

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

One
day
before
his
visit



Vol. 1 No. 36 October 2, 1982 Rs. 2-50

HARTAL IN JAFFNA

The Police have cracked down hard on the organisers of the boycott cum hartal campaign against President J. R. Jayawardene's visit to Jaffna today (2 October).

But the strong arm tactics were counter — productive as almost all business establishments put up their shutters yesterday (1 Oct) in response to the hartal call despite police hailers promising full protection to all who kept open. Theatres cancelled all shows and mini bus services were drastically curtailed.

In a pre-emptive strike against the Tamil Eelam Liberation Front (TELF) and the General Union of Eelam Students (GUES)—

two of the main organizations which issued the hartal call — the Police have arrested some key activists of the TELF and GUES and handed them over to Army custody.

The intensified crack-down on the TELF and GUES was preceded by mysterious midnight sniping at the residence of TELF President Dr. S. A. Tharmalingam (see page 12).

A TELF youth activist—DEVADASON of Karaveddy—and M. DAVIDSON, the Secretary of GUES are already in custody and the Police are hunting for more youth activists and undergraduate leaders: in one instance, the brother of an activist the Police are searching for has been taken as a hostage. Davidson, the SATURDAY REVIEW learns, has

been transferred to the Anuradhapura Army Camp. He surrendered to the police on Thursday.

The arrests were intended to break the backbone of the hartal campaign according to Police sources who state the detenus will be released after the President's visit.

Meanwhile the call for a two-day boycott of classes (30 September, 1 October) was an almost total success according to the organisers. Most schools and tutorials registered a virtual hundred per cent drop in attendance.

There was a mild flutter in the Grand Bazaar area round about 9.30 a.m. yesterday when a mini bomb went off near the Bus-Stand opposite a theatre.

Viewpoint

Tamil voter in No-man's land

Since the year 1956 when the late S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike stormed into power and left the UNP wondering what had hit them, the Sinhala voter pendulum has been swinging both ways. In 1970, it left the UNP demoralised, and in 1977, it left the SLFP looking like something that the cat had left behind. The two leading parties have been victims of the floating Sinhala voter's seven year itch for change. In contrast, the Tamil voter mind was remarkably unchanged. Right or wrong, the Tamil voter was led—and led doggedly on— on a set course, for over 21 continuous years.

Today in 1982, on the eve of the Presidential election how does the scenario stand? Although numerically predominant, the Sinhala vote could divide only in five possible directions: J. R., Kobbekaduwa, Rohana, Colvin and Vasu. The Tamil voter, numerically smaller as he is, is yet caught up in a situation where his mind is torn in SEVEN different directions! The other two are Kumar and "Summa Iru". There was a European Hindu Swami who used to silence anyone asking inane questions with the metaphysical retort: "Summa Iru", which means "Just be".

The TULF's spineless "Summa Iru" resolution on the Presidential election has turned out to be neither intelligible metaphysics nor decisive politics. It is neither Eelam fish, nor Boycott flesh nor Amity talks fowl. It was the inevitable end-product of what could happen to a misguided missile which

stubbornly refused to change course even when the danger alarms kept ringing. The TULF leadership having decided to end the amity talks with the government, obviously for mutual benefit, even went through the mock exercise of holding talks with Opposition parties. It apparently knew all along that nothing would come out of them. All these showed a pathetic hesitation to take the people into its confidence. The resulting resolution on the Presidential election was not therefore a principled decision, but one that merely emphasized its position of helpless drift.

Today, the Tamil voter is wandering in a political No-man's land. Within the TULF, there is only one M.P.—who has shown some resource in translating the anaemic call of the party into a positive dissociation with the Presidential polls. Having pinched the Eelam clothes once worn by the TULF, Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam is now playing the role of Crown Prince to an increasingly appreciative TULF audience, particularly in the Eastern Province. Traditional supporters of the TULF among the extensive farming villages in Jaffna are no longer thinking of Tamil rights; they will vote for the SLFP if given the chance, to make money on onions and chillies. In short, the Tamil thinking is now shattered, top, bottom, centre right, left and Libya.

In this tragic, pathetic situation, the President of the TULF Mr. M. Sivasithamparam has written to us expressing surprise that any influential individual in the party should flagrantly break the party decision. Enforcing party discipline is a matter that does not concern the SATURDAY REVIEW. A newspaper owes no duty to help anybody settle family problems. If the party learns to keep its ears close to the ground, there should not be any difficulty in identifying which of their supporters are canvassing support for the UNP, the SLFP or Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam.

Tight security precautions were clamped down as jeeploads of armed security personnel patrolled the streets yesterday to fore-stall untoward incidents.

Ministers Cancel Trip

The Ministers who were to accompany the President to Jaffna have cancelled their trip on security advice the SATURDAY REVIEW learns, as the security forces didn't relish the idea of spreading their personnel too thin.

The Saturday Review also understands the President may not stay over the nights (2,3 October) at King's House, Jaffna, as originally planned: instead he may helicopter back to Colombo for the night.

Customs exam: applications called

An examination for selection to the Unified Customs Service will be held in January, 1983. Qualifications required are G. C. E. (O/L) with English and Maths or Arithmetic and G. C. E. (A/L) in three subjects in one and the same sitting.

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Saturday Review SRI LANKA

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Readers who have paid in their regular subscriptions will however continue to get their copies at the existing price. As a further concession, we are keeping it open to new subscribers, both local and foreign, to send in their yearly or half-yearly subscriptions on the present rates-UNTIL THE END OF THE YEAR.

Saturday Review SRI LANKA

No. 118,
4th Cross Street,
JAFFNA.

Editor
S. SIVANAYAGAM

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Extremely stringent and unprecedented security precautions will cocoon president J. R. Jayawardene when he arrives in Jaffna today (2 October) to launch his two-day Presidential election campaign in the North.

The elaborate security precautions include air cover, skilled marksmen positioned on the top of high-rise buildings close to places where the President will address election meetings, commando units, riot squads, the use of metal detectors and mobile bomb disposal squads.

When the President helicopters down to Jaffna his helicopter will be flanked on either side by a helicopter carrying security personnel armed to the teeth. All three helicopters will be air-borne every time the President moves from one area to another to address election meetings in Jaffna.

When the helicopters land at the Jaffna Stadium on 2 October, Army units

Elaborate security cocoon for JR's Jaffna visit

carrying metal detectors will mount guard over them. No unauthorised person will be allowed anywhere near the helicopters. Military and Naval Units will take turns guarding the helicopters as they move from point to point during the election campaign. Schools on whose playgrounds the helicopters will land during the campaign will be closed on those days.

When the President motors up to the point where an election meeting is to be held, his car will be in the middle preceded by a pilot car, a security car and an advance car; back-up police units and commando units will follow to combat any emergency. A mobile bomb disposal army squad too will accompany the President throughout.

While skilled marksmen will take up positions on the roofs of storeyed buildings close to meeting-places the venues themselves will be closely guarded by police riot squads and commando units besides military personnel. An ambulance manned by medical personnel will stand by.

A 'hot line' will link Colombo and King's House Jaffna, where the President

will be staying. Standby generators at King's House and the Open Air Theatre (where the Jaffna meeting will be held) will take over if the electricity supply fails.

Electrical engineers and construction engineers will have to okay all the lighting arrangements and the platforms.

The President's personal bodyguard too will trail him wherever he goes, in addition to the security forces.

As the police and the security forces will be tied up with security operations during the President's two-day visit the authorities have asked post offices, the Ceylon Electricity Board and the Telecommunications Department to make their own security arrangements.

LETTERS

Maithri & SLFP

Duncan de Alwis replies Noble Arasaratnam

240/4, Torrington Avenue, Colombo 7.

The Editor, Saturday Review, Jaffna. Sir,

I read with a certain degree of consternation the letter of Mr. Noble Arasaratnam of Adigar Road, Batticaloa, with the above title published in the Saturday Review of the 11th September 1982. In this article he accuses the popular political commentator, Mr. Gamini Navaratne, of making statements that are bound to influence the people of Sri Lanka to erroneous calculations and thereby contribute to tragic results. On the contrary it is my considered view that statements such as these made by Mr. Arasaratnam could bring about the so-called tragic results when he writes on the subjects or persons like Mr. Maithripala Senanayake who on his own admission, he does not know. Obviously his statements must be based either on mere hearsay or inspiration.

I was one of those who were very closely associated with the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike as I was his Private Secretary when he was first, Minister of

Health and Local Government, and then, Prime Minister. When Mr. Bandaranaike crossed over from the UNP it was Mr. D. S. Goonesekera and the late Mr. D. A. Rajapakse who joined him right away. It was subsequently that the late Mr. George R. De Silva and the late Mr. Jayaweera Kuruppu and the late Mr. A. P. Jayasuriya followed suit. Even then Mr. Maithripala Senanayake continued to be a back-bencher in the UNP Government.

Mr. Maithripala Senanayake contested the Medavachchiya seat in 1952 as a UNP candidate and became Parliamentary Secretary for Home Affairs. He then left the Government Party in 1953 and sat in the Opposition as an Independent Member although Mr. Bandaranaike was the Leader of the Opposition, the SLFP being the Single largest party.

At that time Mr. Maithripala Senanayake had numerous opportunities to join the SLFP and I myself carried messages from Mr. Bandaranaike to him. Mr. Maithripala Senanayake was never a Founder Member of the SLFP. Mr. and Mrs. T. B. Ilangaratne on the other hand

were. On these facts it would therefore appear that it is a downright fabrication of Mr. Arasaratnam to say that Mr. Maithripala Senanayake crossed from the UNP before Mr. Bandaranaike. Those of us who know the history of the SLFP can only conclude that Mr. Arasaratnam decided to crack a joke at the wrong time forgetting the so-called tragic results his statement could bring about.

THE GETAMBE INCIDENT

C/O P.O.Box 1201, Colombo. 22nd September 1982.

The Editor, Saturday Review, Jaffna.

Dear Sir, Your "Political Causerie" of August 21st refers to the "Getambe Incident" and Mr. Gamini Navaratne rightly goes on to analyse and elaborate on the possible political repercussions this could have.

The leading national Dailies of the 27th August also carried news items which said "the crown lands bordering the Rajopavanaramaya which have

Finally if as Mr. Arasaratnam says Maithri is the SLFP, why did he not become Leader of the SLFP with the death of the late revered leader and why did he urge Mrs. Bandaranaike to be the Leader? However, during his tenure in office as a Minister in the Cabinets of both Mr. Bandaranaike and Mrs. Sirima-Bandaranaike, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake made very useful contributions to the country and to the

so far not been leased out have been gifted to the Maha Sangha by a deed in keeping with policy adopted by the government"

Something obviously appeared to be remiss in these news items. The Dharma Chakra Vidya Peetaya under construction is on this land. The foundation stone for this complex too had been laid by the President himself in 1979.

Hence this land appears to have been handed over to the Viharadhipathy, the Ven. Dr. Labuduwe Siri-dhamma for the Dharma Peetaya Complex even though a deed was not

party and we all appreciate it. My letter must therefore be read in this context. It is not to detract anything from Mr. Senanayake. It is to keep the record straight and present the truth.

My advice to Mr. Arasaratnam is that he should verify his facts before rushing to the press for surely he knows that fools rush in where angels fear to tread.

Duncan de Alwis

executed then. Otherwise the foundation stone had been laid and buildings constructed on encroached land!

Never in the history of Sinhale have temples been enclosed nor lands and goods gifted to the Sangha i.e. Sangika property taken back. The old stone inscriptions found at Archaeological sites contain a grim warning to all who may harbour such thoughts, the consequences of what may befall if you do, i.e. rebirth as reptiles, crows, animals etc.

your faithfully, Ananda Pilimalauwe

There is perhaps no other country in the capitalist world whose economy is as OPEN as Sri Lanka's. Not Britain's, not West Germany's, not Japan's, not even America's.

The door was flung open in 1977. It was the deliberate act of a Government controlled by a party whose political and economic philosophy is well attuned to the West.

This is to say that the Jayewardene Government needed little prodding by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to introduce the package of economic reforms based on the theories of Harvard's Nobel Prize-winning economist Milton Friedman, friend and adviser of U. S. President Reagan.

Sri Lanka had lumped itself with the capitalist world, led by the U.S. In short, the Government had opted for the Western model of development. In return, Sri Lanka was to receive increased economic assistance.

A complete break

Part of the package was the relaxing of almost all trade and payments controls. Anyone could import almost anything or go anywhere if he had the money. It was a complete break with the system that had existed since independence.

The Government's expectation was that the resulting freer flows of raw materials, machinery and spares, transport equipment and other investment and intermediate goods would lead to a rapid revival of domestic industry through higher capacity utilization and by greater competition, either among local enterprises or from imports, and lead to the growth of exports. In the sphere of agriculture, the devaluation of the rupee, which was part of the reforms, was expected to eliminate price distortions and provide greater incentives for increased production and export.

Thus one of the basic objectives of the whole exercise has increased agricultural and industrial production and increased exports.

After five years of the UNP's great gamble—that's the only word for it—how has little Sri Lanka fared?

In 1978, the first full year in which the reforms had their impact, Sri Lanka registered an economic growth rate of 8.2 per cent.

As the Central Bank noted in its report for that

Who'er is in power, alarming economic prospects ahead!

year, "this was almost twice the growth rate of 4.4 per cent achieved in 1977, and almost equals the growth rate of 8.4 per cent in 1968, the highest recorded by the country in recent times, and was more than twice the average annual growth during the last decade."

In 1979, the growth rate was down to 6.2 per cent but was still considered satisfactory.

Throughout these two years, Sri Lanka was held up as an "IMF success" a model for other developing countries.

The Government's gamble appeared to have worked. The shops were full of all manner of goods, the people appeared to be well fed and clothed, and the roads, particularly in Colombo, were getting choked with brand new cars—signs which are usually associated with economic development and prosperity.

No longer an I.M.F. Success

There indeed was an air of affluence in the country, in marked contrast to the austerity of a few years ago, so that visitors to the island could have been pardoned if they believed that UNCTAD had made a mistake in categorising Sri Lanka as a nation "most seriously affected" by world commodity price fluctuations.

UNP leaders scoffed at critics who claimed that what Sri Lanka was experiencing was only an artificial prosperity, a prosperity that cannot last.

Unfortunately for poor Sri Lanka and its hapless people, the critics' prediction that, as a result of the UNP Government's policies what we have experienced is an artificial prosperity based largely on borrowed money appears to be coming true.

No longer is Sri Lanka cited as an "International

Monetary Fund success," for the economy has clearly and visibly begun to slow down, as the drop in the growth rates to 5.6 per cent and 4.2 per cent in 1980 and 1981, respectively reveals.

The gravity of Sri Lanka's economic situation is underscored by the recent World Bank warning that gross foreign exchange reserves by the end of 1983 would amount to "only four weeks of imports and would be exhausted in early 1984."

by GAMINI

It is this alarming prospect that made the Government think of advancing the dates of the presidential and parliamentary elections.

What has been the main cause—after adverse pressures arising abroad—for the deterioration of the economic situation to such an extent in so short a time?

Nothing but the adoption of an open door policy by the Government in 1977.

Sri Lanka immediately became the happy hunting ground of local and foreign entrepreneurs, many of them racketeers who were out to make a fast buck, and the dumping ground for all manner of goods, some shoddier than the local product and much of it clearly luxuries for a developing country.

Sri Lanka, in fact, was reduced to the status of a prostitute who is compelled to take on all comers at all times without protest!

The "marvellous recovery of the economy" of which UNP leaders talked about proudly was in reality an import boom financed mostly with foreign loans. Even industrialists found it far more lucrative to import goods and sell them than to take the trouble of engaging in local manufacture.

The boom is going bust now, for the unrestricted imports have seriously affected domestic agriculture—ask the Jaffna farmer, for example—and industry so that production and exports have not attained the levels anticipated by the Government.

In the process we have run into grave balance of payments difficulties, which have eroded the value of the rupee and forced the Government to borrow more and more from

ing countries to open up their economies—so that the industrialised countries could solve their own economic problems by finding expanded markets in the developing countries for their manufactures.

Heard about the big grumbling by the powerful European Economic Community countries and the United States about the difficulty of penetrating Japan trade-wise,* though it is committed in principle to free trade? Sensible Japan. Foolish Sri Lanka.

What is the I.M.F.'s solution to Sri Lanka's plight? Apart from other harsh measures, more devaluation, the removal of the remaining subsidies (on food, health, education, transport, fuel, fertiliser, etc) and further de-nationalisation.

Ban what we can produce

This will be no solution, as past devaluations and subsidy cuts and giving full rein to the private sector have been of little avail in boosting production and exports.

What Sri Lanka must do in the short run, is to cut imports drastically, so that the pressure on the balance of payments would ease and the rupee will not depreciate further, while at the same time putting a halt to foreign borrowing.

We must implement what President Jayewardene, as Minister of State in Mr. Dudley Senanayake's UNP Government, proposed in 1966: **BAN ALL THAT SRI LANKA COULD GROW OR PRODUCE, SUBJECT TO ADEQUACY.**

There is no other way. This is the challenge before the next President, whoever is elected on October 20.

* Postscript: British Prime Minister Mrs. Margaret Thatcher during her recent visit to Japan, appealed to Japan to open its markets to more British goods!

abroad at high rates of interest.

The external debt outstanding at the end of 1981 was nearly Rs. 35,000 million—seven times the figure when the UNP assumed office!

Who the hell is going to repay this vast debt? Certainly not the present UNP Government because the bulk of the debts will become due for payment only after 1990, by which time its second term of office—if it gets one—will also be over.

The World Bank has warned that the present deceptively low 8 per cent debt service ratio (capital repayments and interest as a percentage of the gross national product) will rise to over 26 per cent by 1986 and go up steadily thereafter.

Solving their own problems

Generations unborn have been mortgaged to foreign countries.

How the hell are we going to repay this staggering foreign debt is a mind-boggling question.

Free trade and an open door policy are good if all nations adhere to these ideals. But the industrialised countries, while paying lip service to these ideals and raising all manner of trade barriers, are forcing develop-

LETTERS

T.U.L.F. tied up in knots of its own making

University of
Peradeniya

Dear Editor,

Mr. Amirthalingam has of late been the target of much criticism, not so much by Cyril Mathew but by Mr. A's erstwhile allies. Often the criticism is harsh, although not entirely unjustified. What may be unfair is to blame Mr. Amirthalingam for the failure of a political organization—an organization which is nothing but a natural outcome of the kind of politics that the people of the North have learnt to accept over the decades.

The criticism of Mr. Amirthalingam need not always be interpreted as personal: it is often a criticism of the entire leadership of the TULF and its politics. If Mr. Amirthalingam and his advisers want to interpret all criticism as personal they are free to do so, but the issues involved are much bigger than a handful of personalities.

Pathetic
miscalculation

If the TULF leadership was serious about Eelam, which I am certain that it was never serious about and intended only as a vote-catching slogan, there was absolutely no need for the leader of the TULF to accept the role of "the Leader of the Opposition of Sri Lanka," which to him, after all, is a foreign country. The TULF could have allowed the 'Sri Lankans' to sort out their 'internal affairs' and concentrated on matters of their 'nation'. The Dharmishta government did not thrust that post on him. It may be true that the TULF leadership hoped to achieve something through their C-in-C becoming the Leader of the Opposition. This, at best, is a pathetic miscalculation.

It is often complained that the Tamils have not

participated in government since 1956. That is not quite true in the sense in which the complaint is intended. The vast majority of the people of this nation, Sinhalese, Tamils, Moors and others have not really participated in government except to vote somebody into power. In a bourgeois parliamentary system there cannot be real participation of people in government, but the Tamil leadership has often participated to safeguard the interests of the class it really represents. It has always acted to safeguard the interests of reaction. It has effectively campaigned against the left among the Tamils. The T. C. and Suntharalingam participated in UNP governments of 1947-1956. The FP participated in government with the UNP between 1965 and 1969. The F. P. voted against every important anti-imperialist step taken by the SLFP Governments of 1956-1960 and 1960-65. They even voted against the Paddy Lands Act. The F. P. was always able to defend anything reactionary by introducing something concerning Tamil interests (or 'moral' principles like in the case of nationalisation of Oil Companies in the 1960s).

Too many people
are questioning

The TULF as expected, is simply continuing the reactionary politics of the FP and the only reason why it is unwilling to come out openly in support of the UNP is that there are now too many people questioning their moves. Their plight is so pathetic that even Kumar Ponnambayam is able to torment them with their own weapon, Eelam. Their 'boycott' will be another exercise in impotence which will only make the anti-UNP votes of the North stay at home while Thondaman will be able to persuade a sizeable section of the up-country Tamils to vote for the UNP.

If the TULF is really

serious about boycotting anything let them boycott something which really involves their participation: they did not boycott the DDC elections; but there may be another parliamentary election.

The Tamil bourgeois leadership has been making a series of knots on the pretext of untying knots which were partly their own creation. The last knot they made is Eelam and that is a really big knot which has tied the TULF leadership hand, foot and body.

S. Sivasegaram

Mahadeva Causeway

3rd. Cross Street,
Jaffna,
28-9-82.

Editor,
Saturday Review.

Sir,

Reference your report of the DDC Debate on the Mahadeva Causeway (TULF MPs Fail to Agree on Development Priorities, S.R., 25 Sept.) the disagreement stems basically from the fact that those who own lands in Poonakari and Mannar would naturally like the Mahadeva Causeway completed as early as possible so that it will make their trip from Jaffna easier, while those who have no such stake in the Causeway just as naturally want DDC funds to be spent on projects which will benefit them.

An expensive project like the Mahadeva Causeway should actually have been undertaken by the Government: by passing the baby to the Jaffna DDC the Government has cleverly shirked its responsibility and put pressure on scarce DDC funds.

Looking at the matter in long term perspective—when Eelam becomes a reality—no one can deny the importance of the Causeway. But as things are, it's a little ironical that TULF MPs should be squabbling over a project which in the short run will help the Sri Lanka Army to deploy its forces faster.

Yours faithfully,
Rajan.

A well-deserved honour

Colombo,
23rd September, 1982.

Editor,
"Saturday Review"

Dear Sir,

It was heartening to know that the University of Jaffna has conferred a Doctorate honoris causa on Durai Raja Singham of Malaysia. Durai Raja Singham born of Jaffna Tamil parents in Malaysia had his education however in four leading schools in Jaffna. While at Victoria College he came under the influence of the Saiva Savant S. Sivapathasunderam whose impact on him was so great that, 'whichever college he (the teacher) went to, I had to go'. (D. R. Singham's Memories). Handy Perinpanayagam who was another lodestar in D. R. Singham's life has described his disciple as "a practising Gandhi-ite". As Handy has very aptly put it, "Ananda Coomaraswamy loomed large in his thoughts and life". D. R. Singham never met Ananda Coomaraswamy, yet he was so attracted by his inestimable contribution to humanity for the understanding of the culture of South Asia that he took upon himself as his mission—a life-long research of the great Kala Yogi.

Foreword by

D. S. Senanayake

Among 40 odd books Mr. Singham has written 10 of them deal with the life and writings of Ananda Coomaraswamy. The first one "Homage to Ananda Coomaraswamy" carries a forward by Sri Lanka's first Prime Minister D. S. Senanayake. Another one entitled "Ananda Coomaraswamy the Bridge-builder" is perhaps his magnum opus.

It is encouraging to note that despite the fact that Mr. D. R. Singham followed the anonymity of the Indian traditional artist as his ideal, the University of Jaffna has discovered his immense scholarship, his genuine devotion to research and prolific output and extreme personal generosity and considered it incumbent to honour him.

May God's benisons with this walking compendium of Coomaraswaina.

V. Sivarajasingham.

Caste problem in Jaffna

Palaly South,
Vayavilan P.O.,
20-9-1982.

The Editor,
Saturday Review,
Jaffna.

Dear Sir,

I was thrilled to read the article on "Caste Problem in Sirupiddy" by SURESH which was published in your esteemed Journal of 18.9.82. I wish to congratulate you and the writer for publishing such a useful message, to exhort the people to change their hearts against caste-feelings, in this modern space world.

We must admit Jaffna is one of the caste-minded regions in the world. It is true there are improvements in eradicating caste-feelings. But, there are still such unhappy feelings being openly practised in remote villages, like Verubody, Vayavilan, and Ilavalai.

Serving Tea in
coconut shells

There are a number of temples and Catholic Churches, cemeteries, libraries, eating houses, Ayurvedic clinics (private), lawyers' houses, priest-houses etc., where they still refuse to give equal status to the so called depressed class people.

There are private ayurvedic Doctors who feel the pulse of the low caste patients by applying a cloth around the wrist. There are people still who get tea served in coconut shells. There are still women being not allowed to wear blouses.

May I earnestly request you, Dear Sir, to give space and impress the readers to discourage caste jobs, and to treat all classes of people as human beings. People of good will should set an example.

Educational Fund
for children

It will also be appreciated if a fund is launched to educate some hand-picked clever children of the said low castes, who are educationally inclined. Most of these children leave the school very early or seldom attend or never attend at all. Most of the parents take little interest in educating their children, as they feel it is a foolish thing and take their children with them for work.

Yours respectfully,
J. A. Anandam.

(Continued from
last issue)

Now let us see how the Tamils behave in these respects. Sri and Sridevi command no respect among Tamils. Although in neighbouring India Sri is used in place of Mister; the Tamils do not use Sri. They use "Thiru". Hindu tradition of course indicates that Sridevi is the Goddess of wealth but no Tamil wants to make use of either Sri or Sridevi. The writer knows of only two ladies who had the name Sri devi. One was the mid-wife who helped to bring the writer into this world; and she remained a poor woman to the end of her days and the name Sri devi never bestowed on her abundance of money as it has done to the Sri Lanka Maha Bankuwa. The Treasury Bill issue which remained at a paltry Rs. 10 million in the pre-Sri days has now galloped to some 15,000 millions.

The position of the Brahmin priest

Another lady who carried the name Sri devi was a student of the writer, who unfortunately repeatedly failed the examination. Recently a lady sought the writer's advice in regard to a name for her baby girl. The writer suggested "Sri devi"; pat came the remark that it looked "paddikkadu" which means primitive.

Men of religion do perform certain rituals for the Tamils also; they are paid a fee for such services but definitely they are not held in any sort of esteem on that account. A Brahmin priest entering a crowded bus will have to hang on to the roof as any other passenger. No one will get up and give him a seat. The other day the writer travelled by a C.T.B. bus which was very crowded. A Sister of the Catholic Church also travelled in the same vehicle standing throughout her journey; no one thought of getting up and giving her a seat.

His last visit to Jaffna

Now let us look at the esteem in which Brahmins, the top rung men of religion are held in Tamil society. Nowadays most Brahmins drop the suffix "Aiyar" or "Sarma" from their names simply because the society, it is felt, looks down upon them. In South India the position of the Brahmins is pathetic.

BELAM

Good for the Tamils but
better for the Sinhalese

(also for Uncle Sam and Auntie
Maggie — 2

The attitude of the Tamil society towards men of religion is apparently not of recent development. We have the story of Thennali Raman who burnt some thirty two Brahmins with fire brands and escaped Royal wrath by pleading that his mother died before a strong desire she had, namely to get a "fire treatment" for her ailment, could be administered and that he merely gave a dhanam of the "fire treatment" to the Brahmins.

There is an ancient folk-song which lists the several misfortunes and problems that befell a man; there are some sixteen items of misfortunes and these are arranged in the ascending

the mirror before the society in order to give a picture of the prevailing values.



A sense of grievance?

The writer wants to be frank; he does not know whether the Tamil friends

committed by ordinary thugs; that under Pax Jayawardene, was committed by Police and Army thugs; that the sense of personal affront has been heightened by President Jayawardene reflecting that Srma Bandaranaike, his bete noire, was given a grand reception when she visited Jaffna as an Opposition leader.

Sinhala—Tamil race relations cannot be improved unless people on either side are frank and outspoken. The only way by which President Jayawardene can win the hearts of the Tamils is by agreeing to hold a referendum under Article 86 read with Article 5 of the 1978 Constitution seek-

by Somasundaram Vanniasingam

order of gravity. Space does not permit to mention all the misfortunes listed therein nor to give the Tamil verse. Suffice to mention the last two items of misfortune which are the ultimate misfortunes that can befall a man; the visit by the tax-collector to collect the dues payable to the king is the penultimate misfortune and the ultimate misfortune is the visit by the Brahmin priest to collect his periodical "thadchanai", i.e., Dhana in Sinhalese. Undoubtedly there is much sarcasm or something misjudged as humour but it is such pieces of literature, proverbs and other things that reveal the prevailing scale of values in society.

The writer intends no discourtesy to any individual or groups; in point of fact he feels that a lot of social reforms and a restructuring of values are badly needed in Tamil society but he has to hold

of President Jayawardene or Tamil politicians have ever conveyed to him a popular impression among Tamils relating to Mr. Jayawardene himself. There is a strong impression among the Tamils that President Jayawardene nurses a keen sense of grievance towards the Tamils in connexion with a particular incident. He came to Jaffna, when he was an Opposition leader, to hold a big meeting for which elaborate plans were made. The meeting was disturbed and he had to go back in humiliation. He has not forgotten it and on that account has never taken to task the Army and Police personnel who engaged in thuggery against the Tamils; that there has been more numerous and more serious acts of racial violence against the Tamils under Pax Jayawardene than under Pax Bandaranaike; that racial violence against the Tamils under Pax Bandaranaike was

ing an affirmative vote for the said Constitution to even which the Tamil District had never given a Mandate. If he does this he will not merely win the hearts of the Tamils, he will become a World Statesman.

PART II

Family bandyism is a word familiar in Sri Lanka politics. The Oxford Dictionary does not have the word "bandyism" but the word "bandi" is mentioned as referring to an Indian buggy or cart and is said to be derived from Telugu. S. J. K. Crowther, the journalist with a penetrating insight and enlivening humour popularised the word "Family Bandyism" in Ceylon politics in the thirties in connection with the formation of the pan-Sinhalese Board of Ministers in 1936. It is worth making

This Article is in six parts. The writer advances the thesis that a polity or state is organized for the benefit of the people and not the other way about as is the case in Ceylon today—an army of Ministers with an armada of security men and sycophants. The organized State, in order to be effective ought to consist only of people with a common outlook, values and attitude. When such a common "way of life" is absent and groups within the State have widely different values, the purpose of the polity is defeated and the State organization becomes counter-productive. He analyses the "way of life", the ethos of Sinhala and Tamil peoples in respect of-

(a) the position in society of men of religion and the influence of religion (S.R. : 25-9-1982);

(b) the attitudes governing the choice of leaders;

(c) the response to Marxism;

(d) the attitude in regard to economic organization;

(e) and (f) the practical consequences and developments that would follow the establishment of two sovereign polities in this Island, which contrary to fears of politicians, would be very beneficial to both groups.

a brief mention of the context as most men of the present generation may not be aware of the political developments of those days.

Under the Donoughmore Constitution a system of seven Executive Committees obtained and the Chairman of each Committee became the Minister in charge of the functions of the executive Committee. In the first State Council, there were two non-Sinhala Ministers: one a Muslim, Sir (then) Mohammed Macan Markar and the other a Tamil, Mr. Perianan Sunderam. Two non-Sinhalese became Ministers in spite of four seats from the Peninsula being vacant on account of the Jaffna boycott.

When shortly after the introduction of the Donoughmore system, the Board of Ministers agitated for further Reforms—and the Reform proposals of the Board of Ministers included the abolition of the Committee system and the posts of Officers of State consisting of the Chief Secretary, the Legal Secretary and the Financial Secretary

(Continued next page)

(Continued from page 6)

and these functions to be taken over by Ministers and all Ministers to be selected by a Prime Minister—the two non-Sinhala Ministers did not support the proposal. It was generally felt at that time that the Committee System gave the ordinary member of the Legislature and thereby the Minorities, a say in the administration; it was further believed that the Committee system will enable at least two Minority members to become Ministers.

There was really no scientific basis for the hope that the Committee system will enable at least two non-Sinhalese to become Ministers; perhaps it was some incoherent notion or faith in what may be called statistical probability but statistical probability does not hold good when occurrences are pre planned.

Pan-Sinhala Ministries

When the second State Council assembled in 1936, the Sinhala leaders roped together more than thirty Sinhala members and at a conference held at "Triveni", the Union Place residence of the leader, Sir Baron Jayatilaka, perfected a scheme to have four Sinhala members elected to each Executive Committee so that the votes of these four members would decide the election of the Chairman, i.e., the Minister in charge of that function. The result was a pan-Sinhala Board of Ministers; the brilliant mathematician Mr. C. Suntharalingam, who was for nearly two decades the mentor, Guru and guide of the Senanayake - Kotelawala group, is reputedly credited with having worked out the required permutations and combinations necessary for ensuring the appropriate Sinhala composition of the various Executive Committees. The said Board of Ministers and the like minded political group later blossomed out as the United National Party.

The ironies in politics

It was freely mentioned at that time that the deliberate creation of the pan-Sinhala Board of Ministers was carried out for teaching the Minorities, particularly the Tamils, a lesson as they were not supporting the Reforms proposals of the Board of

Ministers and sought constitutional safeguards. It was claimed that a homogeneous Board of Ministers was necessary for effective pursuit of their objectives. There was no cry of Eeylom at that time and it is illuminating to reflect that the same Mr. C. Suntharalingam, who master-minded the creation of the pan-Sinhala Board of Ministers, to teach the Tamils a lesson, did, after a few years introduce the word Eeylom into politics and pioneered the formal demand for a sovereign Tamil State. Perhaps politics gives rise to more ironies of fate than other walks of life.

Sinhala & Tamil attitudes

The word family bandyism got popularized as a result of being used to describe the above-said creation of a pan-Sinhala Board of Ministers. The family bandi(y) is the buggy which takes the children of aristocratic families to school; the bandy would accommodate only the children of the family and none others even on a rainy day.

There is really nothing wrong with family bandyism except the display of selfishness and aristocratic arrogance but these are inevitable traits of human nature. It is quite understandable — though not something admirable—for one to help his close relatives to advance in life. If one in Governmental authority placed his kinsmen in key positions he can be sure of a reliable team. Napoleon made his kith and kin kings of the various countries he conquered. Tory Prime Ministers in Britain have often manoeuvred for their close relatives to get into high positions. Even Ramsay Macdonald of the Labour party saw to it that his son got a Cabinet rank. Nehru himself did not resist the temptation to follow the pattern.

What we are concerned here is really not a critical evaluation of Family bandyism; the writer is concerned with the attitude of Sinhala and Tamil masses towards Family Bandyism practised by their leaders. Family bandyism is practised extensively by the Sinhala political leaders of all political persuasion: whether it be the U.N.P. or the S.L.F.P. or the Marxist parties,—with all political parties whose base is the Sinhala public-family bandyism is a typical feature. The Sinhala masses appear

to admire, applaud and appreciate family bandyism practised by their leaders. The Sinhala public does not look at family bandyism with disfavour; nor do they disapprove the action of a leader manoeuvring to get his son or nephew to succeed him. The late D. S. made extensive arrangements for his son Dudley to succeed him. S. W. R. D. did not do something like that because a bhikkhu's bullet overtook him long before he felt his end was near.



Mr. Anura Bandaranaike

This brings us to another aspect of the family bandy in politics; it is the importance of the family tree for political leadership among the Sinhalese. One must have close family ties or connection or be a scion of the appropriate family tree to be able to reach leadership. Only such a person with the correct family heritage can aspire for political leadership.

Saturday Review

Controversy

This can be best illustrated from current happenings and controversy voiced in the recent issues of the Saturday Review.

There raged recently a controversy between the columnist, Mr. Gamini Navaratne and a contriotor Mr. Noble Arasaratnam in the columns of the Saturday Review. The subject under dispute was whether Mr. Maithiripala Senanayake represented the SLFP or whether Mrs. Srma Bandaranaike represented the S.L.F.P. Mr. Gamini Navaratne pronounced quite firmly, long before the Elections Commissioner handed over the "Hand" to the S.L.F.P. (S), that S.L.F.P. is where Srma Bandaranaike is. Mr. Arasaratnam argued with logical thoroughness that by reason of seniority, service, consistency, loyalty and pioneering right that Mr. Maithiripala Senanayake constituted the true S.L.F.P.

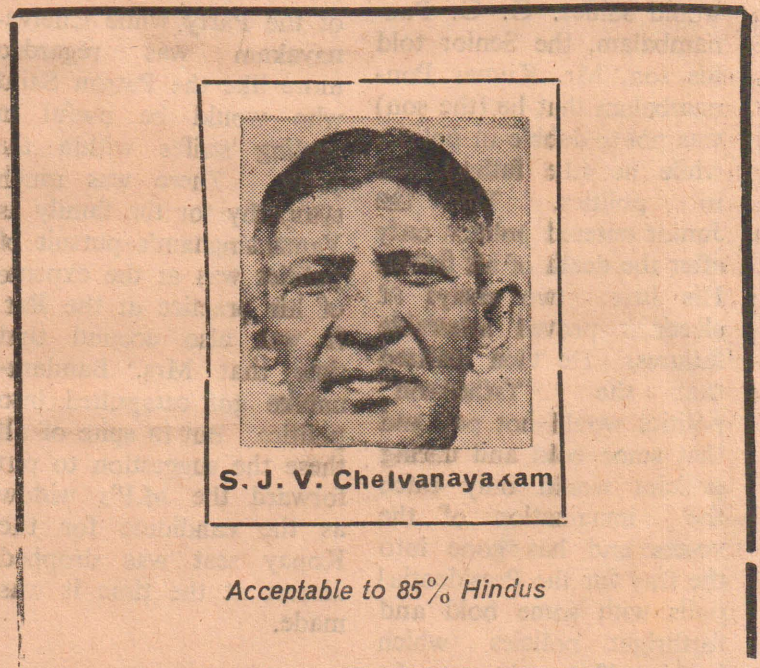
The truth is that both were correct although the two were diametrically op-

posed to each other! The explanation is simple. Mr. Arasaratnam, being a Tamil, naturally thought that seniority, loyalty, consistency and other such qualities were the guiding considerations which would determine the choice of a leader. Mr. Navaratne, being a Sinhalese, knew instinctively that the guiding considerations in the choice of a Sinhala leader is the presence or absence of appropriate lineage or family ties and connexions. Mr. Maithiripala Senanayake could not put forward any credentials of this category and this was instinctively realized by Mr. Navaratne but not by Mr. Arasaratnam.

The plain fact is that the vast majority of the Tamils are not able to understand the ways of thinking of the Sinhala mass mind; the tremendous attachment the Sinhala masses have towards the family tree is something inexplicable to the Tamils. It was repeatedly reported in the newspapers at the time that Mr. Anura Bandaranaike returned to the fold led by his mother that the crowd at the S.L.F.P. (M) meetings dispersed immediately after Mr. Anura Bandaranaike spoke and that when Mr. Anura Bandaranaike was not billed to speak there would be no sizeable crowd. The Tamil mind is totally at a loss to identify or discover the gems of wisdom which the Sinhala masses find that Anura's speeches abound with.

to get converted to Buddhism in the first instance. Samuel Chelvanayakam was a Christian and a practising Christian. When he aspired to political leadership he did not think it necessary to seek conversion to Hinduism which was the religion of his forefathers at some remove. He only read and re-read the Tamil version of the Bible in order to gain mastery over simple diction in Tamil to be able to address mass meeting in Tamil effectively. The Tamil version of the Bible was helpful in giving one a mastery of simple Tamil diction because the Tamil translation of the Bible was done by a Hindu savant who was the foremost scholar of the day and the pioneer of Tamil prose. His name is Arumuga Navalar—the suffix signifies that he was gifted with unrivalled oratorical skill and introduced into the Tamil language several features of modern English prose, particularly the system of punctuation. To the end of his life he campaigned vigorously against the Christian Missionaries but appreciated Christian teachings.

Now Chelvanayakam was no orator. He led the revolt against Ponnambalam who is probably unsurpassed in oratorical excellence in Ceylon in recent times. Ponnambalam was a Hindu and a devout Hindu. He would never miss certain Hindu religious occasions such as the "Arudhra Darshan" at



Now let us have a look at the way the Tamil public react to family bandyism, family tree and the religion of political leaders. Let us take the last item first. Among Tamils, one who aspires for political leadership need not seek conversion to Hinduism—the religion of more than 85 per cent of the Tamils—in the manner ambitious Sinhalese aspiring for leadership have

Chidambaram and certain other days of significance at certain local temples; he would scrupulously observe certain days of fasting in the Hindu calendar. Whenever he made hand-written notes or minutes to serve as aide-memoire for the Bar or the Legislature, he would never miss to begin with the significant "Pillayar Chuli".

(Continued overleaf)

(Continued from
page 7)

Well, in the political fight over a period of some fifteen to twenty years, Chelvanayakam the Christian was able to drive Ponnambalam, the Hindu, into political wilderness in spite of the latter's oratorical excellence, intellectual eminence and indefatigable diligence. Can anything like that be visualized in Sinhala Lanka? A Sinhala Buddhist politician being ousted by a Sinhala Christian politician? This speaks volumes about the difference in the national character of the Sinhalese and Tamils which has a bearing on politics.

Jaffna Hindu and Christians

It is not only in politics that the Tamils, 85% of whom are Hindus, adopt an attitude quite different from the Sinhalese. Jaffna Hindu College is a national institution of the Hindus. But those who contributed and founded Hindu College chose to leave the destinies of the institution in the hands of two Christians—father and son Nevins Selvadurai—for over forty years. In fact the older generation referred to Hindu College as "Nevins' School".

Father - son in politics

In regard to Family bandyism, a few examples would suffice. G. G. Ponnambalam, the Senior told his son, Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam that he (the son) was not to dabble in politics while he (the father) was in politics. Thus the Junior entered politics only after the death of his father. His first two essays at elections proved miserable failures. He then realized that the "father-son" politics would not pay and that some bold and daring policies would only catch the imagination of the voters and has gone into the fray for the Presidential polls with some bold and forthright policies which he himself thought out. In Sinhala Lanka it is still Bandaranaike policies although hardly any two followers would agree as to what Bandaranaike policies really were.

Chelvanayakam's son, Mr. Chandrahasan, was much interested in politics even as a school boy but received no helping hand from his father. He did in fact choose the path of revolt in his father's party and was busy in the Col-



S. C. Chandrahasan

ombo branch of the Federal Party. The Colombo Branch was giving so much of headaches to the Establishment that the High Command of the Federal Party chose to dissolve it. Mr. Chandrahasan has still not entered the electoral fray although he is very busy in politics. In simple language the "father-son" politics will not take one very far among the Tamil masses; one has to find his own steam.

Husband - wife in politics

"Husband-wife" or "widow" politics will just not cut ice among the Tamil masses. When Coomaraswamy Vanniasingham died he was at the peak of his form and popularity as an M.P. In fact he died comparatively young. He was really looked upon as the leader of the Party while Chelvanayakam was regarded more like the Patron Saint who would be useful in settling strifes within the party. There was much sympathy for the family as Vanniasingham's pursuit of politics was at the expense of his practice at the Bar. It was also around that time that Mrs. Bandaranaike got catapulted into politics. But in spite of all these the suggestion to put forward the M.P.'s widow as the candidate for the Kopy seat was dropped almost at the time it was made.

Tamil voter will reject

Mrs. Amirthalingam is so much in politics; There is hardly any meeting of the Party at which she is not billed to speak. She is very busy in organizational work in the Party. She is now more than twenty years in politics but up to date there has been no serious suggestion of her entering the electoral fray.

But all these do not in-

dicating that Tamil politicians have a higher code of conduct or exercise greater restraint than their Sinhalese counterparts; it is not at all a case of Tamil politicians refraining from advancing or promoting the chances of their progeny or kith and kin in politics. It is the keen awareness of an external constraint against family bandyism and family tree politics; it is the knowledge that the Tamil voter will summarily reject such politicking.

This trait in the national character of the Tamils can be seen across the Palk Strait also. Ever since India got independence there have been a number of Chief Ministers in Madras: Kamaraj Nadar, Rajagopalachari, Annadurai, Karunanithy, and M. G. Ramachandran. Not one is related to another and they all hail from different stocks. In point of fact one of the biggest and most effective criticisms against Karunanithy was that he promoted in politics the interests of a kinsman. Further North in India family bandyism and family tree politics seem to flourish; indeed it appears to be a case of dynastic dictatorship. Perhaps this is the difference between Aryan and Dravidian approach to politics.

Political decision - making

The foregoing analysis clearly establish that the Sinhalese and Tamils have diametrically opposed values in regard to the religion of a politician and the family bandy and the family tree. It is just impossible for two such groups to be in the same polity and participate in political decision-making.

Next Week;

The response
to Marxism

Dowry and the Tamils

It was with great interest I read two articles—one by a SR staffer and another by Mr. M. S. Nathan—on dowry, a social cancer that is eating into the vitals of the Tamil community, particularly in the North. As those two articles have missed certain salient points I wish to write on them.

From time immemorial dowry has been in existence among the Tamils and will continue to exist. That is part and parcel of the Tamil custom (and habit). No law can stop it as there are always methods to evade any law.

by K. Ramanathan

The two articles state that many girls remain unmarried for want of requisite dowry. On the other hand there are a large number of girls with a substantial dowry running into lakhs but still unmarried. The reason is that the number of girls in the North outnumber the number of marriageable boys. It is estimated that about 15,000 Tamil youths from Ceylon are now in countries like France, West Germany, England etc. In other words 15,000 Tamil girls would not be in a position to find partners to marry. This is the reason that a large number of Tamil girls are unmarried.

Another factor aggravating this problem is the mentality of Tamil parents. Even if there are five boys in a family with only one girl, they will not allow the boys to marry till the girl marries. As a result, more and more girls do not marry leading to their brothers remaining bachelors. Like a vicious circle, the numbers of bachelors and spinsters increase by leaps and bounds.

Although the political parties among the Tamils, change their policies from time to time viz. unitary govt, District councils, Tamil Eelam, DDC's etc, the attitude of the majority of Tamils with respect to jobs still remains the same, i.e. it should be a Govt. job, even if it is looking after hens. With the shrinking of

employment opportunities in Govt. and Corp sectors many youths are jobless. Again, girls do not get married for want of employed youths.

Despite the fact many political parties and organizations preach socialism (on platforms) the concept of private wealth continues to exist. Only those with wealth are given a pride of place by the society. If a youth finds that one easy way to acquire wealth is through dowry, he will certainly demand it so that he can enjoy "social status" and lead a comfortable life.

Not long ago the papers reported that even in Communist China (despite Communism for 32 years) girls prefer men with wealth.

Although I am a Tamil, I regret to say, Tamils are united only on political platforms. If you happen to fall on a Tamil youth in Jaffna, he will be one who is prepared to shed his last drop of blood for the sake of Tamils. If you count the number of Tamil youths who are prepared to marry without a dowry it will be a handful! It is not uncommon to find many newly married girls committing suicide over squabbles about dowry.

Dowry, a complex problem

Tamil girls also contribute to this vicious circle—dowry and marriage—in a big way. If a girl has, Rs.100,000 in cash with a house and jewellery, she will refuse to marry a youth other than a doctor or engineer or accountant.

As a result her brothers (if any) wait till she finds a 'suitable' partner. When (without marrying) she reaches about thirty her demand in the 'marriage market' goes down she will agree to marry a boy in the 'junior executive' level. Thus a whole host of reasons both natural and man-made (Tamil) contribute to this complex problem of dowry, marriage and frustration.

On the problems of Development and under-development of

The Palmyrah Industry in the Jaffna district-2

(Continued from
last issue)

PART II

A "MODEL" FOR THE PROPOSED COMPANY FOR PALMYRAH PRODUCTS

A. OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGIES.

The primary objectives of the produced company is to promote the development of the Palmyrah Industry and to satisfy the profitability-criterion, so as to ensure "reasonable" profits to the investors to the share capital of the Company and for the purpose of obtaining financial assistance from the banking system. The proposed company will also aim at functioning as a "common services" agency, so as to complement and supplement the activities of the Palmyrah Development Board and the Federation of Palm Products and Sales Cooperative Societies in enhancing the productivity of the toddy-tappers and artisans, the quality of the products, the development and dissemination of technology, the promotion of the marketability of the products, both, for internal as well as external markets and the organization of artisans into productive units.

LIST OF PROJECTS

It is recommended that a detailed programme of action be finalised by a Committee under the auspices of the District Development Council comprising of technical experts, financial analysis and representatives of the Federation of Palm Products and Sales Cooperative Societies and the Palmyrah Development Board. The above process is imperative to assess the fixed capital and working Capital requirements of the projects to be undertaken by the proposed company and to evaluate the technical feasibility and the financial viability of the projects.

We give below a list of projects which have already been identified for further study by Dr. S. Mohanadas

of the PDB and Mr. K. Sivalingam, Planning Officer, Jaffna Kachcheri. They are as follows:

- (1) Sap products - eg. sweet toddy, treacle, jaggery, sugar candy and palm sugar.
- (2) Fruit Products eg. Cordial/ Nectar/Jam etc.
- (3) Food Products- eg. "Kottakilangu", "Pul-lukkodial", "Odiyal" etc.
- (4) Leaf and Fibre Products- eg. 'Ola' handicraft, Green leaves as cattle fodder, fencing, roofing, baskets and products from palmyrah fibre.
- (5) Timber products- Despite the plethora of Palmyrah-based projects which are available, the immediate strategy ought to be to screen and identify projects which combine technical feasibility with financial viability.

A final report should then be prepared, preferably by a professional consultancy organization which would include the following:

- (a) General Budgets.
- (b) Budget for specific projects.
- (c) Plans and proposals in regard to organization structure, Activities and staffing of the Company, and in regard to the Installation and Administration of Project Monitoring Systems.

B. OWNERSHIP

It is recommended that the proposed company be initially formed as a private limited liability company under the new Companies Ordinance. The decision whether or not to go "public" could be taken at a later stage depending on the performance of the proposed limited liability company and when the need for further expansion and modernization is felt. In any event, a public issue of shares for the promotion of a "problem" industry like palmyrah and in a society where the concept of public company formation is alien is bound to be undersubscribed.

This paper was prepared by KETHEESWARAN LOGANATHAN, Vice-President, Consultancy and Finance and Development Ltd, and Chief Executive, The Centre for Development Research Education and communication. (D. R. E.C.)

The Equity Capital should be shared by the following "partners" in the development of the Palmyrah Industry:

- (1) The District Development Council which should undertake the task of a "lobbying agency" in gaining tax concessions and certain monopoly powers to the proposed company and to influence the policy-makers in formulating appropriate tariff and trade policies conducive to the further development of the industry.
- (2) The Federation of Palm Products and Sales Cooperative Societies to ensure participation at the "grass roots" level and to represent the interest of its members.
- (3) "Private Sector" which, in addition, to augmenting the Capital base will impart its entrepreneurial and managerial expertise.

The Palmyrah Development Board, which has an important role to play in the development of the Palmyrah Industry, will be called upon to lend its organizational and technical support, in addition to playing its role as a regulatory agency and the "watch-dog" of the Industry.

The initial capital value could be arbitrarily fixed at Rs: 10 million, subject to an increase provided the project requirements justify the increase. In the final analysis, the Report of the Committee recommended in the previous section will form the framework of reference for the computation of fixed and working capital requirements of the proposed Company. It is presumed that the working capital requirements could be obtained from the banking system.

C. THE POLICY AND OVERALL MANAGEMENT AUTHORITY.

The policy and overall management will be a Board of Directors, the members of which will be appointed by the two major shareholders the District Development Council and the Federation of Palm Products and Sales Co-operatives Societies. In addition, the investments from the "private sector" could be represented in the Board by nominee(s) of the North Ceylon Chambers of Industry. The Articles of Association of the proposed Company should provide for the maximum and minimum number of directors that would constitute the Board, and also specify the quorum for Board Meetings.

It is suggested that neither the Chairman nor any other director should be an executive of the Company. The Board should only be a policy authority: and chairman should, in addition to presiding over Board Meetings, act as a link between the Board of Directors and the shareholders, and between the Chief Executive officer of the Company and the Board of Directors.

The Articles of Association of the Company should also provide for the Chairman to be the co-ordinator at the policy level. He should reflect the views of the Board and not purely his own when dealing with the Chief Executive officer. The Chairman of the Board should also reflect the views of the Board when dealing with the relevant political authorities. He and the Board of Directors should act as a screen between the Chief Executive officer and the political authorities, so that the former and his staff will not be subject to any political interference in the day-to-day operations of the Company.

The Board of Directors should not countenance any action which will impair, albeit in a marginal way, the fundamental tenet of management that responsibility and authority are inseparable, and there should be no doubt in the minds of the employees of the Company as to the individual in whom ulti-

mate executive authority rests.

Any departure from this principle will result in indisciplin, lack of co-ordination and, therefore, in the absence of team-effort, without which no achievement will be possible in any establishment.

CHIEF EXECUTIVE AND OFFICER AND BOARD OF MANAGEMENT

It should be obvious therefore that it will not be in the interests of the Company if the Chief Executive Officer is one who does not have the capacity to perform the functions expected of him with adequate responsibility and efficiency. If a person with the necessary competence cannot be found to occupy the position of Chief Executive Officer, then the best available person should be recruited and he should be supported by an appropriate group of executives working under him complementing and supplementing those qualities which the Chief Executive Officer possesses. It would be desirable, under any circumstances, for the Chief Executive Officer to be the Chairman of a Board of Management consisting of all heads of departments involved not only in advising him on policy issues but also in executing them. The Chief Executive Officer will be the co-ordinating officer at the executive level, and will also be the top policy adviser to the Board of Directors.

The Chief Executive Officer should be designated General Manager and will be an observer at Board Meetings. He will be the Chief delegate of the Board of Directors in the Field of management. Delegation of any management authority should mean also the simultaneous provision for managerial accountability. And managerial accountability can exist only where responsibility for the discharge of this responsibility and where such discharge is made subject to declared specific and measurable standards.

(Continued next page)

The Media Scene

Press Lobby? The shame of Duke St.!

A solitary chair, that too with a broken seat, stands sentinel in what is grandly styled the "Press Lobby" at the Post and Telecommunication Department building at Duke Street, Colombo.

A separate room for the Press, especially for the use of foreign correspondents who come to despatch messages at the C. T. O. counter or Telex booth, was set apart at the request of journalists, so that they could do their writing or typing without disturbance.

At the start, there was a long table, about a dozen chairs and a typewriter.

The key was in the custody of the supervisor at the adjoining C. T. O. counter.

One by one the chairs started "vanishing" to other offices in the same building. Sometimes, old and broken chairs were dumped there and the new ones taken.

The typewriter went out of order but was not repaired despite requests from journalists.

Then the key was lost somehow and, was never replaced.

Finally, the table also "vanished", leaving that one broken chair—a

standing insult to the P. & T. authorities.

Several foreign correspondents made representations but the needful has not been done up to now.

Some cussed bureaucrats even took up the position that few journalists used the room so that it was a waste of space to have the Press Lobby.

The authorities must not forget that in the main telecommunication offices in some countries a room with telephone and other facilities is set apart for the use of

journalists irrespective of whether it is used all the time or not.

In Madras, for instance, there is even a special attendant on duty throughout the day though on some days not a single journalist may call over.

It is a service that the telecommunication authorities provide not out of mere courtesy to the Fourth Estate but also because they earn consi-

derable revenue from cable and telex charges and telephone calls.

With the Presidential election on, quite a number of foreign correspondents are also likely to visit Sri Lanka to cover the event.

Our P & T authorities should wake up from their slumber and put the Press Lobby in order,

Or close the damn thing altogether.

Indian experiment in Grassroots Family Planning

In one of the country's most adventurous grassroots experiments, a new brand of community workers are bringing family planning and health care to the people of Varanasi, the new name for Benares, India's eternal city.

Already more than 300 people—among them farmers, businessmen, students, local community health workers and Ayurvedic doctors—are at work in eight of the 22 blocks covering a population of more than 1.2 million, in the Varanasi community-based development project, pioneered by the Family Planning Association of India (FPAI)

and financed by the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF)....

In conventional contraceptive marketing programmes elsewhere in the world the distributors make their profits from the sale of contraceptives. In India, the Government has decreed that all contraceptives must be free. So the Varanasi depot holders sell preventive health care packs instead.

For one rupee or less the Singhpur villager can buy a nutritious weaning formula for the baby,

chlorine tablets for the water, oral rehydration packs for diarrhoea, or boric acid powder for conjunctivitis and skin rashes. For the same price there is a delivery pack for the traditional midwife, with soap, a new razor blade and other sterilized aids for safe childbirth.

These simple packs, which also have an educational purpose are made up in the Department of Preventive and Social Medicine at the Benares Hindu University. The University, one of India's largest and oldest, has a strong presence in the project.

(Frances Dennis reports for PEOPLE)

The Palmyrah Industry ...

(Continued from page 9)

MANAGEMENT AUDIT

One of the techniques by which the effectiveness of the General Manager and the general management of the Company could be checked and improved on is through the establishment of a Management Audit Unit in the Company under a Management Auditor, who should involve himself in a broad and constructive examination and diagnosis of the policies, organisation and operations of all phases of the activities of the

Company. He should also be an observer at Board Meetings and should be an independent adviser to the Board of Directors on both policy and operational issues.

As much as Management Audit will be an aid to the policy making or management apparatus of the Company, appropriate planning and information systems should also be established as necessary aids.

SOME ISSUES WHICH NEED TO BE RESOLVED

(1) Is the District Develop-

ment Council empowered to go in for equity participation in private Limited Liability Companies?

(2) What are the tax concessions that the proposed company will ordinarily qualify for?

(3) What further concessions and Monopoly powers that would be required to ensure the viability of the proposed Company? For instance could the proposed company obtain sub-agency from the Distilleries Corporation for the sale

of Palmyrah arrack?

(4) Is the Palmyrah Development Board empowered to go in for equity participation and, if so, should it be a shareholder in the proposed Company?

CORRECTION

In the first part of this article that appeared last Saturday, two sentences in Para (1) and Para (6) should have read - Public/Private Limited Liability Company for Palmyrah Products. The stroke between 'Public' and 'Private' had got left out. We regret the Printer's Devil.

Art and Slogan writing contest

The Non-Violent Direct Action Group has organised an "Art and Slogan writing" contest in connection with the Bharathi Centenary Celebration. Contestants are required to send in drawings and slogans bringing out "Bharathi's ideas against social injustices" before 30th October, 1982 to the following address:

Secretary, N. V. D. A. G.,
Vale Cinema Street,
Chavakachcheri.

LETTERS

76/2, Pankankulam Road, Jaffna.

Mr. C. Rajasingham writing on Caste fears that the Nattuvar Caste may become extinct. During the early British rule and the Dutch period the Nattuvar Music was confined to the Vellalas and Karayar caste. It was the parai—drum which was important in the life of the Jaffna people. It was then the musical instrument that was used in Temples too. It is the chief instrument of Music in its developed form in South Ceylon and in Kerala.

"Camams" in ancient Jaffna were few lachams of land around a Tank or Pond, they were cultivated by the Weaver caste (Valluvan). Vellalas in Jaffna were described by the portuguese as poor and weak. They had claimed to be the sons of Brahma and had denied that Agriculture was their occupation. In the Dutch period they had carried in their waist cloth pouches Ola leaf and iron

stiles, the mark of accountant, and their chief occupation was pastoral farming.

In the early British period the castes that were fishing in Jaffna were Mukkwa, Parambar, Paniyar and Panan. They were Malayalam castes. The greatest number of people in the Town were Gaulis-Kannada herdsmen, and Boya-Tulu Warriors were another group. It cannot be said that caste is not due to racial prejudices.

Many of the caste in Jaffna do not have their counterparts in the Tamilian caste system. The Illuvu caste of Kerala like Panan, Panickan, Tandan, Cheva(ka), Mukkwa, Kallukotti are found. The Telegu-Canarese caste Gol-Ayan appears to have given the villages in the Kankesanturai Electorate their names. The Septs among the Gol-Ayan were Palavily, Ala, Thyakulam, Kankayan, Pookaddy, Mela, Mathavar, Kalla. Kovaisiya is another name of Gol-Ayan. Gol-Ayan were called Vadukar by the Tamils.

K. Pathmanathan.

JVP men check the bushes before meeting

The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna marked its second coming to the North before the elections with a meeting held at the Open-air Theatre on the 29th under heavy security precautions taken by Party members themselves.

Even an hour and a half before the meeting a few organisers were seen checking the bushes and undergrowths in the boundary of the Open-air Theatre for explosives. Though the ground was well-lit, surprisingly the speakers seated in the stage were in semi-darkness. There were three neon tube lights in the stage but they were dark red in colour and didn't illuminate the stage sufficiently. It was difficult to visibly identify the individual speakers, and this could have been a security measure to prevent stones or bullets being aimed at those on the stage.

The crowd was made to sit well away from the stage and about 10 young men—whose beards were more frightening than their physique—officiated as "bodyguards" planting themselves between the audience and the speakers. They were armed with electric flash-lights, anticipating a black-out and a possible disturbance.

The crowd which attended the meeting, consisting mostly of youth, numbered nearly three thousand which was the best turn-out JVP had attracted in the North compared to that of their previous visits. But the unresponsive, coldly detached crowd, seemed to have attended the meeting to satisfy their curiosity than to express their solidarity with JVP. The Jaffna voter who is left out of the election fever and political rallies which have gripped the rest of the country, seemed bent on making the best out of the few election rallies they got, even

if it be that of JVP. At least 25% of the people who attended the meeting stood outside the Open-air Theatre premises, on the roads beyond the walls, with their bicycles in hand, ready for a take-off in the event of disturbances. There was an air of tension throughout the meeting.

Sivagnanam—a District Organizer—spoke first. His highly poetic and dramatic speech kept the crowd attentive. Speaking of the police brutalities under UNP he stretched out his hand, pointed to the burnt Public Library which is opposite the stage he was standing, and said "When J. R. comes to Jaffna on the 2nd ask him who is responsible for that?" He drew some clapping of hands, in this meeting where applause and whistling were lacking.

Ganeshapillai, who had been locked up in prison from 1971 to 1974 for protesting against the Srimavo government's repression of the Tamils, pointed out the duplicity and insincerity of the TULF in his speech. Upatissa Gamanayake spoke next

in Sinhala which was translated into Tamil. But as Rohana Wijeweera who was said to be speaking at a meeting at Point Pedro was expected only after 8 p.m. Gamanayake was forced to keep speaking for more than an hour. This bored the audience and many trickled out of the meeting as they doubted whether Rohana would indeed come.

At 8.18 p.m., a sparkling 12 Sri Ford Lazer car zoomed into the rear entrance of Open-air Theatre, followed by a Mitsubishi Delica van and a 4 wheel truck. The bored crowd rushed to forestage knowing that the champion of the poor exploited proletariat had arrived in his posh car! But the JVP organisers were taken by surprise by this show of interest and young men from the van and truck rushed to the forestage to intensify security operations armed with their electric flash lights.

Rohana waxed eloquent saying: "J.R. has not been able to visit Jaffna for the past 5 years. But I have come to Jaffna and I will continue to come. Because it was not I who burned the Public Library; it was not I who implemented the Prevention of Terrorism Act; it was not I who condemned Kuttimani and Jegan to be hanged". Some whistles were heard from the audience.

(Continued on page 12)

The writings on the Jaffna walls

"EELAM PEOPLE ARE VERY HOSPITABLE BUT NOT TO FOREIGN INVADERS"

runs a large poster in English stuck on the back wall of the Jaffna General Hospital.

This is but one of the several posters in Tamil and English which have bloomed overnight in the Grand Bazaar area on the eve of President J. R. Jayawardene's visit to Jaffna on 2 October.

The posters call for a boycott of the President's visit and the Presidential election on 20 October.

One of the punchy posters—mostly the handiwork of the General Union of Eelam Students (GUES)—refers to the death wails and agonised cries of the Tamils detained in Panagoda and Welikade and sardonically asks "Nathaswaram music to welcome the dictatorial President?" It goes on to urge the Tamils, whose noses have been bloodied, to "think and to boycott".

Another poster asks the Eelam Tamils to teach a good lesson to the person who seeks their votes after dealing out bullets.

A leaflet issued by seven organisations—GUES, Tamil Eelam Liberation Kazhagam, Tamil People's Democratic Front, Revolutionary Communist League, Tamil Eelam Liberation Front, University Students Assembly and Eelam Youth

Front—has called upon students to boycott JR's visit by keeping away from classes on 30 September and 1 October. The leaflet requests traders to keep their establishments closed and the public to keep off the streets on 1 October. It also calls upon the Tamil speaking people to boycott the elections.

The leaflet, which carries pictures of the bodies of Inpam and Selvam, the burnt Jaffna Public Library and the Market, puts forward four reasons for the boycott of the President's visit:

He carried out genocide in 1977 with his "War or Peace" ultimatum.

He was the cause for the burning of the Public Library, the Eelanadu Newspaper Office, shops and houses by the State Forces in 1981, the murder of youths who were shot and dumped on the streets and for the sucking of the blood of the hill country Tamils. He is the President of a regime which dragged out Inpam and Selvam from their home, murdered them and threw their bodies on the road. He is the man who is determined to crush the Tamil Eelam Liberation fighters through the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act and horrible tortures in detention camps.

Radical youth groups were busy this week distributing this leaflet and urging people to boycott both the President's visit and the Presidential election.

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Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

T. U. L. F. divided on Kuttimani's Nomination ?

Third time lucky, they say. But the Nominations Committee of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) has disproved this.

The Committee was billed to meet on Wednesday evening (29 Sept) to pick the TULF MP for Vaddukoddai. But for the third time running, some of the key Committee members — whether by design or accident — failed to turn up! And so the Vaddukoddai parliamen-

tary seat lies vacant yet.

What makes the whole affair so intriguing, say political observers, is that the TULF President and Nallur MP, M. Sivasithamparam, had gone all the way to Welikade Prison to persuade Kuttimani to accept TULF nomination as the MP for Vaddukoddai.

The friendly persuasion had been so successful Kuttimani had told him "I'm willing."

TULF sources claim the Tamil youth detenus at the Panagoda Army Camp too have approved the TULF's move.

Why then has it all turned out a damp squib so far? Political observers think the Nominations Committee's failure to meet is a convenient stalling tactic adopted by a section of the TULF which is not all that keen on Kuttimani's nomination but is too scared to come out in the open.

These observers add the matter is likely to hang fire till the TULF Secretary-General and Leader of the Opposition A. Amirthalingam returns from Libya.

boycott—hartal campaign to the explosion at the Karainagar causeway and the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the SATURDAY REVIEW learns.

NEXT WEEK

and in forthcoming issues

Ceylon Workers' Congress replies "Saturday Review". Somasundaram Vanniasingam continues his series on Eelam. He analyses Sinhala-Tamil responses to Marxism.

T. Subramaniam writes on the Presidential Election and the All Ceylon Tamil Congress.

How much of Jaffna's fresh vegetables are poisoned? by J. J. Niles. Retired District Agricultural Officer.

Attorney-at-law T. Poopalan on the Presidential stakes and the TULF Dilemma.

Three shots were fired from a passing vehicle at the residence of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Front President, Dr. S. A. Tharmalingam, around 12.30 a.m. on Thursday (30 Sept).

The bullets embedded themselves in the wall of the front verandah. A window pane too was shattered.

The gunshots and the sound of a vehicle awoke Dr. Tharmalingam but before he could come out the vehicle had driven away.

The septuagenarian Doctor lodged a complaint at the Jaffna Police Station on Thursday noon. When the Police asked him whether he had any enemies the Doctor replied 'None'.

No arrests have been made so far.

The Doctor, an uncle of Jaffna MP V. Yogeswaran and a former Mayor of Jaffna, was a staunch supporter of the Tamil United Liberation Front till it decided to accept the Government's District Development Councils

Midnight Shots on Doctor's House

scheme and participate in the DDC elections last year.

Along with other disillusioned TULF supporters, Dr. Tharmalingam formed the TELF which, according to political observers, has become a thorn in the

side of the TULF.

Dr. Tharmalingam was recently questioned by the Jaffna Police in connection with a meeting the TELF organised to call for a boycott cum hartal on the eve of President J. R. Jayawardene's visit to Jaffna.

Reasonable use of Tamil

Seeing that with the ambiguous "boycott" of the TULF there were many undecided Tamil voters to be won, the Sinhalese Presidential candidates have shown a sudden interest in speaking a few words in Tamil—at least memorised. They seem to be following the constitutional "reasonable use of Tamil" to the letter. Though Rohana failed to speak in Tamil during his Rupavahini appearance, he made up for this by concluding his speech in Jaffna with a few lines from Auvaiyar. But Hector Kobbekaduwe went one

step ahead when he devoted four of his precious minutes to Tamil in his quarter hour appearance on T.V. A Tamil announcer read out the Tamil translation of his speech, while Hector sat gesturing in the screen as if he understood every word that was being read. But he gained sufficient confidence to say "Vanakkam", in the beginning and end of the reading. As typical of him, J. R. Jayawardene has read the trends of the time, and has proposed to deliver a full Tamil speech during his visit to Jaffna.

Bombs on the Causeway

Minutes before a Naval Motor Convoy was to pass the Karainagar—Ponnalai causeway around 6.30 a.m. on Wednesday, 29th September, five bombs went off with an explosion that was heard nearly six miles away. The damage to the bridge was slight as the bombs were not so powerful and the disrupted traffic flow came back to normal

around 11.30 a.m., after repairs had been done.

Bomb disposal squads which rushed to the spot discovered 5 unexploded bombs planted in small pits dug on the bridge and connected by several hundred yards of copper wire to a generator lying in a nearby island covered with shrubs.

BONFIRE OF POLL CARDS

Twenty two poll cards were heaped up and burnt at the Colombo residence of the TULF's Legal Secretary, S. C. Chandrasaran, on Tuesday (28 September).

It is reported that the bonfire was made to symbolise the Tamil people's determination to stay out of the Presidential election on 20 October.

J V P men check bushes...

(Continued from page 11)

Half way through his speech a sound of explosion was heard, which momentarily surprised even the speaker. But a second of tension was followed by laughter when realization dawned that it was but a fire cracker lit by jokers to capitalise on the prevailing tense atmosphere. Rohana climaxed his speech reciting a few lines of Tamil

verse of poetess Auvayar in a strong Sinhala accent, meaning if injustice prospers always, justice will at least win one chance. He ended his speech shouting: "Yanai Vendam Kai Vendam, Cycle Vendam, Manikku Vakkaliyunkal" (i.e., Reject Elephant, Reject Hand, Reject Bicycle, Vote for the Bell).

No canvassing for J. R.— T.U.L.F. head

Contesting one of our reports, Mr. M. Sivasithamparam writes from his Colombo address: "Dear Editor, In your paper's issue of September 25, under the headline—JAFFNA TO COME UNDER TIGHTER SECURITY BLANKET, you state, among other matters, "while some influential individuals in the party (TULF) are openly canvassing support for President Jayawardene..." To the best of my knowledge, no influential individual in the TULF is openly canvassing support for President Jayawardene. I am also confident that no such person will flagrantly break the party decision. If you have other reliable information to the contrary you owe a duty by all concerned to name such "influential individuals". (Editor's Viewpoint on Page 1)



Kuttimani

Editor at Army Camp

The Editor of SUTHANTHIRAN, Kovai Mahesan was 'invited' over to the Gurunagar Army Camp on Thursday.

His one-and-a-half hour chat with a top Army official ranged from the