

Saturday Review

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29th September 1984

EDITOR WRITES TO APC.

INVITE THE TIGERS TO THE TABLE

FRIENDS:

I am addressing you as perhaps the only Sinhalese (Buddhist) civilian still in public life in Jaffna.

I have been visiting Jaffna, as a journalist, since 1954 and know the land and its people better than any non-Tamil participant at the "All Party Conference".

My bona fides, as a journalist, have been so well-established that the wholly Tamil (Hindu) management of the SATURDAY REVIEW has readily accepted me as the Editor.

I travel about in the North freely and unescorted because I have nothing to fear from the people; like the people, I only fear the Security Forces, the very forces that are expected to maintain law and order and protect life and property.

No, I have no mistress to attract me to Jaffna so often and to speak up for the Tamil people so forthrightly, as alleged by some petty minds. Nor do I have any Tamil blood in me; at least, that is what my mother told me and I have to believe her.

I am writing to you because, as a Sri Lankan

and a journalist, I feel intensely about the welfare and the human rights of ALL the people of Sri Lanka.

Please read carefully what I have written before coming to a final decision on the National Question.

This appeal is made specially to the Sinhalese (Buddhist) representatives.

Let us start with the hard fact that the Tamils are here with us and we cannot get rid of them by killing all of them or pushing them into the sea; which means we have to learn to live with them.

It is also a fact that at Independence political power passed into the hands of the Sinhalese.

What the Tamils have been agitating for since then is a more equitable sharing of state power and all that goes with it. This, I believe, is an eminently reasonable demand.

President Jayewardene's United National Party in its 1977 Election Manifesto, which was wholly incorporated in the Government's first Policy Statement, acknowledged that the Tamils had grievances

regarding the use of their language, higher education, state employment and colonisation and promised to convene an All-Party Conference early to work out a permanent solution.

The APC was convened seven years too late, but it was still a welcome move. The tragedy is that it has got involved in so many side issues, taking up so much valuable time when time is fast running out for a negotiated settlement and more valuable lives are being lost.

The pity is that there is not a single woman representative at the APC to knock sense into some of the eggheads present, because only a mother knows the pangs of birth and the even more unbearable pain of losing sons just entering manhood.

Most Sinhalese leaders and their followers are angry that a section of the Tamil leadership has raised the cry of separation—i.e. independence — and that sections of Tamil youth are resorting to violence to further this cause.

But, as acknowledged in the Government publication

"Sri Lanka: Beyond conflict" written by Ambassador Ernest Corea (Sri Lanka News Review, Vol. 1, No. 5, Department of Information, August 1983), "The separatist slogan, let it not be forgotten, did not enter Sri Lanka's political lexicon until 1976."

THIS IS SOMETHING TO THE CREDIT OF THE TAMILS.

As pointed out in "Dear Ambassador. Your Slip is Showing" (published by the Tamil Eelam Information Centre, Madras, in September 1983, as a rejoinder to the Government publication), "For 20 years they (the Tamils) suffered racial discrimination, racial riots, plunder of their traditional homelands, Police and Army harassments and open state hostility. Through that period of 20 years they raised their voices in Parliament, on public platforms, through the media and international fora; they went before courts of law; they staged protests, non-violent satyagraha campaigns; they entered into pacts and gentlemen's agreements with Sinhalese leaders which were dishonoured. In short, the Tamils over those 20

years had exhausted all the peaceful, democratic options open to an oppressed minority. Unlike Jinnah in India, they had placed their trust in the Sinhalese majority at the very threshold of Independence and that trust was betrayed.

(Continued on Page 3)

People's Action Committee

Preliminary discussions on the formation of the People's Action Committee to defend the interests of the Tamils are now on. Please await further details.

The axe falls

The Jaffna Hospital is likely to be the first institution in the North to be affected by the Government's decision to suspend or postpone all development work in the region and direct the money for defense. Rs. 5 million earmarked for the first stage of a new multi-storey building has been held up, the SATURDAY REVIEW learns.

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EDITOR
GAMINI NAVARATNE

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THE CENSOR AND THE PRESS

The Island, one of the few newspapers in Sri Lanka to consistently stand up for the rights of the Press, had this to say (in its issue of 16th September) on the Government's plan to clamp down further on the reporting of news from the North:

The Competent Authority is worried. Apparently those naughty newspapers reeking of sensational stuff about terrorism, hijackings, kidnappings and other such things which make the flesh creep are still managing to get some of their more choice fare into print without receiving the imprimatur of the Competent Authority. This is decidedly not done and definitely not good for the tourist industry, not to mention the country's good name. Moreover the wicked Indian press can gleefully pick these things up and emblazon them across their front pages and then where will that leave us? So the Competent Authority has been compelled to renew

his authority and caution all editors in magisterial tones that "material from whatever source" relating to three categories will require his approval before publication.

The Competent Authority's concern is understandable. He is worried about a surfeit of violence in newspapers which if romanticised can accrue to the advantage of the terrorist movement. He is also worried about the influence this will have on outside opinion. But what the CA has to realise is that there can be a limit to censorship as well. The newspapers have certainly undertaken to play down incidents of terrorist violence and not to carry news stories of deaths, particularly when they involve services personnel prominently so that there would be no backlash in the south. But apart from this to expect newspapers to impose the most finicky self-censorship because the stories will be

"bad for the country" as the expression goes, would be a little too far-fetched for the situation in the North remains the biggest news story of the day and to remove it would be to remove the biggest potential from the newspapers.

While the CA thus expects newspapers to behave themselves he has not always enforced the same standards on himself. The trouble, of course, is that there are so many of himself so that the problem which confronted Ogden Nash with regard to the octopus applies to him as well—whether the form of address should be singular or plural. There is no established standard to which one can appeal or a fixed code which one can invoke because standards vary from person to person. There have been instances where even people fairly high up the ladder have been reluctant to take a decision while some "Night Censors" are not accessible. Needless to say this can

be irritating for newspapers which have deadlines to maintain unlike bureaucracies which can easily afford to file and forget.

There can also be instances when censorship can actually prevent people from coming to know things of public importance which legitimately cannot be kept away from their perusal. Take for example the hartal in Jaffna which none of the newspapers were allowed to carry yesterday. Now the hartal does not fall within the three categories listed by the CA which are (a) material relating to acts of violence attributed to terrorists, (b) material relating to actions or plans of security forces or investigations into terrorist activities and (c) action of or action relating to students at universities or other educational institutions.

The hartal on the other hand is a political act entirely, an expression of what the people of the North feel is a sense of grievance. To prevent the rest of the country from coming to know about this is to block a piece of vital information which can contribute to public opinion. By extending censorship to an area which has nothing to do with either terrorism or troop movements, the authorities are really engaging in a political censorship. The same goes for activities in the university. By preventing any material about the universities from appearing in print they are in fact stifling and preempting informed discussion on a most important segment of life in the country.

Newspapers certainly understand the problems confronting the Competent Authority. They have also by and large acted in a responsible manner. It is therefore up to the authorities to exercise the apparatus of censorship more responsibly themselves taking account of a newspaper's right to keep its readers informed.

EDITORS BEWARE

The following communication was received at SATURDAY REVIEW office from the Competent Authority, Ministry of State:

To All Editors

Your kind attention is invited to the Order issued by me under Section 14(1) of the Emergency (Miscellaneous Provisions & Powers) Regulations No.8 of 1984 which prohibits the publication of matter prejudicial to the interests of national security, preservation of public order, maintenance of supplies and services essential to the life of the community, etc, without prior approval.

Several instances of the violation of these regulations have been observed in the recent past. All Editors are kindly requested to note that material from whatever source—relating to the following specific matters, will require my approval before publication:

(a) material relating to acts of violence attributed to terrorists.

(b) material relating to actions or plans of security forces or investigations into terrorist activities.

(c) action of or action relating to students at Universities or other educational institutions.

Thirukkural Gems

KURAL No. 559

(Muraikoodi....)

"The heavens will not send showers in their season if the prince swerveth from justice and right".

Translated by V. V. Subramania Iyer

KURAL No. 560

(Aapayan....)

"Where the ruler does not rule (properly) the cow stints and the Brahmins whose duties are six-fold forget the scriptures."

Translated by M. R. Rajagopala Iyengar

KURAL No. 561

(Thakanku....)

"He is a king who makes proper investigation and metes out punishment as a

WORDS OF WISDOM

"By education I mean an all-round drawing of the best in child and man—body, mind and spirit".

—Mahatma Gandhi

"If you give a man a fish, he will eat once.

If you teach a man to fish, he will eat for the rest of his life.

If you are thinking a year ahead, sow a seed.

If you are thinking ten years ahead, plant a tree.

If you are thinking one hundred years ahead, educate the people.

By sowing seed, you will harvest once.

By planting a tree, you will harvest ten-fold.

By educating the people, you will harvest one-hundred fold".

—Kaun Izu, 4th, 3rd cent. B.C.

"They will learn, not for the school, but for life, so that the youths shall go forth energetic, ready for everything, apt, industrious, and worthy of being entrusted with any of the duties of life, and this all the more if they have added to virtue a sweet conversation, and have crowned all with the fear and love of GOD. They will go forth capable of expression and eloquence".

—Comenius

"Education makes a people easy to lead, but difficult to drive, easy to govern but impossible to enslave."

—Lord Brougham

(Compiled by Jupiter)

(Compiled by V. T. K.)

(Continued from page 1)

"And if after 20 years of absolute and complete disillusionment, an ever worsening diminution of Tamil dignity and self-respect, with job opportunities diminishing every year, a blank wall looming larger and larger before their growing generation, and threats to life and limb adding to their worries and tensions, if after all these, the Tamils thought of setting up their own homeland in the arid, Government-neglected, undeveloped North and East, where they were traditionally settled for centuries, what are you griping about, Mr. Corea?"

Clearly, the cry for Tamil Eelam was born out of sheer frustration and desperation.

Through the only medium available to me in which I could freely express my views on the NATIONAL QUESTION — the SATURDAY REVIEW — I said "The best guarantee against the division of Sri Lanka — the best way to blunt the demand for EELAM — is to allow the Tamils in their (Sinhalese) midst to live and work in peace.... They are our hostages!" (SR, 4th June 1983).

I warned "If there is a repetition of 1958, it is not only the Tamil people who are going to suffer...." (SR, 11th June 1983).

But the people in the South lived up to their reputation "Sihalaya Modaya, Kevunkanta Yodaya" (The Sinhalese are fools; they are glants at eating oil cakes)! The July 1983 Holocaust was the result.

What did the Sinhalese gain by their action? More than the damage to the economy, more than the physical division of the two races (so ardently desired by the Eelarnists), more than the exodus of some of the best brains in the country, more than the other evil side-effects, we gained a bad name throughout the world. Not all the water in the sea is enough to wash this blot on the nation.

The Tamils are blamed for carrying out propaganda abroad about "repression", "suppression" and "discrimination". When even their elected representatives have been effectively debarred from Parliament, what else could they do but appeal to the conscience of the world?

I personally regard Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike as the "Mother" and the late Inspe-

ctor Bastianpillai as the "Father" of the Liberation Tiger Movement.

In 1972, Mrs. Bandaranaike, as Prime Minister of the United Front Government, had a wonderful opportunity to solve the National Question by accommodating the moderate demands of the Tamils during the Constitution-making process. She refused to budge from her position and the Federal Party withdrew from the Constituent Assembly with its leader, the late Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam saying: "The Constitution has given everything to the Sinhalese and nothing to the Tamils.... Only in a state of our own can the Tamils live with dignity and self-respect."

There followed the emergence of the Tamil United Liberation Front and the adoption of the Vaddukkodal Resolution in 1976 through which the word "separation" first entered Sri Lanka's political lexicon.

Invite the Tigers...

In between, 42 members of the TULF's youth wing were arrested on suspicion that they posed a threat to the Government. There was no evidence against them but they were detained without trial, some for nearly five years. Out of their ranks sprang some of the Liberation Tigers.

In 1975, Jaffna's Sri Lanka Freedom Party Mayor Mr. Alfred Durayappah was assassinated. Inspector Bastianpillai rounded up over a score of youths, all of whom "confessed" that they did the killing when only two persons were involved! To get hold of one of the suspects, Sivakumaran, his sister was taken to the police station, stripped naked and tortured, but she refused to give any information. It was on that day that the Inspector was placed as No. 1 on the Hit List.

I have put all this down because some of the non-Tamil participants at the APC may not know the background to the genesis of the Liberation Tiger Movement.

The Tamils are accused of not giving information about the Movement to the authorities. How could they or why should they? Every step the UNP Government has taken or condoned or encouraged, from the enactment of the

1978 Constitution and the rape of Jaffna town on the eve of the district development council elections in June 1981 to the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution, the 1983 July Pogrom, the adoption of the Military Approach in the North with its attendant Israel-style collective reprisals and, finally, the decision to halt development work in the North, has only served to alienate the Tamil people and strengthen those very forces working towards a separate state.

On the subject of reprisals, the devastation caused in August by the Security Forces at Valvettiturai in particular has to be seen to be believed. It would be a good experience for the non-Tamil participants at the APC to visit VVT.

By the way, when did you last visit Jaffna? Or have you ever been to the

helping to swell the ranks of the militants.

I spoke to large numbers of the released youths and they were all very bitter about their experience. I also saw the marks on their wrists where the rope or wire with which they had been tied had cut in.

In 1971, there was a decimation of the flower of the Sinhalese youth; a similar thing is happening in the North now.

President Jayewardene said "Nahi verena verani" (Hatred ceases not by hatred but by love) at the Japanese Peace Conference in San Francisco in 1951. But in Sri Lanka now....? No wonder V. Pirabakaran, leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) said in a press interview (Sunday magazine, Calcutta, 17th June 1984), "If Jayewardene was a true Buddhist, I would not be carrying a gun."

North, you people who are trying to decide on the fate of the Tamil people?

In the face of Sinhalese intransigence, sections of Tamil youth have taken up arms. The Government brands them as "Terrorists" but the youths regard themselves as "Freedom Fighters" while the people in general refer to them fondly as "The Boys", for it is by their resistance to 'state terrorism' that the Tamil race has gained a new dignity.

The reprisals on the innocent civilian population after every encounter with The Boys, especially the arrest and torture of innocent youths, are only serving to complicate the security situation in the North, thereby making it more difficult to resolve the National Question.

After the VVT outburst over 500 youths were rounded up and taken to Boosa camp, about 300 miles away from their homes, all accused of being "terrorists". After about three weeks, all except a handful of them were released because they were found to be "completely innocent". It is this type of madness on the part of the Security Forces, no doubt with the blessing of the Government, that is

I say the Military Approach will never work, even if you send the whole Army to the North. Remember Vietnam? The present approach will only strengthen the determination of the Tamil youth to fight on, as evident from the unfortunate sequence of events since President Jayewardene issued the Hitlerite order to Major-General (then Brigadier) Weeraratne in July 1979: "Exterminate the Terrorists within six months!"

I really feel sorry for the Sinhalese soldiers and police who are called upon to serve in the North, for theirs is a hopeless fight. Even the Military Co-ordinator for the North, Brigadier Nalin Senewiratne is on record as admitting that "a military solution is out of the question."

It must be realised that, just as Sinhalese nationalism, Tamil nationalism has also come to stay; it cannot be ignored or suppressed in the way some people think. The Sinhalese must recognise the legitimacy of Tamil nationalism and provide for its full expression through an equitable devolution of state power—if they want to ensure that Sri Lanka remains one country.

But if the Government remains adamant, then Sri Lanka would be heading for a civil

war situation and possible foreign intervention.

Everyone wants a solution to the National Question and an end to the butchery on both sides. (Personally, I have seen enough maimed bodies and parts of bodies, of innocent civilians, suspected militants, policemen and soldiers, at the Jaffna Hospital Mortuary that I pray I be spared such gory scenes in the future.) Or are there some people in the Government who wish to keep the issue simmering to distract the people's minds from other problems, especially the grave economic situation in the country?

The only way out, as I see it, is by repealing the Prevention of Terrorism Act, followed by the grant of an amnesty and the involvement of the Liberation Tiger groups in the process of dialogue. For just as the Palestinian Question cannot be resolved without the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the National Question cannot be resolved without the participation of The Boys.

Please remember: whatever settlement is arrived at by the APC participants, it will not be workable without the concurrence and co-operation of The Boys.

The good offices of the SATURDAY REVIEW will be available to all who desire to work towards a practicable solution.

May all beings — including the Tamil people — be well and happy.

Yours Sincerely

GAMINI
NAVARATNE

(Copies of this letter have been posted to all the participants at the APC.)

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Parakrama Bahu

the Great was a Tamil;

so was Queen

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW.

Some of leaders sometimes make statements which are far removed from the truth, may be due to ignorance or out of deliberate design to pull wool over the eyes of the people or to score a point over their political opponents.

I do not know into which category the following statements reported to have been made by President Jayewardene at the opening of the Japanese-gifted Hospital at Kotte (vide The Island of 18th September) could be assigned:

1. In 1815, the people willingly accepted the British King as our King in

place of Sri Wickreme Rajasinghe.

The people never did; it was the political leaders of the time, the Kandyan Chieftains, who did to achieve their own personal ambitions only to find that in the end they got "played out".

This is proved by the fact that the people rebelled against the British conquerors twice, in 1815 and 1848, only to be put down ruthlessly.

2. Parakramabahu VI of Kotte was the last Sinhalese king to rule the whole country...., implying that most of our kings were Sinhalese, a myth assiduously spread by most Sinhalese leaders and the Buddhist clergy.

The fact is that most of our earlier kings came from India, so did their wives. Sri Wickreme Rajasinghe himself belonged to the Nayakkar dynasty.

In this connection, I would like to cite this intriguing passage which appeared in the new bi-monthly journal Forum of 1st September.

"An oxbridge group - Prof. Kodikara, political scientist, Prof. Ralph Peiris, Chairman of the National Council for Social Sciences, and Dr. R. H. de Silva - were in confabulation like most people in Colombo about the Northern upheavals being felt only as tremors in their drawing rooms.... Dr. de Silva, who is now compiling an Index to the Mahawamsa, did not quite speak to the point. He was too preoccupied with the disturbing discovery that the greater majority of our female royalty at least were Tamil, and therefore their offspring could not be very much different, e. g. Parakrama bahu, the Sinhalese Great (of Polonnaruwa), not only was the grandson of Tamils on both sides but also was married to the grand daughter of a Tamil. Sapumal Kumaraaya, Lion of Sri Jayewardenapura Kotte, was as Tamil as they came...."

Pro Bono Publico.

Sri Jayawardanapura,
Kotte.

SECY. RESIGNS

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW.

I was taken by surprise when I read the news item entitled "How come? A Reply" in the 22nd September issue of the SR. I have been the Secretary of the College of Higher Studies referred to therein for more than ten years. A letter is purported to have been sent to you by the Secretary and I saw that letter for the first time in the SR.

I have immediately sent in my resignation from the post of secretary.

W. S. Senthilnathan
Jaffna.

LETTERS

NEXT DELIVERER FROM SRI LANKA?

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW.

Like all concerned citizens of this country, I too have been constantly worrying about the future destiny of this strife-torn country and its people. The vicious cycle of violence and counter-violence by the guerillas and the armed forces has reached such a climax that I have had sleepless nights lately. However, one evening while worrying about the ethnic problem of this country, I fell asleep and had a peculiar dream. I wish to share it with the readers of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

Smoke from burning villages rose into the evening sky. At dawn women dragged from their homes screamed their sorrow across the plains of the country.

Aghast, the stars looked down on the torn limbs of youth, children and babies.

Villages had become homes of charred rubble; old men cowered in terror, women whimpered. Men who were once soldiers of honour, had become, either bullies spreading terror or, beaten into sullen submission, limped back to their battered homes to live on as best they could.

The village meeting place mourned alone for no one dared to come to gossip or listen to the teller of tales. There was no song, no music anywhere.

From house to ruined house, from villagers and women going to market, from the wells where women gathered to bathe, wash clothes and fill water pots, whispers spread about the cruel king who ruled the land.

When, the king's soldiers came by, the whispers were silenced for a while, unhappiness brooded over the land.

In the dawn, the mist lay veiling the earth and the dew wet grass raised a drenched face to the skies. The spirit of the earth seemed to be crying. 'I cannot bear these cruelties. this unhappiness and the sorrows of my children

any longer. The laws of Dharma are forgotten."

One day, a new whisper was heard: "A deliverer shall be born." Who started it and how, no-one could say, but it spread rapidly. So rapidly, that his spies carried it to the king.

When the king heard this, he became worried and ordered that his astrologer who was also a holy sage, be brought to him. The sage came. The king went to receive him, and after placing before the sage all sorts of offerings, he asked to be blessed by him.

But before raising his hands to bless him, the sage advised the king to be kinder to his people and give up those ways that were against the laws of God. "The laws of Dharma will always win O king, not cruelty and unjust conduct."

The king laughed and said "To rule, one must be strong. If some get obliterated in the process well, that - the way it is."

"The laws are unalterable, O king. And remember, when the earth can no longer bear the terrible cruelties of man's arrogance, God's love takes human form and restores the balance."

"God?" The king laughed. "That is something that has been created to frighten the fearful. I fear neither God nor man, or sage."

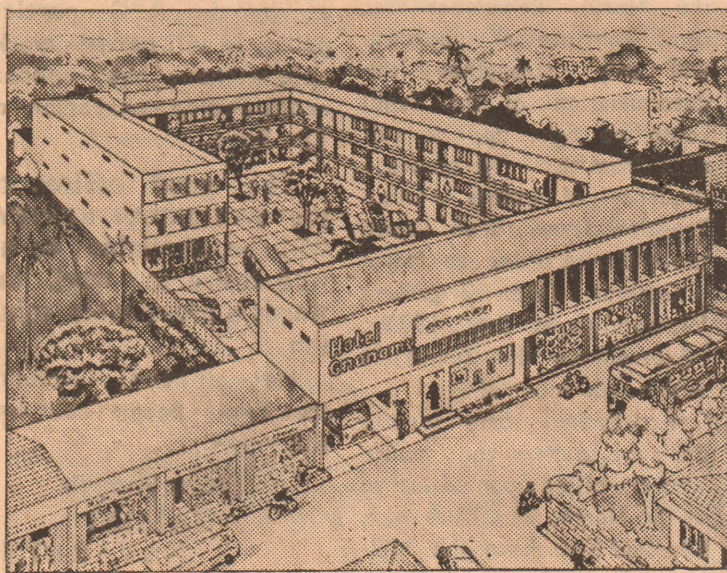
"Are you so sure? So, arrogant? My poor king, you are doomed?"

"And who will be my doom?"

However, before the sage could answer, I woke up and that was the end of the dream. But, SATURDAY REVIEW readers need not worry about my dream ended before the sage could answer. For they will remember that god took human form when similar situations existed earlier.

B. Anandkumar
Colombo.

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Unite, Mothers of North & South

The past few weeks have seen an escalation in the tempo of confrontation and retaliation on the Northern Frontier. Is the accentuated over-spill endangering civilians and their everyday life apparently a last minute strategy of desperados to drive people berserk with frustration and vindictiveness? While the involved people on either side engage in a guessing game of who came first, the hen or egg, the nation goes on trial before the fora of world opinion.

In the meantime one begins to wonder as to what has become of the call for a ceasefire made by the United Religions Organisation? Little noises have been heard echoing the same guessing game as to who should be the first to lay down arms - the mili-

tants or the army. But no direct response has been heard from the Terrorists or from the Armed Forces. Even the Government does not seem to have shown much enthusiasm about the suggestion apart from a passing comment at some political meetings.

However the most stunning silence has been from the religious sector on whose behalf the call was made. The United Religions Organisation which has been hailed as a milestone in inter-religious amity and solidarity is accepted as the joint forum of all the country's religious leaders representing Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity and Islam. But over the past three weeks no interest has been evinced by these sectors about the URO's call for a

ceasefire. One is compelled to inquire whether this silence reflects on the URO or on the Religious leaders? Does it mean a lack of confidence or a lack of conviction?

To call for a ceasefire was no doubt aimed at three sectors: the militants, the Government and all persons of goodwill. Evidently if a peace lobby had to be built up through persons of goodwill, the Religious sectors should have given a convinced leadership. But the demoralising vacuum felt over the past three weeks is, to say the least confounding.

Perhaps it is time that the grass roots level leadership took the lead in responding. If the URO's offer to mediate in bringing out reconciliation, peace and justice is to bear fruit that infra-structure of

genuine peace build up at grass roots level should precede. This is not only within the competence of the religions, it is the compelling duty of religion. Hence this is the time when the thousand flowers of people's level peace moves should converge towards a solution to which the cease-fire would offer a period of grace and understanding. People's level justice and peace units from both North and South should join hands to make the most of this offer.

The call of the mothers of the North for the freedom of the innocent under arrest surfaces another area for peace build up. Should not these mothers form a national alliance with the mothers of the South? The boys of the South fighting terrorists in

the North are as innocent as those for whom they plead. Is it not circumstances that have reduced youth of North and South to fight each other? Are these armed struggles the outcome of racism or of the aggravation of common socio-economic grievances? Will religious sectors stand above petty divisiveness and help look beyond for the deeper grievances of the youth of both North and South?

The proposed ceasefire as well as the Second Chamber should be opportunities for sanity, creating a better climate for mutual understanding and peace through justice

(The Messenger - Sunday
16th September, 1984.)

We find lakhs of fruit trees in each district, but it is a matter for regret that all these are not giving the required benefit. To plant such a tree and grow it to the existing state of maturity much of painful effort of the past generation has been responsible. The best form in which we may express our gratitude to them is by maintaining them well and thereby obtaining a very good income as well as food for the starving nations. Even our country needs more of food particularly the type of food for balancing the diet. Towards this aim we must march and for that the fruits are a must. In fact we have a very large number but the difficulty is in obtaining the maximum yield from these trees. When once we reach this state then there would be sufficient for all of us and may be a part for export either as a fresh fruits or as manufactured items.

If one were to take a careful consideration to what has been said here it would be clear that it is for the existing fruit trees instead of planting afresh and waiting for a long period of time to have the fruits, which will not be in such large quantities as that we could obtain from the existing trees.

HOW?

I am aware that there are a large number of persons who may want to obtain higher income from their fruit trees if only they knew to do

Fruit Trees: Double your Yield

it. Though the suggestions that could be given here will not suffice to solve all the problems faced by those possess fruit trees let me make an effort to help them as best as is possible.

Most of the trees lack sufficient water during the dry season and this must be rectified by arrangements made to irrigate them regularly. The period or rather the interval at which watering must be done depends on the capacity of the soil to retain water. The sandy soil requires to be watered more often, while the soil that is harder like the red and clay ones need a longer interval between irrigations. When we watch the speed with which the soil becomes dry we may be able to decide on the frequency that is required. But roughly let it be once a week in clay soil, once in five days in red soil and once in three days if the soil be of a sandy nature. There is another consideration that must be given and that is the soil may be covered with paddy, husk, dead leaves or grass to retain the moisture for a longer period. This may be done only in areas where there is no white ant problem.

The second aspect is manuring, which must be attended to annually. Most of the trees have not been given any form of manure for years and hence the first application must be fairly large given in two doses at an interval of six weeks during the rainy season. Now that the rainy season is about to set in I appeal to all those who are interested in developing their farms or improving their fruit trees in and around their houses to give priority to this aspect almost immediately. The quantity of manure required will depend on the foliage that the tree carries and the health of the tree. To start with artificial manure is necessary as the vigour of the tree must be improved without delay, and then we make use of natural manure next year. Even then we must apply limited quantities of artificial manure. Here I refer to the mixed fertiliser in which we are able to purchase separate mixtures for different types of fruit trees. If you want to use them for the orange, lime, grape and passion fruit you may use the packet specially prepared for citrus trees since all these are of the citrus variety. For the mango, jak, guava, pomegranate etc, you can use the

fruit mixture. The mixture prepared by M/S. A. Baur & Co. Ltd., is what I have been using for years and I am fully satisfied with the benefit that this gives. This does not mean that other items of fertiliser cannot be used.

Method of Applying

Manure

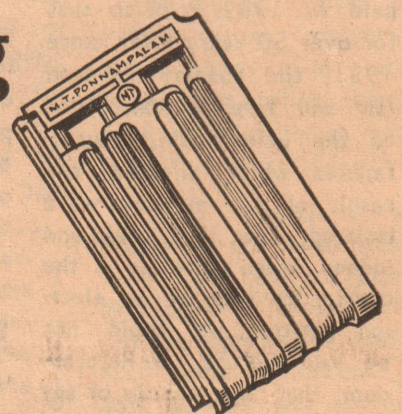
The manure that we apply must be absorbed by the hair roots and hence the area of application must be so chosen as to find the maximum number of such hair roots. To be more sure of this we must till with mamotty the area which is covered by the foliage or rather the area that is shaded by the sun at 12 noon

(Continued on page 9)

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Forces' Role in the North:

Recent Events

Recent events in the northern province of Sri Lanka have caused CRM gave anxiety. It is greatly perturbed at the increasing levels of violence in this area.

A heavy burden lies on the government and the security forces to maintain law and order, and to protect the fundamental rights of all citizens. CRM is aware that in recent times the security forces have been severely provoked by the brutal premeditated murders in ambushes of several of their colleagues by violent Tamil groups. Such murders are calculated to provoke the security forces to retaliate against the civilian population and thereby alienate them: the security forces must not play into their hands. The situation thus calls for the most rigorous, indeed iron discipline, on the part of the security forces.

CRM wishes to draw particular attention to two aspects of the present situation involving the violation of fundamental rights:

1. **Damage and destruction to property of innocent persons as a result of retaliation by the armed services to the murder of their colleagues.**

One recent example was the destruction of several shops and houses in Mannar belonging to the Muslim population who could not by any stretch of the imagination have any connection whatever with the Tamil chauvinist militants.

CRM welcomes the decision of the government to pay compensation to the persons affected both in Mannar, and to passengers of Air Lanka, a state corporation, who were injured in a bomb blast in Madras allegedly the work of Tamil militants. We ask that this commendable principle be applied uniformly and that the victims of recent violence in Valvettiturai be compensated.

Further it is necessary that the law must not only take its course as far as the offenders are concerned, but must be seen to take its

course. Action should be taken against those servicemen who broke the law in Mannar and Valvettiturai and the people must be informed of such action.

2. **The second aspect that is of concern to CRM is the mass arrest of all young men from a particular village in Jaffna.**

According to newspaper reports, over 500 young men have been taken into custody and are being held in camps in the south.

This is the text of a statement issued by Desmond Fernando, Secretary on behalf of the Civil Rights movement of Sri Lanka.

In the past those taken into custody fell into one of two categories: they were either persons who were suspected of having committed an offence, or were persons who were a threat to national security.

These young men fall into neither category.

While a government faced with a serious national security problem has the right to choose a technique that is best suited to deal with the problem it is facing, it must be remembered that a government which is committed to the rule of law and has guaranteed in its Constitution the fundamental right of freedom from arbitrary arrest is thereby limited in its choice.

CRM is, of course, aware that many of the persons so detained have been released and those who had to sit examinations were released in order to enable them to do so.

Nevertheless, the detention of persons who are admittedly innocent and who do not pose a threat to national security is indefensible.

It is important to restate what is self evident: the role of the armed services in the north is to maintain the Rule of Law and to prevent a civilized society from sliding into anarchy.

If the armed services themselves violate the Rule of Law, or resort to barbaric methods, then they have failed.

The increasing carnage in the north, the rising deaths, whether of young Sinhala soldiers, or Tamil militants, and the increase of ethnic tension have gravely affected our society.

It is, of course, urgent that a political solution be found for the ethnic problem: more delay means more deaths.

The solution has to be worked out in a spirit of goodwill.

It is important that such discussions should not be affected by extraneous considerations, such as the irresponsible anti-Sinhala racist propaganda of the Eelam lobbies here and abroad - it is an indication of the lack of the good faith of such persons that not even one document in Sinhala setting out the grievances of the Tamils has ever been published, while such documents have been published in several European languages.

Further, we urge that our own leaders examine each solution, be it a Provincial Council, or a Second Chamber, on its merits, and that the discussion be carried on continuously rather than in an ad hoc and staccato manner.

The text of a statement issued by the C.R.M.

The Civil Rights Movement is greatly perturbed by the recent amendment to the law relating to Parliamentary Elections; Act No. 36 of 1984.

Background

The Act seems to deal with the serious security problems which marked the Jaffna DDC elections and the Referendum held in 1982. Prior to that for over 50 years, ever since 1931, the country had seen fair and free elections. Prior to the Referendum, security failures which affected the result of the elections were isolated, few, and could and indeed were remedied in the courts by way of an election petition; it could not be said before the Referendum that the victory of any political party at a general election could be called in question.

Statement of problem

CRM itself drew attention to the serious systematic malpractices, particularly in

ELECTION LAW CHANGE FETTERS FREE, FAIR ELECTIONS - CRM

timidation at polling stations, which affected the result of the Referendum in statements issued at the time.

Appropriate remedy

The appropriate remedy for intimidation of presiding officers and disturbances at polling stations would have been to appoint a commission of inquiry and to have used the machinery of the law and punished offenders in the courts.

Impact of the Legislation

The government has, by the new amending Act, given statutory recognition to disturbances at polling stations; it has laid down the legal limits and scope of intimidation at polling stations. The executive has clearly abdicated its responsibility to

maintain law and order at polling stations.

Hasty Legislation

The Amending Act was rushed through Parliament and copies of the Bill were circulated to opposition M. P.s only at the commencement of the debate: its wording is tortuous, vague, obscure, and ambiguous. There was no time whatsoever for public consideration and debate, since the Bill was never made available to the public.

Some Provisions of New

Act

Among its provisions are the following:-

a. The result can be declared without a total count of the voters, cast which will result in the disenfran-

chisement of voters, namely those whose votes are in the ballot boxes which may never arrive at the counting centre.

b. An "information" which need not be in writing-made by a Presiding Officer under section 47A(1) that it is not possible to commence or continue a poll due to "the occurrence of events of such a nature will have far reaching consequences. The information is made to the Commissioner through the Returning Officer who is merely a post box. The information is conclusive of the existence of "events of such a nature" which is described as a "disturbance" in the marginal note. There is no provision for the holding of an inquiry either before or after

the information. In fact, there need be no actual disturbance at all before such an "information" is sent; it may merely be a telephone call made by a Presiding Officer who is threatened by a politician with a revolver. The consequences are far reaching: Under section 48 the counting can commence without the ballot boxes from the particular disturbed "polling station" having been received. The Returning Officer may then go on to declare a candidate duly elected without counting the votes from "disturbed polling stations".

c. A safety device which has many infirmities and is bad in principle is provided for in Section 47A(2). This section provided that the Commissioner may declare the voting at a particular polling station void. Such a power should be vested in the Courts and not in a member of the executive. The other unfortunate consequence is that this section

(Continued on page 7)

'RECURRENCE OF VIOLENCE IN SRI LANKA

The United Nations Sub-Commission on Human Rights meeting in Geneva on 30th August expressed its deep concern about "the recurrence of violence in Sri Lanka which resulted in severe loss of life and property".

This resolution of the Sub-Commission whereby the question of continuing violence and human rights violations is now brought to the attention of the Commission on Human Rights, which meets in February 1985, was passed despite grave reservations expressed by the Sri Lankan Government Representative, Mr. Jayantha Dhanapala, who contended that the Resolution could endanger "a delicately poised political negotiation currently in progress" and appealed to the Sub-Commission Members not to adopt a Resolution.

The Sri Lankan Solidarity Committee, however, noted that the negotiations known as the All Party Conference referred to by Dhanapala have yet to come up with concrete proposals to resolve the deepening crisis although it has

been meeting sporadically since January of this year.

The Sri Lanka Solidarity Committee also pointed out that despite Government denial of atrocities committed by the armed forces, and assurance given to the UN Sub-Commission which met last

year to investigate the killings an independent judicial inquiry is still awaited on the July 1983 massacre of 53 detainees while held in Government custody.

UN Sub-Commission Expresses 'Deep Concern'

year to investigate the killings an independent judicial inquiry is still awaited on the July 1983 massacre of 53 detainees while held in Government custody.

Commenting on an earlier statement made by Mr. Dhanapala before the Sub-Com-

mission when he accused the international media of "sensational reportage" of recent violence in Sri Lanka the Sri Lanka Solidarity Committee said "there is ample evidence that the suspension of legal safeguards has led to human rights violations" and referred

to the recent statement by the Bishop of Mannar who said rampaging government troops were like "an army of invasion flattening everything in its path."

(Issued by Sri Lanka Solidarity Committee, Geneva, 31st August 1984).

SUB - COMMISSION DRAFT RESOLUTION

Draft resolution submitted by Mr. Bossuyt, Mr. Despony, Mr. Joinet, Mr. Roche, Mr. Uribe Portocarrero and Mr. Valdez Baquero.

The Sub - Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

Deeply concerned about the recurrence of violence in SRI LANKA which resulted in severe loss of life and property.

Recognizing the ultimate responsibility of the Government of SRI LANKA for the protection of all sections of the community and control over the security forces.

Appreciating decision 1984/ of 14th March 1984 of the Commission on Human Rights in which it appeared to the parties to continue to take all necessary measures to strengthen and maintain peace and restore harmony among the people of Sri Lanka and welcomed all measures for rehabilitation and reconciliation.

Anxious that the All Party Conference convened by the Government will achieve the progress ardently hoped for in the direction of resolving or reducing the ethnic tension in the country.

I. I. Expresses the hope that the Government of

Election Law...

(Continued from page 6) provided for elections in instalments. Only the votes from the undisturbed polling stations will be counted on election day. Since the Counting Agents and generally candidates will be present, the entire electorate will know who has come first at this count. The Commissioner will then subsequently have a fresh poll at the disturbed polling stations. By the date of the fresh count, the entire electorate will know, who has come first at the first count, and a swing in this candidate's favour is likely to develop.

Summary of Consequences

It will be possible for a candidate who is so inclined to create "disturbances" at polling stations situated in areas where his opponent is

strong, and get the votes of the other polling stations counted. After he has come first in that count and is the virtual winner, the rest of the electorate will probably swing in his favour. The new amendment also permits a result to be declared even if ballot boxes are missing.

Conclusion

It is indeed a pity that the Ceylon (Parliamentary Elections) Order in Council of 1948, that great charter of democracy under which eight general elections and several by-elections were held and which permitted the people to democratically change their governments six times—the greatest right that the people of this country hitherto enjoyed—should now be sullied by an amendment of this nature.

AI Tells China: Protect Human Rights

Amnesty International (Wednesday 26th September 1984) urged wide-ranging reforms to protect human rights in China.

In a major new report, the worldwide human rights movement called on the Chinese Government to free all citizens imprisoned for their beliefs, to guarantee fair trials for all political prisoners, and abolish the death penalty.

The report cites evidence of mass executions, of political prisoners held for years without trial or convicted after summary proceedings, and of ill-treatment of prisoners.

The 132-Page report includes detailed case studies of prisoners of conscience and a memorandum submitted to the government. Amnesty International offered to publish comments from the Chinese authorities, but it said today that none had been received.

The report says non-violent dissent has been suppressed in China by convicting political activists of "counter-revolutionary offences" which carry sentences of 10 to 15 years in prison.

Prisoners including workers and students active in the "democracy movement" that emerged in China in 1978, Roman Catholic priests loyal to the Vatican and Tibetans accused of supporting nationalist groups.

Some political trials have been held behind closed doors, with only selected audiences allowed to attend. In some cases, prisoners' families were not even told trials were taking place.

In other cases, political prisoners have been held for years without charge or trial, assigned to labour camps for "re-education through labour". Some prisoners are reported to have been held

Sri Lanka will submit further information on the violence in Sri Lanka, including information on the progress made in the investigation of the incidents, and the recent efforts to promote communal harmony, to the Commission on Human Rights at its forty-first session.

in solitary confinement, manacled day and night for days or weeks, beaten or made to stand without moving for 24 hours without food.

Wet Jingsheng, editor of an unofficial magazine which has now been banned, is reported to have been held in solitary confinement since his trial in 1979, allowed out for exercise only once a month. Reports reaching Amnesty International said he became mentally disturbed as a result and was twice moved to hospital in Beijing (Peking) for treatment.

Amnesty International said it did not have enough information to estimate the number of political prisoners now held in Chinese prisons and labour camps. It noted that former inmates say there are political prisoners in most of the country's penal institutions.

Expressing concern about most executions that began with the launching of a nationwide anti-crime campaign in August 1983, the report points out that 44 crimes are now punishable by death in the People's Republic of China. These include "counter-revolutionary offences", theft, embezzlement, molesting women and pimping.

Summary proceedings have been used during the campaign in trials resulting in the death penalty.

Defendants can be brought to trial without being given a copy of the indictment first. Appeal procedures have been cut short; the report cites cases in which the accused were executed within six days of the alleged offence.

The report notes that "there is no recognition—either in law or in practice—of the right to be presumed innocent before being proved guilty in a court of law".

Public executions were supposed to have stopped under the law of criminal procedure in January 1980. But the report cites evidence that some executions are still carried out in public and the prisoners' bodies left on display.

Executions are carried out by the traditional method of shooting the victim in the back of the head while he or she kneels.

"Terrorists" and Plantations

Early in September, the Principal, Vice-Principal and some students of a school at Bogawantalawa were arrested by the police on suspicion of "terrorist activity".

The state-controlled DAILY NEWS gave top billing to the arrests on 8th September under the headline - "TIGER-ESTATES LINK BLOWN". The DAILY NEWS report stated:

"A Defence Ministry source said it was not known how far the recruitments had spread, but evidence was available that boys from the Hatton, Bogawantalawa, Maskeliya and Nawalapitiya areas had been roped in".

"Police made the first breakthrough when they raided a house at Maskeliya and recovered a large cache of knives, swords and terrorist literature. A middle aged

Sinhalese and his Tamil wife were arrested".

The arrests sparked off strikes in a number of estates in the region and the boycott of classes by students.

There was considerable tension on the plantations and a dangerous situation appeared to be developing.

Fortunately, the Minister of Rural Industrial Development, Mr. S. Thondaman, who

is President of the Ceylon Workers Congress, quickly met President Jayewardene, who ordered the release of the arrested persons.

Mr. Thondaman was able to convince the President that they were "innocent people".

At a press conference at the Ramakrishna Hall, Colombo, on 16th September, Mr. Thondaman explained the background to his meeting with the President.

He made the point that there was no possibility of terrorism infiltrating the plantations unless the Government itself made the mistake of arresting innocent people on suspicion and harassing them.

His words were. "There will be no terrorists from the plantations unless the Government makes mistakes as in the North".

THE GREATEST AFRICAN TRAGEDY

Twentyfive years ago the Anti-Apartheid Movement was formed in response to the appeal for the boycott of South Africa made on behalf of the oppressed people of South Africa by the late Chief Albert Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress. We recall his words:

"I appeal to all governments throughout the world, to people everywhere, to all organisations and institutions in every land and at every level to act now to impose such sanctions on South Africa that will bring about the vital necessary change and avert what can become the greatest African tragedy of our time."

Throughout the years the AAM has worked to mobilise British and world public opinion into action in support of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa and in that context for an end to international collaboration with apartheid system. Most of the

former colonial territories in the region are now sovereign independent African states but the Namibian people for whom the international community has a sacred responsibility are still being denied their freedom and independence. The apartheid regime is being driven to increasing desperation by the growth and success of the liberation struggle, especially the armed struggle, in Namibia and South Africa.

The overall success of the African liberation struggle has made the Pretoria regime increase its military and nuclear capability and under the pretext of fighting SWAPO and ANC outside its borders has devastated, through armed force and terrorism, several of the Front-Line States and now openly proclaims that its recent agreements with some of them are a direct product of its past aggression and current military capability

Yet, as President Nyerere, the Chairman of the front-Line States, stated in his message: "The front-line struggle against apartheid is in South Africa, and the front-line troops are the people of South Africa who are opposed to this inhuman system. But the effectiveness of good front-line troops always depend in large part on the strength, first of the enemy, and secondly on the support which the two sides receive from the rear echelons.

The apartheid state is very strong economically and militarily, the system its strengthened by practical support through continued foreign investment and foreign trade. The people of South Africa are without wealth, and have no arms, their struggle depends on their indomitable human spirit and the support they receive from states, organisations, and individuals who recognise apartheid as an offence against humanity and a threat to the peace of the world and the future of mankind. The Anti-Apartheid Movement is one of the organisations playing this vital external role."

The recent tour of Mr. P. W. Botha represents the first stage of a renewed and long-term offensive to win respectability for the apartheid system and endow upon it a new legitimacy and regional power role. Any relaxation of the isolation of South Africa will only encourage it to be more intransigent and aggressive.

It has already drawn great inspiration and support from the Reagan administration and other major Western powers. It remains determined to impose its domination through

out the region by its policies of aggression and destabilisation against independent African states;

Britain, which holds the largest stake in the apartheid system, has a long and shameful record of open collaboration with the apartheid regime and bears a major responsibility for the growing threat that apartheid South Africa presents to the peace and security of Africa and the world.

The anti-apartheid gains made in Britain during this period are largely due to the public campaigns of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and actions by independent Africa and the international community.

In the new situation the national liberation movements of Namibia and South Africa have called for increased international solidarity,

The apartheid regime and its allies are currently engaged in manoeuvres to undermine the UN plan for the independence of Namibia and as Andimba Toivo ja Toivo of SWAPO stated: "The liberation of Namibia is the most urgent task facing the international community today."

Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress of South Africa in his message stated; "The newly acquired respectability of the South African racists should spur us to ever greater efforts to reassert the principal of and continue the struggle for the total isolation of the apartheid regime".

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has to build on the consistent mobilising work of the past 25 years in Britain - the results of which were seen by the massive demon-

stration against the P.W.Botha visit.

We need to develop closer working relations with the liberation movements, anti-apartheid and solidarity movements, the UN, the OAU and its front-line states and the Commonwealth so that through united action we can help to achieve our objectives: a free and independent Namibia and a democratic and non-racial South Africa.

We declare apartheid to be a crime against humanity and pledge to redouble our efforts in support of the national liberation movements of Namibia and South Africa and campaign:

- * For the total isolation of apartheid South Africa and the imposition of comprehensive economic sanctions;
- * for the immediate implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia;
- * for the strict enforcement of the mandatory arms embargo and an end to all forms of military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa;
- * for an end to the traffic in oil and loans which fuel and fund the apartheid economy and its war machine;
- * for the release of Nelson Mandela and all South African and Namibian political prisoners and detainees; and
- * for the widest possible support for the Front-line States and the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference.

[Courtesy CARE (Campaign Against Racial Exploitation) Australia]

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The sources of Third World debt must be analysed before any suggestion concerning policy proposals can be put forth. It is clear that there has been a significant leap in what was otherwise a gradual process of indebtedness by countries of the Third World to both private banks of the industrialized nations and their public agencies of development assistance. What started as the underside of profitable expansion after World War II has itself turned into a major stifling retardant of economic growth.

The initial financing of corporate expansion of investments in the Third World that was thought to be beneficial to those countries insofar as it integrated them with growth opportunities has instead offered only austerity programmes that invite political instability and often repression.

As expansion in the Centre countries seems to be equated with a growth in imports, a worsening of the terms of trade and a net outflow of funds from the Third World countries, it is clear that immiserizing growth has become a real economic problem, since its proportions have finally rea-

IMF 'Solution' leads to Disaster

ched the profitability of the private sector.

Finally, private banks who ushered in an era of loan expansion with a call for the "privatization of International lending" have had to amend their earnings statements as a result of their zealous competition to acquire these now "problem" loans.

As long as the process of writing-down bad international debt remains slow, banks can accommodate their earnings statements and dividend projections and themselves remain solvent while searching for relief.

Recent earnings reductions at big money-centre banks, such as 12 per cent at Morgan Guaranty, 3 per cent at Citicorp and approximately 19 per cent at Manufacturer's Hanover, attest to the overall need to find a solution to the problem of chronic external deficit in Third World finance.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF), initially conceived as a credit union for countries of the world experiencing temporary imbalances in

their external accounts, seems no longer equipped to handle both the magnitude of the problem loans and their political implications.

While attempting to broaden its scope, the IMF lent additional sums to countries to pay their interest due and created a pile-up of debt that delayed and further damaged potential solutions to the chronic indebtedness.

Now, the only solution the IMF presents is an austerity programme whose economic foundation is tautological and whose political consequences are hostile.

To impose higher taxes and currency devaluations upon poor nations does reduce income, but since import competing goods are not indigenously produced to excessive reliance on foreign production (often local however), poverty not exports, is increased.

Foreign exchange earnings do not rise, national income falls, government spending is reduced by decree, inflation takes off

and when national sovereignty is so threatened, it is not unusual for the social fabric to be stretched to riots and repression, as occurred in the Dominican Republic in April this year.

The debtor nations must contribute to their own future by establishing a priority of their economic needs and by offering a proposal for their release from indebtedness that would not cause a rupture of the international economy of which they are the most fragile

the IMF to allow for growth are minimally acceptable terms for discussion of the Third World debt problem.

It is imperative that debtor nations realize that a call for cooperative growth can now be heard. Their influence over the pattern of world trade and development has never been more profound. This was evidenced recently by Argentina's Economics Minister, Bernardo Grinspun, when he rejected the IMF negotiators' conditions for a loan extension and dealt directly with the IMF board.

The debtor nations should seek a regional development council that eliminates duplication of production facilities that woul

by Patricia V. Linton

part, for debt repudiation without a development foundation would result in insufferable competitive struggles.

The meeting in Cartagena, Colombia in June-July 1984 of the 11 Latin American debtor nations was a triumph in this regard. Calling for changes in interest rate determination, longer grace periods, ceilings on the ratio of debt payment to foreign exchange earnings, and elimination of austerity threats by

be better suited to harvesting economies of scale, establishes a ranking of import substitution industries, negotiates foreign trade and protection and recognizes that creative financial instruments such as a development equity security could be marketable. Under the threat of a debt moratorium and under the promise that was Cartagena, the Third World can make the First World listen.

(Courtesy Development Forum.)

Fruit Trees: ...

(Continued from page 5)

when the sun shines. After tilling this area a small ridge must be made around this area so that a large bed is formed. This bed may be made smaller by placing two additional ridges at right angles keeping the tree in the middle part of these ridges. Now you have four smaller beds. Then divide the dose of fertiliser that you want to apply to this tree into four and apply each part to each bed taking care that the application is given to the entire area of the beds. But around each tree there must be an area of one to two feet depending on the size of the tree's foliage and stem. This part has to be heaped with soil to a height of about one and a half to two feet so that this heaping helps to hold the tree firmer. Such an act benefits the tree in several ways. All these must be done when the soil is wet. The application of the fertiliser is given

with the hand over the soil that was tilled. After applying you may just level the beds lightly with a rake so that a good part of fertiliser will be covered with the soil. This sprinkling of water must be done twice or thrice at an interval of over six hours so that all the fertiliser gets dissolved. Suppose you apply the fertiliser in the evening you may apply the water just after applying the fertiliser. The second sprinkling of water may be made in the following morning and again in the afternoon. This process may be repeated further if you find that there is the necessity. It must be noted that the application of this fertiliser must be undertaken on a day when there is heavy rain as it will wash away most parts of what we give the tree. Limited rain or water is required for the tree to make benefit while excessive water is harmful. For this purpose the month of November must be

avoided since we have heavy rain during this month.

Pruning

Pruning of most of the fruit trees is a must if the foliage is bound to be too much. But in most cases of neglected trees pruning must not be undertaken. Just like tilling the soil making more roots (hair roots) the act of pruning helps to find more of fresh shoots. Increased foliage is wanted by the tree since the food for the trees is prepared in the leaves. Similarly increased hair roots help in absorbing the nutrients found in the soil. Those who feel that they require further assistance may contact me by post and I shall be glad to help them to obtain more yield from their fruit trees that are certainly capable of giving double the present yield and even treble. If a thousand persons start now surely it will be ten thousand next year.

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IF POLITICS IS THE SCIENCE of government as well as the art of governing, then the importance of the role of politicians can easily be understood. No community or section of human society affect the lives of a people as much as this body of social scientists-cum-artists as the politicians. In fact, their being efficient or otherwise depends largely on whether the dominant section among them consists more of social and political scientists or social and political artists. The best thing is the combination of the two elements in the politician. But if there has to be a choice it would be desirable to have a politician having temper and quality of a social and political scientist rather than that of a political artist knowing only the art of influencing people without a proper vision.

It is at once true that in a representative form of government where the people have a right to choose their representatives periodically, the politician needs to have the ability of making friends and influencing people and convincing them. This, however, does not necessarily mean that he should be a good orator or stage performer. But it does mean that he should be close to the people and they should feel that they can entrust their well-being in the hands of this person in electing him as their representative.

Important Role

Politicians have acquired an important role as a class or community, mainly in the context of modern democracies where the people get a right to choose their repre-

Dirty Dozen - I

sentatives to look after the governing of their society. This governing, in modern times, is not restricted only to law and order and defence, but touches and covers practically every field of activity in a given society. Hence the quality, capacity, character and role of politicians becomes even more relevant.

During the Indian Independence struggle, because there were less opportunities for sharing the loaves and fishes of political power except for those who sided with the colonial rulers, the freedom movement itself meant incurring the wrath of the rulers and suffering hardships. Even in a peaceful movement, there was always the risk of internment in jails and detention for longer periods.

All this threw up a cadre and a class of politicians who were ready to face these hardships and who as a part of movement under the leadership of Gandhiji, and even earlier during the period of Gokhale, Tilak, Lala Lajpatrai, Bipin Pal and others; adopted a certain pattern and code of national discipline and personal behaviour. Their main capital was the example that they would set for their countrymen and the confidence that they would inspire in them in the struggle for independence. With Gandhiji coming on the scene, he brought in even a stricter code of personal life and discipline in the form of khadi constructive work, etc.

However, as soon as we became independent, although

in the earlier phase we had the leadership which had emerged from the discipline of the freedom movement and its culture, the same did not last long because the whole value system got conditioned by the economic system which, in effect, sanctified not only exploitation of one section by another but accumulation of gains made without consideration for the means in the hands of the few.

Although in theory people everywhere, mainly those in authority and in the Press, kept on condemning and criticising corruption, the source of corruption the growth of unaccounted money and its use, corruption in

practice got sanctified and has virtually become a part of life. As Vinoba once observed "Slowly but surely, Bhraastachar itself became Shistachar" meaning that corruption became the true code of life.

Black Value

It is here that like people coming out of the coalmine accusing one another of having one's face and body blackened there is no field of life where one can say that directly or indirectly it has not been affected by this phenomenon of black money and the black value system. The people who appear to be holiest are

those who criticise the most particularly in the Fourth Estate. But even a superficial scrutiny will show that those who criticise most vehemently would not, if put to a test, be able to say that they do not partake in the flow for overflow of the unaccounted wealth.

Enjoying Power

Unfortunately, after the first euphoria in the post-Independence era, the politicians slowly sagged into a comfortable role of enjoying power, leaving the task of actual administration and even formulation of policy, step by step, to the bureaucrats, believing that it is not ne-

values very soon discovered that to fight an election they need funds and these funds do not come by circulating buckets and baskets, but come mainly from those who have amassed the unaccounted wealth and who are giving it with a hope that the beneficiaries will play their role when they become representatives.

Thus, the dirt and the dirty politicians are a phenomenon, which is the result of a system which we have allowed to grow in spite of ourselves, nay, through our connivance and may be due to a willing acquiescence of some. As long as we do not have the earnest desire to change this system and structure and plug the source of the poisonous pollutant of corruption, it will only remain a cry in the wilderness, one accusing the other of being corrupt, chopping off a few heads to satisfy the conscience and to deceive ourselves and the people, but without any real impact on the way of life.

(Courtesy, Yojana 15th August 1984)

by **Vasant Sathe**
(India's Minister of Chemicals and Fertilisers)

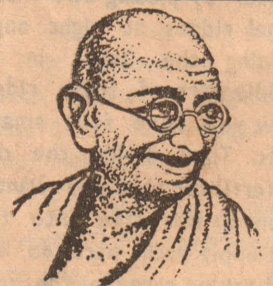
cessary for them to have any direct hand in administration or implementation of policies. They thought that their role was restricted only to being the propagandist and pulpit preachers of the political platform.

The result was that a whole system has developed in which it was felt day by day that it was not necessary to have any specialisation, expertise or knowledge for politicians to be the representatives of the people. That any one who could have a charismatic appeal and who could use the publicity technique of projecting a person could get elected and that was the end of it.

Once elected, it was only a case of gathering the fruits of power to secure the wherewithal for the next election as well as the enjoyment that goes with the money power. This is how a crop of politicians, whose value system was reduced to the formula of somehow acquiring power, came into being.

This phenomenon is common to all political parties. It may differ in degrees according to availability of opportunities but the philosophical or value base is the same all over. The political parties whose cadre was fed on the slogans of socialist

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Transnational Monitor

Calling transnational corporations "the most dynamic, yet destructive agents in the world economy", over 100 leading critics from throughout the world have announced a major new initiative to organise a "transnational citizens' movement" to counter corporate abuses and promote alternative forms of development.

The announcement concluded a four-day conference in Washington DC, entitled "Meeting the Corporate Challenge", which was organized by the Institute for Policy Studies/Transnational Institute and attended by representatives from the Nestle boycott campaign, the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, the American Friends Service Committee, Corporate Campaign, Inc., and from countries as distant as Brazil and the Philippines.

The conference brought together academics and

activists from around the world representing workers, consumers, churches, environmentalists, women's groups and indigenous peoples—to discuss the role of transnational corporations in the global economy and to propose steps to counter their harmful effects. Funding for the gathering was provided by church and private foundation sources.

The conference saw transnational corporations as playing a role dominating jobs, resources, economic decision-making, world trade, production and the distribution of goods and services. In this, they are seen as acting frequently at the expense of people's needs—at the expense of workers in general and female workers in particular. Many of their practices were called into question during the conference.

Participants discussed and assessed the effectiveness of local, national and international campaigns (such as the boycott of Nestle products) and other efforts to influence corporate behaviour, and highlighted areas where future work and broader popular alliances are needed.

Plans were made to establish a global clearing-house to facilitate future research and action by corporate critics, to be based initially at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington; the clearing-house is intended to amplify the effect of individual groups by helping them to share information and to strategize and act in concert.

Specific objectives of the new initiative include:

- ★ disclosing transnationals' operating methods and behaviour;

- ★ developing tools for regulating their activities at the domestic and international levels;

- ★ replacing the development model dominated by transnational capital with one based on co-operation, democracy, and respect for the diversity of cultures, nations and ways of organizing production, finance, and society;

- ★ examining, and acting to halt, the role of transnationals in the worldwide expansion of militarism;

- ★ exploring ways to regain popular control over the development and dissemination of technologies so as to serve the needs of people rather than profit;

- ★ developing resources and expertise to communicate the issues and consequences of transnational corporations to the news media and the general public;

- ★ establishing in North America and other regions transnational information exchanges linking corporate researchers with workers' organizations and other social groups concerned with corporate power.

(Courtesy, *Development Forum*)

SPORTS

by Victor Kiruparaj

Soccer and Anacondas

Mahajana College which is synonymous with soccer never had it so easy a little over a decade ago when she whipped Jaffna Central 6—0 in the final of the Jaffna Schools' Soccer Tournament held on Parameswara College grounds.

Jaffna Central led by the dashing spearhead and sharp-shooter, M. Sylvester (who later turned up regularly for the prestigious Colombo club, Ratnams S.C. was a well-knit and formidable combination which came up the hard way into the final edging Manipay Hindu in a close and exciting semi-final tussle.

Soccer of a very high order was anticipated in the grand final in which the Centralites were expected to hold their own against the might of Mahajana, the reigning champions. Even Mahajana with their skipper and fleet-footed opportunist and goal-getter, P. Sivanandarajah, had her qualms of what the outcome would be in the final. But alas! it proved to be a one-sided affair, with Central's Team mere passengers in this grand final which turned out to be a farce.

What was the cause of Central's dismal performance in this key encounter? Has anyone hitherto given thought to the circumstances that led to her pathetic display on Parameswara grounds where many thousands of ardent soccer fans had turned up to witness the giants in action.

The Jaffna Central Soccerites in fact had been put up in the College hostel a day before the final. They stayed together, dined and lunched together as a team till they left for the venue of the match the following afternoon. A residential teacher (not the Soccer Coach) who appeared to have taken a keen and abiding interest in the welfare of the team throughout the season graciously consented to provide the players with breakfast and lunch on the day of the final. The writer smelt a rat

when the breakfast included string-hoppers, eggs and what not. After several helpings of the food served out, they must have felt really heavy. Even before their rather heavy breakfast could digest, tables were laid out for a banquet-like lunch, fit enough for a king and his entourage. The team devoured in all greed the delectable delicacies. Their gargantuan meal over, each player moved about clumsily like a bloated anaconda. To add insult to injury, the team was served with tea and snacks before it left in the College bus to the venue of the match. The writer, for all the while, knew that Central's fate had been sealed.

The first half saw the Centralites concede but one goal, despite their lethargic and restricted movements. Central's fast moving quintette which usually pierced through any defence with purpose and precision, appeared to 'wander' aimlessly like inflated balloons. Even though the defence fumbled and stumbled time and again, it nevertheless managed in its effort to keep goal-hungry Mahajanians at bay.

At this juncture, Central's supporters heaved a sigh of relief but not for long. For in the second half, the rich and heavy food they had taken began to take its toll. Their defence fell to pieces. Their front-liners including the terrible combine of Sylvester and Walters, appeared to forget the role they were expected to play. Mahajana's mauling marauders, sensing Central's predicament, wove patterns round the virtually immobile defence of their opponents to find the net at regular intervals through skipper Sivanandarajah, S. Manoranjan and T. Visvanathan the tally up to a grand half a dozen.

Perhaps the reader may now be eager to know who this great-hearted BENEFACTOR (not an old Centralite) was. Perhaps your guess may be as good as mine. One may forget the outcome of this encounter, but one may not easily forget the strategy adopted.

News Briefs

U. S. Influence in Sri Lanka

'Sri Lanka has been handed over to America and Israel's Mossad to solve the country's internal problem', said T. U. L. F. Secretary-General Mr. Amirthalingam, at the World Peace Day meeting held at the John de Silva Memorial Hall.

A New Twist

An Israeli source in London said that Israel has been committed to help Sri Lanka because of 'Palestinian connections with Tamil terrorists'.

Jaffna Bishop's Denial

According to a report by Ian Ward to the Daily Telegraph, Bishop Deogupillai of Jaffna denied that the Church was in league with militant Tamil Youths. The Bishop said that the Church always condemned violence but had to stand by its people. His position was 'extremely delicate'.

Commando on Bail

Mr. Lalith Bandula Wickremasinghe, police commando, was given bail of Rs. 2000/- for an alleged assault on Dr. Ranasinghe

of Kandy Hospital. This sparked off a day's taken strike at the Hospital.

Mathagal Shelled

Many people in the Mathagal area have been compelled to leave their homes and take refuge in temples and churches allegedly because of 'shell firing'.

Gruesome tale

At the inquest of Kalavathy, the 19 year old, pregnant wife of Thangathurai, the husband stated that he saw a 'ball of fire piercing the roof of his house and falling at the place where both were sleeping. He saw his wife bathed in a 'pool of blood'. This happened between 9.30 and 10 p.m at Valvai in the Valvettiturai area.

Mothers at Jaffna Kachcheri

A delegation of about 80 mothers and 10 males met the G.A. and entreated him to see that their sons who were detained at Boosa Camp were released. The G.A. assured the delegation that the authorities had promised their release soon.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

WAILING MOTHERS DEMAND THEIR CHILDREN

"We are mothers. We can't live without seeing our children. Our entire family is unable to eat any food because everyone in the family is weeping. Please hand back our children", a delegation of Vadamaradchi (Valvettiturai and Point Pedro area) mothers told Brigadier Nalin Seneviratne on 25th September.

Calming these wailing mothers down became quite a problem.

A delegation of mothers from Vadamaradchi Citizens' committees met the Brigadier to ask him to hand back their children who are now held in the deep south, Boosa, Galle.

The Government Agent Jaffna, Mr. M. Panchalingam, had arranged for this meeting.

The mothers, including wives and sisters of the detenus were in the delegation.

'NO' FROM SANGHA
While the United National Party Working Committee has approved the proposals presented by the Government at the "ALL-PARTY CONFERENCE" on the ethnic problem, the Supreme Council of the Maha Sangha has decided to oppose them in principle.

The Valvai Citizens' Committee delegation first met the Brigadier.

The Brigadier explained to the delegation that, at present, there are only 67 youths detained at Boosa. They are under interrogation, and he had instructed the Boosa Camp authorities to send back the detenus immediately the investigations are over. But, he said, he could not request them to send them to the camps here.

He also emphasised that youths who were taken into custody on the 4th and 5th August are not in any physical danger and that if anything like that happened, he said, "I am responsible".

The names of 13 people who had been released on 24th August were read out at this stage. The mothers of the other youths began wailing aloud at this point.

NOTICE TO SATURDAY REVIEW SUBSCRIBERS

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From Columbia to Anaipanthy

— With Love !

One must really be stunned by the advertisement which appeared in the Sunday edition of a Tamil newspaper inviting applications for an Engineering course. The advertisement stated that the U.S.A has sanctioned the setting up of a resident Campus of the Columbia University in Sri Lanka.

"Where could it be" everyone may wonder with raised eyebrows. But I can assure you that the "Resident Campus" will not be set up in Colombo or Kandy or Ronnie's favourite Ruhunu but in Jaffna. (So, the Golden Era of education in Jaffna is to be back soon, without missionaries and the British!).

The College of Higher Studies at Anaipanthy, Jaffna, a Tutory (sorry, a senior secondary school approved by the Ministry of Education in 1954) will be starting a Private Medical and Engineering College.

The 'prospectus' issued by the 'College of Higher Studies' reveals something very interesting. The fees are staggering from the common man's point of view. Students' admission forms are issued, but those are from a different stock, it seems: "The Advanced Professional College of Sri Lanka". Would anyone kindly inform me whether such an Advanced Professional College of Sri Lanka exists? If it does exist, would anyone inform me its whereabouts?

I fear that a process of privatisation of education is being imposed secretly. The privatisation of educa-

tion is also a by-product of our "open economy plus a dharmista" socio-economic and political set-up which is said to be flourishing in a "Five Star Democracy".

The process of undermining Free Education has already been geared up by the setting up of a Private Medical College in Colombo despite vehement protests.

When the exodus of Tamil students from southern Universities began after the attack by their Sinhalese counterparts, the demand for establishing an Engineering, Agriculture and some other Faculties in the existing universities at Jaffna and Batticaloa was turned down and the Government was adamant in refusing to set up such Faculties in the North and East.

Now a Jaffna Tutory (you call a tutory a tutory!) rises to face the plight of the Tamil students in imparting medical and engineering education!

I don't know whether it has been approved by the Government or not but surely, soon after their advertisement appeared in the newspaper, their office must have been surrounded by VIPs, Lancers and Cortinas and their telephone too must have continued to ring. (Do they have a telephone at least?)

So quietly fades Free Education and so quickly follows privatisation!

—'Anaipanthyan'

IUF CONCERNED ABOUT TAMILS

The following is the text of a resolution adopted by the Asia-Pacific Regional Committee of the International Union of Food and Allied Workers Associations (I.U.F.):

The Asia-Pacific Regional Committee meeting in Tokyo is deeply concerned about the organised persecution

400 Youths Rounded up

Tension and panic prevail in Mullaitivu after the security forces encircled the area and reportedly took away 400 youths in a "combing out operation". They were transported by SLTB buses to Puthukudiyiruppu Maha Vidyalayan which has been converted into a detention camp.

Some Survey Department personnel camped at Alambil, too, were taken in.

The Chavakachcheri Police Station was attacked on 21st September by an armed gang of about 50 persons while another armed gang attacked the Kaluwanchikudi Police Station the next day.

of the Tamil minority and the economic, social and political sequels of the attack on Tamil persons, institutions and business enterprises in July, 1983, and calls on the Government of Sri Lanka:

To take immediate steps to rehabilitate the economic sectors affected by the attacks and re-establish the jobs of the workers who lost their employment through the destruction of the production facilities of their employers, in particular:

- Through ensuring prompt and full compensation payment (by insurance companies or other institutions) and
- Through making re-investment into production facilities mandatory for such compensation payments, by legislation or incentive schemes;

To lift the State of Emergency and to re-establish conditions for the free exercise of democratic and trade union rights in order to make possible democratic solutions to the present crisis.

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