

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

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# Exam paper leak? Snatch at gunpoint at 2 centres

Three youths—two of them brandishing revolvers and one toting a sub-machine gun—snatched the GCE(AL) August 1982 Physics 1 & 2 Question Papers from the Supervisors of the Examination Centres at Canagaratnam Maha Vidyalaya, Jaffna and Kopay MV yesterday (Friday, 20th August), between 7 a. m. and 8 a. m.

This daring snatch took place against a background of wide-spread reports that some AL question papers had leaked out the previous night (19th August): these reports pinpointed a Maha Vidyalaya in the Jaffna Town area as the centre of the leak.

Eye witnesses told the **Saturday Review** that a little while after the question papers had been delivered at the Canagaratnam MV Centre under armed escort, three youths had suddenly appeared on the scene, held up the Supervisor and taken away not only the Question Papers but also the Admission Cards of the candidates sitting the examination.

The youths had reportedly told the candidates there was no point in their sitting the examination as the question papers had already leaked out the previous night. They had then distributed copies of the Physics 2 (Interim Syllabus) Question Papers—scheduled to be held the same afternoon—to candidates waiting outside the Exam Centre.

The three youths are then reported to have gone on cycles to the Kopay MV Exam Centre—about three miles away—and staged a repeat performance.

Before the armed youths left the premises of Canagaratnam MV they had scattered

some copies of the Physics 1 Question Paper in the school compound and distributed cyclostyled leaflets alleging that secret classes for the AL Exam had been held in some areas for students belonging to a certain community. The leaflet is signed 'Tamil Eelam Liberation Tigers Propaganda Committee.'

Police sources think the leaflets have been duplicated on the Roneo machine stolen from the Jaffna Education Office about a fortnight ago.

If this surmise proves correct, these sources say, it would appear that Operation Question Paper Hijack had been planned well in advance.

Despite the question paper leak, the AL Exam was held as usual yesterday afternoon at all the Centres in Jaffna, including Canagaratnam and Kopay MVs.

## Wall posters in Jaffna

Wall posters were found pasted in various places in Jaffna on Friday night carrying quotations from the statements made by Kuttimani and Jegan after death sentence was passed on

them.

Some of the posters were critical of the TULF for trying to play the role of legal adviser to the UNP Government.

Security forces combed Ariyalai, Kalviyankadu and Nayanmarkattu yesterday hunting for the three youths and their accom-

plices.

At the time of going to press, no arrests had been made.

## 150 students refuse to sit the paper

150 students who were due to sit the AL Exam at Canagaratnam MV boycotted it, following the hijack of Question Papers yesterday morning. They went in deputation to the GA Jaffna demanding that the exam be cancelled as

the papers had already leaked out. The GA contacted the DE Jaffna who said that he had no authority to cancel the exam: only the Commissioner of Examinations had the power to do so.

# UNREST AT CEMENT FACTORY: 200 DISCONTINUED

The Cement Factory General Workers Union has asked President J. R. Jayawardene to appoint a Commission to go into the grievances of workers at the KKS Cement Factory.

The Union has pointed

out that an unstable situation prevails today at the Factory due to the arbitrary and unjust actions of the management.

Union sources say that about 200 workers of the third stage running plant of the KKS Cement Factory were laid off a few days back for no fault of theirs. Discontinuing the workers at the whims of the management has been going on regardless of the employees welfare, these sources allege. **Saturday Review**

learns that the labour force is being cut down as construction work is nearing completion in the plant section of the third stage project.

The **Saturday Review** also learns that working conditions are deplorable and safety measures inadequate at the 3rd Stage New Project Plant. A youth aged 22 lost his left hand when he fell from a height of more than 100 feet a week ago. This is one of the numerous

cases of accidents and deaths in recent months.

Union sources say there have been frequent dismissals of employees on flimsy grounds and many cases of fining for very slight lapses. The management has turned a deaf ear to the problems of the workers despite repeated representations made to them.

Some workers allege the management has planted informers among their ranks. So any show of dissatisfaction by individu-

als or groups reaches the authorities resulting in severe reprisals.

Another cause of dissatisfaction, the workers told the **Saturday Review**, is that those who were recruited through the Rural Development Societies have to turn over 8% of their earning plus Rs.25/- for every Rs.1000/- they get, to the RDS.

The **Saturday Review** understands that strike action will be taken if things are not set right soon.

### Sorry!

We regret that this week's Viewpoint has been withheld due to problems related to the Press censorship now in force.

## Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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Editor  
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The attention of the people have been centred so much on the Presidential Stakes, specially on who would emerge as the common opposition candidate, that another significant development in the political field has barely been noticed by most of them. This is the growing dissension within the ruling United National Party. On the surface, the UNP appears to be a happy family, but there are hidden tensions which might erupt before long, probably after the Presidential poll.

**NO ACTING APPOINTMENT**

It is the issue of the succession in the UNP after Mr. J. R. Jayewardene that is at the core of the problem. Political commentators have noted that Mr. Jayewardene appears to favour someone other than the Prime Minister Mr. R. Premadasa to eventually take over from him. They have also noted the fact that on the five occasions that the President went abroad (to Australia, Cuba, Saudi Arabia, India and England) he did not make an acting appointment, as provided for in the Constitution, for this would have considerably strengthened Mr. Premadasa's claims to the leadership.

Just as Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike has been accused of grooming her son as the future Sri Lanka Freedom Party leader, there has been talk within UNP circles that Mr. Jayewardene is grooming his nephew, Mr. Ranil Wickremesinghe for future high office. But, like Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, he is regarded as a little too young for immediate promotion.

**GAMINI THE FRONT RUNNER**

The Minister of Lands and Mahaweli Development Mr. Gamini Dissanayake appears to be the front-runner now, to become Prime Minister if and when Mr. Jayewardene forms his next Government.

Fiftyeight-year Mr. Premadasa, who has been quietly building up his strength and image in Parliament and outside to back his claims for leadership when the time comes, cannot be expected to be happy about the advancement of the date of the Presidential election. If an election is held this year, it would mean that he would have to wait six more years, that is, until 1988, for a chance to con-

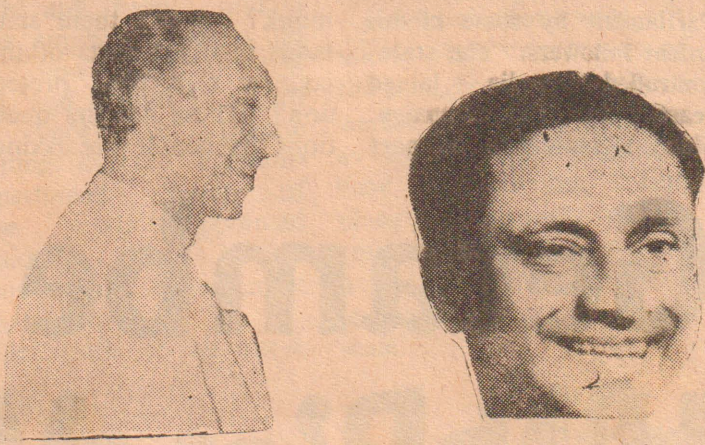
# Political Causerie

by **Gamini Navaratne**

test for the top post.

The bigger and immediate danger to him is that, if an election is held shortly and Mr. Jayewardene wins, the President would be in a strong position to pick at will the UNP candidates for the general election. In the process, he could knock off many of the party MPs who are known to be supporters or admirers of the Prime Minister, despite the fact that all of them would have worked hard to ensure Mr. Jayewardene's victory. And if elected, the President is likely to order a general election almost immediately to capitalise on the public euphoria.

Shrewd politician that he is, Mr. Premadasa could insist on certain terms for canvassing hard for Mr. Jayewardene.



The President

Mr. Premadasa

## A question of succession

The Main public interest now centres on who will be the consensus "stop-gap" candidate of the opposition parties excluding the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (M), whose leader Mr. Maithripala Senanayake has already announced his candidature; "stop-gap" in the sense that the person chosen, if elected, would be expected to make way

faction wins recognition, then it could nominate any citizen who is qualified to be elected to the post. If not, the selection will have to be limited to a person who is or has been an elected member of Parliament.

At one time, there was a belief in opposition circles that the leader of

Of the names mentioned so far, there are two of national stature who might be acceptable to the other parties. They are former Chief Justice Mr. Victor Tennekoon and Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwe.

If the other parties agree to the candidate chosen by Mrs. Bandaranaike, Dr. de Silva is likely to withdraw to prevent a split in the vote, if not, he might well become the consensus candidate.

**THE TAMIL VOTE**

What is the Tamil United Liberation Front up to? The leaders seem to have come to some understanding with Mr. Jayewardene that, in return for more powers to the District councils, they would try to swing the Tamil vote in his favour. This, at least, is what some top UNPers I spoke to expect to happen after the party's decision not to field a candidate of its own.

But it must now be apparent to the TULF leaders that the vast majority of the Tamil people have no love for the UNP; that, in fact, they are disillusioned with their leadership itself. The Cha-

# Hidden tensions in U.N.P. could erupt

My assessment is that there could be a split in the party unless the succession issue is resolved to Mr. Premadasa's satisfaction, just like the 1951 split in the party when Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike broke away after it became apparent to him that Mr. D. S. Senanayake planned to bypass him.

Also on the succession issue, several top UNPers are said to be not on talking terms with one another except on official matters.

The crunch is expected to come during the preparation of the lists of candidates for the general election. It is the constitutional provision that any member who defects could be expelled that has enabled the President to hold the party together during the several crises in the past five years. That deterrent would not be there after a dissolution.

for Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike after her civic rights are restored.

Such a candidate has to come from or be endorsed by the SLFP (S). The selection would be influenced by whether the party is recognised by the Commissioner of Elections or not for, under the law, there cannot be two parties with identical names.

Section 10 of the Presidential Elections Act states: "Where the Commissioner has reasonable cause to believe that difficulties may arise at an election under this Act by reason of the fact that there are rival sections of a recognised political party all of whom claim to be that party, the Commissioner may, in order to remove such difficulties, determine in his absolute discretion that such recognised political party is either any one such section or none of such sections."

If Mrs. Bandaranaike's

the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva would be the consensus candidate. The argument was that, if endorsed by the SLFP (S), this veteran politician could give a good fight to Mr. Jayewardene because he was certain to carry the greater portion of the left vote, besides gaining considerable support in the North, while even many disillusioned UNPers might vote for him.

Mr. Jayewardene has well recognised the threat that Dr. de Silva could pose to him and raised the old UNP election slogans, "Save religion from Marxism" and "Democracy in danger"!

But the SLFP (S) appears unlikely to go along with Dr. de Silva as the common opposition candidate. Mrs. Bandaranaike is on record as having said that her party is not so bankrupt as to be unable to field a candidate of its own.

vakachcheri MP, Mr. V. N. Navaratnam's call for a Politburo to direct the TULF's affairs is a clear signal.

The Tamil vote could be crucial in deciding on the winner. It remains to be seen how the Tamil leaders would use this invaluable asset to the best advantage of the community and the country as a whole. Frittering it away through a boycott would be a peurile exercise, as had been past boycotts.

## GETAMBE

I believe that Getambe could well be the Waterloo of the United National Party Government.

From the time a Buddhist monk made a certain statement at a meeting of the Sinhala Bala Mandayala at Kandy in June, the Government has mis-

(Continued overleaf)

(Continued from page 3)

handled all the connected developments. There has been a discernible build-up of opinion in the major community against the UNP, with even some sections usually loyal to it finding that they can no longer support it.

This reaction is expected to be reflected in the voting at the coming elections, presidential and parliamentary. In fact, the "Getambe affair" is certain to be a key election issue.

From all accounts, what the Ven. Dr. Labuduwé Siridhamma, incumbent of Rajopavanaramaya at Getambe, Kandy, made was a conditional statement... that, if President Jayewardene did certain things, then he would go down in history as a traitor, not a direct accusation.

This was why, when the Government referred the matter to the hierarchy of the Ramanna Sect, to which the monk belonged, it refused to pass any strictures on him.

A seasoned campaigner like Mr. Jayewardene should have been able to shrug off the monk's statement, even if it were a direct accusation. After all bigger political leaders elsewhere have been called worse names.

# Political Causerie by Gamini Navaratne

Contd.

Instead, there was a concerted campaign against the monk, beginning with Mr. Jayewardene's incautious outburst from holy Mihintale, followed by attacks in Parliament by some of his ardent followers. The state-controlled media joined heartily in the campaign, which appeared to be part

Getambe. He said that all that had been done was to protect some state land at Getambe!

But why only at Getambe and why just after the incident involving the monk? Aren't there state lands in other parts of the country that need protection? These are the questions that people are asking.

that somehow the rights and privileges of the major community were getting eroded.

## SECRET TALKS

Their fears were fuelled especially by the way Mr. Jayewardene went about the negotiations with the Tamil United Liberation Front. There were reports

any apprehensions after the United National Party's Working Committee, its Parliamentary Group and the Cabinet had vested full powers in President Jayewardene to deal with anyone, "friend or foe, or closest contemporary or closest ally" if he had the slightest suspicion.

My faith in Mr. Jaye-

# Getambe could be UNP's Waterloo

of a strategy to discredit the Sinhala Bala Mandalaya in the eyes of the Buddhist public. If that was the objective, I can say that this strategy has misfired badly.

## SHEER HYPOCRACY

Next came the re-taking by the Government of part of the land that had been leased to the Getambe temple. Mr. Jayewardene insulted the intelligence of the people by denying that the Government had taken over any temple land at

Then came the destardly "hydro-cracker"—style attack on the Sinhala Bala Mandalaya's meeting at the All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress hall at Baudhaloka Mawatha, Colombo, on July 7. We find some Government members gloating over the assault on Prof. Ediriweera Sarachchandra and others, with references made in Parliament even to their Private lives.

A Government-owned newspaper revealed that at a Cabinet meeting Mr. Jayewardene had talked in very angry terms—not about the action of the political thugs who broke up a peaceful meeting but about the organisers!

At a public meeting at Dompe, Mr. Jayewardene again referred to the so-called "Attanagalla doctrine" and pointedly asked where the Civil Rights Movements, the Nadesans, the Sarachchandras, Tissa Balasuriyas etc. were during the "dark days" of 1970-1977 when he was in the forefront in the fight for fundamental rights.

The Civil Rights Movement has already given its reply so that I do not have to elaborate on this point. What I want to ask Mr. Jayewardene is whether under his dispensation there is one law for UNP supporters and another law for other people. A number of the thugs who took part in the attack are reported to have been identified, but so far there have been no arrests. If there is the rule of law in Sri Lanka, as claimed by Mr. Jayewardene, then the assailants should be in remand by now.

The Sinhala Bala Mandalaya did not start off as an anti-UNP movement. Its top leaders included a number of UNP stalwarts. They were getting worried

in the media about "secret talks" but no official pronouncements about how exactly the Government proposed to meet the demands of the TULF. Even the Tamil people are in the dark about what exactly transpired at the talks.

Instead of verbally and physically attacking the Mandalaya's leaders, thereby making them heroes, the Government could well have sought a dialogue with them.

But the time for that has now passed. I believe matters have gone so far that whatever the Government does, it will not be able to assuage those sections of the major community who have been angered by what has already happened.

## INTERVIEWS WILK THE CLERGY

I base my assessment on interviews with many members of the clergy and the laity. Most of them are filled with disgust at the Government's conduct. Come election time, the UNP is going to feel the backlash of its own folly. Getambe indeed can be the Waterloo of the UNP.

Some political commentators have noted that the Prime Minister, Mr. Ranasinha Premadasa has so far not got involved in the controversy. He has not commented on the Mandalaya or its activities. Very significant, the commentators have noted.

## BRIBERY, CORRUPTION

Three months ago, I said in this column that I would not touch on the subject of bribery and corruption any more because there was no need to have

wardene's ability to deal with this problem has been badly shaken by the appointment to Parliament of the sister of a member who resigned under a cloud. Would it not have been more sensible to have allowed that member to retain his seat, for the new appointment is clear acknowledgement by the Government that the member had done no wrong?

## SMUGGLING GAME

In this connection, it is intriguing to note that so far there has been no official comment on the report that appeared in "The Nation" some time ago that the mother of a politician had forwarded to the Government the names of about thirty politicians who allegedly had been indulging in the same sort of smuggling game that her son had been accused of!

## FOURTH AMENDMENT

No less than the President denied recently that any further changes to the Constitution were contemplated. But the state-owned "Irida Lankadipa" on 1st August said that a "Fourth Amendment" was on the way.

According to this report, the proposed amendment would seek to disqualify any person who during an election made use of a person who had lost civic rights.

This was one of the changes that was originally contemplated by the Government, non-government newspapers had claimed before the President's denial.

Whom is the public to believe?



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# Political will is the will of people

Top-down development has not worked. The political will that needs to be harnessed, argues Tarzie Vittachi in this special article, is the will of the village. And for governments, the route to this force for change lies through parliamentarians and grassroots organizations.

Ever since the mid-1950s when Arthur Lewis, blessed be his name, uttered the words "Political Will", the eager planners as well as the reluctant financiers of development have used the phrase as an explanation for the woeful ineffectiveness of their efforts. It became a sine qua non for development. Without political will at the top, their ideas, plans and projects designed to improve the living conditions of the poor had no chance of success. Very simply, what they were saying was that ideas without power to carry them through were useless. And, since the main centre of power in the poor world was the government, it was absolutely essential for the rulers to accept and adopt an idea or a course of action for it to work. If the centre had the will, people at the circumference could—one way or another—be persuaded to follow.

Thus, the "Top-Down" theory of development justified itself.

To some degree it made sense. Ideas, unlike money have a way of trickling down, especially where the means of administering their substance and the means of communicating them are also concentrated at the top. That was how the imperial system had worked, and it seemed obvious to those who had inherited imperial authority that only effective political will at the centre would serve to get things done and banish poverty.

But it did not work.

The principal reason, it seems to me, is that the experts on poverty are the poor. They have been engaged in the business of survival for a long time and are wise in the ways of poverty. They will change those ways but only when they see an advantage to them. They will adopt an idea that has come from the top, but only when it advances their need. Necessity is the mother of innovation. Ideas for change can be forced on them from the top, or some of them might even be bribed to change (500 rupees for a vasectomy might do the

trick) but such change will not spread horizontally, as the wisdom of the people does, unless it is perceived as a means of securing another toe-hold on the craggy path of survival and painful advancement.

Sri Lanka offers a classic illustration of this process at work. The decision to give free education for all was a brand new idea in 1947—the run-up year to "political independence". It came from a group of political leaders who could by no stretch of imagination have been considered "radical" or socialist or even leftist. The freedom looming on the near horizon was a portal to the future and the future was the welfare of children who would inherit a free country. There was no talk about cost-benefit ratios in spite of rumblings from the Governor's Mansion about "hasty", unaffordable measures. Les bourgeois gentlemen who took the decision had only one consideration in their heads: they could not afford not to make that investment in the future. They not only

passed the law, they soon gave it effect by opening new schools all over the country—offering primary and secondary education to all children of school-going age.

As the population grew, school enrolment increased by leaps. Successive governments, left and right, were pressed by the various quantifiers of life in the international community to curtail such social welfare if they were to retain their credit-rating, but they held their ground. The reason was not that those governments were as politically strong-willed as those early bourgeois gentlemen. They dared not tamper with free education: any government that had the temerity to attempt to prune it, let alone abandon it, would have been hounded out of office at the very next election by the people's political will.

The Government's will to uphold the system against the expert advice from abroad was a response to that powerful force from below.

Kerala's experience, similar to Sri Lanka's, provides another valuable lesson—the importance of access to social development facilities when the political will of the people and the political responsiveness at the centre have been woven into a serviceable plan. You can scarcely drive three or four kilometres in Kerala without coming across a health clinic and a school—both services offered free. These facilities have been greatly influential in the vast improvement of general education and health in the state, with the unexpected side-effect of a steep drop in fertility over the past 15-20 years. The annual cost of these services is estimated to be a derisory \$2 per capita. Obviously, a social investment well worth making.

But a similar volume of investment in West Bengal has not been as effective—far from it—because those facilities are largely concentrated in the conurbation of Calcutta and in the smaller towns. Access for the mass of the rural poor is difficult. One of the big side-effects has been not lowered fertility, but a constant trek into the towns—with the inevitable consequences of increasing the slum population. The social investment there has not "worked" as well because the meshing of the state government's well-intentioned political will and the needs of the people have been spoilt by faulty planning of access for people.

Such experiences gave rise to the notion—glorified by the international community at Alma Ata—that people's involvement in their own development was the key to successful development. High-level recognition of the obvious is a very expensive thing. A jingle of fire-new slogans minted in the burning eloquence of the Alma Ata debates emerged. Health for All by the Year 2000, Literacy for All by the Year 2000 and Community Participation. Five years have elapsed but those targets are receding like elusive horizons, and popular participation plans are proving to be hard to realize.

Social scientists and planning commissions have done some tactical thinking and come up with ideas such as "entry points" and the training of "field-based change agents" such as midwives and primary health care nurses who are expected to educate the rural poor in the arts of contraception, on the need for clean water and the use of latrines, the importance of not letting their children drop out of school, and the growing of vegetables and pulses in their garden plots to make up the nutrition deficiency in their food.

They are getting nearer the mark but, unless the rhetoric gets nearer the ground, the noble intentions of Alma Ata and the New International Development Strategy may be headed for the same bog of delusion as those of the first and second international development decades. The reasons are still the same. Popular participation cannot be brought about by the political will at the top, not even through skilled "agents of change" trained at the centre in new ideas and methods and sent to the villages. People will participate only if they were consulted about their needs and their own ideas through a continuous process of dialogue—not with change agents from up there but with their peers, or near peers—school teachers, heads of families serving in village councils, the local priests and with unofficial organizations whose members live and work in the villages and share the same idiom and values.

The process of consultation, therefore, begins in the village between groups which the UN refers to as NGOs—people who have deep roots in the villages—and the natural leaders of rural communities. And then authentic messages will flow outwards and upwards to the centres of authority. The communication gap between the rulers and the ruled has to be filled with the message from the village.

That is why the initiative of Rafael Salas, Executive Director of the UNFPA,

(Continued on page 8)



by **Tarzie Vittachi**

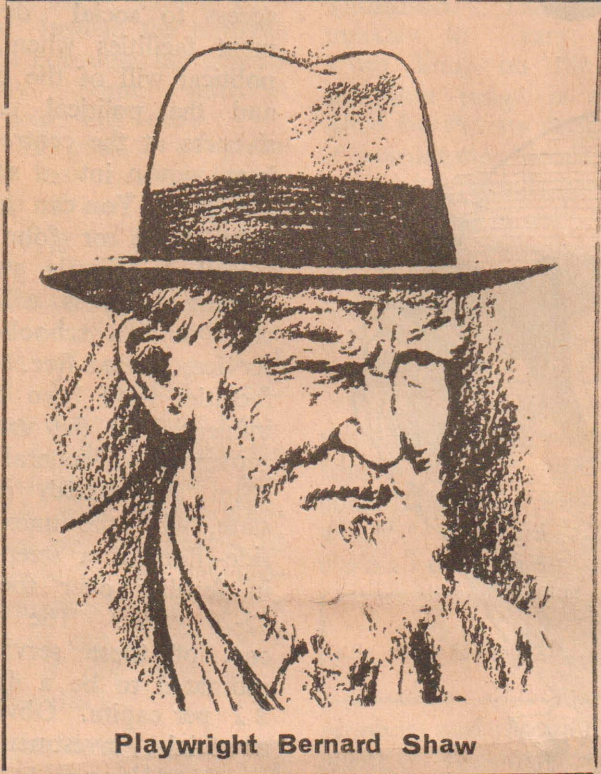
(Courtesy: PEOPLE Vol. 9)

*Tarzie Vittachi, the well known Sri Lankan journalist, is Deputy Executive Director of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)*

# Sir Jafna Pandranath at No. 10, Downing Street

Who is, or who was Sir Jafna Pandranath? Nobody will know him because he is not a real person. He was a character in a play written by the famous Irish Playwright George Bernard Shaw!

According to Eric Bentley, the faithful Shavian, dozens of Bernard Shaw's characters are portraits of his friends. But considering the fact that Shaw enjoyed the longest career in the British Theatre and had been writing plays from as early as 1885 to as recent as 1939..... not many friends of his appear to have had the privilege of being portrayed in his plays.



Playwright Bernard Shaw

## From the Bernard Shaw play — 3

(Continued from  
last issue)

**THE MAYOR.** There! Now you see what comes of arguing, Blee. It only gives him his chance.

**ALOYSIA.** You need not warn us, Sir Broad-foot Basham, D.S.O., K.C. M.G., O.B.E. In the Class War your myrmidons will be well paid.

**THE DUKE.** Myrmidons!

**ALOYSIA.** We know too well what we have to expect from your Janissarie.

**BLEE.** Your bludgeoning Bashi-Bazouks.

**ALOYSIA.** The Class War is a fact. We face it. What we want we shall have to take; and we know it. The good of the community is nothing to you: you care only for surplus value. You will never give up your privileges voluntarily. History teaches us that; the history you never read.

**THE DUKE.** I assure you, my dear Heloise

**ALOYSIA.** Heloise! Who are you calling Heloise

**THE DUKE.** Pardon. I could not resist the French form of your charming name.

**ALOYSIA.** (interjects) The cheek!

**THE DUKE.** (continuing) I was merely going to

point out, as between one student of history and another, that in the French Revolution it was the nobility who voluntarily abolished all their own privilege at a single sitting, on the sentimental principles they had acquired from reading the works of Karl Marx's revolutionary predecessor Rousseau. That bit of history is repeating itself today. Here is Sir Arthur offering us a program of what seems to me to be first-rate Platonic Communism. I, a Conservative Duke, embrace it. Sir, Jafna Pandranath here, a Liberal capitalist whose billions shame my poverty, embraces it. The Navy embraces it with the sturdy arms of Sir Bemrose Hotspot. The police are enthusiastic. The Army will be with Sir Arthur to the last man. He has the whole propertied class on his side. But the proletariat rises against him and spews out his Socialism through the eloquent lips of its Aloysia. I recall the warning my dear old father gave me when I was five years old. Chained dogs are the fiercest guardians of property; and those who attempt to unchain them are the first to be bitten.

**ALOYSIA.** Your Grace calls us dogs. We shall

not forget that.

**THE DUKE.** I have found no friends better than faithful dogs, Miss Brollikins. But of course I spoke figuratively. I should not dream of calling you a dog.

**ALOYSIA.** No. As I am a female dog I suppose you will call me something shorter when my back is turned.

**THE DUKE.** Oh! Think of the names you have called me!

**THE MAYOR.** Well, if you will argue, Alderwoman Brollikins, there's no use my staying here. I wish I could stop your mouth as easy as I can stop my ears. Sir Arthur you've panked down your program and we've planked down our answer. Either you drop compulsory labor and drop compensation or never shew your face in the Isle of Cats again. (He goes out resolutely).

**BLEE.** Take this from me I am no Communist: I am a respectable Labor man, as law abiding as any man here. I am what none of you has mentioned yet: a democrat. I am just as much against Cabinet dictatorship as individual dictatorship. What I want done is the will of the people. I am for the

referendum. I am for the initiative. When a majority of the people are in favor of a measure then I am for that measure.

**SIR BEMROSE.** Rot! The majority is never in favor of any measure. They don't know what a measure is. What they want is their orders, and as much comfort as they are accustomed to. The lower deck doesn't want to give orders, it looks to the bridge for them. If I asked my men to do my job they'd chuck me overboard; and serve me jolly well right! You just know nothing about it, because you've never had to command; and you haven't sense enough to obey and be thankful to those who have saved you the trouble of thinking for yourself and keeping you off the rocks.

**BLEE.** You haven't kept us off the rocks. We're on the rocks, the whole lot of us. So long, Rosy. (He goes out)

**BARKING.** Silly swine! When they are offered what they want they won't have it just because you fellows want it too. They think there must be a catch in it somewhere.

**THE DUKE.** There generally is. That is how you feel, Miss Brollikins isn't it?

**ALOYSIA.** You don't know how I feel; and you never will. We are going to save ourselves and not be saved by you and your class. And I prefer Sir Dexter Right-side's downright outspoken opposition to your silly-clever cynicism and your sickening compliments.

**THE DUKE.** It is only in middle class books, Miss Brollikins, that noblemen are always cynical and insincere. I find you a most brilliant and delightful woman. May I not tell you so? And WHAT a speaker! Will you spend a quiet weekend with me in some out-of-the-way place in the country, and let me try to convince

you that a duke is a human being like yourself?

**ALOYSIA.** (nearing) Are you trying to seduce me?

**THE DUKE.** That would be exquisite, Miss Brollikins; but I am an old and very poor man. You are young, beautiful, and probably opulent. Can you find anything seductive about me?

**ALOYSIA.** Yes, You're a duke. And you have the charm of a majestic ruin, if you understand me.

**BARKING** (rising). Come on out of this, Brolly; you're only making a fool of yourself listening to that old bird buttering you up. You just don't know when to go.

**ALOYSIA** (moving to the hearthrug, behind Sir Arthur) You can go if you like. I have some business with Sir Arthur that doesn't concern you. Get out.

**SIR ARTHUR.** Some business with me! Public business?

**ALOYSIA.** Not exactly.

**SIR ARTHUR.** Oh! Private business?

**ALOYSIA.** I don't care who knows it. But perhaps you would.

**BARKING.** She means to marry your son David. One below the belt for you, Brolly. Ha Ha! Ha ha ha ha ha! (He goes out roaring with laughter)

**SIR ARTHUR** (after a moment of shock) I congratulate David, Miss Brollikins. Have you arranged the date?

**ALOYSIA.** I haven't mentioned it to him yet. I hope all you gentlemen will remember that I was not the one that blurted this out; it was your noble viscount. However, now it's out, I stand by it; David is a good boy; and his class is not his fault. Goodbye all. (She goes to the door).

**THE DUKE** (rising) And that week-end, Miss Brollikins? Or has David cut me out?

(Continued next page)

**ALOYSIA.** Right you are, Your Grace! I will call for you at Domesday House on Friday at half past four. As I shall bring a few friends we shall hire an omnibus from the London Transport: so you needn't trouble about a car. You won't mind my publishing an account of what happens as a special interview; you know that we Labor intelligentsia have to live by our brains. Au revoir. (She goes out).

**THE DUKE.** There is a frightful unexpectedness about these people. Where on earth shall I borrow the money to pay for the omnibus and entertain them all? (He goes back to his chair at the end of the table and sits down).

**BASHAM.** Your share will only be a few shillings, Duke; and she will reckon on having to pay for you. What girl in her class wouldn't foot the bill if she had a duke to walk out with?

**THE DUKE.** You reassure me, Sir Broadfoot. Thank you.

**SIR DEXTER (triumphant)** Well, Chavender? What have you to say now? When these people came in I was saying that though I was alone in this room, the people of England were on my side and always would be when it came to the point. Was I right or wrong?

**SIR BEMROSE.** We never meant to desert you, Dexy. You mustn't think that.

**SIR ARTHUR.** As you have no more intention of consulting the people of England than I have, the situation is unaltered.

**SIR DEXTER.** Than you have! What do you mean? Do you think you can govern in this country without the consent of the English people?

**SIR ARTHUR.** No country has ever been governed by the consent of the people, because the people object to be governed at all. Even you, who ought to know better, are always complaining of the income tax.

**THE DUKE.** But five shillings in the pound, Arthur! Five shillings in the pound!!

**SIR DEXTER.** Never mind my income tax. If what you said just now means anything it means that you are going to

play fast and loose with democracy; that is, you think you are going to do something that both the people and the governing class of this country are determined you shall not do. The Conservative Party, which is ten times more really democratic than your Liberals have ever been will carry the people with it against you. How do you propose to get over that? What are you banking on? Put your cards on the table if you really have any.

**SIR ARTHUR.** Well, here is my ace of trumps. The people of this country, and of all the European countries, and of America, are at present sick of being told that, thanks to democracy, they are the real government of the country. They know very well that they don't govern and can't govern and know nothing about Government except that it always supports profiteering, and doesn't really respect anything else, no matter what party flag it waves. They are sick of twaddle about liberty when they have no liberty. They are sick of idling and loafing about on doles when they are not drudging for wages too beggarly to pay the rents of anything better than overcrowded one-room tenements. They are sick of me and sick of you and sick of the whole lot of us. They want to see something done that will give them decent employment. They want to eat and drink the wheat and coffee that the profiteers are burning because they can't sell it at a profit. They want to hang people who burn good food when people are going hungry. They can't set matters right themselves; so they want rulers who will discipline them and make them do it instead of making them do the other thing. They are ready to go mad with enthusiasm for any man strong enough to make them do anything, even if it is only Jew baiting, provided it's something tyrannical, something coercive, something that we all pretend no Englishman would submit to, though we've known ever since we gave them the vote that they'd submit to anything.

**SIR DEXTER (impatiently)** Yes, yes: we know the cant of all the tupp-

peny-hapeny dictators who think themselves Mussolinis. Come down to tin tacks. How are you going to get it through Parliament?

**SIR ARTHUR.** I am not going to get it through Parliament. I am going to prorogue Parliament and then do it. When it is done I shall call a meeting of Parliament to pass an Act of Indemnity for all my proceedings.

**SIR DEXTER.** You cannot prorogue Parliament. Only the King can prorogue Parliament.

**SIR ARTHUR.** Precisely. Kings always have prorogued Parliament and governed without them until money ran short.

**GLENMORISON.** But, man alive, it is not His Majesty alone that you have to consider. The law courts will not enforce your decisions if they are illegal. The civil servants will sabotage you even if they don't flatly disobey you.

**SIR ARTHUR.** We shall sidetrack them quite easily by setting up new tribunals and special commissions manned by

officials we can depend on.

**SIR DEXTER.** That was how Cromwell cut off King Charles's head. His commissioners found out afterwards that they were doing it with ropes round their rascally necks.

**SIR ARTHUR.** A rope round a statesman's neck is the only constitutional safeguard that really safeguards. But never fear the rope. As long as we give the people an honest good time we can do just what seems good to us. The proof of the pudding will be in the eating. That will be really responsible government at last.

**SIR DEXTER.** So that is your game, is it. Has it occurred to you that two can play at it? What can you do that I cannot do if you drive me to it: tell me that.

**SIR ARTHUR.** Nothing, if you are willing to take on my job. Are you?

**SIR DEXTER.** The job of ruining the country and destroying the em-

pire? My job is to prevent you from doing that. And I will prevent you.

**SIR ARTHUR.** Your job is to prevent me or anybody else from doing anything. Your job is to prevent the world from moving. Well, it is moving; and if you don't get out of the way something will break; and it won't be the world.

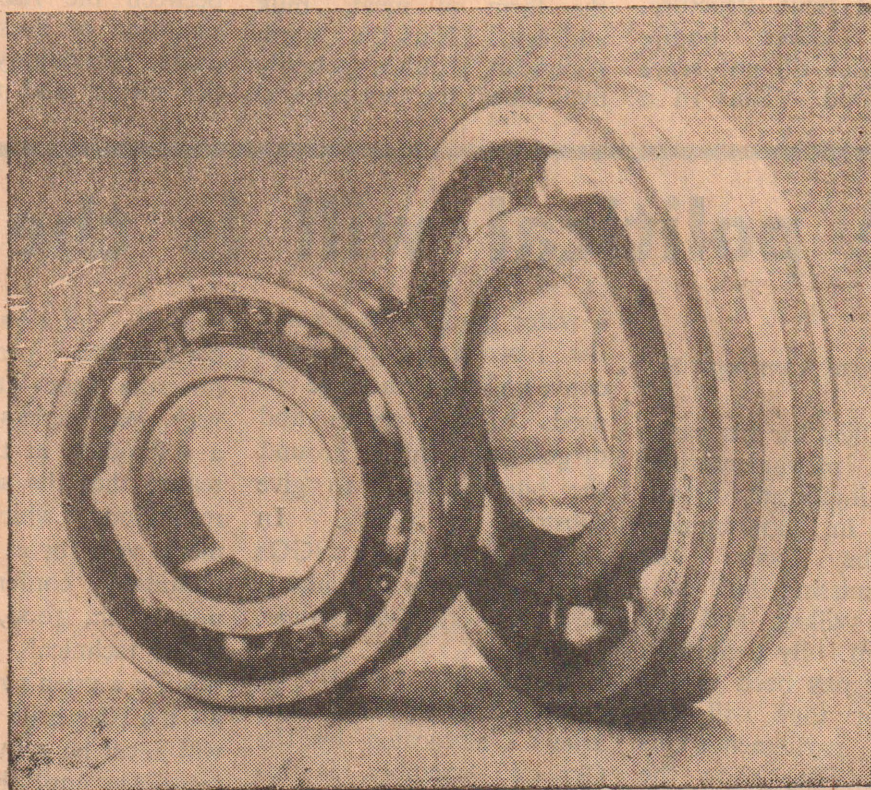
**SIR DEXTER.** Nothing has broken so far except the heads of the unemployed when they are encouraged by your seditious rot to rebel against the laws of nature. England is not breaking. She stands foursquare where she always stood and always will stand: the strongest and greatest land, and the birthplace of the noblest imperial race, that ever God created.

**SIR ARTHUR.** Loud and prolonged cheering. Come! let us both stop tubthumping and talk business. The real master of the situation is Basham here, with his fifteen thousand police.

(To be continued)

# NTN

## BALL AND ROLLER BEARINGS



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A Hindu girl had gone for a school function some time back in Bombay. She was a vegetarian. By some mistake she was served with a non-vegetarian short eat. After she had eaten it, one of her friends pointed out to her that the short eat contained meat. She started sobbing. It took some time before she could be made to speak. On her friends' entreaty she said she cried because a poor animal had to be slaughtered to provide the short eat. This in short explains the basis of vegetarianism in Hindu India, not to take any lives for humans to survive. Perhaps no other country has so many vegetarians as India. It is said 60% of the people of South India are vegetarians. Though vegetarianism has been born out of non-injury to the animal kingdom, hardly did the early Hindus realize that westerners in the 20th century may turn to some form of vegetarianism as one of the ways to solve the food shortage of this hungry planet.

#### CONSUMING CEREALS DIRECTLY

Of the world production of cereals only two third is consumed by human beings, the balance being fed to livestock mostly in developed countries. In turn we get the meat, milk and eggs from the feed used. Only part of what a cow, a pig or a hen consumes is converted into milk, meat or eggs. The major part of the feed is required to sustain the life processes of the animal and for the build-up and maintenance of bone structure, skin and other bodily organs which do not serve man as food. Thus in a

# A fresh look at Vegetarianism

world of food shortage, it is uneconomical (foodwise) to consume animal products. Instead the humans should consume the cereals directly. Some statistics will bear this out:— 5 to 10 pounds of grain would be needed for a pound of beef produced (depending on the level of grazing of the cattle), 4 pounds of grain to 1 pound of pork and two pounds of grain to 1 pound of chicken meat. Bearing these glaring facts, would people particularly in developed countries reduce this meat consumption and release the grains to the needy in the developing countries? Is this a dream or can it become a reality, if not now in a few decades?

In the developing countries (Asia, Africa and Latin America) the per capita availability of grain is about 400 pounds per year (about a pound per day). Nearly all of it is consumed directly. In North America, by contrast, the average person consumes nearly one ton of grain per year. Out of this only a fifth (200 pounds) is consumed directly in the form of bread, breakfast cereals and pastries. Most of the remainder is consumed indirectly (through the animals) in the form of meat, milk and eggs. Thus the North American requires roughly five times the agricultural

resources needed by an Indian, a Colombian or a Tanzanian. This ratio is unlikely to vary. The lower limit on the consumption range is established by the survival level—if consumption drops much below 400 pounds per year, survival is in question. At the other extreme, the physical capacity of the human stomach limits the one ton already reached in North America.

Would there be some re-thinking in developed countries? There are two good reasons why they would. One, on humane

consideration (moral) of coronary heart disease among Americans. It is recommending the reduction of per capita consumption of meat by one-third. It also recommends that people should eat less of beef and pork and more of poultry which is lower in saturated fats. Further there are people more than 20 percent overweight (estimated between 25 and 45 percent) in U.S.A who are likely to be influenced to reduce their food. It is worth noting that the warning of doctors probably helped US to reduce per capita consumption of eggs from 334 in

some cases. What perhaps people fear in the change from the animal products to vegetable products is whether they lose the valuable protein needed for the human system. The nutritional attractiveness of animal proteins derives from the excellent balance of the amino acids they contain. Amino acids are the building blocks from which protein is made. (More than 30 amino acids are known, of which 22 constitute essential ingredients in the proteins of human foods. Man must obtain 8 of these through his food—hen eggs provide all the 8 essential amino acids.) For appropriate balance of amino acids, it is claimed that by consuming vegetable products in the right combination we

## Perspectives

by Nagamuttu

grounds) and the other, for health reasons. Many thinking people in those countries wonder whether they should live so well when the world around is struggling to survive. This thinking is needed most in North America which is the breadbasket of the world. North America & Australia have the grains to spare. On health grounds, simplifying diets are likely to have a great impact in these countries. The American Heart Association has expressed the view that there is some relationship between the rise in consumption of livestock products, particularly the fatter meats, and the incid-

early sixties to 293 in mid seventies.

Further, some shift from animal food can be seen from the use of vegetable oils for animal fats in U.S.A. In 1950 consumption of animal fats and that of vegetable oils were almost the same. (just under 24 pounds per person per year). By mid seventies consumption of vegetable oil has climbed to about 40 pounds while that of animal fats had dropped below 15 pounds. This experience demonstrates that major transformations in dietary habits are possible. Further textured soya protein is taking the place of animal protein in

can get the same balance as from animal foods. The National Academy of Sciences, U.S.A. the prestigious and scientifically cautious body gave its approval for a vegetarian diet in 1974 with the remarks that a vegetarian can be well nourished if he eats a variety of plant foods and gives attention to.... critical nutrients.

What is put forward here is not an appeal, for total vegetarianism in the developed countries — it is an appeal for a gradual reduction of their meat consumption so that part of

*Continued on page 9)*

## The political will is the will of the...

*(Continued from page 5)*

to seek allies for his cause among parliamentarians was an important breakthrough in communication. They were the political missing link between the village and the government. By definition, they must pay heed to the village, or they will not remain parliamentarians for long. They know the limitations and capacities of the government and, most importantly, they know their way through the bureaucratic mills so that they can get action on a culvert in need of repair, a clinic without contraceptives, a school without benches or spare-parts for

a water pump. They serve the two-way purpose of conveying the message of needs to the centre and of going through or around the bureaucracy to give substance to policy. In alliance with village NGOs they comprise a formidable force for effective change.

That is why recourse by UN agencies to parliamentarians advocated by the General Assembly, is resented by bureaucrats. Those "unofficial" politicians are a danger to them because they go above their heads to the government as well as beyond their reach and control to the non-governmental organizations and directly to the villagers.

Such a down-to-earth consultative process cannot take place—at least not very well—unless there is a willingness at the top to realize that the sententious resolutions which governments vote for at the international conferences on population, food, environment, technical co-operation or women's rights, and at the General Assembly, will never be converted into substance until the people whose lives they want to affect become active change agents of their own destiny rather than passive recipients of messages of change as they have been through a quarter of a century of underdevelopment. To do so governments will need

to be willing to devolve their advocacy functions to non-governmental institutions who have retained their links with the villages and the trust of the villagers.

Effective development will also need a radical decentralization of authority over decision-making and of the use of funds from the centre to the village. The widespread reluctance to do this is a vestige of the old colonial attitude which regarded only paid government agents—the Village Headman, for instance—as being worthy of trust.

Development models will then be made up of a mosaic of village-based

activities responsive to actual needs and capacities rather than the fantasies of econometricians as most of them now are. Development of the people by the people is the only answer that has not been given a chance in three decades of development effort, despite all the heavy breathing about the need for "structural change" and "people's participation".

The people's political will can become the most powerful force for development if the latter-day colonial administrations which rule most developing nations were to allow that energy to be released. The alternative is too painful to contemplate.



## S. Nadesan Q. C. on Fair and Free Elections — IV

(Continued from  
last issue)

On the morning of the 4th of June the news went about Jaffna that four MPs of the Tamil area, including the Leader of the Opposition, had been taken into custody at 2 a.m. Sometime later the news came that they had been released, and this story with elaborations and variations went round the whole area.

It is in this context that elections to the Jaffna Development Council took place.

The Returning Officers and Presiding Officers and other Election Officers who had come for election duties found that it was difficult to get any food, and food had to be taken for them from Colombo.

Under the conditions I have just described can free and fair elections take place, leave alone Jaffna, in any part of the world?

### 'EMERGENCY' IN JAFFNA

Would this not have been apparent to any independent Elections Commissioner. Was it not then his clear duty to cancel the elections fixed for 4th of June and hold the elections on some other day after things have become reasonably normal? Section 22(6) of the Development Councils Act provide: "Where due to any emergency or unforeseen circumstances the poll for the election in any Development Council area cannot be taken on the day specified in a notice published under subsection (1), the returning officer may, by notice published in the Gazette, appoint another day for the taking of such poll and such other day shall not be earlier than the fourteenth day after the publication of the notice in the Gazette". Poll means not any poll but free and fair poll.

Why did not the Commissioner of Elections issue directions to the Returning Officer to act under this provision and appoint another day, perhaps a month hence, for the taking of the poll?

In India, the Elections Commission for very much less has postponed elections under the power conferred on it by the Indian Elections law. If the position be that as a result of some strange construction of this section, the Commissioner thought that he did not have this power, then the law should be suitably amended on the lines of the Indian Elections Law so that there may be

no doubts in anyone's mind regarding this.

The situation in Jaffna was so grave that the President was compelled to declare a state of emergency confined only to the Jaffna Development Councils area and not to the rest of the island.

Once a state of emergency has been declared emergency regulations can be made which supersede all other laws.

In the case of the Jaffna Development Councils elections, the President thought it necessary to make regulations in respect of certain matters to which reference will be made presently. It is unfortunate that knowing the situation in Jaffna the President did not think it essential to postpone the elections by emergency regulations for another date. It is inexplicable to me as to why this was not done.

Instead, on the 3rd of June 1981, practically on the eve of the elections, the President made some regulations called the emergency (Issue of Directions to the Returning Officer) Regulations 1981 by which power was given to the Secretary, Ministry of Defence to issue directions to the Returning Officer.

On the 3rd of July itself in pursuance of this Regulation, Col. C. A. Dharmapala, the Secretary to the Ministry of Defence cancelled the appointment of 156 Presiding Officers and directed the Returning Officer to appoint others in their stead.

(The Presiding Officers who were directed to be replaced were senior public servants who had been given a special training by the Elections Department and were persons who by virtue of their high salary

were not entitled to political rights.)

As a result of this direction, all these Presiding Officers were replaced by some persons who had been taken to Jaffna from places like Kurunegala, hardly any one of whom knew any Tamil, and a large number of whom did not know even English well, and several of whom did not have adequate training by the Elections Department. Some of these newly appointed Presiding Officers were persons in Government Departments.

The result of all these

ity, did not go to the polls to cast their votes.

A large number of polling agents through fear did not go for duty, or when they found that the polling stations were not opened, went away with the impression that elections were not taking place on account of the emergency. In fact there were contradictory rumours as to whether elections were or were not taking place on account of the emergency. This provided a golden opportunity for impersonation on a mass scale.

statements to be delivered to the Returning Officer.

In the result, the Returning Officer did not declare the results of the elections on the day of the elections. Instead, he wrote a letter to the Commissioner on the 7th of June 1981 asking for directions and the Commissioner gave directions that a count should be taken in respect of the 45 uncounted ballot boxes and that he should make the declaration of the elections on whatever material he had in his possession. It is hardly necessary to state that Jaffna Develop-

# The Jaffna D.C. Elections

last minute changes and the abnormal conditions prevailing in Jaffna on the 4th of June, the date of polling, was that practically every law relating to polling was broken.

There were 436 polling stations within the Jaffna Development Councils area and the time of the poll had been announced to be from 7 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Polling commenced at 7 a.m. only in about five polling stations in the entire area. In all other polling stations polling commenced some time between 10.10 a.m. and 2.30 p.m. Even the closing time in several polling stations varied and were arbitrarily fixed by the election official working there.

Owing to the tense situation prevailing a large number, perhaps the major-

A number of voters marched to the polls to vote for the TULF as a protest against the terrorism by sections of the police and military forces.

It has however been alleged by responsible people that active supporters of the TULF did utilise the opportunity to get persons to impersonate on a mass scale. This allegation is denied by the leadership of the TULF, who may or may not be aware of what their activists in the rank and file did on that day.

33 polling stations delivered to the Returning Officer 45 ballot boxes in all, without counting the votes. 6 ballot boxes were missing. A substantial number of Counting Officer had not conformed to the requirements regarding the

ment Councils elections held on the 4th of June is not a free and fair election.

If such a situation had arisen in India the Elections Commission would have cancelled the entire elections and held a fresh election in terms of the Elections Law in India. It is necessary that the Elections Law in this country should be amended to enable the Commissioner of Elections to act in the same way.

In fact it is desirable that our Elections Law should be amended by providing for an Elections Commission consisting of at least three members in whom will be vested the superintendence direction and control of elections.

(To be continued)

## A fresh look at Vegetarianism .....

(Continued from page 8)

the feed can be diverted for human food in the developing countries. Not all the feed grains are suitable for human food. This can be overcome because when there is a reduction in feed grains, the acreage released can be put under crops which are suitable for human beings. It is stated that this is possible with arable lands in U.S.A. These remarks do not apply to milk & milk products

as a dairy cow (in developed countries) produces from the same amount of feed at least twice & often 3 beef animal.

For attempting to solve the world food crisis main efforts have been to increase food production, control population, reduce waste etc.

To these main efforts should be added a gradual shift to vegetarianism or near vegetarianism. We have to recognize the self evident limitations of our

space-ship, Earth. Earth can never feed limitless numbers. If some of us consume more, others must of necessity consume less. It is therefore necessary to stretch some more the existing supply by reducing consumption of animal products and instead consume more vegetarian food. This applies not only to the developed countries but also to the affluent in the developing countries. Hindus exhort vegetarianism by conviction, the rest of the world

is resorting to vegetarianism as a remedy to stretch out the existing food supplies. If we do not take timely action some parts of the world may face starvation. Let us remember what former Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany said in the U.N. General Assembly in 1973.

"Morally it makes no difference whether a man is killed in war or condemned to starve to death by the indifference of others".

## NEWS BRIEFS

### T. U. L. F. TO HAVE ITS OWN HOME

The Tamil United Liberation Front which had been functioning without an office ever since its rented office on Main Street, Jaffna, was burnt down in May/June 1981, is to get a permanent home at Kodaddy besides Hospital Road. The foundation for the new building is to be laid on September 1st.

### J. V. P. BOSS IN JAFFNA THIS WEEK

J.V.P. Leader Rohana Wijeweera and Secretary Lionel opage are expected in Jaffna on the 25th and 26th of this month to campaign for the party. They will be in Killinochchi on the 24th. A public meeting at the Chunnakam market square is also scheduled.

### S. L. F. P. TO CAMPAIGN IN THE NORTH

Sri Lanka Freedom Party Leader Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike is expected to address meetings in the Vavuniya, Mannar districts on 18th September on behalf of her party. These will be the first meetings in connection with forthcoming Presidential and Parliamentary Elections. Party supporters are making arrangements to welcome Mrs. Bandaranaike and former Minister Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwe, Mr. K.

Shanmugalingam, and Sinhala Cinema personality Vijaya Kumaranatunga who are expected to join her.

### POLICE TRANSFERS IN THE NORTH

Following acts of Police thuggery at Nelliady junction, Inspector Ginige and Sub-Inspector Samaraweera and some constables of the Valvettiturai Police Station have been transferred out of Jaffna. Inspector Ginige has been transferred to Welimade and Sub-Inspector Samaraweera to Colombo. Inspector Liyanage Aratchi of the Wattala Police Station has been transferred to Valvettiturai. Headquarters Inspector Ediriwickrema of Kankesanthurai has also been transferred to Colombo. Inspector Wijeyewardene will assume duties as Officer-in-Charge, Police Station, Point Pedro.

### DURKADEVI FESTIVALS

The annual festivals of the Dhurkadevi Temple at Tellippalai commences today (Saturday). The festivals will continue for 12 days. Special bus services and sanitary facilities are being provided for the benefit of the pilgrims.

### T. U. L. F. MEETING AT TRINCO

The TULF is scheduled to hold a meeting of the General Council on the 28th of this month at the residence of Mr. R. Sampanthan, M.P. for Trincomalee. The President of the Party, Mr. M. Sivasingham will preside and several M.Ps including Secretary-General Mr. A. Amirthalingam are expected to be present.

### DEAD BODY ON THE STREET

The dead body of an unidentified male was found on the street beside a cinema house at Kankesanthurai. The Police state that they are investigating the identity of the victim and the circumstances of his death.

### POTATO IMPORTS TO BE STOPPED

The import of potatoes will be completely stopped according to Trade and Shipping Minister Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali.

### P. M. AT MADHU FESTIVALS

For the second year in succession Prime Minister R. Premadasa was present at the annual festival of the Madhu Church, held last week.

### MANHUNT IN THE TRINCO AREA

A man hunt has been launched in several areas

in Trincomalee District to apprehend Santhathiyar who is believed to be a Tamil Liberation Activist. Several persons in Pankulam, Thiriyai and Kinriya were questioned by armed forces in this connection.

### NEELAN FOR NEW YORK

Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam left for New York as one of five delegates representing the Third World Countries at a New York Seminar on Law and Society. Sri Lanka is being represented for the first time in this annual symposium which had been held for the last 30 years. The seminar will last two weeks.

### STADIUM WILL BE AT KAKKAITIVU

Construction work on the proposed International Stadium at Kakkativu is to be started during this month. The stadium will be constructed leaving the archaeological work-site untouched, according to Mr. Nadarajah, Jaffna Development Council Chairman.

### POSTERS OF WANTED MEN

A number of posters carrying the names of 11 suspects in the Nelliady Police shooting incident and pictures of five of them have been put out in the Vadamaratchi area. Rewards for giving information about these men have also been indicated against their names.

### CHURCH DONATIONS TO LIBRARY

The President of the Ceylon Methodist Church, Rev. Soma Perera and the Bishop of the Colombo Diocesan Council, Rt. Rev. Swithin Fernando contributed Rs. 10,400/- and Rs. 7219.86 respectively to the Jaffna Library Fund.

### GLOWING TRIBUTES TO OUTGOING G. A.

Glowing tributes were paid to the out-going Government Agent of Trincomalee Mr. Lionel Fernando at a meeting of the Trincomalee Development Council. Trincomalee M.P. Mr. R. Sampanthan said that he was a unique public servant whose every action was above suspicion. He was loved by all people irrespective of race or creed.

It will be remembered that Mr. Lionel Fernando who was at one time Government Agent, Jaffna earned the good-will and confidence of the Jaffna Public but was subsequently recalled to Colombo.

### D. I. G. ON COMPULSORY LEAVE

Deputy Inspector General of Police Mr. Tyrel Gunatileke has been sent on compulsory leave. This is the sequel to his conviction in London on a shoplifting charge. Mr. Gunatileke was in London for an open heart surgery as on medical leave since his return to Sri Lanka after the conviction.

## LETTERS

Arasady Road,  
Jaffna.

Dear Sir,

### Hereditary leaders!

One remembers reading in the thirties about the "divine right to rule". This right of course belongs to royalty. With royalty fading away, what right is there for political parties to seek successors based on heredity? In our homeland, if a leading figure 'X' passes away, the tendency is to look for a successor in the 'X' clan. This smacks of feudalism.

When Alexander was on his deathbed, his Generals are reported to have asked him to name his successor, since a number of Alexander's wives were expecting at that time. Alexan-

der's reply was that the best and the ablest should succeed him.

Once when Stalin was asked about his son who was a prisoner of war in Germany, he is reported to have said that in German POW camps there were only Russian traitors!

When Mahatmajhi sought to lead, he had only the loincloth, the Charka and Kasturba following him. He never bothered about his children. One became a total wreck and had a grievance against Bapu for having "neglected" him.

In the struggling third world, men who get into full suits early morning, drop their children at leading schools, dabble in financial matters, worry about their kith and kin cannot have the freedom to give the dynamic leadership required by an emerging nation.

From log cabin to White House is the Lincoln legend, Great leaders like Ho Chi Min Fidel, Lumumba &c were neither Attorneys-at-Law or Doctors. Let leaders EMERGE from grass roots level and it is for every citizen to encourage this process.

Yours truly,  
N. Leva Rajan.

498, Kapuwatte,  
Jaala  
11-08-1982.

The Editor,  
"Saturday Review"  
118, 4th Cross Street,  
Jaffna.

Dear Sir,  
**STRIKE AT PARANTHAN  
FACTORY**

Reference the articles in the "Saturday Review" of 17th July and 7th August 1982, under the headings—"CMU Strike a Success" and "Restore Status Quo—CMU" respectively.

375 workers at the Paranthan Chemicals Corporation factory have been on strike since 27th November 1981, due to alleged victimisation of Trade Unionists. Due to the reluctance of the Corporation officials to negotiate a settlement, the Ceylon Mercantile Union had made representations to President Jayawardene, on whose directive the Commissioner of Labour summoned several conferences between officials of the Corporation and Union officials, the last being on 8th July 1982. Unfortunately, the Corporation is refusing to allow the so called "casual workers" to resume work along with the rest of the strikers., thus preventing a settlement of the long standing dispute.

It is commendable that journals such as the "Saturday Review" are focussing public attention on the heroic struggle of the workers on strike and the

C.M.U. which has already staged a one-day token general strike on 14th July 1982, is contemplating further strike action; and a Dutch worker is said to have contributed as much as 10 000 Guilders to the C.M.U. for assisting the Paranthan strikers.

On the other hand, it is ironical, that the Tamil United Liberation Front, which professes to be the leading political organisation in the North, and the main Opposition Party is side tracking this issue. What measures, if any, has the TULF taken to settle this dispute? Isn't it the bounden duty and obligation of the TULF to urge the highest authorities in the land to bring about a negotiated settlement? Or does the hierarchy of the TULF consider it below their dignity to intervene in a workers struggle?

Yours faithfully,  
J. H. R. Benedict-



# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## Madras students demand release of Kuttimani & Jegan

"Release KUTTIMANI and JEGAN unconditionally". This was among the demands made by the Madras General Council of

Students in a note submitted to the Deputy High Commissioner for Sri Lanka in Madras. The student body has

also registered a protest against acts of terrorism by the armed forces in Tamil areas.

## Death sentence

### by non-jury trial

SELVARAJAH YOGACHANDRAN alias KUTTIMANI (29) and GANESHANATHAN JEGANATHAN alias JEGAN were sentenced to death by Mr. Tudor de Alwis, the High Court Judge of Colombo on Friday, 13th August, 1982 after a four and a half month trial in which they stood indicted with the Murder of Police Constable Sivanesan on March 21, 1979 at Valvettiturai.

could give was the death sentence. Defence Counsel submitted that since the trial was conducted in accordance with the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the punishment also should be in keeping with that law. The Judge said it was with regret that he passed the death sentence. He was compelled to do so under the present law.

Before pronouncing sentence the Judge asked the two accused whether they had anything to say.

Both Kuttimani and Jegan thereafter made statements from the dock.

Saturday Review regrets its inability to publish the statements made by the two accused because since then it has been made to understand that the prevailing censorship covers the proceedings in Court on that day.

The statements how-

ever were recorded in full in the Tamil newspapers of 14th August and recorded at least in part by the 'Island' of 14th August, and 'The Sun' of 14th August and 'The Daily News' City Edition of August 14th and the 'Daily News' Provincial Edition of August 16th (the last mentioned report appeared after the censorship was imposed on the Court proceedings).

Mr. M. Sivasithambaram with Messrs. S. Navaratnam, S. Kanaga Manoharan and K. V. Thevarajah appeared for the first and 3rd accused.

Mr. S. Rudramoorthy with Mr. G. Kumaringam and S. Satchithanatham appeared for the second accused.

Counsel have since then announced that they will appeal against the High Court Judgment.



Kuttimani (right) and Jegan

#### CONFESSIONS

#### ADMISSIBLE

The 3rd accused in the case THANGARASA GNANAVELU alias KARUPPAN was acquitted on the charge but he was detained in custody as he was facing another charge in connection with the Vantharumullai robbery. All the three accused indicted under Section 296 of the Penal Code had to face a non-jury trial as proceedings were conducted under the provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (Temporary Provisions) 48 of 1979. Before the start of the trial the High Court determined the preliminary question on whether the confessions made by Kuttimani and Jegan were admissible in evidence. Mr. de Alwis ruled that they were admissible.

#### BOTH MAKE

#### STATEMENTS

On the question of sentence the Deputy Solicitor General Mr. Tilak Marapane submitted that the only legal sentence that the Court

## 'Paranthan Struggle

### Week' From

### August 23 — 27

The General Council of the Ceylon Mercantile Union has declared August 23rd to the 27th as the "Paranthan Struggle Week". The strike by the workers of the Paranthan Chemical Corporation which began in November 1981 demanding the reinstatement of workers under interdiction, is now reaching its ninth month without any settlement. The strikers have lost pay during all these months amounting to 2.5

million rupees so far. Between them, the workers have 725 dependent children and 440 other dependents.

In an effort to bring a speedier settlement to the issue, the C.M.U. has intensified its solidarity actions. The programme for the "Paranthan Struggle Week" is as follows: On Monday the 23rd there will be a stoppage of work between 10.30 and 11.30 a.m. and picketing by all C.M.U. branches; on Tuesday there will be a one day general strike; on the next two days, picketing; and on Friday a public rally at 4 p.m. at Hyde Park, Colombo.

## Quash death sentence says the N. S. S. P

The Nava Sama Samaja Party (NSSP) has appealed to all working class and democratic organisations to launch an agitation aimed at quashing the death sentence on Kuttimani and Jeganathan.

Dr. Vickremabahu Karunaratne, General Secretary NSSP, states in a press release, "The High Court has sentenced Tamil Liberation fighters Kuttimani and Jeganathan to capital punishment. This is a result of the Government's attempt to find a military and judicial solution to a political problem. The

problem of the Tamil speaking people is a democratic question which has not been solved by this reactionary government nor by previous governments.

Terrorism among the Tamil youth is a result of this situation and this in turn had only consolidated reactionary Sinhala chauvinism. The NSSP appeals to all working class and democratic organizations to launch an agitation aimed at quashing the sentence and treating Kuttimani and Jeganathan as political prisoners."

## Mrs. Kumar Ponnambalam denies Press reports

"I was shocked and surprised to see the front page news item in your August 14, 1982 issue of the SATURDAY REVIEW with the headlines — THREE DECLINE OF VADUKKODAI SEAT, T.C. MAN ASKS FOR TIME", says Dr (Mrs) Y. Ponnambalam, wife of Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam, of "Gitanjali", 7 Gregory's Road, Cinnamon Gardens, Colombo 7, in a letter addressed to the Editor, SATURDAY REVIEW.

Mrs. Ponnambalam states that she contacted her husband who is out of the Island and he had requested

her to contradict the SATURDAY REVIEW news item. She says, "I would like to point out that there is no truth whatsoever in this news item and I feel that this was designed merely to destroy his reputation."

She has also sent us the English translation of Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam's denial to the Tamil daily newspapers which also carried news items similar to the SATURDAY REVIEW report in the 15th and 16th issues of their papers.

Mrs. Ponnambalam's letter will be published in full in the next issue of 'SR'