring to Courts the former Sub-Inspector, Chunnakam Police Station, Mr. Jayatilleke, on a charge of theft and assault on Kanapathypillai Sivanesan of Telliappalai on the 10th of March, 1981. This and the case against S. I. Jayatilleke and other Police Officers connecting them to the violent incidents of June 1981 in Jaffna are to be heard on the 23rd of this month.

## Talk on March 3

Professor K. Kailasapathy will deliver a talk on "European Influences on modern Tamil Poetry-Bharathi and the European Poets" at the Evelyn Rutnam Institute for Inter-Cultural Studies, Jaffna on March 3.

This is the third in the Series of fourteen lectures arranged by the Institute for 1982.

# WHAT A. E. GOONESINGHE

## SAID IN 1958

by Augustine Saverimuttu

The much-yearned-for and awaited Independence for which the then Sinhalese and Tamil leaders in this country fought persistently and side by side, has failed to usher along with it that sense of security and well-being for the Tamils who are an integral part of the Lankan nation. We have seen and experienced in subsequent years after Independence and almost right up to the present time the worst racial riots, blood-shed and mayhem known in the annals of Sri Lanka. A people fighting with and in the process killing whom they consider an alien tribe in their motherland is understood and able. But a people fighting and murdering a section of the people who are their country's own nationals is really understandable especially in a country which is spoken of as being sanctified by the influence of Lord Buddha.

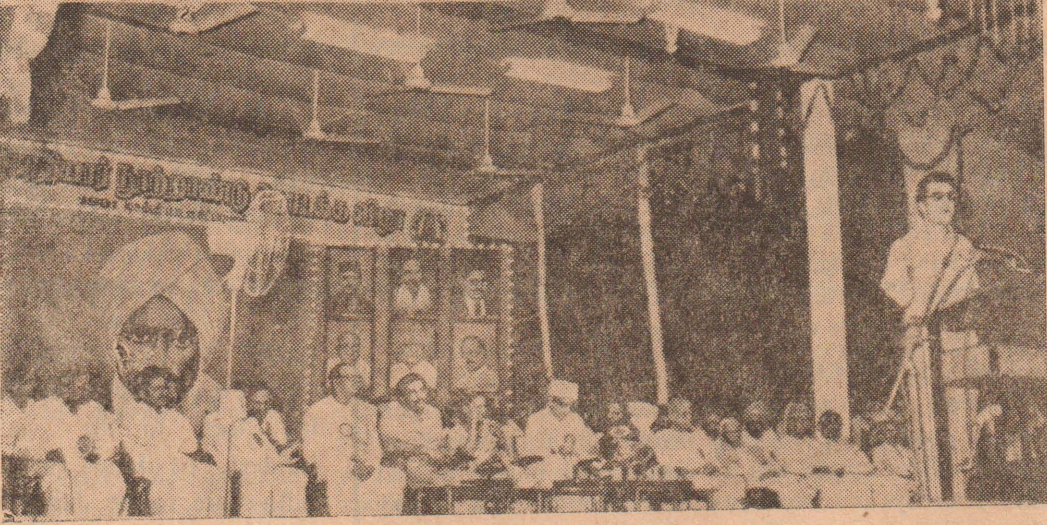
I wish to recall in this connection the words of a former M. P. for Colombo Central and Labour Union leader, the late A. E. Goonesinghe. Writing sometime after the 1958 racial riots about the history of Martial Law in Ceylon in a tribute paid to the late Sri Ponnambalam Ramanathan Mr. Goonesinghe said, "The history of Martial Law cannot be concluded without mentioning the part played by that great man Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, who stood like a colossus alone in the Legislative Council and vindicated the honour and dignity of the Sinhalese nation. I was present in the gallery on that day in September, 1951, when Sir Ponnambalam spoke for several hours. With tears in his eyes he described the brutalities committed by the Englishmen with impunity under the name of British justice. He

said it was not justice but downright murder by the ruling race and it was an act of mis-government for the ruling race to ignore all these atrocities.

"Up jumped Sri Reginald Stubbs the then Colonial Secretary, and said that Sir Ponnambalam was accusing the government of mis-government and wanted the word withdrawn. Sir Ponnambalam refused and enumerated one by one the act of mis-government.

"No Sinhalese who had heard Sir Ponnambalam in defence of the Sinhalese people in the Legislative Council that day will ever raise his hand or say anything against the Tamil race. The actions of the Sinhalese in 1958 against the Tamils makes me ashamed as a Sinhalese and I decried them then and ever after. This hatred and contempt engendered by designing politicians against our own brothers the Tamils must cease."

# HOMAGE TO BHARATHI



"THE SOVIET people are indebted to poet Subramanya Bharathi, for he was the first among the Indian poets to understand the historic significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution which the Russian people carried out and to hail its victory in his magnificent poem on New Russia," said Yuri Runov, Vice-Consul and Head of the Information Branch of the USSR Consulate-General in Madras, while addressing a huge gathering at Ettayapuram, the birthplace of the poet on the last day of the inaugural celebrations of Bharathi Birth Centenary Year organised by the state government of Tamilnadu.

Though Bharathi was an Indian poet, he belongs to the entire mankind, Yuri Runov stated. It is because of his writings permeated with his love

for mankind, with his aspirations for the betterment of people's well-being and his progressive views that he is remembered by generations of people, he added.

As the Vice-Chairman of the Southern Regional Advisory Board of the Soviet Land Nehru Awards Committee, Yuri Runov announced, amidst cheers that the Committee had decided to present a library of Soviet and Russian works to the Bharathi Memorial Mandapam at Ettayapuram in recognition of the great poet's services in seeking to build a bridge of friendship between India and the Soviet Union. He presented a book as a token of the Award, to the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu, Mr. M G. Ramachandran, Yuri Runov also stated that a special committee had been set up in the Soviet Union

to celebrate Bharathi's birth centenary throughout the centenary year.

Picture shows Yuri Runov addressing the gathering.

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## "Technology for Progress" — Exhibition theme

An Exhibition and Demonstration on the theme TECHNOLOGY for PROGRESS will be held at Jaffna College, Vaddukoddai, from March 15—20.

It is organized by the LIONS CLUB of Vaddukoddai and Jaffna College, with Mr. K. Gunaratnam, President of the LIONS CLUB of Vaddukoddai and Mr. A. Kadirgamar, Principal of Jaffna College as Co-Chairmen.

This Exhibition which is the second to be held in 2 years, is intended to cover several branches of Science and Technology. Among demonstrations envisaged are Television and the Computer system. Jaffna College and several Industrialists under the sponsorship of the LIONS CLUB of Vaddukoddai, are working hard to make this Project a worthwhile and memorable one.

## Karainagar East Y. M. H. A.

Karainagar East Y. M. H. A. has been re-organized and the following new office-bearers were elected at a meeting held at Thikkari Murugan Temple Hall:

President: Mr. T. Somasundaram (Attorney-at-law); Vice-

President—Mr. S. Ponnambalam (Attorney-at-law); Mr. S. V. Murugesu; Mr. K. Thambiah; Mr. S. Kanagasundram, Joint Secretaries: Mr. I. T. Sampanthan; Mr. K. Ambikaipakan. Treasurer: Mr. K. Ponnudurai; Assistant Treasurer Mr. Balasubramaniam.



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# a window on INDIA

# Opposition - a desperate bid to unite

As in Sri Lanka now, the opposition parties in India are making a new and concerted attempt to forge a "united front" against the Government.

And, as in Sri Lanka, this appears to be an uphill task because of the difficulty of bringing together parties with disparate policies led by disparate politicians.

Spearheading the unity moves is the Janata Party, which recently authorised its President, Mr. Chandra Shekar "to take necessary steps to bring together the opposition forces so that the spirit of 1977 (when the Congress was toppled from power for the first time since independence) can be rekindled and an effective and credible national alternative provided"

According to Mr. Chandra Shekar, "the imperative need of the hour was to resist the authoritarian regime of Mrs. Gandhi." His party viewed "with grave concern "the growing crisis in the national economy, the alarming scale of corruption at the highest political level, the ever-increasing law and order situation and the serious threat to democratic institutions."

He noted that the Janata Party was born in 1977 as a product of the united struggle against authoritarianism and the same process could again serve as "a pathfinder in the future."

The objective of a single opposition party, however, is unlikely to be achieved immediately. What is more likely is a programme of joint action against Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Government on various common issues.

This position has been acknowledged by the three main non-Communist opposition parties that have agreed to work together. These are the Janata Party, the Lok Dal led by Mr. Charan Singh (who was Prime Minister for a brief period after the resignation of (Mr. Mnrji Desai) and Mr. Bhijju Patnaik and the Congress (S) led by Mr. Sharad Pawar.

A coordinating committee appointed by the three parties has prepared a draft programme that is expected to be

the basis of joint action. It will now be put to the leadership of the three parties for adoption.

The "draft statement" incorporates points from the election manifesto of the three parties and the economic policies of the undivided Janata in 1977. It affirms a commitment to restructure the country's economy on the basis of "socialism of Gandhian values"

## by a Special Correspondent

The Bharatiya Janata Party may also join the grouping later. Its leader, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee has said that the "merger with the former constituents of the Janata is out but there could be joint mass movements over various public issues."

There has so far been no response from the other opposition parties and groups,

which include the Congress (J) of Mr. Jagjivan Ram, the Congress (A) formed by Mr. A. K. Antony in Kerala, and the two Communist parties, CP (I) and CP (M).

A big question mark hangs over who would eventually be selected as the leader of the new coalition, or party, if and when it becomes a reality, for there has to be a mutually and nationally acceptable leader.

Last time's choice, Mr. Desai proved to be a failure. Mr. Charan Singh is expected to make a strong bid for leadership but he is not acceptable to some elements in the Janata Party. As a compromise, in some quarters the name is being mentioned of Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, who is to retire shortly as President of India.

The national Press in general has welcomed the format-

ion of a united opposition party as a hopeful political development. "The Times of India," for instance, said, "There are still many hurdles to cross. But this, too, is not a bad thing. In 1977, the Janata was born too suddenly. Forced to come together by Mrs. Gandhi's decision to hold an election, and catapulted to power by the electorate, the constituent parties had no time to iron out their different internal differences before facing the enormous stresses and strains of wielding power. This time, the unity moves are taking place while all the parties are in the political wilderness, with no immediate prospect of capturing power. They therefore have the time to find acceptable compromises, to work out procedures and to build the institutions that will be needed to mediate future conflicts within the party....." to tone up its performance and display a

greater sensitiveness to popular opinion in order to stay in power."

But both Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and Mrs. Gandhi have dismissed opposition unity as "a big joke."

Mr. Gandhi said at a recent public function that "a motley group formed a Government in 1977. In two and half years, it had plunged the country in a deep social and economic crisis. The Congress (I) Government is even now making efforts to sort out the problems created by it. I wonder what sort of leadership could be provided by the opposition front that is sought to be set up." Mrs. Gandhi has been more harsh in her condemnation of the opposition unity moves. "Their only commonality of interest is how to grab power and remain in power, even if it meant the destruction of the country and the rise of communalism, parochialism and violence."

## Amparai Muslims

### back T. U. L. F. on use of Tamil

The All Ceylon Muslim League, Amparai Branch has decided to lend full support to the TULF in its efforts to implement the use of the Tamil language in the administrative sector of Amparai District.

A statement issued by the Chairman, Al Haj M. I. M. Mohideen and Joint Secretary U. L. M. Haniffa says that 62% of the population in the Amparai District is Tamil-speaking, and that out of the five electorates in the District, four have a Tamil-speaking majority, but that amongst 13 A. G. As, eight do not know Tamil.

It further says that in Amparai Kachcheri, excepting the Planning Director and the Director of Social Services, none of the other officers are proficient in Tamil. Correspondence from the Kachcheri is in Sinhala, and the

Tamil speaking people, specially Muslims, spend money to obtain translations of such correspondence.

The Muslim League which has requested the President to find a solution to the problem of the Tamil-speaking people in the Amparai District has 52 branches in the District alone consisting of nearly 15,000 members.

## Kuttimany case put off

Kuttimany and Jegan detained in the Panagoda Army Camp were brought to the High Court, Colombo on Wednesday the 23rd in connection with the murder of Constable Sivanesan. The case has been postponed to the 16th of March since an appeal has been made against the Judge's decision to conduct the trial without jury.

## LETTERS

61, Isipathana Mawatha, Colombo-5.  
12th February 1982.

The Editor,  
'Saturday Review'  
Sir,

I have read the first two issues of your paper with great interest and appreciation. I wish to congratulate you on the enterprise, and also on the service you have rendered in your forthright reporting and comments. As a Sinhalese who has been deeply concerned with promoting in the South an awareness of the problems and grievances of the Tamil-speaking peoples, I am particularly happy to welcome your paper. I hope that it will serve in some degree to break down the wall of ignorance and prejudice which makes people in the

South oblivious to the real conditions and issues affecting the Tamil people. I wish your paper continued success in this task of communication between the two major communities in this country.

Yours sincerely,  
Reggie Siriwardena.

Dear Sir,

We were delighted to see the "SATURDAY REVIEW". We are a youth-group subscribing to your paper. 'SATURDAY REVIEW' richly deserves the singular honour or being the only Regional English Paper. We wish you and your organization the very best.

Very Truly Yours,  
M. K. Mahenthiran,  
T. Kirubaharan,  
A. Karunaharan.

YOUTH SCIENCE CLUB,  
POINT PEDRO.

## Lionel Fernando Committee: Rs. 26 million recommended

The Lionel Fernando Committee has recommended Rs. 26 million as compensation for damages caused by the violent incidents of June 81 in Jaffna.

# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## The 'sacred cows' of the mainstream media!

Almost every newspaper — however independent it aspires or claims to be — has its share of "sacred cows" or "protected animals", that is, persons who may not be portrayed in an unfavourable light in its columns.

These persons can be anyone from politicians of a particular party or particular politicians of a particular party to relations and friends of the editor, the proprietor and the publisher.

The problem for the journalist, especially the novice, is that in few newspaper organisations is a list of this special breed of animals available for perusal.

The newcomer has to learn by hard and sometimes bitter experience that he may not write critically about certain persons or certain subjects in which these persons have a vested interest.

One sure indication that a journalist is treading on delicate or dangerous ground is when his/her reports involving particular people or

### The Media Scene

subjects are suppressed without valid justification.

One local newspaper as mentioned in the Press Commission Report of 1964 did have a list of "protected animals." That was under a previous management. There were four kinds in the list: "1) Political—permanent protection; 2) The Managing director's Night Club friends; 3) Other categories —protected for various reasons; 4) Those "protected" at times and shot at — as the situation demands".

In the case of a new local newspaper, no list is necessary. The names of these "protected" or rather the "unprotected" are an open secret. Still, it has the temerity to call itself more independent than the other newspapers!

## 'Mind your language': An analysis of the T. V. programme

Is the T. V. programme, "Mind Your Language" racist? What are the attitudes towards the English Language projected by the programme? How sound are the assumption about "correctness" of usage which the humour in the programme is based on? Why do English — educated speakers in Sri Lanka find the programme funny? What does its popularity tell us about their social attitudes?

These are some of the questions raised in "Race,

the English Language and T. V.", a publication of the Council for Communal Harmony through the Media, P. O. Box 601, Colombo 5. The publication reproduces a paper by Reggie Siriwardene analysing the programme and a summary of the discussion on it, at the Seminar where it was read. Inquiries for copies can be made to the Project co-ordinator, Council for Communal Harmony through the Media, at the above address.

Printed at St. Joseph's Catholic Press, 360, Main Street, Jaffna, and published by Kala Nilayam Ltd., 303, K.K.S. Road, Jaffna, on 27th February 1982. Registered as a newspaper at the General Post Office, Sri Lanka, under Q J / 101/82.

# Yet another death in the Cement Factory

The Kankesanthurai Cement Factory's IIIrd Stage worksite has claimed another death! The latest victim is V. Panchalingam, 22, of Kollankaladdy who plunged to the ground from 38 feet up on the noon of 24th February. He died in Jaffna Hospital.

Readers of "Saturday Review" will remember that we spotlighted the high rate of fatalities at this worksite in our very first issue of

January 30, 1982. Under the headline "Cement Factory or death factory, we said: "7 workers died, 2 paralysed for life, one blinded in one eye, several others permanently injured. This is the grisly record of the Kankesanthurai Cement Factory's IIIrd Stage worksite since work started on it a little over 1½ years ago, in May, 1980".

The latest death brings the tally of dead workers to 8.

Government officials are now discussing a plan to set up Co-operative workers' Societies for recruitment to the factory. These officials feel that one of the reasons for what is happening at the worksite is the fact that recruitment of workmen is in the hands of 19 Rural Development Societies (R.D.S). The officials feel that the majority of the R.D.S. are inexperienced and more concerned about the profit they could make than about the hazards the workmen face.

Officials who favour the plan to set up these societies point out that these could minimise, if not eliminate, the economic motive which has partly led to so many deaths and injuries, and also give workmen who meet with accidents some kind of financial support.

## WHAT HAPPENED

### AT 2-45 A. M. : A

## JAFFNA WIDOW'S TALE

Jaffna: 28 January, 1982.

A village called Urumpirai, about 6 miles from Jaffna Town. In a rented premises at Kopay Road lives a 65-year old widow, Mrs. Annalechumy Ponudurai, all by herself. But her life has never been the same for the past seven and half years—since June 5 - 1974 - when her son Sivakumaran took poison and died in Police custody.

They have erected a statue for the dead youth at Urumpirai Junction but the statue itself has seen no peace since. It has been attacked time and again by the Sri Lankan armed forces.

"On the 28th of January at about 2-45 a. m." says the widow in a statement signed on oath on 4th February, 1982 before a J.P., at Jaffna, "More than 50 Sri Lankan armed soldiers in uniform broke and pulled down the main gate and the parapet wall supporting it, broke open

the doors and the locks and entered the rented out premises where I reside.

Then they opened my suit cases and boxes and threw out the contents, searched them, and so they did with the bundle of letters, files, albums etc. My bed and mattress were turned upside down. . . in the album that contained the funeral photos of my late son, Sivakumaran, they asked me to point out the picture of Uma Maheswaran. Now where is he? If you do not know him do you know Muhunthan? Didn't four persons come here three days ago? Looking at the broken statue they asked me, "Whose is this statue?" I said this is that of my son Sivakumaran. "Whose is this statue?" I said this is that of my son Sivakumaran. "Who brought it here?" I said the common people brought it here? "Are you his mother? I said, yes. "Where is he

now?" I said he is dead. "When?" I said on 5.6.74. "Who made this statue?" I said, I do not know. . . .

Once before also on 30-10-1981 men from the armed forces came here and asked me to produce Sivakumaran and asked me where he was. "If you do not tell us we will shoot you" they threatened me. Again one day Police personnel from Chunnakam Police Station came on 4.11.81 and asked me where Sivakumaran died? Who did the post mortem? Were Amirthalingam and Kathiravelpillai present at that time? From where was the cortege taken? In which cemetery was it cremated? Like this they raised several questions.

"I am being harassed by the Police and army at this senile age of 65. Please do not give me trouble and harassment. If you like please arrest me or kill me... I was fatigued by questions from several of these persons. When they left it was 4 a. m."