

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

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# JAFFNA MOTHERS SAY: RELEASE HOSTAGES

Agitation is mounting in the North for the immediate release of over 500 Tamil youths arrested by the Security Forces since early August.

The Minister of National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, has acknowledged (vide report in The Island of 23rd August) that "about 500 youths had been arrested in August after cordoning off of the Valvettiturai and Point Pedro areas."

According to the Minister, about 100 of these youths have been released, the order of priority regarding release being "young age" and "complete innocence".

But numbers of other youths have, been arrested in the North since then so that the total under detention still exceeds 500.

The main concern of the Jaffna mothers is centred on the youths who are being held as virtual hostages at Boosa, in the deep South.

Their lives are in grave danger because any further incidents in Jaffna could spark off a retaliatory attack on them by the people of the area.

To recount the incidents leading to this situation, on the afternoon of 4th August an announcement was made by Army personnel in the Valvettiturai area through

loud-hailers requesting parents to bring their sons between the ages of 18 and 25 to the community centre with their national identity cards "for inquiry and immediate release."

The Army personnel appealed to the people to co-operate with them and assured that no harm would befall the youths who were handed over.

They also announced that "serious notice" would be taken of cases of youths not

### MOTHERS' PADAYATRA

Nearly 2,000 Mothers stormed the Jaffna Kachcheri yesterday (24th August) demanding the release of the Tamil youths detained by the Security Forces at Boosa and other places since early August.

The significance was that it was entirely a Mothers' affair, with no political involvement at all—a record for Jaffna.

The 'Padayatra' by the Mothers was entirely peaceful, though they did create a din at the Kachcheri, holding the acting Government Agent, Mr. Panchalingam, at bay for nearly one hour. They presented a petition to be forwarded to the Govt.

(See page 12)

handed over but arrested later.

The announcement was made after some Navy men were shot dead and others injured in a skirmish at Polikandy beach, in Valvettiturai, the same morning.

About 8.30 p.m., the assembled youth, numbering nearly 350, were taken in Army trucks to Palaly Camp and, thereafter, in stages, spanned over three days, to Boosa, the headquarters of the Army's Southern Command, sited at the former race-course premises.

On the way, announcements had been made from the jeep leading the convoy of trucks that the "Kotiyas" (Tigers) who killed the Navy men had been captured.

Later, about 100 youths arrested at Point Pedro were also taken to Boosa.

With no sanitation and other facilities to accommodate such large numbers, the youths were forced to go through a severe ordeal. Almost all of them had only the clothes they were wearing at the time of arrest.

After a tedious process of checking and photographing—which is still not over—some youths were released in batches.

Some of them were student swho were attending

Jaffna University or were due to sit the General Certificate of Education (Advanced Level) Examination.

Despite the depredations wrought by the Security Forces at Valvettiturai, including firing at the town

(Continued on Page 12)



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# GOVT. PLANS VENGEANCE ON C. J.

Despite the wide publicity given by the pro-government newspapers and other media to the findings of the Parliamentary Select Committee on the Chief Justice's celebrated speech on 14 March 1984, certain facts cannot be avoided or denied.

First, the Select Committee report is a MAJORITY one.

Second, the division of opinion in the Committee is clearly on party lines. All UNP MPs found against the Chief Justice. The two SLFP Opposition MPs found that he had committed no offence. Other Opposition Members in Parliament from the CPSL, MEP and the Maithripala group refused to take part in the work of the Select Committee.

Third, even the majority report concedes that the Chief Justice "has not violated any law passed by Parliament" and that he, too, should not be denied "the freedom of speech available to any citizen".

However the Select Committee majority has held

that, in their opinion, the Chief Justice is guilty of "improper conduct" as a person occupying the position he holds should not have made public comments on controversial public matters.

### ANNOYED

As is known, the government, and especially President Jayewardene, were vastly annoyed at what appeared to them to be the Chief Justice's critical remarks about the workings of the Job Bank scheme as far as it concerns legal departments whose work he overlooks, as well as his comments on low salaries and growing impoverishment among public employees being a major factor in the vast increase in corruption and bribery.

President Jayewardene, it is learnt, was particularly annoyed at the CJ's wry comment, in reference to the claim that the President's salary had to be increased because it was a "pauper's salary" and that he was "living on the poverty line", that the people "are paying

a hell of a lot of money to keep him in poverty".

### CENSURE

Not content with publicising the Select Committee's report, the government intends to pursue its vendetta against the Chief Justice by using the report as a basis for a "vote of censure" on him in Parliament, where MPs have protective privileges.

The other alternative of impeachment has been dropped as likely to be too politically explosive and also giving the CJ the opportunity to defend himself publicly.

Public opinion remains unimpressed by the government's tender concern over

the alleged "improper conduct" of the Chief Justice.

They point to the fact that a great deal of what the CJ said is what the man in the street not only knows to be true but himself says every day, albeit in more forceful and less elegant language.

The government's determination to hound the Chief Justice, who has broken no law, is also contrasted with its patronage and promotion of police officers whom the Supreme Court has found guilty of violating the fundamental rights of citizens, and its indifference over taking any action against its own thugs who sought to intimidate Supreme Court Judges outside their houses.

(Forward 15th August)

## 'NATION-WIDE REPRESSION'

"The Government has unleashed repression today in all parts of the country. The truth about the repression carried out against the Tamil people in the North has been revealed to us by the international press. The government's propaganda agencies do not disclose the truth", said Mr. Bala Tampoe at the National Trade Union Conference on Repression held at the C. M. U Hall, Kollupitiya, on 11th August.

He said that "since emergency has been declared and there is press censorship the people are not able to learn the truth about the repression of students".

"The Pseudonym law" is another step the government wants to take against writers. In this background we should try to make the people know the truth about repression by the government.

Referring to the programs in the North, Mr. Bala Tampoe said that "however much the government tries to conceal the truth the whole world knows what is happening in the North. The government accuses expatriate Tamils of spreading disinformation but it is clear that it is the government which is indulging in false propaganda."

He also referred to the "agitation by Muslims in the Eastern province against the setting up of the Israeli Interests Section in Sri Lanka".

"The government used repressive measures to stifle that agitation and banned the publication of any news about the agitation".

"Under the circumstances, the imperative duty of Trade Unions is to collect all information about repression of the minorities, students, workers and let the people know the truth."

Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakara said that "the national liberation struggle in the North and the workers' struggle in the South should be linked up to toll the death-knell of the UNP Government."

About 750 delegates representing about 21 Trade Unions and National Organizations participated in this conference.

### REHABILITATION

Money, food and clothing for those affected by the incidents at Valvettiturai will be accepted at the Bishop's House, Jaffna for distribution.

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Principals

## Words of Wisdom

Democracy arose from men's thinking that if they are equal in one respect, they are equal absolutely.

—Aristotle

Democracy comes naturally to him who is habituated normally to yield willing obedience to all laws human or divine..... I value individual freedom, but you must not forget that man is essentially a Social being.

—Mahatma Gandhi

Freedom, like everything else, indeed more than everything else, carries certain responsibilities, obligations and a certain discipline with it. If a sense of responsibility, obligation and discipline is lacking, then it is not freedom, but the absence of freedom.

—Jawaharlal Nehru

Man is made free, that he may control himself.

—Goethe

Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains.

—Rousseau



Jaffna is doomed. From the time the people of Jaffna accepted Western materialism from the European invaders and American missionaries and so excelled in its application that they became excellent administrators and other Uncle Toms, they sowed the seeds of their own destruction. The gradual decay that set in the old Tamil culture and religion has reached its nadir in 1984.

Ironically or fittingly, the Americans are back, but this time they are importing only physical violence. Indeed, the best that Jaffna has produced in recent times are all abroad holding responsible and lucrative posts. It is true that they continue to have a child's affection for their motherland and continue to have ties (although diminishing over time) with Jaffna such as remitting money for various causes including the building of the family house. But their visits grow less frequent and their children are lost for ever.

The present state of ever increasing oppression and violence is driving more and more people abroad.

How many of our esteemed academicians abroad are willing to sacrifice money and comfort to join the Jaffna University which is now an ineffectual institution torn by internal petty jealousies compounded by inadequate funds, equipment and political discrimination?

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# WESTWARD HO!

Despite increasing blocks to higher education, parents continue to drive their children to higher and higher levels of competition.

## NO LEADERS

Our so very ready acceptance of Western values has left Jaffna bereft of any spiritual leader or of even a political leader in this hour of need. In fact, there is no temple in Jaffna where one feels any spirituality left. One has to look outside the peninsula to Thirukethiswaram, Koneswaram and Kadirgamam. In South India, one has only to go a way-side temple in a remote village to feel a transformation in the Self.

What of our Pandavas who were battling heroically against heavy odds? Though very effective and efficient, sadly they have, unlike Arjuna of old, forgotten their spiritual heritage and roots. Who will nowadays listen to Thirumoolar or Manickavasagar or even to Krishna? Marx and more recent warrior heroes like Mao and Che Guevara have won the day. Of course, this is a natural evolution that capitalism has to go through. But is not our heritage more ancient and advanced than capitalism? Or are we in regression — the eternal cycle of ups and downs?

Looking at our society in Jaffna, we find that Jaffna has one of the highest suicide rates in the world and the highest proportion in the 15-35 age group and the highest proportion using insecticide.

True, there is political victimization, youth frustration, and unrest and rapid social change.

But the Jaffna farmer is the highest user of insecticide and fertilizer in the island (perhaps with the best yield-terrain used per particular season but with long-term damage to the soil). The use of insecticide is so very widespread that Jaffna is literally, chronically poison-

ing itself. The chemicals are not washed away from the food in two weeks or more, as once believed. They accumulate in the rice and vegetables and then accumulate in the human body, appearing in breast milk and depositing in the bones and liver, products are sold in the markets the day following spraying (grapes dripping with the poison, as it were).

## WATER PROBLEM

The long-term effects to Jaffna man as a whole is much more serious than the deaths caused by the state. The pumping of water from the wells day in and day out and heavy application of fertilizer will cause fatal changes in the ecology of the ground water over time.

The unprecedented heavy flooding this year was a godsend, although Jaffna suffered tragically last season. The floods will have replenished valuable ground water for the time being.

by **Daya Soma**

Has the fresh water scheme for the lagoons been abandoned because a few fishermen want to continue prawn fishing in the lagoon?

Can't the continued removal of limestone for cement which exposes the groundwater to contamination by sea water be stopped?

One has not far to look for the cause of all these developments and progress. Western materialism has entered into the very being of Jaffna man. One has to only talk to one of them. What is their most cherished dream to go abroad (just give them a chance) With the recent introduction of television, this way of thinking is introduced into the minds of children right inside our homes.

## MULTI-NATIONALS

Neo-colonialism goes very deep. Our farmers are completely in their hands. Bio-technology has taken over agricultural methods. The old resistant seeds, especially of paddy, is now found stored only in their seed banks abro-

ad while we grow 365, H4, etc., which will not survive without the fertilizer and insecticides, fungicides, and weedicides imported by the same multi-nationals.

Sri Lanka has one of the highest population densities in the world, ahead of India and Pakistan. This stifling congestion was largely caused by Western medicine which eradicated almost completely such population controllers as malaria and other deadly epidemics. Ominously, malaria is back with a vengeance with strains resistant to their drugs.

Sri Lanka and the world is run nowadays by multi-nationals. They own and direct everything. We are but mere pawns in their international game.

While the Sinhalese and the Tamils face each other with fear, hatred and anger the multi-nationals are rubbing their hands in glee and selling costly arms and other instru-

The second article in the series on Jaffna by Gamini Navaratne will appear next week.

grammar asks the students to change, "cut a Tamil" from the singular to the plural) are done with them? Isn't the basic of both religions Ahimsa (even to animals)? How many vegetarians are there in a land of 15 millions?

Even separation or freedom is in the mind. Although separation is the cry, how many Jaffna men have at least a vision beyond the peninsula (not abroad) to the whole North and East or who see beyond the present time?

The American blacks are only slaves up to the point where they think themselves bound and act accordingly.

Only one has to be prepared to die.

If the Tamils in Sri Lanka thought themselves free and act accordingly, no matter the consequences, then no force on earth can chain them.

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# Food Production: Our Share

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

The world is in urgent need of more food. Hence it is the duty of everyone of us to contribute our share since all of us consume it daily all our lifetime.

Sri Lanka enjoys the most favourable conditions in different parts for the production of food. Whether it be the very central hills or the coastal belt some form of food or other can be grown. It is a matter for regret that the total population does not take food production even within their own limitations of time, finance, land space and other contributory factors it would be so pleasing if all of us made an attempt at it. None can say with boldness that they need not grow any food. It is true that the money that they are able to command could help to purchase same. But when we honestly analyse the position it will be clear that as long as there is the possibility and as long as we consume, we must produce. There is nothing lost when we spend just a few minutes or even an hour for it. It is a nice hobby too for persons of all ages

and both sexes. What joy it is to enjoy plucking the fruits from your own garden. Even those who live in flats could grow at least a few plants of chillies. Just three pots of chillie plants would suffice to provide the total needs of one small family since they bear fruits very profusely. The position of the villager is one that cannot find any excuse. Even if he be an office worker in the nearby city he can spend a little time to cultivate his favourite vegetable. Food includes all forms that we consume and so fruits like tomatoes too go under this category. Just two plants of tomatoes can surely supply the needs of the home. One plant of brinjal, one of snake gourd, three of brinjals, a few plants of spinach, five of capsicum and one pumpkin can be a happy combination of vegetables that could be grown in a small home garden sparing only one hour a day or even less.

If only the children can be encouraged to do it and that too with a few plants for each child then it is easily completed with no serious effort since children can take to anything, if an incentive, is given to them. An offer of

a small prize for the one who supplies the home with more fruits etc., can serve as the stimulant.

Now that the rainy season is about to commence let us make an earnest effort to grow some form of food or other within the next few months. Even one plant by each member of the family will certainly give good returns. In the arid zone this is the only time when crops can be

our own use. The thought of brotherhood of humanity will come in later. When we have a little excess of food for our use we certainly spare it to our friends who too may get inspired to grow more themselves having been inspired by our kind offer of our surplus. This is certainly my own experience during the past several years. I tried it with new crops for which I had to offer them the art

**'WE SHALL NOT FALTER'**

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

It is with justifiable pride that I wish to inform SATURDAY REVIEW readers that the school referred to in Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Autobiography and mentioned in your paper under the title "Youth shall not falter" is my old school — Vigneswara College, Karaveddi. The students were one generation before me. (I was only a toddler then).

In the late twenties, a few graduates from Trivandrum came to teach schools in Jaffna. Vigneswara College, too, had four of them. They were young men, fired with the ideal of Swaraj and enthused by Mahatma's Satyagraha. They imported this spirit of freedom self-sacrifice to generations of students in Jaffna.

Panditji with wife Kamala and daughter Indira were on their way from Jaffna to Pt. Pedro. At Nellyyadi junction, students and teachers of Vigneswara gave him a rousing welcome and presented a simple address which ended with the words "We shall not falter". This message was given to every new batch of students who entered the College for many years.

It is good for all of us to repeat "We shall not falter".

M Sivasithamparam  
Karaveddi.

## DISCRIMINATION

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

Tamil people are being ill-treated at the passport office which insists that they submit more documents than members of the other communities.

All the Tamils are not illicit-immigrants or dangerous people.

For example, the Passport Office insists on a certificate of character from the Gramasevaka on a printed form counter signed by the assistant government agent of the area. This is not asked from people of other communities. This is another form of discrimination against the Tamils.

A. P. R. Kumar

Chundikuli,  
Jaffna.

## LETTERS

raised without difficulty. There are any number of plots of land that go uncultivated. A small plot of just 5 perches too could be made use of by a family. Black gram, green gram, groundnut, manioc, sweet potatoes are some of the useful crops that can be grown with the rains. So let us make a definite decision this very day itself to plant something for

of making tasty preparations with the items that I spared for the friends. Within two years those friends asked me for plants of the same variety and cultivated it themselves. Anyone wanting assistance in this direction can contact me and I would always be eager to help them with whatever information or materials that I could.

Idle hours too can be profitably made use of. Our own food will give us a better appetite in addition to a feeling of pride in that we have done something that our friend or neighbour did not do.

The feeling of selfishness that is there in most persons too will vanish when we volunteer to help our neighbours and others with the knowledge and experience that we gained, which we would definitely be glad to pass to others. Just like the benefit of sports this too will benefit the individuals in several ways.

Shall we make an effort now? Try it this time with whatever number you can and then next year it will be much more. Planting a jak, mango, lime, orange, passion-fruit or woodapple too will bring us the joy but prolonged for a longer period till which time we must have the patience to maintain the plants.

K. V. Achary

Courts Road,  
Mallakam.

proof of the puerile argument that as Tamils held key posts there was no Tamil problem!

The TULF story is only one more episode in the long litany of betrayal of the Tamil people since Independence. Therefore, the eclipse of the TULF by the youth is not merely a "happy portent" — it is the harbinger of the dawn!

With the incubus removed, there may well arise a Northern Socialist Party to join hands with the Socialists in the rest of the Island to rebuild a truly Dharmishta society. A dream? Perhaps, but then dreams are the only commodity now within the reach of the common man in this Democratic (?) Socialist (?) Republic.

Ambalavanar Ratnam  
Colombo 3

more and more evident, the TULF lost any claim to call themselves a **FRONT** when they turned their **BACKS** on their trusting suffering supporters.

It was the Machiavellian UNP leadership which purposely kept the TULF artificially alive because it well served their purpose. They duped the world by "negotiating" with the TULF as the leaders of the Tamils, but whenever they wished to resile from a position, they promptly argued that no purpose was served by negotiations because the TULF could not control the Tamil Youth! And so back to square one!

To the UNP, the TULF served the same purpose as those Tamils holding top positions in Government Service. They were used as

## "GOODBYE, EMIR OF EELAM"

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

The Island Editorial of 27th July - "The TULF Trouble" - has misinterpreted events. The Government spokesman was not "gloating" when he described the TULF fasting fiasco as the "end of the road for the party". He was, perhaps unwittingly, giving expression to UNP worries because, with the demise of the TULF, the UNP has lost its partner in duping the people!

The TULF ceased to be the "principal democratic representative of the Tamil people" with the Referendum when, despite all their bombast, they clung to their seats, perhaps to get their second duty-free car and to ensure themselves of their pensions! And when the UNP's "Iron hand" became



# The Ship is Sinking!

One by one, they are leaving the Sinking Ship (officially named the All-Party Conference). First, it was the Sri Lanka Freedom Party; then the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna; now the Communist Party of Sri Lanka. Finally, it might be a One-Party (UNP) Conference!

Here is what the Communist Party said, in a statement signed by Mr. K. P. Silva, General Secretary, in pulling out from the talks:-

The All-Party Conference has been going on for over seven months without any positive result.

The way in which it has been proceeding was reviewed by our Central Committee, which concluded that there appears to be no purpose served by our Party continuing to take part in the Conference any more.

As our delegation said at the outset, our Party accepted President Jayewardene's invitation to take part in the deliberations because we were anxious that a negotiated political settlement of the ethnic problem, even a temporary one, was arrived at, so that any repetition of the disgraceful and ugly events of July-August 1983 could be avoided.

Moreover, our Party felt that the possibility for arriving at such a negotiated political settlement existed as the President had circulated "Annexure C" as a major Conference document. Not only had the proposals in "Annexure C" been worked out with the active participation of the main parties involved, namely, the President as Head of State and Government, on the one hand and the Tamil United Liberation Front and Ceylon Workers Congress Leaders, on the other hand, but the proposals themselves had several positive aspects that could have helped to bring about a negotiated political settlement.

However, as the Conference went on, "Annexure C" was abandoned and swept under the carpet. The other proposal — for regional councils and for provincial assemblies, respectively — suffered a similar fate.

Although the Conference has gone on for seven months, neither of these proposals, which also have positive merits, have even been debated either in plenary or committee sessions.

Instead, the ultimatumist position of some delegations that nothing more than district councils could be con-

sidered has been allowed to prevail. In the President's speech to the conference on 23rd July, he also accepted that district councils should be the highest sub-unit on which certain central powers and functions can be devolved.

We need hardly remind that several opposition parties, including our own, rejected the district development councils as undemocratic and effete bodies and also boycotted the elections to them. Even the few non-government parties that took part in these elections have now come round this view from bitter experience. Prominent Government spokesmen, from ministerial to lower levels, have also expressed the view that the DDCs have proved to be a failure.

Our Party sees no point in continuing to take part in such an elaborate conference if discussion is to take place on the basis that the present undemocratic DDCs, albeit with a few amendments, are to be the main intermediary sub-unit. It has always been our opinion that the present DDCs are thoroughly undemocratic and should be abolished rather than perpetrated.

As for the proposal for a "Second Chamber" made by the President at the last plenary meeting of 23rd July, we find the proposal totally unacceptable.

The proposal does not, on the one hand provide any solution to the ethnic problem. On the other hand, it attempts to create an undemocratic institution similar to the Senate that existed under the Soulbury Constitution and which was quite rightly abolished several years ago. If this proposal is accepted, the already devalued Parliament will be even further devalued.

Our Central Committee also took note of the President's statement, during the plenary session of the Conference on 23rd July, that, if no consensus could be arrived at by the end of the plenary sessions fixed for August 1984, the government would have to take its own decisions on what to do.

In our opinion, this announcement signifies, in effect, an end to the Conference

being a forum for the search for a negotiated political settlement. It also virtually restricts any further sessions to considering possible accommodations only within the framework of the proposed Second Chamber.

The events that have taken place after the plenary sessions of July 23rd 84 adjourned have also confirmed us in the view that the Government has lost interest in a political solution, other than what it can unilaterally impose, and prefers instead to try to find a "solution" through military means.

Our Party is also disturbed by the fact that the Government has taken no action to fulfil its undertaking to prepare appropriate legislation to give effect to the two items of consensus reached by the Conference several weeks ago — namely, the grant of citizenship rights to the "stateless" and the re-introduction of elected grass-roots local bodies.

At the Conference, our delegation expressed our view that the best solution for the ethnic problem in our country is through regional autonomy in a united Sri Lanka. However, realising that such a solution may only be feasible in a socialist Sri Lanka from which all forms of exploitation are abolished, we have indicated that, of the several lesser proposals made to the Conference, we favoured the proposal for provincial assemblies, which also seemed to

enjoy the widest support among the delegations.

As all such proposals are apparently not going to be considered any further, we see no point in joining in discussions that confine the search for a solution within the framework of the undemocratic DDCs and a reactionary "Second Chamber".

If, however, a different situation prevails and all submitted proposals are taken up for serious consideration, without ultimate or exclusions, we are, of course, prepared to re-consider this decision.

As indicated to the President when we met him on 9th August, if the Government and the Tamil leaders can arrive at even a temporary settlement through direct discussions, our Party would do nothing to disrupt such a settlement, even though we had no hand in it and may disagree with it.

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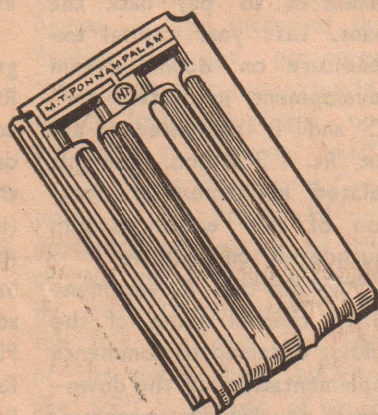
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# Development -

The objectives which the United National Party government set itself in 1977 were defined in the following terms:

(i) Revive and resuscitate our economy which is breaking point-

(ii) Restore vitality to our agriculture, our plantations, our fisheries, and our trade;

(iii) Increase employment opportunities, particularly for our youth;

(iv) Stimulate domestic savings and investments;

(v) Reduce the pressure on our balance of payments; and

(vi) Move forward from economic stagnation to economic growth and development.

— (Public investment, 1979-1983, Ministry of Finance & Planning.)

The move towards economic growth and development and the attack on the problem of unemployment was founded on the three "Lead Projects".

(i) The Accelerated Mahaweli Development Programme;

(ii) The Urban Renewal and Housing programme;

(iii) The Free Trade Zone under the aegis of the Greater Colombo Economic Commission.

They were to be supported by other sectoral programmes in agriculture, industry, economic overheads and social overheads plus a number of Integrated Rural Development Programmes. (IRDP)

We will here examine the extent to which the objectives set for the Lead Projects have been achieved by the "due date", which we will take to have been end-1983.

## Mahaweli programme

By 1977, 130,000 acres had been provided water by the diversification of the Mahaweli at Polgolla, 40 MW of power had been installed at Ukuwela and work was under way to divert the Ambanganga at Bowatenna and to construct another unit of 40 MW of hydro power there.

In 1977, however, the original 30-year phasing of development under the Mahaweli was abandoned and the project was telescoped into a five (or six) year programme to develop 350,000 acres of new land under the Mahaweli Project and to add another 500 MW of installed power capacity to the national system. Indeed, the original intention of the government as even more ambitious; it was to implement all the

projects identified in the Master Plan six years.

"The Implementation of the UNDP/FAO Master Plan for the development of the Mahaweli Ganga and rivers in its adjacent basins, has been carried out at such a slow pace that it has had only a marginal impact on the economy.

"The Prime Minister ... requested me to galvanise all the energies available in Sri Lanka in order to complete the Mahaweli Ganga Development Scheme within the life-time of the present Government.

"Groups of Sri Lanka experts, highly qualified in different fields ... have all submitted reports that the whole Master Plan can be implemented in five to six years.

"The Prime Minister, the Cabinet and the entire Parliamentary Group were unanimously of the view that this is the only method of implementation of the scheme if it is to have the desired impact.

"The pressing problems facing the country are unemployment, scarcity of food and poverty. The accelerated program for the implementation of the Mahaweli Master Plan in five to six years is the solution."

Yes. That was from Minister for Mahaweli Development Mr. Gamini Dissanayake's Foreword to the "Summary Reports" (of the Sri Lanka experts) published in November 1977. How does one account for the naivete of those hopes? Post election euphoria perhaps, reinforced by "experts" who did not dare say "No. It can't be done like that." The experts who did were evicted from the charmed circle. Nobody seems to have told him either that the senior Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa was also determined to "galvanise all the energies available in Sri Lanka" for the purpose of building houses and super-markets. Or that state subsidies would stampede private entrepreneurs to build tourist hotels. Or.....

The projects selected for this grand purpose were the construction of reservoirs at Kotmale, Victoria Maduru-

oya, Moragahakanda and Rendinigala and the development of Systems C, B and G of the project area in agriculture. 140,000 families were to be settled in the new land to be brought under cultivation in the Eastern Vanni and Tamankaduwa districts. The process of settling System "H" had been going on for some years.

What has been the product of these endeavours? We will deal with it briefly. The target and achievement by end 1983 are as set out in Table I

Of these, the installed capacity of the Kotmale project has been reduced to 130 MW while the output of energy per annum has been even more sharply reduced; only the cost has increased. The project originally scheduled for commissioning in 1982 is now scheduled to be completed in 1985.

The Victoria project, which is to be commissioned shortly, has had its capacity increased to 210 MW with provision for another 210 MW to be installed later when funds become available.

The power component of the Maduru Oya project was deleted for lack of funds: no excuse really, considering the expenditure on others: at around Rs. 200 million, a mere bagatelle for a useful facility in that power-starved district.

The Moragahakanda project was abandoned apparently for technical and financial reasons.

Work has commenced on the construction of the Rendinigala project and it is due to be completed by 1986.

(See Table II)

(\*) Project costs include downstream development.

(+) also includes a part of the 'NCP Canal',

(—) plus costs of System 'B', (\*) plus costs of System 'C' (Rs. 7,000 million)

As for land development and settlement, the performance is even more depressing. As against the targeted 340,000 acres of new land only 45,000 acres have been developed between 1977 and 1983, most

of it in System "H". "Performance 1983 (Ministry of Plan Implementation) claims that "All work on the Maduru Oya project has been effectively completed and reservoir waters were released into the downstream areas on 2nd July, 1983".

The same document reports that in Phase I A of the System "B" Canal Network Programme, construction commenced in April 1983! The fact is that Maduru Oya waters were released back into the river to augment Vakaneri tank. To date, one year later, not a single cubic foot of water from the Maduru Oya reservoir has reached a new paddy field.

As for 140,000 families being settled in new lands by 1983, 'Performance' reports that "in System 'H' 23,473 farmers were to receive new lands and 'settler placement' is over 96% is complete" that "7,448 settlers have been already inducted into System 'C' and in 'System B, 2475 settlers have been inducted and 1267 settlers houses have already been constructed".

The "inducting" of settlers, whatever else that might mean, does not imply that they have settled down to cultivate the land using water from Mahaweli project. In the new areas in System 'C', 'B' and G only 9500 acres have been cultivated in paddy under the humble Ulhitiya reservoir constructed the RVDB at a cost of Rs. 200 million.

The question arises therefore, when the returns on this project will come in to enable us to pay back the loans. Last year capital expenditure on down stream development in System 'H', 'C' and 'B' amounted to about Rs. 1.3 billion. Even this belated investment is a fraction of the enormous sum squandered on Kotmale.

Why did the Government fail to channel some of the funding obtained to commence implementation of the downstream development programme essential for increasing agricultural production or to encourage power productive industries both of which are essential for generating employment in the long-term as well as obtain a financial

return on the investment made on the headworks? Not only has down-stream development been neglected even the installation of transmission lines required to carry the energy generated will take a long time.

## Urban Development

The Urban Renewal and Housing Programme was to include the National Capital Development Project at Kotte (Sri Jayewardenepura), the reclamation of 778 acres of land in Colombo, the development of city markets and the Lotus Centre and the improvement of slums shanties. The original and revised estimate of costs are as set out in Table III

The expenditure budgetted for 1984 includes Rs. 1100 million on the Parliamentary Complex, Rs. 35 million on the ceremonial approach Road and Rs. 800 million on the administrative secretariats at Pelewatte and Battaramulla.

The budget for the commercial complexes includes Rs. 544 million on the Pettah Market Rs. 391 million on the St. John's Fish Market and Rs. 240 million on the Urugodawatta food stores.

These sums are in addition to the expenditures already incurred up to the end of 1983.

The question which arises is whether these secretariats and super markets were really necessary, whether their contribution of the markets to inflation was at any time assessed or anticipated and, finally, whether buildings need have cost as much as they in fact have.

The Urban Renewal Programme has also consumed Rs. 7 million on "Industrial complexes", Rs. 39 million on the development of Pan-chikawatte and Peliyagoda (Integrated projects) and Rs. 36 million on the Sugathadasa Stadium (educational, social and cultural projects). Further sums of Rs. 50 million Rs. 277 million and Rs. 46 million respectively have been provided for in the current years, on these three "Projects".

## Housing Programme

The public housing programme was designed to



# Myth & Reality

"Ameliorate the chronic housing shortage especially in the Colombo area giving special attention to the lower income groups".

This programme had three main components, the construction of 36,000 new flats/houses in the major urban areas directly by the government at a cost of Rs. 1766 million; an aided self-help scheme for the construction of 50,000 houses mainly in rural areas at a cost of Rs. 346 million, and loans in a sum of Rs. 322 million for the construction of 14,000 houses plus a provision of Rs. 252 million for the up-grading of about 84,000 rural and semi-urban houses.

The first three constituted the '100,000 houses programme' which was estimated to cost Rs. 2434 million. An examination of actual performance will be revealing.

See Table IV

Contrary to declared policy, of the massive investment made in urban renewal and public housing only 3% was directed to improving housing for the low income groups, however, and even such houses were built at costs prohibitive equally to the potential users and to the public purse.

The third set of figures in Table IV provides a pointer to the priorities of the Govt. The Public Investment document (1979-1983), the first in that series published by Ministry of Finance and Planning, declared that "About 50% of the total resident population in the Greater Colombo area live in slums and shanties and other sub-standard housing".

## Foreign Contractors

Alas! whereas funds budgeted for the luxury structures given out to foreign contractors have been generously expended in amounts far exceeding the original estimates, only 16% of the funds earmarked for slum and shanty up-grading had been spent up to the end of 1983. In Colombo district, in 1981 4.5% were improvised and 25% were semi-permanent houses. Of these 4347 (35%) and 10,294 (15%) respectively,

had sprung up between 1978 and March 1981 when the Census was taken.

Of the total of 45,000 housing units constructed between 1978 and 1981 March, the public housing programme contributed only 20,000. In those three years the stock of permanent housing units increased by 12%, of semi-permanent houses by 22% and of improvised structures by 55%.

The problem of housing grew but the Government continued to expend huge sums on constructing high cost flats and houses which were beyond the reach of the target groups.

Not only were the costs much higher than a private developer would have committed to such units or such schemes, the quality of construction too left much to be desired.

During this period much damage to the existing housing stock occurred in the cyclone-hit areas but the Government did not show the flexibility necessary to set up an effective programme to deal with the problem. Consequently, by 1981, the number of 'improvised structures' in Trincomalee, Amparai, Moneragala, Mullaitivu and Mannar had increased by over 50% while in Trincomalee the increase was 75%.

The question here, too, is why were public funds squandered so thoughtlessly on grandiose schemes which enriched contractors and consultants but brought so little relief to the public?

The use of foreign contractors not only escalated the total costs of these schemes, it also increased the foreign cost and prevented the domestic construction industry from using this opportunity to develop itself.

The State Engineering Corporation was denied the opportunity of constructing any of the tall buildings financed by the Government over the last five years. Not one of the tall buildings built by the S.E.C., models of which are ceremonially displayed at the gam udawa exhibitions, was commenced after 1977.

The Hundred Thousand Houses Programme, which did not work has now been replaced by a Million Houses

Programme. This is what the punters do when they lose on the first race—double their bets on the next. Increasing it ten-fold is a desperate gamble in what is perhaps seen as an all-or-nothing situation.

Under the "programme" self-help is to be replaced by HOLP! (believe it or not)—a Housing Options and Loans Package. Sample quotes: "In a sense, HOLP is the essence of the Rural Housing Sub-Programme (RSHP) of the Million Houses Program (MHP). Affordability and repayability are vital concerns".

The language and thinking suggests that like much else nowadays, the Million Houses Programme has been worked out on drawing-boards in Washington (DC).

In this instance it has been discovered by these master planners that "the Selection process is a key issue", that "real need should be the main criterion", that "no consideration should be given to politics, caste" etc., and yes, "office-bearers of gramodaya mandalayas or their close relations should not be beneficiaries in the 1984 selection".

Let us be thankful that six years, Rs. 4,000 million rupees and fifty-thousand houses too late the Government has woken up at least to these primary elements in public housing programme.

## Free Trade Zone

And what of the Greater Colombo Economic Commission? It was to provide employment in industry on an unprecedented scale and generate massive export earnings.

By the end of 1983 GCEC report that "employment enterprises had reached 28,705" (and also that "industrial relations in GCEC enterprises continued to be satisfactory"). Even this modest achievement was at the expense of existing jobs especially in garment factories located outside the Free Trade Zone.

As for export earnings, the picture is even more dismal. By end 1982 the cumulative value of exports was Rs. 3498 million—just two and a half percent more than cumulative expenditure on raw materials and capital

goods. By end 1983 it had improved to Rs. 5916 million—a little under nine percent more than the cost of imports.

But these are raw figures and are no substitute for a balance sheet. They exclude

other payments such as royalties, profits etc. which are repatriated. Even a most modest figure of ten percent of turnover for such payments would render the GCEC operation a dead loss, excluding too the billion rupee investment on infrastructure met out of public funds. The accounts of each enterprise must be examined separately. Let us invite the GCEC to

(Continued on page 9)

Power — Table I

Project	Target	Achievement
Kotmale	210	Under construction
Victoria	180+180	Under construction
Maduru Oya	5	Power component deleted
Moragahakanda	40	Project abandoned
Randenigala	100	Under construction

Costs (Rs. Mn.) Table II

Project	1977 estimate (Pre-devaluation)	Current estimate
Kotmale	1,035*	9,000
Victoria	2,250*	7,000★
Maduru Oya	1,180*	2,500—
Randenigala	3,830*+	4,500★

Table III — (Rs. Mn)

Programme	Estimate of Cost	Expenditure to end 1983	Budget 1984
1. Kotte Development	330	1,494	2,052
2. Commercial Complexes	188	592	1,221
3. Slums and Shanty Up-grading	150	52	143

TABLE IV

	Target	Achievement (1978-1983)	Number of Housing Units*	Expenditure (Rs. Million)
<b>Urban Housing</b>				
of which	20,327	12,674		2786
Low Cost Housing	(1,454)	(1,206)		—
Emergency Housing	(534)	(494)		—
<b>Rural Housing</b>				
of which	76,040	36,998		1168
Aided Self-Help				
In Model Villages	(50,000)	(26,616)		(574)
Electorate Housing	(26,040)	(10,382)		(594)
Public Servants' Quarters	419	395		87
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>96,785</b>	<b>50,067</b>		<b>4,041</b>

\*includes shops and bed-sitters

Table V

	1971		1981	
	Number	%	Number	%
Construction	103,600	2.8%	124,000	3.0%
Manufacturing	339,400	9.3%	416,800	10.1%
Agriculture	1,829,000	50.1%	1,863,000	45.2%



(Continued from  
last week)

# Lanka Labour Movement

The necessary consequence of these developments was the emergence of new class formations with their horizontal stratification into social groups. But, as we shall see this new class stratification was not able to supersede entirely the vertical social cleavages which characterised the traditional type of society inherited from the past. The new local capitalist class that arose was drawn from various sources. There were those from the traditional land-owning oligarchy, and also those others who had made good in the commercial sector, as contractors, arrack renters, forwarding agents and also as general merchants. While many of them were owners of large plantations, almost all were also landed proprietors of some standing. Although this class had its basic common interests, it contained more than one group amongst whom were manifested rivalries promoted both by the inherent competitiveness of the system and reinforced also by undercurrents of family and caste feeling, social gradings, religious sentiments and also of larger communal separatist tendencies.

This, however, does not explain the relative weakness of this class which was really due to the fact that its members had only a supplementary role to play in the colonial economy as the junior partners of foreign capitalist and imperialist interests. The elitist leaders of this class were all united in agitating for a greater share of political power and ultimately for political inde-

pendence, but they were only capable of playing an oppositional role asking for more and more concessions. Their specific class interests could not lead them to a revolutionary confrontation with the imperial government. The political leadership of this class, not surprisingly, soon came to be dominated by a group belonging to the Sinhala Buddhist majority. However, at first having a common cause in their opposition to foreign rule, there were no manifestations of communal antagonism, but from the 1920's, with the growth of territorial representation, the implementation of the Donoughmore Constitution and the grant of universal franchise in 1931, and ultimately with the gaining of political independence in 1948, the situation underwent a dramatic change.

Now there arose an overwhelming need for anyone desiring and seeking political power through the electoral process to win the votes of the majority. In this case, the majority happened to be the vast mass of Sinhala Buddhist folk in the rural areas. Moreover this section of the population was one that had to a large extent economically, politically and socially been submerged under British rule as an underprivileged and deprived social group. Their grievance, hopes and aspirations come to be effectively articulated by their own Sinhala speaking intelligentsia of writers, teachers, vedamahatmayas (indigenous physicians) and monks. Thus it was that bourgeois nationalist politicians, however

much they talked glibly about national unity and harmony, began to appeal to Sinhala Buddhist sentiments, tending thereby to exploit communal feelings when it came to the actual struggle for political power. The temptation and tendency to resort to such methods was all the greater in that it helped a great deal in diverting emerging class conflict and struggle, with its potential revolutionary threat to the whole bourgeois class, into politically less dangerous, but often socially more disruptive forms of expression. More recently, bourgeois politicians masquerading under a facade of populism, have on the one hand not only exploited communal feelings, but also on the other, begun to mouth a socialist-sounding rhetoric.

Placed somewhat indeterminately below this upper social stratum made up of the capitalist class, there has arisen an intermediate layer constituted largely of predominantly clerical white collar workers employed in both the private and public sectors. This group which is essentially a salariat, was in the British colonial era, a moderately well-to-do and even socially privileged section of the population. Many amongst them had close family connections with those in the upper elitist groups. However, with the introduction of Sinhala and Tamil as the medium of education and the enthroning of Sinhala as the official language on the one hand, and the worsening economic conditions on the other, this group which now includes large numbers drawn from the rural sector and has also a sizeable female component, is fast becoming one that is facing severe economic oppression. But even perhaps more important is the fact that with the acute competition for jobs and promotions especially in a situation of frustrating unemployment, communal antagonisms tend to be easily roused among many of these workers.

We have next to consider the working-class that arose in the country and its own characteristic features. What strikes us above all is that it has its own particular structure. On the one side we have the plantation work-

ers. The vast majority of whom are employed on tea estates. These plantations have been organised to function in an enclave system in the externally oriented commercial sector of the economy. The very large number of Indian plantation workers who are employed in this enclave, constitute a labour force predominantly Hindu and Tamil, and are also both immigrant and in effect indentured. Further, organised as a resident and captive labour force, they work under semi coerced and semi-serf conditions, with little effective mobility. Living in such conditions, these workers have had only very tenuous social links with either the neighbouring indigenous Sinhalese village folk or with the rest of the largely indigenous workers whose main centre of employment was and is Colombo. This meant that there was a real structural separation of these plantation workers from the island's population, while a class-based, fraternal link-up with the rest of the country's working-class posed major problems relating to communication, organisation and effective class mobilisation. These problems were soon

shed that they have to sell their labour power to survive in society. While some have come to live in certain parts of the city (or towns), very many still continue to live in their rural homes and commute to work. Amongst these workers, however, there has arisen today a comparatively small upper-crust who may be said to constitute a labour aristocracy, employed in sectors requiring greater skills. But is most important is that therefore quite a large number of this indigenous workforce, by the very conditions of their social existence, are also not really typical of a modern industrial and city proletariat. The majority of these workers, liable as they are to be influenced by the ideology of the ruling class, are to a great extent proven to be incited by its appeals to communalist sentiments and prejudices. This seems to be so, especially because bourgeois politicians have now begun to use populist slogans to manipulate the masses for their own ends. In such circumstances, when politicians play on communal feelings, there is a dangerous tendency for it to distort working-class consciousness, helping to divide and disorientate the workers.

It was in a society so structured, where communal

by **Neil Kuruppu**

to assume a serious political character. Also significant is the fact that these workers were therefore far from being a modern industrial proletariat.

The other section of the working-class which is largely Sinhalese, but which also contains a number of Indian workers is centred in Colombo, working as they do in the infrastructure of the public and private sectors. The Sinhalese workers in this category, however, have their own significant characteristics. They are for the most part necessarily drawn from the rural subsistence sector, from where, with bleak prospects of earning a much-needed money income to eke out their existence, they gravitate to the towns and especially to Colombo. Most of them, though not completely divorced from the means of production or from their rural habitat, find themselves so impover-

and other similar vertical social cleavages were continually interacting with the newly emerging class formations, that the Marxist parties came to dominate the labour movement in this country from the mid 1930s. As was to be expected, there was a conscious and very organised attempt to make the working-class both a class in itself and for itself. The labour movement was henceforth to be developed as a means for furthering the class struggle to achieve, ultimately, avowedly socialist objectives. And so it was, with great credit to the Marxist movement, that within the labour movement and to the extent that the influence of the Marxist parties prevailed, communalism and all such reactionary social cleavages were wholly eschewed both at the trade union party levels of organisation. Individuals, irrespective of

(Continued on page 9)

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## LANKA LABOUR MOVEMENT...

(Continued from page 8)

caste, creed or communal differences, were able to participate effectively in such organisations and even attain to positions of responsibility and leadership.

The Bracegirdle episode, the leading role play by the LSSP in the Mooloya and Wewesse strikes, the impressive performance of the Marxist parties in the 1947 General Elections to the new parliament, the strike waves of 1946 and 1947 and the great Hartal of August 1953, all seemed to augur well for the labour movement. It looked as if the struggle to realise a socialist order through the development of the movement as a means of furthering the class struggle was going to reach fruition in the not too distant future. Soon, however, once again the situation began to deteriorate, and reactionary class forces cleverly and cunningly exploiting communal issues proved to be major impediments.

D. S. Senanayake by his citizenship acts disenfranchised quite a large number of Indian plantation workers. This not only helped to marginalise socially and politically the Indian worker as a kind of national outcast, but also served to strengthen the communal division, and give fillip to the growth of Trade Unions like the Ceylon Workers Congress with a strong Indian communal consciousness. This was indeed most regrettable and retrogressive when we consider the fact that in elections to the State Council in the 1930 Indian workers had in large numbers voted for a Sinhalese as against an Indian in Baddulla, for a Sinhalese as against an Indian in Nuwara Eliya, and again for a Sinhalese as against an European who belonged to their employer class. It was S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, however, who with his own political brew of Sinhala, Buddhism and Socialism not only succeeded in taking quite a lot of political wind out of the sails of the Marxist parties, but also helped the political emergence of social forces which resulted in bitter communal strife. J. R. Jayewardene by his agitation in 1957 against the attempt of Bandaranaike to give some demands of the Tamils (under the Bandaranaike - Chelvanayakam) pact only further aggravated the situation. The

result was that both in 1958 and 1977, we had not the bloody red revolution which the Marxist parties were supposed to bring about, but other very bloody and horrendous eruptions of communal violence, unprecedented in recent times.

Socially disruptive as such frenzied and destructive manifestations of communal violence were, more significant, perhaps, was the fact the social atmosphere that bred such regressions to atavistic and savage forms of primitive tribal behaviour, has its own disorientating influence on the Marxist parties themselves and their followers. They found themselves abandoning their demand for parity of status for the Sinhala and Tamil languages—a demand which with hindsight we may now say, though correct in principle, was, alas, so infelicitously and inaptly formulated. In their opposition to Dudley Senanayake's coalition with the Tamil Federal Party, it was indeed regrettable that vulgar communal feelings were generated. No wonder, then, that workers marching the streets in their May Day processions under the red banners of Marxist parties were to be heard vehemently shouting slogans against Tamils. This was, of course, in essence, nothing but a most reprehensible and regressive way of giving vent to low and latent communal passions and intensifying Sinhala-Tamil antagonism. Thus, once again the class struggle had been submerged subsumed under the upsurge of a blind and irrational communalism.

From this brief survey of the labour movement it is evident that while communalism helped to promote, but not originate, the organisational separation of the Indian plantation workers from the rest of the working class, and also to disrupt the healthy growth of trade unionism in the 1920's, it did not prove a major obstacle to the growth of working-class consciousness especially at the trade union level. Thanks mainly to the leadership and influence of the Marxist parties, the largely indigenous section of the working-class saw the growth and development of trade unionism among its ranks with no communal divisions. This seemed to indicate that the

workers were generally ready for concerted action as a class especially with regard to their economic demands. Even over political issues they proved to be capable of such action, especially under the dynamic leadership of the Marxist parties.

Thus while it is true that under the leadership of both Goonesinha and the Marxists the labour movement did have a major impact on the course of national politics, it failed however, after six decades, to emerge as a really strong decisive and independent political force in the country. Undoubtedly, the short comings and inadequacies in the leadership provided both by the radical reformism of Goonesinha (even though linked with a militant unionism) and by the Marxist oriented Left parties, despite their professedly revolutionary ideology, have been subjective factors contributing towards this process. However objective conditions and factors have also been very largely responsible for, and it would appear, even more determinant in producing such a situation.

The labour movement, while it has undoubtedly brought major advances in the trade union sphere and won some significant political rights and concessions for the working class and played a major role in the development of a mass political movement, has, however, still to become a pivotal and overwhelmingly decisive force in national politics. In this sense it has not been able to counter effectively the socially disruptive and politically reactionary influence of communalism, which together with the use of specious populist propaganda, is being insidiously exploited by reactionary class forces for their own political ends.

(Reproduced from "Ethnicity and Change in Sri Lanka" published by the Social Scientists Association)

## Development Myth & Reality

(Continued from page 7)

make such analysis for its own serene joy and emotion even if it's not published for the edification of the hoi-polloi.

### Employment

The unemployment problem was to have been combated primarily through the three lead projects in agriculture, construction and manufacturing industry. However the share of these sectors in the total number of the employed changed as set out in Table V.

The impact on employment of the heavy reliance on foreign contractors is visible in these figures. Despite the enormous public investment made on construction projects (about ten times that of the 1970-77 period) the total number employed in construction increased only by 21,000 since 1971.

The total number in employment increased by 470,000 from 3,649,000 in 1971 to 4,120,000 in 1981. When one considers that the annual increase in the labour force over this period would have been at least 100,000 the Census report that the "unemployment rate had increased from 15.6 per cent in 1971 to 17.9 per cent in 1981 would come as no surprise. "Public Investment 1984-1988" claims (provisionally) that the number unemployed had dropped to mere 865,000 in 1983. This implies that 168,000 previously unemployed people found employment in one year. Where these statistics come from only God knows. And He will not say.

The true costs of these projects and programmes far exceed the figures given here. Mahaweli projects costs, for instance, also include the expenditures of related agencies in the areas of land development, road construction and power distribution. The costs of Urban Renewal and Housing should also embrace the investment in Water Supply, Drainage and Sewerage

schemes and the costs of other supporting programmes. The GCEC expenditure on infrastructure is provided under the votes of implementing agencies such as Posts & Telecommunications and Highways.

Even a cursory examinations and of these figures gives rise to the question - **Where Did All the Money Go?**

"Some of it went for costly construction projects or to defray the rising costs of imported oil and interest payments on previously made loans. But much of it was lost, stolen or merely frittered away. And perhaps one-third of it wound up in private bank accounts in New York, Zurich and London." (TIME July 2, 1984).

TIME, of course was commenting not on Sri Lanka but on those Latin American countries whose juntas offered the stability demanded by loan givers: the kind of stability the Government has exerting itself, in and out of Parliament over the last seven years to establish here. Recently (30th June 1984) the Times of London reported that at a conference in Lisbon on the Democratic challenge in "Latin American" Dr. Mario Soares, the Portuguese Prime Minister, President Luis Monage of Costa Rica and Lane Kirkland of the American AFL-CIO trade union movement (which is one of Walter Mondale's key supporters) had declared that "the model of economic development pursued by Latin America's right-wing military regimes since the sixties have now been proved utter failures." It is open to the Government and to the people of Sri Lanka to draw the necessary conclusions.

(Courtesy: CHRISTIAN WORKER, Quarterly of the Christian Workers Fellowship, Colombo, 2nd Quarter 1984)



# Racial Polarisation

## In MALAYSIA

The Malaysian Government has been urged to "make an honest attempt to discover the real causes of racial polarisation" according to a report appearing in the New Straits Times of Kuala Lumpur.

Rev. Dr. Paul Tan Chee Ing, the honorary secretary of the Malaysian Consultative Council of Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism and Sikhism, told the New Straits Times that it is the Government's duty to find out whether the grievances felt by different groups of people are valid or not.

He was commenting on Deputy Prime Minister Datuk Musa Hitam's concern over racial segregation among children.

"If there is no basis for certain grievances, let the Government explain to the people so that bitterness which leads to greater segregation can be dissipated, he said.

Dr. Paul added that students find it hard to understand reasons other than merit why the authorities give special treatment to some in matters of entrance into schools and universities, of passing examinations, and of scholarships.

"Should not the Government explain clearly the justice of such policies so that the future generation will not bear grudge against one another?"

### BUMIPUTRAS

"The present trend of sending bright Bumiputra students to special schools or abroad where they have practically no interaction with other Malaysians could lead to greater polarisation in the future", he said.

On corruption and poverty, he called on all Malaysians to unite and overcome them as they could breed discontent and unwanted elements.

He urged the Government to set up multiracial and multi-religious committees to look into ways to overcome poverty and corruption.

"This approach is more effective as it unites in action all Malaysians of different faiths and races under the banner of a common cause

"This is more beneficial to our society than mouth-ing slogans. We believe that slogans like 'Islamisation' and 'Injection of Islamic values into Government administration' have put unnecessary fears into the hearts of many despite assurances by the Government.

"Since it has been admitted that these values are found in all major religions, why can't the Government use terms like universal or common values?" he said.

He urged people of all races and religions to leave behind their prejudices and grievances to stretch out their hands in friendship to each other and work with the Government for a united Malaysia.

### THE CAUSES

Educationists and a psychiatrist here feel that heightened ethnic consciousness over the last five years has contributed to the present trend of racial segregation and polarisation among children.

And they fear that it would be difficult to check this trend because children and adults are exposed to racial differences everyday—in speeches by national leaders, community leaders in newspapers, over television and even in schools.

What is distressing is that they feel it is quite futile for parents to educate their children to be broad-minded and understanding about the different races in the country when their children are reminded every day of their ethnic origins.

And the present education system based on ethnic origin—especially with regard to entrance to secondary schools and universities—rather than merit, further contributes to racial polarisation.

However, two senior heads of schools said they had never encountered any racial polarisation to their schools.

One of them even said he was "quite taken aback" by the Deputy Prime Minister's comments.

A lecturer, who had done research into racial segregation, pointed out that children usually did not be-friend each other according to ethnic origins, especially in the first few years of school.

"But as they grow up, they become aware of education policies and the differences between Bumiputra's and non Bumiputras.

"In this universities, the trend is that each racial group tends to fight for itself and interacts within itself which is unhealthy because a university education is supposed to cross these racial barriers.

Even if there are students who are indifferent to racial groups, they find that there are certain forces—especially religious groups—which compel them to identify themselves with a racial group" the lecturer said.

The lecturer said the Education Ministry should scrutinise teachers who allow their racial prejudices to surface and hence affect children.

Gerakan Youth leader and MP Dr. Koh Tsu Koon, while sharing Datuk Musa's concern over the segregation, said that there was an "over-emphasis of the dichotomy of races, between bumiputras and non bumiputras and this has permeated throughout the society."

Dr. Koh suggested that Mara schools be integrated: "I accept the concept that rural children need help but this should not be based on racial lines.

However, a senior headmaster said: "In my 20 years of experience in the English medium national type primary schools, I have yet to see any incident where the pupils took sides because of race.

"It may happen in some schools where there is a predominance of a particular race but I personally have not seen any sign of racial segregation" he said.

## LETTERS

### A BRICKBAT

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

As a regular reader of the SATURDAY REVIEW, which began life as a weekly lampoon out of the pen of a dedicated pupil of Mr. Handy Perinpanayagam, I am constrained to observe that we can hear your strangled cry that the Emperor has no clothes. We do appreciate that you are editing under conditions of considerable stress. It is true there is a strict censorship but good journalism consists of a perpetual state of war with authority.

What is inexcusable is that you are giving disproportionate space to articles which have already appeared in other journals.

The only worthwhile contribution with a dash of sardonic humour is from the world-weary Philosopher—Diogenes. This has been also missing for two or three weeks. Has he fallen off the bench in Galle Face and hurt himself?

Pseudonym is a journalistic Maginot line and if the law is amended to outlaw the non-de-plume, will the philosopher be inhibited in breaking out of the mask? His rambling style reminds one of the Chinese snake in Oriental astrology—an elegant, attractive self-critical philosopher who can be a good natured snob.

His breakfast with HAIG Goonetilleke at the Saraswathy Lodge and his hurried sojourn in Jaffna appear to be non-events.

I pity the poor tonsorial artist, the reliable prosecution witness as suggested by one of your puckish readers.

Although you are grouching that the Metropolitan Press has not despatched a special correspondent to Jaffna, please permit me to counter that you have failed in your duty to report comprehensively on two episodes which happened under your very nose: I refer to the Allen hostage crisis and the bomb blast near the Sinhala Maha Vidyalaya, more so when Allen's office is situated opposite yours and the Maha Vidyalaya is only a stone's throw from your

office. Come to think of it, we get the Press we deserve.

Mrs. Minoli  
Thiruchelvam

Jaffna.

**Note by Editor:** We have, on occasion, reproduced articles from certain other newspapers, as pointed out by Mrs. Thiruchelvam, but it must be remembered that our readership is to a great extent different from those of the other publications. Our objective was to convey the views expressed in those articles to a wider audience.

The Allen kidnap episode and the attack on the Sinhala Maha Vidyalaya did take place under our very nose—and we did write what could be described as graphic accounts of both events. But the Censor would have none of it.

Mrs. Thiruchelvam might be interested to learn that sometimes we had been prevented from publishing items which had already appeared in Jaffna's own "Eelandu".

### POLICE REPORTS

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

Obtaining a police report to proceed abroad, particularly to the Middle East countries, has become problematic to employment seekers.

Earlier, there was absolutely no difficulty in obtaining a police report as the police stations were functioning in the North. But at present the practice is that applicants for such reports have to furnish their fingerprints, which are sent to the Police Headquarters in Colombo. Approval from Colombo takes nearly three months to reach the applicant through the local police station.

As a result, some applicants miss their flights and even the money advanced to employment agencies.

It is time the Defence Ministry took some action to expedite the disposal of such applications.

M. Ruban

Karaveddy.

### HOW'S THAT?

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW

How prophetic Dr. Indrapala was when he wrote in 1969 about the proposed setting-up of the University of Jaffna.

Why then did Dr. Indrapala disarm himself by coming over to the University of Jaffna?

K. Balan

Vannarponnai.



# THE ECONOMICS OF POLLUTION

NO ONE CAN escape the pollution that has become part of every day life in any country. Since pollution can be defined as "the production of unwanted by-products of human activity", then pollution has occurred whenever people have done something — even when they have merely existed.

Some people believe that pollution and the quality of life in general are problems that can only be solved by scientists using improved technology. 'After all, a polluted river is first and foremost a physical fact of life'.

But while all pollution is physical because it involves physical destruction of the environment, there cannot be any analysis of pollution problems without economic considerations.

Economists often distinguish between what is called private cost and social cost. Private cost is what the individual pays for something he buys or does whereas social costs are what society pays

for any action by individuals in the society.

These costs include not only all private or personal costs but also all costs that individuals do not consider. For example individuals pay the private costs of driving an automobile such as gas oil etc. Society pays not only those costs but also such costs as air pollution, noise pollution and congestion. If automobile manufacturers were required to put pollution control equipment on engines, the price of automobile increased.

The point is that any discussion about improving the quality of life require a discussion of the price people must pay for that improvement. Among other matters economics concerns itself with the price people must pay for their actions. Thus economics plays an important part in any analysis of the environment.

## Quality of life

Modern cities deplore materialistic concentration on the quantity of economic

goods. To Samuelson, "To many, GNP stands for Gross National Pollution. Modern economics make a fetish of quantity at the expense of quality of life...why not we supplement GNP by a more meaningful NEW (Net Economic Welfare)".

National concern for the deteriorating quality of the environment has snowballed in recent years. Concern for economic growth has been supplemented by the question, Growth for what?

Air and water pollution are pervasive by products "externalities"—of modern industrial society. Externality occurs when our beha-

viour affects the wellbeing of someone else without his agreement. For example if person 'X' sells cement to person 'Y' that pollutes the air for miles around both X and Y can be reasonably be sure that both of them gain from the trade. But

their transactions in effect worsens the lot of people who live near the cement mill and they have had no say in their cement transaction.

Thus we can no longer be sure that the general welfare is increased by the transaction. Since the air over the land surrounding the plant is publicly owned, private rights to its use are 'ill-defined'. For the most part, it is treated as if it were a free good available for any one to pollute as he wishes without payment.

There are two major reasons for increasing pollution. The first reason is the increase in population. In

Pollution may be water pollution, air pollution, and noise pollution. If we live in an industrial city with their many mills, we know what air pollution is. If we live near a busy airport, we know what noise pollution is. If we have tried to swim in any lake or river we know what water pollution is.

The World Health Organisation has defined air pollutants as "substances put into the air by the activity of of mankind in concentration sufficient to cause harmful effect to his health vegetables property or to interfere with the enjoyment of his property".

Air pollution may be considered in two groups (1) smoke and fog, together called smog and (2) dust fumes, gases, etc.

As civilization grows noise pollution grows. It is said that Julius Ceaser banned chariots from the cobblestone streets during evening hours because of the noise they made. How far it is true we do not know. But one can wonder what Julius Ceaser would do if he lives in this twenty-four hours noisy world.

(To be Continued)

by

**S. K. SARMA**

creasing population has led to ever increasing pollution. Secondly the increase in material well being of the people. In fact a major determinant of the levels of pollution has been how much income people have had to spend for manufactured products. The manufacture of these products—first caused the by products that are pollution and increased them many times over the years.

and remove the statue of their former Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake, which was erected at Borella junction.

## EXPLOSIONS

Fishermen of Vadamarachy are afraid to put out at sea as a consequence of the incidents which occurred there. Their livelihood has been seriously undermined and fish production is at a standstill. Intermittent explosions are said to be heard at sea.

## LALITH'S VIEW

The Minister of National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali said at a press conference in Colombo, that he would consider the withdrawal of the Army from the North, if the "terrorists" eschewed violence. Earlier, at a passing-out parade at Diyatalawa, he said that strict discipline was vital for the Army.

## TWO ARRESTED

Thambipillai Maheswaran and Saravanapavan have been arrested by the Tamil Nadu Government in connection with the bomb explosion at Meenambakam Airport.

## NEWS BRIEFS

### IN ISRAEL

Mr. Douglas Liyanage, Secretary to the Ministry of State, visited Israel this week for talks with its Foreign Ministry Director-General Mr. David Kimche. No details of the talks were available. He is the highest ranking Sri Lankan to have visited Israel since 1970, when Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government suspended ties with Tel Aviv.

### APC TALKS

The All-Party Conference on the National Question, which resumed on 21st August, heard views from nine delegations—Tamil United Liberation Front, Democratic Workers Congress, Ceylon Workers Congress, Sinhala Associations, Sri Lanka Buddhist Congress, Lanka Sama Samaja Party, The Hindu Organisations, All-Ceylon Muslim League and the Christian Organisations—on the proposal to establish a Second Chamber. The delegation of the Supreme Council of the Maha Sangha was a notable absentee.

The conference will be reconvened on 29th August.

### TULF VIEW

The Tamil United Liberation Front General Secretary, Mr. A. Amirthalingam said at the A.P.C. talks that the TULF was "not intransigent" and was willing to present a viable alternative to a separate state to the Tamil People.

### MORE LETTERS

There has been another exchange of letters between President Jayewardene and Indian Premier Mrs. Indira Gandhi on Sri Lanka's ethnic problems. Mrs. Gandhi had expressed her "deep concern" over the developments in Sri Lanka, particularly the new drive by the Security forces against "Tamil separatists", a subject on which she has also written to President Reagan and British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher.

### DUDLEY OUT

The U.N.P. - dominated Colombo Municipal Council has decided to dismantle

## SPORTS

## PYRRHIC VICTORY

When the two formidable nations, the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Germany, opted to keep away from the recently concluded 23rd Olympiad at Los Angeles, it was felt that the mighty U.S. would have its own sweet way to finish streets ahead in the tally of Gold, Silver and Bronze medals.

The U.S. virtually pulled away and had little or no opposition in its quest for medals, collecting 83 Gold 61 Silvers and 30 Bronzes.

Romania who finished second, with 20 Gold, 16 Silver and 17 Bronze medals should be really thankful to the U.S.S.R and East Germany for having skipped the Olympics this year. Had these two formidable nations better known for

their supremacy in field events-participated, they would not only have kept up with the challenge of the U.S but also figured in a razor keen finish for the top plums.

The Chinese Dragon which usually fought shy of both the U.S.S.R and the U.S should feel proud to have finished Fourth behind west Germany in the table with 15 Gold, 8 Silver and 9 Bronze medals.

Great Britain which once ruled the waves had to be content with the 11th position, obtaining 5 Gold, 10 Silver and 22 Bronze medals. Had British satirist Jonathan Swift who wrote Gulliver's Travels been living at this hour, who knows, he might have some thing spicy to say about his countrymen.



# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## Singarayar trial postponed

The trial against Rev. Fr. A. Singarayar, on charges under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, was put off for 22nd October by Mr. D.

G. Jayalath, High Court Judge of Colombo, on an application by Senior State Counsel Mr. C. R. de Silva.

the witnesses, or they felt it undesirable to come down to Colombo to be present at the trial.

The High Court Judge, in putting off the trial, allowed an application by defence counsel Mr. Bala Tampoe for Fr. Singarayar to be taken back to Naval custody in Trincomalee.

In this case, Rev. Fr. S. T. Jeyakularajah, Dr. T. W. Jeyakularajah, Prof. M. Nithyanandan and Mrs. Nirmala Nithyanandan are charged with having harboured "terrorists" who had attacked the Chavakachcheri police station on 27th October 1982 and failing to give information about their movements.

The other accused having escaped from the Batticaloa prison, only Fr. Singarayar was brought to trial.

DAILY NEWS 22ND AUGUST.

Mr. de Silva told court that he was compelled to ask for a postponement of the trial as the police had been unable to serve summons on the vital witnesses, owing to a complete breakdown of communications in Jaffna.

Senior CID officer in the case, Mr. Punyasoma de Silva, reported to court that there has been no information from Jaffna whether the summons sent to the Jaffna Police, to be served on the witnesses, had been served.

In these circumstances, the Senior State Counsel said he was asking that the case be put off.

He said the situation in Jaffna was such that summons had either not reached

## PETITION TO GOVT.

**This is the text of the petition presented by the Mothers' Front to the Government Agent of Jaffna on 24th August after the 'Padayatra'.**

"We the mothers in the Tamil areas request that the children / youths arrested by the Armea Forces without any reason be released immediately. We mothers are going through a lot of anguish, sorrow and fear when our innocent children are taken away from our villages on the pretext of the incidents that take place here.

On 4th August, the parents in Valvettiturai were asked to hand over the young male children with their Identity Cards to the armed forces. The parents were also told that the children will be returned to the parents after registration.

But not all the children were returned as promised. About 500 children were taken to unknown destinations by jeeps and trucks.

There were handicapped and retarded children among them.

On 21st August, a large number of children and youths were taken from Nelliaddy.

Parents are helpless and are unable to secure their release.

Although the required procedure is to inform parents of the whereabouts of children or youths taken into custody within 48 hours this has not been complied with.

Besides, Armed Forces shoot children, youths, women and civilians on the roads without any reason.

"We appeal that a political solution should be found for the problem and the military approach against the Tamil people should stop."

Copies of the petition were, forwarded, among others to The President of Sri Lanka, the Leader of the Opposition, Amnesty International, the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Secretary General of the United Nations.

## Now, the Brigadier Speaks

A report from visiting Reuter correspondent John Fullerton published, in the Island of 21st August, stated:

Separatist guerrillas fighting for an independent state in Northern Sri Lanka are likely to step up their attacks in the next few weeks, a senior army officer said today.

Brigadier N. Seneviratne, who is responsible for security in the Northern Peninsula, where secessionist vio-

lence is concentrated, said all the Security Forces could do was to contain the situation until a political solution to the ethnic crisis was found.

"It (guerrilla activity) is escalating. I expect them to be more active in the next few weeks or so," he told Reuter.

He confirmed earlier reports from official sources that intelligence showed more separatists and wea-

pons were expected to land on the Sri Lankan coast.

Interviewed after at least 95 people died in nearly two weeks of renewed unrest in the area, he said he believed some of the separatists had military training in Lebanon and Libya but he had no details.

Sri Lankan leaders have said separatists from the country's minority Tamil community have been trained at camps in India. India has denied the charge.

Brigadier Seneviratne said he had about 150 miles (240 kilometres) of coastline to protect, and that if access from nearby countries could be sealed off the battle would be 80 per cent won.

The Sandhurst-trained officer said he needed more resources for maintaining law and order.

Asked if he thought there was a real threat of external military intervention in Sri Lanka, the Brigadier said he did not discount the possibility and the Army had drawn up contingency plans.

Referring to the above Reuter report, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister of National Security told the Press that some views expressed by Brigadier Seneviratne in the belief that he would not be quoted, had been published. The Brigadier's comment, however, indicated that even the military was not for a military solution in the North.

Meanwhile President Jayewardene at a public function at Slave Island on 19th, August, said "Terrorism, which was shattering the peace in the country, would not last long and those who carried out these acts had numbered days".

## JAFFNA MOTHERS

(Continued from Page 1)

from Navy ships on several days, beginning on 5th August, as reprisals for the killing of the Navy men as well as several soldiers and policemen, the people remained resilient.

They formed a Citizens Committee and began not only the slow process of rehabilitation of the people, large numbers of whom had been reduced to the status of refugees, but also to launch agitation for the release of the arrested youth.

According to the Citizens Committee, whose key office-bearers are Prof. K. Sivathamby (President), Mr. K. E. Thirunavukarasu and Mr. S. Selvendra (Vice-Presidents), and Mr. S. Kumarasamy and Mr. K. C. Adiapathan (Joint Secretaries), 130 houses, 90 shops, four cars and six fishing boats were damaged and burnt during the incidents at Valvettiturai between 5th and 9th August.

The Committee has estimated the loss at around Rs. 18 million.

In addition, 29 fishing boats, valued at Rs. 1.3

million, had been removed from the coast.

The first stage of the agitation for the release of the arrested youths was a fast by mothers at Vervill Pillayar Kovil on 22nd August. Over 500 mothers took part in this silent protest from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

The next stage was the "March" staged in Jaffna town yesterday (24th August) by Mothers from Valvettiturai in association with those from Point Pedro and Jaffna.

The Mothers appear determined to keep up the agitation until all their sons are released.

In other words, Jaffna women are on the march, at last, fulfilling a prophecy by the SATURDAY REVIEW in the issue of 9th June under the headline "Broomstick March by Jaffna Women."

The only difference was that there were no broomsticks—symbols of domestic supremacy—but banners held aloft saying "Give us our sons back".