

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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and
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ALL TAMILS - TO ACTIONSTATIONS

It is time the Tamil people of Sri Lanka take their destiny in their own hands.

The youth have been compelled to take care of certain aspects of the situation, but there are so many other aspects which need immediate, concerted action.

Over riding everything else is the need for the Tamil people to be able to feel physically secure and to live with self-respect and dignity at least in their own homelands.

It is with this larger objective in mind that the SATURDAY REVIEW (in the issue of 8th September) proposed the formation of a Peo-

ple's Action Committee in Jaffna.

The proposal has been welcomed by a large number of individuals and organizations while a very few individuals have expressed reservations.

Among the latter, are some persons holding office in existing organizations. They appear to fear that their own positions may be undermined if an organization of this type proposed is formed.

The People's Action Committee is not going to supplant or supersede any existing organisation.

The plan is to bring together all the organisations in the north engaged in the people's welfare because we believe that a co-ordinated effort would yield better results than the present individual efforts.

The PAC, as we visualise it, will be a loose non-political organisation without a formal constitution and elected office-bearers.

Every person in the North can consider himself or herself to be a member of it because what is contemplated is mass action in the Gandhian Manner in given situations.

However, to plan strategy and give directions, there will be at the core a presidium of seven members—four males and three females—to be selected from among representatives of the various existing organizations.

The immediate task is to ensure that there is no further erosion of the fundamental and human rights of the people.

Already, the people have suffered enough and more suffering will

be their lot unless they decide to come out of their shells, shed their selfishness and unite in action.

The Northern Province Lawyers' Association, for instance, did not show much perturbation about the tragic events in the North until one of their own kind was subject to state terrorism.

The situation in the North is such now that no one is safe and there is no place to hide.

Only mass action of the Gandhian type could safeguard the basis rights of the people.

The recent mothers' Padayatra to demand the release of their sons detained by the Army is a good illustration of what peaceful protests could achieve.

The SATURDAY REVIEW'S role will be limited to bringing the PAC into being. We invite representatives of Citizen's Committees, Trade Unions, Professional Associations, Youth Organizations, Political Parties and other organizational bodies to send a representative each for a preliminary meeting to be

held shortly. Interested individuals will also be welcome.

It is likely that representatives from a number of organisations in the South will also be present.

The date and venue of the meeting will be announced in the SATURDAY REVIEW.

Book Donation

'Y' Men's Club of Manipay has donated a library of books to the Children's Orphanage of Arulmanai, Manipay on 22nd September. Mr. C. S. Muthukumar, District Governor, North, formerly opened the library and Rev. Ambalavarnar, Bishop of Jaffna blessed this occasion.

CENSORED

No, the special censorship imposed on the SATURDAY REVIEW since it was allowed to resume publication in February this year, after a seven month ban, has not been revoked, though on occasion we omitted reference to it in the paper.

Every item intended for publication in the SATURDAY REVIEW, including sports copy, has to be submitted to the Government Agent of Jaffna, who is the Competent Authority appointed for the purpose of censorship of Jaffna publications under the Emergency Regulations.

Corp. Washes off Its Hands

The Insurance Corporation of Sri Lanka has rejected the insurance claim for Rs. 4.25 million filed by the Jaffna Co-op. Stores Ltd., whose head office building at 420, Hospital Road, Jaffna, was completely destroyed by fire on 9th April, 1984. Full details in the next issue.

Saturday Review

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EDITOR

GAMINI NAVARATNE

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Public Administration Dept. Flouts its Own Order

A deputation of the Government Clerical Service Union met the Director of Combined Services, Mr. Melvyn Wijesekara and protested that the Department of Public Administration, which controls the entire Public Service, had not established transfer boards, as required by Government policy.

The delegation pointed out that Combined Services Circular No. 290 informed all Secretaries of Ministries and heads of departments that action should be taken to hold properly constituted transfer boards to transfer officers of the Combined Services from the beginning of 1985 and, in accordance with those instructions, several ministries and departments had already established transfer boards. But the Department of Public Administration, which issued the circulars, had not set up such a board.

In clarification, the Director said that though it was true that instructions to hold transfer boards have been given to the other Ministries and departments, a policy decision had been taken not to hold a transfer board in the department of Public Administration.

The Union representatives, in lodging a strong protest against this decision, said that the action of surreptitiously accommodating requests of UNP trade unions had virtually weakened the long-standing scheme of transfer boards.

When the Director said he could not help it, however, the Union representatives pointed out that such discrimi-

nations were rampant in the entire Public Service today.

The Union representatives vehemently opposed the procedure adopted by the Department to release public officers for full time trade union work, a concession enjoyed for nearly 30 years, only if the concurrence of the Minister in charge was obtained.

The Director said that was a policy decision but the Union representative said that no one was aware that such a decision had been taken except those who had taken the decision.

The General Secretary of the G. C. S. U. Mr. Gunasena Mahanama and the Treasurer Mr. Stanley Wimalasiri de Silva comprised the Union delegation.

NEW LIFE FOR REFUGEES

The 116 refugee families which have been staying at the Kalthady Refugees' Camp since August 1983 will get houses and land under the rehabilitation programmes designed by the Nonviolent Direct Action Group (NVDAG) soon.

All these families which have expressed their determination to settle in the Northern Province will be given suitable projects to earn their living, too.

Some 40 families have been already moved to the village of Maravampole, where the construction of houses has begun by the NVDAG with help from the Ministry of Rehabilitation.

The Ministry will give financial assistance for each house, and the Refugees Rehabilitation Fund 1983, has agreed to dig up seven wells at the scheme. The administration work of the project has been entrusted

to the NVDAG. It has nominated four volunteers to carry on the project.

It hopes to finish up the 40 houses before the end of the year 1984, and it hopes to hand over the houses to the refugee families before the festival of the Tamil-Sinhalese New Year.

Mr. S. Tharmapalan, Assistant Commissioner of Essential

Services of Jaffna, the Rev. Sr. Maria Rosa, Project Co-ordinator, Mr. B. J. Arulnayagam, the Co-ordinator of the Refugee Camp, Mr. S. Thuralajah, manager of the camp and Mr. K. Jeevagathas, Secretary of the NVDAG participated in the foundation laying ceremony. (From NVDAG Report, September 1984).

THIRUKKURAL GEMS

No. 567 (Kadumollum....)
Severe words and excessive punishment will be a file to waste away a King's power for destroying (his enemies).
Translated by Rev. Drew and John Lazarus.

No. 570 (Kallarp...)
A Cruel monarch favours ig-

norant councillors; the earth has no other burden than this.

Translated by M. R. Rajagopala Iyengar.

No. 582 (Ellarkum....)
It is the duty of a king to know quickly all that happens, at all times, amongst all men.
Translated by Rev. Drew and John Lazarus.

No. 584 (Vinaiseivar....)
Espionage consists of watching all People, to wit, the king's employees, his relations and his enemies.

Translated by V. R. Ramachandra Theedchithar.

No. 588 (Ottoti....)
Even the information that hath been obtained by a spy should be tested by that of another.

Translated by V. V. Subramania Iyer.

(Compiled by V. T. K.)

Proverbs of Solomon—the Ancient King of Israel

Happy is the man with a level-headed son; sad the mother of a rebel.

Ill-gotten gain brings no lasting happiness; right living does.

The Lord will not let a good man starve to death, nor will He let the wicked man's riches continue for ever.

Lazy men are soon poor; hard workers get rich.

A wise youth makes hay while the Sun shines, but what a shame to see a lad who sleeps away his hour of opportunity.

(Compiled by Jupiter)

Major Victory, says Colvin

The following statement has been issued by Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, on the talks the four parties (LSSP, CP, SLMP, MEP) had with President Jayewardene:

The outcome of the interview of the four parties with the President is a major victory in our struggle to defend the democratic rights and freedoms of the people against the repressive attacks of the UNP Government. Withdrawal of the Emergency Regulations will ease the situation generally for the people outside the Northern and Eastern Provinces and not only for the Opposition in

the pending by-elections. If by-elections are held in every case of a seat falling vacant in Parliament, it will help to bring the masses back actively into the political arena. We shall, of course, continue the struggle to draw the masses into struggle for their rights and freedoms against the Government in the pending by-elections".

Free Legal Aid

The Community Advice Centres (a voluntary organisation providing free legal advice to persons who cannot afford to retain lawyers) held its second anniversary meeting on 26th August in Colombo.

The CAC does not confine itself to giving advice. Where necessary it brings people's problems to the notice of persons in authority and even get them raised in Parliament.

In a press release, the CAC requests persons who wish to obtain its services to write or call over at 53, Rajamalwatte Road, Colombo 15.

NOTICE TO SR SUBSCRIBERS

It is observed that many subscribers, both in Sri Lanka and abroad, have still not renewed their subscriptions in spite of repeated reminders.

All those subscribers who are in arrears are kindly requested to renew their subscriptions without any further delay, furnishing particulars to:

The Circulation Manager
Saturday Review,
P. O. Box 122,
Jaffna.

Fourth October 1984
is the 3rd anniversary of
THE ISLAND not, the
4th, as inadvertently
printed on page six of
this issue.

Mahatma Gandhi was one of the greatest leaders of the anti-imperialists movement in India and led the people in their revolutionary struggles for freedom and independence.

Here is a great life, a great leader, a hero of history who led the masses organised them, disciplined them and put them to battle against the alien rulers and their Indian allies of the princely order. Here is a man who made history, from the year 1919, till 1948, when he was felled by the hand of a foul assassin. Let the historians test their theories in regard to this phenomenon of the Mahatma and the masses, the Indian revolution and the role of Gandhi.

Who made whom?

Did the Mahatma make the masses or the masses make the Mahatma?

Did the masses make history or was it the Mahatma who wielded history according to his own ideas, according to what he and he alone chose to make of the dumb masses, who are often described as a mass of inert earth, awaiting the coming of the all-knowing divine hero or avatar to breathe life into it?

Or was it that the masses, at the given stage of their historical development, conditioned by several objective factors, by their collective experience and instinct, moved into revolutionary action against the oppressive rule of the Imperialists, who hit back with the most horrible massacre of the masses, that shook Gandhi and brought him forth on the historical scene, which inspired him thenceforward to give fighting slogans, build an organisation and become its leader?

Rises of Masses

The phenomenon of the rise of the masses and the Mahatma was one of interaction of one on the other with a continuous exchange of ideas, actions and experiences between the two, in which, for all time, the masses in action put their stamp on history, and the Mahatma, oftentimes helping and sometimes hindering, read the mind of the millions, got up to lead them and they followed him.

And yet when we teach history, we say that it is Mahatma Gandhi who led India to success and his ideas and his inspiration alone that brought us freedom. If Gandhi had not been given unto us, where would we be?

Though these are good sentiments and give honour

Gandhi, The Great Anti - Imperialist

to the founder of the Indian state, they are neither strictly true to history nor scientific, but follow from a subjective, metaphysical view of history, which can be illustrated by the life of Gandhi himself.

Mahatma Gandhi belonged to a well-to-do family, was brought up in the surroundings of a princely India in Saurashtra, got the highest education in England and took to practising British law. He believed in loyalty to the empire, which he considered as an emblem of justice, equity and democracy. The oppression of the Indians in South Africa by the white ruling-class roused him to resistance but that did not shake his faith in the empire. It is well known that during the First World War he worked for the empire and its victory, while many revolutionaries at that time conspired to overthrow it and went to the gallows.

The empire won the war. But while the masses had to bear the burdens of the war, the imperialists and their followers in India fattened on its profits.

The masses began to take to strike in revolt. They were suppressed by that very British Army for whose success Gandhi had worked. The Jallianwala Bagh massacre and the revolt of the people alone led Gandhi himself to revolt. The loyalist in him died and the determined revolutionary came forward to lead the people. He proclaimed that the government was a satan and satan must be destroyed. Evil cannot be reformed, it has to be ended. You cannot cooperate with evil, it has to be resisted - and fought.

All-India Hartals

He gave the slogan of all India hartals, which were the real precursors of present-day bandhs. By that he set the masses of the whole country into all-national coordinated motion and brought them on the streets with an articulate common political aim—swaraj in one year.

The question for historians of the metaphysical theory is: Who made whom in this very concrete stage of India's history?

The answer is plain. The masses led and acted, made the Mahatma change his loyalty to the empire into a revolutionary opposition. That brought forth his innate qualities of leadership, organisation, fearlessness and adherence to mass action, as the ultimate weapon into play.

Gandhi learnt from the masses and led them. The individual became the instrument of history, made by the masses in action, who wrote with their blood the glorious pages of our freedom movement.

Let me cite another phase of the Mahatma's life and thinking to illustrate my proposition that great men's ideas alone do not make history though they play an important part in it; that these

Mahatma Gandhi's 115th birth anniversary fell on 2nd October! These excerpts from a tribute to him by Mr. S. Dange, a founder member of the Communist Party of India, on the occasion of his birth centenary in 1969, are reproduced in the SATURDAY REVIEW to remind the public of his monumental services to mankind. The views expressed by Mr. Dange (now no longer in the Communist Party, having being expelled a few years ago for 'anti-party' activities) are so different from the usual adulation heaped on Gandhi by various persons, President Jayewardene included.

ideas also spring from the objective law of social development and if they run counter to it, instead of serving it, they are summarily rejected by the masses and history. I shall refer to this later.

As we all know Gandhi wanted to rebuild modern India on the basis of his own conception of society and history, which in essence presented nothing but the basic

concepts and organisational pattern of medieval Hindu India. He had outlined them in his book *Hind Swaraj*, before he became the leader of the Indian revolution.

Spinning Wheel

He wanted a social economy based on the old means and mode of production, i.e. the spinning wheel and the bullock-cart, the varna dharma, without untouchability. He wanted the wealth of the millionaire to be left to them in trust, the family to be based on celibacy and contradictions and antagonisms to be settled through ahimsa, change of heart of the wrong-doer by the suffering of the wronged. He was also opposed to war of any kind.

During his very life, all these ideas of his were negated by the march of history and the Mahatma, the realist that he was, reconciled himself to it.

by S. A. Dange

Take his famous dictum of nonviolence as the precondition of every mass or individual action. When he was preparing for action to overthrow the government in 1920-21 and wrote in *Young India*, those famous roaring challenges of "Lion Shakes the Mane" and the "Dance of Death" to the satanic empire, the Chauri Chaura peasants killed some policemen who had fired on them. Immediately, Mahatma Gandhi called off the movement, and walked to the prison. The empire, which was in suspense, felt relieved, the masses felt discomfited and defeated. The nation suffered a great retreat. Imperialism attacked, disrupted and shattered the revolutionary advance, by fomenting dissensions and Hindu-Muslim riots and what not.

Mahatma Gandhi realised with horror the mistake of his tactics and how the enemy had taken advantage of his ahimsa.

The masses never accepted his precondition of ahimsa. Thus you find later on in history that whenever the

masses became restive and the Mahatma launched the great movements of 1930, 1942 and 1945, though he called for observance of ahimsa, he never made it an absolute precondition and never called off the struggles merely because the masses retaliated the "leonine violence" of the oppressors with counterviolence.

The British pleaded with him to stop the violence in those years and twitted him on his failure to adhere to his high principles, but he refused to react and blunder again as in 1921. Violence and nonviolence ceased to be the decisive determining factor in his direction of the mass movement, after seeing the disastrous effects of his line in 1921, though he continued to preach as before.

Once again, the question is: Who learnt from whom and who taught whom and who led whom?

State Power

The masses taught the Mahatma and he learnt from them that the violence of the state power cannot always be met by nonviolence, that the masses did not bother to quibble about ends

and means. They did not think that the noble "ends" of freedom are incompatible with so called ignoble means of violence though it does not mean that violence alone and always, under all conditions, is a necessary accompaniment of the revolution. In the final analysis, the initial source of violence is the state power of the ruling class of exploiters. Violence begins with them and ends with their end.

His trusteeship theory also met the same fate.

Christ drove the money-lenders from the temple of Jerusalem, and they came back. Buddha banned his followers from even having more than two pieces of cloth. But before his very eyes, his princely disciple murdered his father for the throne.

Similarly, big millionaire followers of the Mahatma fired on the workers when they asked for a pittance from the great profit-hoards of these 'trustees'. And to atone for their sins, they

(Continued on page 11)

Through a Child's Eye

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW

I am an eleven-year-old Sinhalese girl living in Colombo. I had a Tamil friend of my age living next door. But their house was burnt down last year and she went to Jaffna. I have not heard from her yet. I miss her so much because she was my best friend.

Is she angry with me because I am a Sinhalese and because the Sinhalese burnt her house? If so, I can understand why she is angry. Why should the Sinhalese have burnt her house just because some soldiers who happened to be Sinhalese were killed?

My mother told me that during the 1971 insurgency, many Tamil policemen and soldiers were killed. But the Tamils did not come and burn our houses.

Mr. Editor, my mother says that you are a Sinhalese and living in Jaffna. But you are staying there because you are happy, aren't you? That means the Tamils are not harassing you. Then why are the Tamils being harassed?

My mother also says that the Tamil people and the Sinhalese people are not hating each other and that it is the politicians who are bad and make them hate each other. Why can't we put all the politicians in jail if they are bad? My mother says all bad people are put in jail. I am very angry with these politicians, because of them I have lost a good friend.

My mother has corrected all my spelling mistakes and I have written this letter for the third time. So, please publish my letter in your newspaper.

If my friend in Jaffna sees my letter in your paper, she might write to me.

Miss Ramini de Silva
Colombo

LOVERS' FIGHT?

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW

I am a Tamil of Jaffna origin born and bred in the South among Sinhalese and had my education up to pre-university level amongst predominantly Sinhalese classmates.

Four years ago, I pulled out my last roots from Jaffna and entrenched myself in the outskirts of Colombo. All around me were Sinhalese

Buddhists with a scattering of Christians of the various sects.

I could not have been the envy of the neighbourhood because I did not possess a car, electrical appliances and other goods that people of my status usually have.

Yet July 1983 left me and my family (four in all) only in our bed-clothes. After about three weeks in refugee camps, where I had to be evacuated (with the help of some American friends) I was reluctant to get back to Jaffna and be the butt-end of the ridicule of my relations. Therefore, I sought shelter at Chenkaladi among some friends.

Four months later the call from some of my genuine friends in Jaffna found my family travelling there by train from Colombo in the crowded compartment.

A young person who was not in uniform, seeing my son, remarked, "why are you taking this young fellow to Jaffna where he would be a target for the Army people? He would be safe in Colombo. I have seen lot of such boys being severely manhandled, but from whom they get no information whatever, since they are innocent and ignorant of the goings-on among the militants. I am not happy when I see such events taking place. I donned khaki to earn livelihood. The moment I can earn my release I will get back to my village and take up some other occupation".

Now let me relate a completely different tale. I was in Colombo taking my children to the old haunts during their vacation. I went to the shop of my earlier "Mudalali". His vehemence put me off my feet. "Lady, you are good with us. We have nothing against you. But look! The Army and the Navy and the Air Force men are being decimated in Jaffna. None of you in Colombo have ever condemned these actions. So, tacitly you are welcoming what the militants are doing. If there is trouble in Colombo again, you cannot expect us to raise a little finger in your defence."

Need I add that I returned post-haste to Chenkaladi?

The Tamils and the Sinhalese have so much in common that they should be able to

live together and not fight against each other.

I hope and pray that what has been is like the lovers' quarrel that would bring the lovers into a closer bond, as said in the Thirukkural, or the ecstasy of friends coming together after a parting is indescribable", as described in the Kamba Ramayana.

Mrs. Girija
Kumarathevan
Chenkaladi.

RUPAVAHINI

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW

We in the Jaffna peninsula are not able to receive the Independent Television Network transmissions and now the English and the Tamil services of the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation are also very faint. So why should we pay the some radio and TV licencing fee those who are able to view both ITN and Rupavahini and also listen to all channels of the SLBC very clearly? The authorities should take steps to transmit to the whole island or adjust the licencing fee accordingly.

Rupavahini is our main source of spot news and even that has a lot to improve. For instance, before the Tamil news the time once appeared on the screen as 8-15 p.m. and on another occasion as 9-30 p.m. when it was 6-55 p.m. Why does not the Rupavahini show the exact time instead of showing a recording?

Very often the topic displayed on the screen is different from what is read by the news reader.

Is there any specified difference between the international news which follows the local news at 9-30 p.m. and the world news which is at 10-30 p.m. Why are the Sinhala and Tamil viewers deprived of access to this news in the news bulletin of their own language?

Before every English film is shown the story is told in Sinhala and not in Tamil. Is it because Rupavahini thinks that all Tamils can understand English or is it because they are not bothered whether the Tamils follow it or not or have they cut down costs by not employing a Tamil translator?

Saradha Ramanathan
Kondavil East.

HA! - HA!

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW

The headlines in a Colombo newspaper of 18th September read: "We never bowed our heads to any foreigner-J. R.". It was a proud and challenging statement by President Jayewardene, at the opening of the ultra-modern Japanese-funded Hospital at Sri Jayewardenapura. He also said, "We are a United Sri Lanka and we will remain so All Sri Lankans who call themselves citizens of Sri Lanka have equal rights, equal opportunities and equal place".

I only wish that our Executive President would bring into actual practice what he preaches.

In the same issue, there was a headline, "President advises terrorists to try Satyagraha", and he repor-

tedly said, 'If they adopt peaceful tactics, they will succeed in their campaign. I hope they will not do so as it would create difficulties to our Government. I tried it in 1977 and won the elections and what a victory! There is no force in the world that can defeat the satyagrahi. Satyagraha purifies the satyagrahi as well as the opponents'.

If Mahatma Gandhi was living, he would have praised Mr. Jayewardene to the heavens.

I think in the light of what the President reportedly said, the military occupation of the Northern and Eastern part of the country would be relaxed and the Army personnel would start preaching and practising satyagraha persuading the Tamil militants to give up violence so that our Great Leader would come down from his Ivory Tower like an angel and grant the demands of the militants on a golden platter and so the ethnic problem of Sri Lanka would be solved!

K. Lorage
Tellipallai.

PLAIN CHEEK!

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW

Last year, in London, I went to a chemist's and asked for D.... tablets. "We don't stock them", the assistant said, and added gratuitously, "even if we did, we wouldn't sell them unless you had a doctor's prescription". It is one of those experiences that fill one with nostalgia for the Old Country, where chemists, and others, are much more obliging!

Later on, when I did buy something prescribed by a doctor, it was given to me in a bag which bore the following injunctions:

Medicines-With Care. Take only in accordance with doctor's directions. Keep all medicines out of the reach of children. Never take medicines from unlabelled containers. Never share prescribed medicines with others. Never transfer medicines from one container to another. Destroy unused medicines.

The cheek of it! We pay good money for the stuff,

LETTERS

and they lay down injunctions and prohibitions!

S. K. Gnanamuttu
Chavakachcheri.

TREE OF DEMOCRACY

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW.

Democracy is NOT a feeble tree; as some would have us believe! Like the mango, it is firmly rooted in the ancient traditions of our people—the gansabhavas and the village panchayats. Like the mango it needs neither to be watered nor manured; it needs only a light pruning once in four or five years.

Likewise the danger to democracy is not the neglect of the people, but those excrescences which, under the guise of democracy, fasten on to it and will finally smother it. The present struggles are not the death pangs of democracy, but the struggles of the 'tree' trying to revitalize itself by shedding these excrescences; and as any farmer knows, the older the 'Kuruvic hai' the harder it is to lop it off.

A. Ratnam
Colombo 5.

Lanka Ruined

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW

In some recent articles to The Island, Mr. Jehan Perera has brought out a worthy in-depth analysis of the raging ethnic problem in Sri Lanka.

Outlining the communal and psychological aspects of the problem and the "mutually self-reinforcing security perceptions on the part of the Sinhalese and Tamils", he prescribes regional autonomy as the solution.

He, however, proceeds to say that the "loss of rulership over the Tamils and Tamil areas by the Sinhalese is a big price that has to be paid for the unity and development of the country".

Regional autonomy really accords, to a reasonably restricted extent, with the right of self-determination, legitimately exercisable by the Tamil nation up to outright secession. So the emphasis should be on this principle, and not on the "loss of rulership" and the "big price" to be paid by the Sinhalese.

In fact, no minority nation can be forced to remain within the bounds of a given state under the conditions of sustained oppression and discrimination.

A court grants a divorce when it is sought with proof by a wife that she is habitually ill-treated intolerably by the husband. Regional autonomy does not even represent a divorce.

I appeal to my fellow-countrymen to ponder very carefully and unemotionally and ask themselves whether any Government in post-independence Sri Lanka has honestly addressed itself to this problem and the task of developing the country's economy. No. All these Governments only exploited communalism, chauvinism and racism to dupe all the people to grab power and cling to it by hook or by crook. Power-hungry capitalist politicians have thus wrecked and ruined this country.

And designing Sinhalese politicians have exploited the feelings of the average Sinhalese masses by constantly referring to the syndrome that the Sinhalese people live only in Sri Lanka and that they have nowhere else to go. This syndrome, repeated ad nauseam even to this day, has been largely responsible

for systematic "insecurity perception" on the part of the Sinhalese people.

Why, after all, should the Sinhalese people go to any other country or countries? On the other hand, why should the Tamils be made to go through the traumatic experiences practically everyday of their lives, as happens nowadays, in the face of atrocities and killings by the armed forces and to flee to India and other countries in search of asylum?

When is it going to be realised by the Government that its sledge-hammer tactics and military adventure are the products of its own callous disregard of the realities of, and moribund attitudes towards, the ethnic problem?

Now, have the Sinhalese people anything to gain by the way the Government deals with the ethnic problem at present? They, too, suffer in terms of bread and butter due to the ever-increasing military expenditure and the diversion of resources away from economic development.

Let the Government at least at this penultimate stage make a complete re-appraisal of its thinking and approach and arrive at as viable a solution as possible and concentrate on improving the physical quality of life of the people at large by eradicating problems like malnutrition, semi-starvation, disease and other avoidable miseries, with all of which the majority of the people of this country are afflicted irrespective of race, religion, caste and creed.

V. T. Kandiah
Manipay North.

STATESMANSHIP

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW

"The great difference between the real statesman and the pretender is, that the one sees into the future, while the other regards only the present; the one lives by the day and acts on expediency; the other acts on enduring principles and for immortality".

-BURKE

The concept of statesmanship in the context of the above words seemed to have taken to its wings from the minds of Sri Lanka politicians, especially the ruling majority.

It gives still more pain to see that a "five-star democracy" does not match the words of a leader who has been wormed and weaned by the tenets of Buddhism and the precepts of Gandhism.

Recently, a responsible politician addressing the Press referred to the measures adopted by the State to fight "terrorism". Very subtly, he suggested that a diamond must be cut by a diamond. In other words he, wittingly or unwittingly, admitted that the State would adopt repressive measures to eliminate "terrorism", to meet "terrorism" with "terrorism".

If tooth-for-a-tooth becomes the line of thinking of any responsible government, the country can clearly observe that the spirit of statesmanship has got dried and parched in their minds. After all, such a spirit could only prevail in the minds of politicians who cherish and preserve the interest of the country and the people at heart and not those whose interest remains fixed at the next election.

Any impartial observer who believes in national unity would abhor the attitude adopted by the Government to solve the conflicts created by its own actions.

The Tamil problem and the subsequent development of Tamil militancy, if not examined from a humanitarian and statesman-like standpoint, would only result in ringing the deathknell of the golden legacy of a nation's culture which our forefathers had zealously safeguarded and proudly handed over to us.

A. S. Poovendiran
Vathiry.

DELAY FATAL

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW

The Tamils are being driven to the conclusion that the only way out of the present discrimination against them is through separation because of the inaction of the Government to solve the ethnic problem even twelve months after the bloody holocaust of July 1983.

Tamils living outside the Northern and Eastern Provinces are now convinced that they cannot live in other provinces, as their lives could be endangered anytime. Due to various personal reasons, they have to linger on until they could move to their traditional areas.

Tamils living and working abroad are unable to visit their dear and near ones at home because they dread coming home even for a holiday, while those whose contracts have expired are busy knocking on the doors of various High Commissions and Embassies even to enter those countries as refugees!

All this could only add to the badly-tarnished image of Sri Lanka after 1983.

When one considers the huge majority that the present Government has, one is at a loss to understand why it cannot talk constructively with the Tamil United Liberation Front, the main party representative of the Tamils, and solve the ethnic problem.

The All-Party Conference has not achieved anything up to now and even in the future not much will come out of it. The Government must therefore, suspend the APC and start direct talks with the TULF.

Surely, there must be many straight and right-thinking Sinhalese people who should be able to see the dangerous future unless the ethnic problem is not solved immediately?

R. Ganesharatnam

Lagos,
Nigeria

MOSSAD - STYLE

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW

After dilly-dallying for a number of months, wasting precious time in fruitless, empty talks and chop-logic, but at the same time gaining much time to fall at the feet of the maniacs of Mossad, the Round Table Conference has at last brought out a screeching mouse. What a stupendous production after so many man-hours of wasted effort!

The Tamils are sharp enough not to be duped and bamboozled by the proposals presented on 21st September.

We stand for our birth-right of self-determination and to govern us according to our national heritage. This Island is as much ours as it is of our Sinhalese brethren in the South.

To attack ordinary civilians and children going about on the roads and travelling in buses and setting fire to schools, libraries and houses are heinous crimes against humanity. It is quite evident that these acts are of Mossad vintage.

When the Jews of Nazi Germany were massacred

mercilessly, all the cultured communities of the world stood up against these atrocities of the Germans who believed in the absurd theory of "herrenvolk"—the superior Teutonic race.

The Jews were driven from pillar to post all over Europe. Now, these are the very people who are helping the Sri Lanka Government to put down with blood-stained hands the national aspirations of the proud Tamils who created history in the past 4,000 years.

We have reached the limit of our patience.

S. Sundara Varathan
Point Pedro.

A CHALLENGE

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW

It was reported in the press recently that Prince Charles has "become a vegetarian and has given away his guns" and "would never shoot again" and that "Buddhism has influenced his decision".

Following this Royal example, when will the millions of Buddhists in Sri Lanka take up to vegetarianism and give away their guns and stop their killings?

Zubaid Ali Mohamed
Jaffna.

(More letters on
page 9)

WORLD WAR III

Prof. K. Nadarajah of Selva-chchanithy, Thondamanaru writes:-

The ethnic issue will spark off World War III any time from now on till early January 1985, as prophesied by me on 14th. March 1979 in a cyclotyped article captioned "Penultimate End" and distributed to Sri Lanka's political leaders.

The debilitated Sun is coming in conjunction with the deeply exalted Saturn in the astrological sign Libra after a lapse of thirty years between the period 17th. October and 15th. November 1984.

These vibrations of the cosmic energy is reflected on this mundane world of ours and even friendly or allied countries get into war. The result will be destruction and peril to the majority of world population born under Sun, Saturn and Mars as their ascendant or Lagna.

[This article was specially written for the 4th anniversary issue of The Island on 4th October. Parts of it had appeared previously in the Saturday Review]

President Jayewardene has repeatedly emphasised in Sri Lanka and during his many trips abroad that there is complete freedom of the Press in our country.

As a journalist of over 30 years, I say NO, NO and yet again NO.

And I am convinced that many people in Sri Lanka and abroad will believe me.

Besides, the radio and television are state monopolies.

And there is the Government-appointed Press Council to police the Press.

Bans and Censorship

Even more ominous, on several occasions in the past seven years the Government, sometimes with little justification, resorted to emergency powers to

Eelamadu cannot be published in the Saturday Review without prior approval.

At present, a limited censorship applies to other newspapers as well on matters relating to events in the North and in the Universities.

We must also not forget that the Government has decided to enact two laws which could further erode the Freedom of the Press. One of the proposed laws will make it obligatory for newspapers to take out insurance policies for large sums

have been completely contrary to the glowing promise made in the United National Party's 1977 election manifesto to "re-establish the Freedom of the Press" by freeing it from political control and interference.

Role of Press

The role of the Press has, of course, been the subject of unending debate since printing machines were invented and newspapers began rolling off them.

The propagandists of this great debate have been — and

try care about a Free Press? Or freedom of speech? They have to live, they have to find food and develop. When a nation is going on this footing, can we allow unbounded liberty? If that liberty comes to a stage when the Government is disrupted, what is the Government to do? Hand over the reins of Government to the Press and say "Carry on?"

Mr. Jayewardene went on to speak about the "boundaries" of the Freedom of the Press...

THE PRESS AND

How can anyone talk of Press freedom in Sri Lanka when the biggest newspaper establishment, Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd., of Lake House, is state-controlled; another company, The Times of Ceylon Ltd., is state-owned; two other companies, the Independent Newspapers Ltd., and Express Newspapers Ltd., are careful not to criticise the Government too much for fear of losing state advertising; and only the Upali Newspapers Ltd; (The Island and Diviyana) Saturday Review and a few opposition newspapers (mainly Aththa, Dinakara and Jatiya) are there to give publicity to dissident news and views?

seal several newspapers (Aththa and Saturday Review are two which suffered in this way) and to repeatedly impose censorship.

The Saturday Review was allowed to resume publication in February this year, after a seven-month ban, only under strict conditions of censorship. All material intended for publication in it, including sports articles, have to be sent to the Government Agent of Jaffna, who has been appointed the Competent Authority for this purpose, for approval. Even material already published in the Jaffna Tamil daily,

to ensure that they will be able to pay damages awarded in defamation suits. The other seeks to ban the use of pseudonyms.

The UNP had fought tooth and nail to prevent the conversion of Lake House into a public corporation by Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike's United Front Government so that after its polls victory many people had hoped it to restore the company to its previous owners. Instead, the UNP is using Lake House Publications for the same propaganda purposes as the previous regime. Anyone relying solely on them for news and views could very well come to the conclusion that Sri Lanka is a land without any problems, a land flowing with milk and honey.

The UNP also opposed the establishment of the Press Council by Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government. The 30-odd pages of submissions made on Mr. Jayewardene's behalf to the Constitutional Court of Sri Lanka challenging the constitutional validity of the draconian Press Council Bill was, in my opinion, the best case ever made in defence of the freedom of the Press.

After coming to power; the UNP did not take the expected — and logical — step of dismantling the Council. Instead, it has threatened to use one of the law's most obnoxious provisions — that prohibiting the publication of "unauthorised" Cabinet news — to keep people in the dark about certain decisions made by the Government.

In sum, the policies followed by President Jayewardene's Government

still are — politicians on one side and journalists and champions of civil liberties on the other.

Central to this debate is the question: What degree of freedom should the Press possess or be allowed to enjoy?

Most politicians, even in developed countries, where generally there is a greater degree of freedom than in the developing countries, treat newspapers with suspicion, sometimes even with contempt and hostility.

What a deviation from his stand when, as a member of the opposition, he stated in his submissions to the Constitutional Court which was examining the Press Council Bill: "The Freedom of the Press is the essence of liberty and this is the source of all other liberties. If this freedom is suppressed, restrained or controlled, then the foundation for autocracy is laid...."

by **Gamini Navaratne**

This is because they resent scrutiny, criticism and exposure. They would wish newspapers to present to the readers only what they wanted projected, to treat them like great benefactors and heroes.

In developing countries especially many politicians argue that the traditional adversary posture of the Western Press, which implies continual questioning and criticism of all forms of authority, is inappropriate to the over-riding need for national unity and national survival.

President Jayewardene himself expressed this point of view at a meeting of the Press Foundation of Asia held in Colombo several years ago, when he said: "The individual in a developing country is concerned with a little more food in his stomach, a little more clothing on his back and a little more roof over his head.... Do the people in such a coun-

The main charges against the Press are well known: distortion, intrusion, triviality and irresponsibility.

A former British Prime Minister, Mr. Stanley Baldwin's celebrated epigram "Power without responsibility, the prerogative of the harlot throughout the ages" lingers in the memory, even if the Press, like the harlot, can command not power but influence!

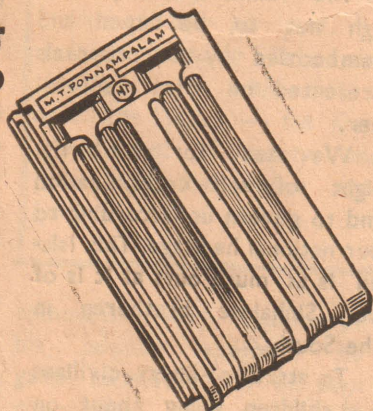
The politicians, "solution" is to set "boundaries" to Press freedom through ambiguous laws (such as codes of conduct) designed to encourage self censorship, setting up watchdog institutions, physical intimidation or outright state ownership.

On the journalists' side, there are those who subscribe to the "Publish and be damned!" philosophy: publish the facts as they discover them and to hell with the consequences.

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These journalists go on the basis that those in authority generally try to hide facts, not in the national interest but their own, and so should be exposed. But even in the West, this is a minority view now because most journalists have come to accept that they must not act in a manner prejudicial to national interests.

Journalists' Duty

The ideal newspapers are concerned was voiced by John Delaney, one of the greatest editors of "The Times", London, when he wrote: "The

those who flout these norms, it is helping to build a vigilant, well informed citizenry that is the ultimate bedrock of a free democracy. But that is not how those in authority at any given time perceive the Press. For them, adversarial is, anti-Governmental, and anti-Governmental translates as anti-national. Even as the Press seeks more freedom, they seek to restrict the freedom it has."

This has been the trend in many developing countries, including Sri Lanka.

The unsatisfactory structure of the Press in Sri Lanka

stuff that inflames communal passions, just like some politicians who like making inflammatory speeches.

But the bigger reason, I am sad to say, is that some newspaper owners are motivated by commercial considerations — profit-making — than nation-building. There have been numerous instances where the English, Sinhala and Tamil newspapers published by the same company projected the same news report in three diametrically different ways to their respective audiences with sales as the main concern. There also have been instan-

cialties, both major and minor.

This is not to say that newspapers should not publish what is happening in the North. What I decry is the sensationalism. (In India there is a voluntary code evolved by newspapers on how to handle news relating to communal incidents.)

Here I must say that, until the SATURDAY REVIEW appeared on the scene, hardly any English or Sinhala newspaper had done justice to the Tamil people by explaining to the Sinhalese, dispassion-

munal paper"! He could not afford to antagonise readers by publishing something that could be unpalatable to them!

I appeal to my colleagues in the mainstream media at least now to exercise that amount of caution and judgement in handling news and making comments about developments in the North and thereby make a positive contribution to the efforts of the Government to

NATIONAL UNITY

Press lives by disclosure... The dignity and Freedom of the Press are trammelled the moment it accepts an ancillary position. To perform its duties with entire independence, and consequently with the utmost advantage, the Press can enter into no close or binding alliance with the statesmen of the day, nor can it surrender its permanent interests to the convenience of any Government.... The duty of the journalist is the same as that of the historian, to seek out the truth, above all things, and to present to his readers not such things as statecraft would wish them to know but the truth as near as he can attain it."

This means that when there is no tension between the executive and the newspapers, there should be serious cause for alarm, implying an adversarial role.

On the is point, a commentator in The Times of India wrote recently in reference to the controversial Bihar Press Bill (which was later withdrawn): "So long as the Press is left, more or less, to its own devices, it can go on developing its role as the keeper of the public conscience, guardian of the public interest and scourge of the public wrong-doer. It is adversarial not to society itself but to the Government of the day, and it is adversarial not for the heck of it but when the Government does wrong. Far from being anti-national, its adversarial role, which must entail investigative reporting as a corollary, is nation-building. By upholding rectitude, accountability and justice, and by exposing

milittates against one of the basic concepts of Press Freedom — the right to receive information from as many sources as possible. If the sources are restricted — as they are now — then the formation of ideas and coming to correct conclusions becomes difficult. It is this limitation that worked heavily in favour of the UNP at both the Presidential election and the Referendum, when most of the leading newspapers carried on a one-sided campaign, with only The Island and the Diviyina giving fair coverage to opposition viewpoints.

In the case of the privately owned newspapers that depend heavily on state advertising for survival, I wonder to what extent the Government's decision some time ago to withdraw advertising from those that criticise it unduly had an intimidatory impact.

Northern News

Now I come to a very sensitive subject: the role of the Sri Lanka Press in promoting national unity. If it has played any role at all in this regard, it has been a negative one. I would go further and say that from even before Independence, the Press on a number of occasions had acted in a way that promoted, rather than defused, communal tensions. Tragically this trend still continues.

One reason is that journalists themselves have their prejudices and antagonisms, which are reflected in what they write. Ignorance of the history and way of life of communities other than one's own is a contributory cause, but there appear to be some journalists who relish writing

ces where the Upcountry, Northern and Colombo editions of the same Tamil newspaper gave twists and turns to news reports to increase the appeal to residents of the respective regions, with scant regard to the damage that this sort of thing could do to the community and the country.

The Press Commission Report contains references to a number of such instances in the pre-1964 period. The tragedy is that even now some newspapers give communal colouring to news reporting where none exists.

How many times have newspapers in the South published news of incidents in the North with the headline "Is it the Tigers?" taking cover under the question mark when, it is later found that there were no Kotiyas on the scene?

The stock excuse when cornered is that is that they published what the Police or army said and that there was no time or way of making an independent check. The SATURDAY REVIEW has spotlighted a number of such reports in the English newspapers; the damage done is all the more greater when such reports appear in the Sinhala newspapers.

We must accept that Sri Lanka is a multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-lingual country. Nothing can be done at this stage of our history to alter this fact. If we wish to preserve national unity, a special duty is cast on journalists to ensure that whatever they write do not hurt the susceptibilities or inflame the passions, of the various com-

ately, what the grievances of the Tamil people are — the UNP in its 1977 election manifesto accepted that there indeed were grievances — and what should or could be done to ameliorate them. On the contrary, the news reportage and even some of the comment has been such as to make the Sinhalese people believe that all the Tamil people are their enemies, that all of them stand for Eelam, that all support the Tigers.

I wish to relate a sad personal experience. Mr. Lionel Fernando, when Government Agent of Jaffna, invited a party of journalists from the South in April 1979 as part of his campaign to promote better understanding between the two communities. After the visit, I wrote four articles to an English newspaper; the first was a description of our tour, the second "Home truths for the Tamils" (explaining why the Sinhalese think the way they do about the Tamils and their demands), the third "Home truths for the Sinhalese" (explaining the Tamil mind and their demands to the Sinhalese) and the last on what could be done to prevent the division of Sri Lanka.

The first two were published, not the others. I asked the Editor why. He said I should not forget that his was also a "com-

arrive at a negotiated settlement of the National Question.

I wish that more journalists from the South would visit the North more often so that they would be able to make a first-hand assessment of the situation.

The Saturday Review would welcome and even host those who are prepared to visit Jaffna.

This invitation is especially extended to journalists from Sinhalese newspapers who would like to come in a group.

If they are lucky, they may even be able to see a few Kotiyas, dead or alive.

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The Dirty Dozen-2

There is deterioration in various fields. However, what is of far-reaching consequence is the denigration of our democratic institutions due to erosion of values. This had badly hit the politicians and the political institutions in the country.

In the famous book "God that failed", Ignazio Silone says... "The distinction between theories and values is not sufficiently recognised, but it is fundamental. On a group of theories one can found a school; but on a group of values one can found a culture, a civilization, a new way of living together among men".

However, group of values to which Ignazio Silone has referred has suffered in politics. Corruption is not a new phenomenon. During the British regime in India too there was corruption. Even after Independence the corruption was not eradicated. But our concern for values made the society, consider corruption as an aberration. Now there has been institutionalization of corruption and no stigma seems to be attached to such corruption. There is no burden on politicians' qualms of conscience. Those who lose majority in legislatures and have to relinquish power do not do it so easily and ungrudgingly. In their last ditch effort for survival they treat members of legislature as purchasable commodities to swing the balance of power.

The political minority in a legislature is transformed into a majority overnight and with the dirty game succeeding they manage to keep themselves in the saddle of power. This filthy game in politics has resulted in the denigration of the very institution of Parliamentary democracy.

Recently there has been an unprecedented outburst of communal violence in places like Bhiwandi and Bombay in Maharashtra. Common man left to himself is peace-loving. He desires to live in amity with his neighbours no matter to which religious and communal groups they belong. However some politicians who can build their positions only by capitalising on communal strife rouse the communal passions of the people.

Politics Divisive Force

by

Madhu Dandavate

[M. P. (Lok Sabha) and Leader of the Janata Parliamentary Party of India]

It is difficult to awaken the people on injustice perpetrated against them in socio-economic fields. However, appealing to their baser communal instincts is comparatively an easier task. The short-sighted politician is at his dirty game. He remains in his ivory tower and through his pen and spoken words he provokes

In some of the recent communal riots the dirtiest face of a politician backing vested interests has been revealed. At Bhiwandi some hutment dwellers were roasted alive along with their hutments which were set on fire. It is widely said that this was the conspiracy hatched by landlords and backed by politicians.

politicians. Can there be a dirtier game?

The politician often talks in high sounding terms about the dignity and sanctity of the places of worship. The strange paradox is that the very politicians who stoutly uphold the dignity of the place of worship contributes to converting the place of

politics was an integrating force in the country. Today politics is fast becoming a divisive force. Lured by the prospects of electoral victory, politician is encouraging caste-ridden politics. Politics has become a game of the caste-ridden backward states. It has ceased to be a science of change but has been reduced to the manipulative arithmetic of caste. The tensions between these castes is the capital for electoral gains and so the politician remains deeply involved in the dirty game of accentuating caste conflicts with an eye on elections.

Only in times of national crisis like aggression or struggle against authoritarianism the fissiparous tendencies meticulously nurtured by politicians recede to the background only to surface again when the crisis is over.

Whether it is the politician engineering defections, institutionalising corruption or capitalising on communal and caste tensions or whether it is a trader backed by politician or a bureaucrat indulging in adulteration, it is the serious erosion of values that has made politicians' dirty game possible.

Only through the fire of struggle and sacrifices for a cleaner public life or a long-drawn education process of cultivating character and nourishing ennobling values that this dirty game in politics can be defeated. The path is an arduous one. But it has to be trod in the interest of cleansing our public life and politics.

(Courtesy YOJANA, 15th August.)

We are being taken on the road to a "Dharmista Society", Government leaders frequently say.

How "Dharmista" Sri Lanka is after seven years of United National Party rule under President Jayewardene is clear to the discerning.

In a nutshell, all that the UNP said was wrong in Sri Lanka under Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party Government — political infighting, authoritarianism, communal disharmony, bureaucratic bungling, mixing up of priorities and slow economic development, inflation and unemployment, poverty, breakdown of law and order, disregard for human and moral values, bribery, corruption and nepotism — have become worse now.

But there has been no concerted and sustained effort from any quarter to halt the drift towards what certainly looks to be total anarchy.

The Press which could have played an active role in checking this trend by exposing the misdeeds at whatever level and whoever is responsible has remained virtually paralysed.

In neighbouring India also there is concern with what is called The System — the form and content of society and government, the forces that head it and their doings.

Fortunately, the Indian Press has been more vigilant than ours in bringing to the public notice the misdeeds of those at the top. What is really surprising is that a Government journal has also now joined this campaign of exposure.

The bi-monthly Yojana, published by the Publications Division of the Government of India from New Delhi, is usually concerned with planning issues.

Explaining the departure from usual practice, its Chief Editor, Mr. R. Thukral says "the only agency which can possibly turn the tide is the Government-run media, with the farthest reach, and if at all, it means business it cannot close its eyes to the onslaught on decent living...."

Elaborating on this theme, veteran journalist K. A. Abbas says: "The dirty doings that Yojana has decided to expose, and thereby to cleanse our society of this excreta, is a noble task—comparable to Gandhiji's decision to cleanse his own bathroom and lavatory in the Tolstoy Farm in South Africa.

"Since then, more than half a century has elapsed but our society has not undertaken such a necessary sanitary task on such a social scale. So let's gird our loins for this necessary social cleaning-up.

"No names will be mentioned, but only groups who clog the social flow of India with the litter of their dirt and dirty doings, and this exposure, I hope, will make the society conscious of these dirty people and their dirty doings, and also make these groups of dirty ones conscious of their dirty deeds and (hopefully) make them self-conscious and, therefore, self-cleansing.

"And these are to be found among (1) politicians (in power), (2) politicians (out of power), (3) bureaucrats, (4) planners (officials), (5) planners (arm-chair dreamers), (6) mediemen (big), (7) mediemen (small), (8) preachers (religion), (9) preachers (philosophers and economists of empty minds), (10) god-men (god-women and god-children), (11) businessmen, and (12) educationists".

As the articles in this special issue of Yojana (Vol. 28, Nos. 14-15, 15th August) have great relevance to the situation in our country, we propose to serialise all of them in the SATURDAY REVIEW.

The first article, an attack on politicians by a politician himself (Mr. S. Vasanth Sathe, India's Minister of Chemicals and Fertilisers) appeared in our last issue. This is the second article, also an attack on politicians.

communal frenzy. Because of his populist approach he gains ascendance in his own community. But the result is communal disturbances in which only the poor among various communities get killed, only their petty belongings are destroyed, and the politician who fans all troubles merely watches the smouldering fires of the huts of the poor from a safe distance.

They had a vested interest in getting the possession of the vacant land and so they chose to set the hutments on fire. When the authorities announced that the hutments gutted in the fire would be rebuilt to rehabilitate the survivors, the landlords went to the court law of to secure stay on the reconstruction of the demolished hutments. They were blessed by some

worship into an arsenal of ammunition and arms and abode of criminals and terrorists.

These acts constitute the desecration of the place of worship. This again is a dirty game of the politician. Unfortunately the victims of this game are the common folk.

There was a time when the mainstream of Indian

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Attack on Ex-G. A.

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW

Permit me to express my disappointment of the fulsome praise heaped on Mr. D. Nesiah, who was Government Agent of Jaffna in your journal. In administrative shorthand, he could be described as a well-advertised mediocrity and is not in the same street as Mr. Lionel Fernando or Mr. Neville Jayaweera who held the same office with great distinction in recent times. Doubtless, he had great ability but was not good at crisis management.

It is a matter of great regret that Mr. Nesiah was collecting garlands at a farewell function when the Jaffna Co-op. Union building was still smouldering. The write up in the SATURDAY REVIEW appeared to be like a Daily News write up in the "Mainly About People" column when a man has been awarded a J.P.-ship.

It is true that he has been forthright in his interview with Reuters. But don't forget the fact that Mr. Nesiah belongs to the "silent service". We all know what it means to speak out of turn; an outstanding civil servant was eased out of the State Ministry recently.

Note By Editor: Why is it that some Tamil people cannot bear to see any Tamil person being praised? Mr. D. Nesiah's performance cannot be compared with that of any other former G.A.'s because the situations they had to face were completely different. We published a tribute to him from our personal knowledge of what he did, particularly during the last difficult months of his tenure of office. We wonder whether Mr. Ajit Maheswaran is aware what Mahatma Gandhi was doing in his room when his father lay dying in the adjoining room?

DAILY NON - NEWS

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW

The Daily News of July 27th reported that women in Jaffna had protested against "the alleged detention" of youth.

The Tamil newspapers and the SATURDAY REVIEW reported that the mothers in Jaffna appealed in worry, anxiety, distress and anguish that their children who had been taken by the army to Galle, be released very early. It was also reported that many onlookers were themselves in tears.

Even journalists must have a conscience and report on facts objectively. We are able to note the bias and discrimination in the report of the Daily News which is a Government newspaper.

There are certain qualities like honesty, integrity and character which should be observed by journalists.

We classify journalists of the type of the Daily News in the same category as the following gentlemen:

- (a) The Sinhalese gentlemen who assaulted, knifed, killed, burnt etc of innocent Tamil citizens for about a dozen times after Independence; and
- (b) The Sinhala Army which harass innocent and unarmed Tamil civilians.

D. Markandu.

Manipay

The Emperor minus Clothes

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW

Jayanthu is dead. Since Diogenes is not there to enlighten us as to what the death really pretends, let us turn back the pages of history to another contemporary of Diogenes and Alexander the Great, Diomedes. It unfolds a story very opposite to the times we live in - the winter of despair.

Diomedes was a pirate. He along with his gang used to sail the seas round Greece, attacking the people and looting their valuables. Alexander heard of the trouble let loose by this terrorist, so he sent a fleet of ships to capture Diomedes.

Diomedes was eventually captured and brought before Alexander. The Emperor fuming with rage asked Diomedes, 'How dare you disturb the seas that are under my jurisdiction?

Diomedes, without any sign of fear looked at Alexander for a moment or two, "Oh King", he said, "you should rather ask yourself, How dare I disturb the world"? I have only a single ship. You have a whole fleet. If I, with one ship disturb the sea-ways round Greece, you call me a pirate. But if you, with your army and your navy, terrorise the whole world, you call yourself an emperor.

Is it justifiable to call one an emperor and the other terrorist and a pirate when they do the same deeds? Our Father in Heaven might easily

have made you the pirate and me the emperor".

The Great Alexander was tongue-tied for a moment or two. Suddenly he moved forward, patted the pirate on his shoulder and said, "you are right".

Diomedes was immediately set free and was given a small kingdom to rule.

Let me finish the story with a Chinese aphorism - the taller the bamboo grows, the lower it bends.

P. Ramchandra.
Jaffna.

LETTERS

OWL TALK!

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW

It is a pity that the SATURDAY REVIEW publishes letter and articles which are not based on fact but are the fertile imaginations of ignorant writers. A responsible newspaper must never publish such material.

In your issue of 6th September there was a letter on Israel. Israel is the traditional homeland of the Jews and it was the United Nations which carved out the present State of Israel to which the Jews returned after centuries of roaming. In fact, Israel is now trying to get back to its traditional boundaries.

Israel never ordered the massacre of children under two years. The order was made by the Egyptian rulers.

A similar order for the massacre of infants was made by the Roman rulers at the time Christ was born. This pattern was seen in India and Sri Lanka in ancient times.

The Jews were a persecuted lot and the loss of their traditional land was attributed to a curse.

In the same issue there was a reference to Vavuniya and its inclusion in Medawachchiya. Traditionally, there are two sections - North Vavuniya, predominantly Tamil, and South Vavuniya, predominantly Sinhalese. It is natural that the South should be added to Medawachchiya.

You will also remember that I mentioned in an earlier letter how the estate population is being settled

as a "buffer" in Vavuniya. I have proved my point made in that letter.

At one time many Tamil settlements from Kilinochchi to Mullaitivu were abandoned by the Tamils. It was the increase in population and pressure on land that has caused the struggle for more land. Earlier, there was a problem getting people to settle even under the Gal Oya Scheme.

S. Kanagasabai

Pannalai,
Tellippallai.

Note by Editor: Just as the SATURDAY REVIEW is willing to publish any criticism of its contents by readers, as long as the language is not intemperate and the writer is not shy to reveal his or her identity, writers of letters and articles should also be prepared to take in good humour criticism of their contributions made by other readers. This is said for the benefit of Mr. Kanagasabai who (according to another letter received from him but not published) appears to have got into a huff over the reply to his letter. "S.R. hiding the truth" (4th August) written by S. Vanniasingam under the heading "Owl Talk" (18th August).

BUDGET ANXIETY

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW

The Budget is to be presented in a month's time. The middle class, which is already adversely affected by the rapid rise of prices, is feverish with anxiety about what is in store for them.

In the face of the already high cost of living, the plight of middle class Government Servants, particularly those serving in the outstations away from home, is really pathetic because with their meagre salary of a little over Rs. 1000 a month they have to run two establishments.

A Government servant staying away from home will have to incur the following expenses daily on meals alone:

Breakfast: 10 String hoppers - Rs. 5, dhal curry - Rs. 3, and tea - Rs. 1-50.

10 o'clock tea: Rs. 1-50.

Lunch (minus meat) Rs. 10-00.

Evening tea and vadai: Rs. 3 50.

Dinner: same items as for breakfast: Rs. 9-50.

Thus for a day, on meals alone with no "extras" he has to spend about Rs. 35, which means an expenditure of nearly Rs. 1,000 a month. How about his own other expenses, let alone the maintenance of his wife and family?

Will the Minister of Finance impose a certain amount of control on the prices of food sold at the hotels because now hotel owners fix prices at their whim and fancy? Or grant relief through a salary increase?

S. S. B. Subramaniam
Kokuvil.

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Torture... Torture... Torture

Torture has now been developed into a fine art in many countries but not yet in Sri Lanka, we must presume, because under the periodical-style document called the "Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka", there is an Article (No. 11) which stipulate that "No person shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment."

Here, according to Amnesty International's Newsletter for September 1984, is what is happening in Chile under the regime of President Augusto Pinochet who overthrew Socialist President Allende in an American-inspired coup in 1973:

The torture of political detainees by members of the security forces in Chile has been reported regularly since the present military government of General Pinochet seized power.

Those detained and tortured on account of their alleged political activities have included teachers, students, peasants, doctors, lawyers, human rights activists, trade unionists and shanty-town dwellers.

The most common reported methods of torture are: beating; la parrilla (the metal grill), electric shock torture while the victim is bound to a metal bed frame; the pau de arara (parrot's perch), in which the victim is trussed

upside down into a crouching position while electric shocks are administered; the submarino or banera, in which the victim's head is held under water almost to the point of suffocation; burns; rape and other sexual abuse of women non-therapeutic use of drugs; sleep deprivation; and el telefono (the telephone), consisting of blows to the head with the palms of the hands on both ears simultaneously.

Amnesty International has sent numerous and frequent appeals to the government urging the authorities to ensure the human treatment of detainees. In April 1983 AI sent a report on the problem of torture in Chile to the

government, based on the testimonies of torture victims interviewed by an AI delegation which had visited the country. It provided evidence of the undeniable participation of agents of the Central National de informaciones (CNI) Chilean secret police and other security forces in the torture of detainees. This evidence only added to the hundreds of formal complaints of torture which have been submitted to the courts by individuals and groups of lawyers in Chile in recent years. However, the report was returned to AI without comment.

Since the publication of the report in May 1983, AI has continued to receive numerous testimonies from people affirming that they have been methodically tortured by CNI agents in premises used by the CNI, police and other branches of the security forces. Although the majority of such testimonies have already been submitted to the competent tribunals or criminal courts, to Amnesty International's knowledge no investigations have been carried out which have led to the trial and sentencing of any members of the security forces.

Mother and Daughter Tortured Together

Lucia Guillermina Morales and her 23-year-old daughter were held in a secret CNI establishment for five days in June 1983. She was then banished to Puqueldon, Chiloe, a small island in the south. She is 48 years old, and a member of the Coordinadora Nacional Sindical (National Trade Union Coordinating Body). The following is taken from an interview given in the weekly Chilean magazine Hoy. Although Amnesty International is not in a position to verify the details, the information is consistent with other reports of torture received by the organization.

Q: How were you arrested?

A: It was about 11 o'clock at night....Four men burst into the house. My daughter told them I was in bed but one of them came in and told me to get dressed. They were men in civilian clothes, armed to the teeth.... they wore armbands and showed CNI identity cards. They did not produce any arrest or search warrant....

Q: If you were to see them again, would you recognize them?

A: Yes. I will never forget those faces, alas.

Q: What happened then?

A: They bundled me into a Peugeot 504 taxi and pushed me down on the floor.... On arriving at the detention centre they made me take off my clothes and put on an overall and lightweight shoes. Then I was given a medical examination and injected with a sub-

stance which they said was a tranquilizer.

Q: When did they start to ill-treat you?

A: From the moment I arrived.... they began to punch me about the head and slap me in the face. They avoided using their fists on my face so as not to leave any marks. They also hit me on the ears. I began to lose my sense of balance. Everything was spinning around! They shouted that I must admit to my political affiliations. "Confess you're a communist, you shit," they said. I don't know, I'm not well up on these things, but if I had an ideology of some kind I don't think I would want to hide the fact from anyone. Quite the opposite. But I would like to know why it is that just for thinking in a certain way one can be subjected to such atrocities.

Q: What did you do while this went on?

A: I kept quiet. I only did my best to answer their questions. They kept telling me that they had 20 days to "get the muck out of me" and that no one would notice anything when it was all over. "People have left here lame, or silly" they kept saying. Then they began to hurl all kinds of insults at me. They were very obscene. One of them asked me what I thought they would do to me. I said I thought they would kill me. He answered that they didn't dirty their hands with women like me. Suddenly a nicer one

came and told me that all they asked was that "I behave myself" and I would see that they weren't "the torturers people out there say we are". It was then that they told me that they were going to fetch my 23-year-old daughter, Lucia,.... while being hit by somebody I heard her voice and I knew that they had brought her..

Q: What was your reaction?

A: I became desperate, I screamed, my daughter would have to suffer what I had been through was intolerable....how can you describe what it means? On the next day they took me to a metal rack and made me lie on it, naked, tied at the wrists and ankles. With lead weights or electrodes they gave me electric shocks to the nipples, the stomach and the region of the vagina.

At one point I realized that my daughter was in front of me. I even managed to touch her; I felt her hands. "Mummy, say something, anything to make this stop", she was saying. I tried to embrace her but they prevented me. They separated us violently. They took her to an adjacent room and there, there I listened in horror as they began to torture her with electricity—my own daughter! When I heard her moans, her terrible screams, I couldn't take any more. I thought I would go mad, that

my head and my entire body was going to explode in pieces.

Q: Weren't you afraid?

A: Quite honestly, no. It didn't matter to me if they killed me. What caused me most suffering was my daughter—the frightful agony she was going through, poor thing! And you see the electric shock treatment is quite indescribable. When they put

those pieces of lead on you you feel a tremendous jolt through your whole body, as if your heart is about to come out of your mouth. I remember when I was back in my cell I could still feel the convulsions from the electric discharges; my arms and legs were quivering. My daughter was given electric shocks on her hands.

(Amnesty International Newsletter.)

SRI LANKA LEADS, CHILE FOLLOWS!

On 17th May Law 18.314, which "defines terrorist conduct and establishes its penalties", was introduced in Chile. Amnesty International is deeply concerned about several of the law's provisions, which not only limit the protection available to detainees, but actually increase the risks to them.

It officially gives the CNI the authority to detain and interrogate people suspected of terrorist crimes or of holding views supporting terrorism as defined by the law; this appears to violate Article 90 of the Chilean Constitution, which defines the forces of Order and Public Security as being made up of only Carabineros (uniformed police) and Investigaciones (plain clothes police).

It also gives the CNI the power to arrest, detain and interrogate people without judicial warrant and enables the security forces to hold people for up to 10 days in their custody. It is during such initial periods of incommunicado detention before detainees are brought before a competent judge that torture often occurs.

(AI Newsletter)

Jaffna Press Guide

The Eelamurasu, is being published as a daily from 10th September. Rs. 1/- Editor. S. Thiruchelvam, 37, Kandy Road, Jaffna; Tele:- 23336.

Sports

"MUSKETEERS FROM NORTH

by Victor Kiruparaj

REVEL"

The annual Ceylon Schools' Track and Field Meet (former Public Schools' Meet) is eagerly looked forward to by many an ardent athletic fan. The writer too, an ardent fan, has missed but a few 'Meets' during the past three decades or so.

The cream of the Island's Schoolboy athletic talent competed at these annual Meets. Jaffna too, from time to time, made her presence felt at these Meets.

The writer had been thrilled by some exciting finishes at these Big Meets. But the one that still lingers in the writer's memory was one which was enacted way back in 1967 on the Police grounds, Bambalapitiya. Three lads from the Northern Schools Johnian M. Surendra (now an engineer in foreign climes), Centralite K. Vimalarajan (now the Sports Officer, Jaffna) and another Centralite Storer Radhakrishnan (now in Govt. Service) along with W. A. S. Fernando (St. John Bosco, Hanwella) and two others faced the starter in the final

of the 110 Meteres Hurdles. Before I venture to say any thing further on the final, may I be permitted the privilege to take you back to the Heats of the event worked out on the 1st day. K. Vimalarajan did really come into the lime-light when he upset all calculations to win his heat in the splendid time of 16.3 secs. Johnian M. Surendra another athlete from the North came a close second registering 16.5 sec. W. A. S. Fernando won the other heat in 16.5 sec.

Now to get back to the final, all eyes were focussed on these three athletes. Bosconian Fernando got off to a 'flier' with Vimalarajan and Surendra about 2 yards behind the leader at the first 'barrier'. The two hurdlers from the North not to be outdone strained every nerve and sinew and caught up with the leader at the 6th 'barrier'. It was at this juncture that Vimalarajan forged ahead leaving

the other two yards behind and was seen skimming over the 'sticks' in fine style when cruel fate struck him at the last 'barrier'. His second leg struck the hurdle hard and true and he was almost thrown off his balance. Regaining his composure and balance, he was seen dashing along the final straight together with Surendra and Fernando who had by now caught up with the leader, and all three appeared to streak past the winning post almost in a line. In a dead heat Surendra and Fernando took first place with Vimalarajan inches behind claiming the third place. Radhakrishnan finished fourth a few yards behind. Incidentally the first three - Surendra, Fernando and Vimalarajan - had the rare distinction of clocking the identical time of 16.5 seconds. Radhakrishnan registered a dead 17.0 seconds. What a nerve-tingling finish! What a splendid performance by the four outstation athletes which included the three MUSKETEERS FROM THE NORTH.

Had Vimalarajan won the event, (he was most unfortunate) his best time of 16.3 seconds in the heats would have earned him the Public Schools' Colours.

Of the three athletes of the North it was K. Vimalarajan who continued his athletic career. He graduated into High Hurdling. He soon set up the new Mercantile record of 16.6 seconds in 1970 in the 110 meteres High Hurdles beating old Trinitian Chitty, a former Public Schools' Champion hurdler to second place. The Nationals of 1971 rewarded Vimalarajan who took third place behind Lalith Uduwerella and Palitha Wijeyasinghe. It may interest the reader to note that Vimalarajan won his heats the previous day beating Uduwerella. As a regular in the C. T. and F. C. he performed remarkably well in his pet event at the Dual Meets which included the annual clash against the Decan Athletic Club. Vimalarajan has now hung up his spikes and now does yeoman service as the National Athletic Coach for the Jaffna District.

Gandhi: the Great...

(Continued from page 3)

all build temples. In sheer disgust and anger, even Mahatma Gandhi had to lead a big strike struggle in the streets of Ahmedabad, his beloved ashram-city on the banks of the Sabarmati.

Trusteeship Theory

If we look at the big uproar that has gripped India today against the baneful power of the big monopoly houses and the seventy-five trustees of India's wealth, you can imagine what has happened to the trusteeship theory. This phenomenon had been discussed even in the lifetime of the Mahatma, to which the books of several of his disciples bear witness.

The dream of Mahatma Gandhi of resurrecting medieval India from the evil of modern machinery not only did not come true, but the Mahatma himself later, in 1929, when defining the 'substance of swaraj' demanded protection for Indian industry and a good exchange rate for the rupee. The people demanded more industry and not a return to a backward past, however idyllic it may

have sounded in fiction and poetry.

So his idyll of the village of India of bygone age also suffered a complete wreck.

It was tragic to see the agony of the great Gandhi at the fall of his ideological dream-castles, except the one that was objectively ripe for realisation in India and elsewhere in the world, that is the struggle against imperialism and the victory of the forces of national independence. That alone sustained him and won him loyalty and love of the masses, despite the shipwreck of all his pet schemes and whims, for which neither the people nor history had any use.

Once again, the question is: Who made history and who made whom - the leader made the masses or the masses made the leader - who learnt from whom? In fact, it was a healthy interchange of lessons, with the masses and objective history always holding the reins. It is not the ideas of men, however great, that make history.

The Yellow Peril!

The 25th anniversary of the assassination of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike fell on 26th September.

This sonnet, which was first published in the Ceylon Students' Association magazine in London in 1959, is reproduced because it is an apt commentary on our times.

"Many thugs - some of them well-known criminals - had shaved their heads and assumed the yellow robes of a bhikku These phoney priests went about whipping up race-hatred, spreading false stories and taking part in the lucrative side of this game - robbery and looting. Whenever the police went after a looter with a shaven head he disappeared into a house and came back in the invulnerable robes of a monk". From Emergency '58 - The Story of the Ceylon Race Riots by Tarzie Vittachi.

Is this the hour of grief?
Does death proclaim

His presence, by the sounds
that we now hear

Of wailing and of weeping?
Is he here

Beside us still, in yellow
robes of shame?

Why do we weep? Is it because
the fame

Of him who is no more, was
near and dear

To us, when once he lived?
Or is it fear

That makes us mourn the
passing of his name?

Yes, we will mourn! But
need we turn our eyes

From other griefs that went
unsung, unwept,

Of mothers, children, helpless,
hapless things,

Bewildered and afraid, who
once were swept

Before a tide of Hats. Whose
deepest springs

Were often veiled in this
same saffron guise

D.L.O. MENDIS

29th September, 1959

**Chemical
Castration!**

A system like the apartheid colonial set-up in South Africa which does not have the slightest regard for human life, dignity or suffering cannot be expected to care for its sick, its dying and any of its people in need of medical care. This is why apartheid is said to be a sick society, sick in body, and sick in mind.

However, although the apartheid regime does spend precious little on black health, one field of black health services which it does spend large amounts of money on is its system of so-called "family planning" or birth control.

According to the apartheid myth of "swart gevaar" (black danger), the whites, who are living on borrowed time unless they join the struggles of the oppressed are in danger of being swamped or completely annihilated by the black majority.

White women are therefore told to constantly produce more white babies, cannon fodder for the racist army. Black women, on the other hand, are told to "plan smaller families for a happier future". There can be NO happier future for us in the apartheid system.

The racists' "family planning" system, which is aimed at the systematic reduction of the black population, is therefore one of our major targets of attack, in 1984 and in the future.

We must focus our attention also on the use of dangerous drugs like Depo Provera, an injectible contraceptive which is banned in the country of its origin, the United States, Britain, Sweden, several other European countries, and most recently in Zimbabwe. The drug is banned because not enough is known about its side effects, sometimes even resulting in death.

The South African regime is prepared to use any form of force or persuasion to control the black population growth. It will try to persuade us that this drug is safe and convenient.

Let them try to explain away the fact that the drug is now being used in the U.S. not as a contraceptive, but in order to castrate rapists! It is part of a process called "chemical castration", which should leave us in no doubt as to its

(Continued on page 12)

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Fishing in Troubled Waters

Security personnel are harassing fishermen during their

operations, according to a memorandum submitted by the Jaffna District Fisheries Extension Service Societies Union, Jaffna

We submit below excerpts from their memorandum:

"The Fisheries Extension Services Societies' Union has received several complaints from fishermen who have been harassed by security personnel and their fishing operations seriously disrupted and their means of livelihood undermined. Some of these areas are Point Pedro, Valvettiturai, Mathagal, Thalady and other adjoining areas. We would venture to say that over 10,000 fishermen have been affected.

"In this connection it may be stated that we have already brought these difficulties to the notice of the Co-ordinating Officer and other officials connected with the "surveillance zone" but we regret that no remedial action has yet been taken but on the other hand the position has seriously deteriorated.

"Actually fish production has declined due to persistent harassment which prevents the fishermen from venturing

into sea. Instances of extortion of catch and even burning of boats - their very source of livelihood, have been brought to our notice.

"May we also impress the fact that 23% of processed sea foods come from around the Jaffna Peninsula, while 45% of shrimps exported are caught in this area. These signs are very ominous.

Note by Editor:

Since this memorandum was addressed, we have received information that fishermen would be permitted to fish during all hours South of Karainagar Naval Base but such fishing operations should be confined within restrictions of the 'surveillance zone'.

North and East of the Karainagar Naval Base fishing would still remain 'taboo' between the hours of 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. The areas coming within the purview of such restrictions would be Kankesanthurai, Point Pedro, Valvettiturai and Mathagal.

Informed sources say that about 35,000 fishing families would be affected by these restrictions.

Private Medical College?

The Jaffna Medical Association has sent the SATURDAY REVIEW the following communication.

We read with interest the reply of the Secretary of the College of Higher Studies, Jaffna (S. R. of 22nd Sept.) regarding a Private Medical College in Jaffna. The subsequent news items (not in the S. R.) also cause great concern.

The Jaffna Medical Association is perturbed that the necessary and prerequisite steps have not been taken to ensure it being a viable venture. It is regretted that no proper prospectus has been made available. We feel it is our bounden duty to safeguard students from not only following a doubtful course and ending in frustration, but also losing at the same time the chance of applying for other courses of studies.

Unlike most other disciplines, the requirements for the proper training of Medical Graduates are many and varied. The buildings, equipment and staff are needed not only for the Basic Sciences such as Anatomy, Physiology and Bio-chemistry but also for the para-clinical and clinical subjects of Pathology, Medicine, Surgery etc., and will cost a colossal amount. The construction (or alteration) of adequate and appropriate buildings for Dissection rooms, Histology, Physiology, Bio-chemistry and Pathology laboratories, Museums etc., is no easy task and cannot be done in a short period even if the necessary funds are available. Equipment for these have to be obtained from abroad and would necessarily take time. Not only Doctors with Post Graduate qualifications in the various Basic Sciences, Para-

clinical and Clinical fields, and highly qualified and experienced Technicians have to be recruited but also the requisite materials including "dead bodies" should be ready before the training of the Medical Graduates commences.

The Courses in Basic Sciences would be followed by the clinical training for which one of the most important requisites is a large Hospital (or group of Hospitals) with varied clinical materials (sufficient number of patients with different diseases). The only Hospital in Jaffna District with such facilities is the General Hospital, Jaffna which itself is

London Says 'No'

The University of London has informed the Jaffna Medical Association that the London University through its external degree system currently does not offer any M.B.B.S. degree in the Faculty of Medicine.

finding it difficult to accommodate the increasing number of the students of the Medical Faculty of the University of Jaffna. At present no private Hospital or other Medical Institutions in Jaffna (even taken together) has the adequate number and varied type of patients for not only training Medical students but even nurses. Many Doctors with Post Graduate qualifications are needed as Professors and Lecturers attached to the Medical College and as Specialists in the Teaching Hospital in the various specialties such as Medicine, Surgery, Obstetrics and Gynaecology, Paediatrics, Dermatology,

Neurology, Neuro Surgery, Eye Surgery, E. N. T. Surgery Orthopaedic Surgery, Thoracic Surgery, Radiology, Psychiatry, Pathology, Bacteriology, Parasitology, Forensic Medicine, Community Medicine, Physical Medicine etc.

It is very unlikely that the above requirements of the Staff and other facilities could be met with by the College in the near future. The want or the absence of any of the above requirements would necessarily result in the training not being recognised by the relevant authorities. In our opinion the course of studies should not be commenced before the recruitment of adequate and properly qualified Staff and provision of facilities for at least the Basic Sciences. Further at the time of the enrolment of the students steps should have already been taken for establishment of a adequately staffed and equipped Teaching Hospital.

No Medical Graduate can practise Medicine without Registration with the Medical Council of the country. Registration will be granted by the Medical Council only if it is satisfied with the standards of Teaching and Training undergone by the Medical Graduate.

We would advise prospective students (and their parents) to satisfy themselves that all requirements have been met with before enrolment.

Jaffna Medical Association.

U. N. ECHOES

Mirdha, India's U. N. Representative said that there were 40,000 Tamil refugees in Tamil Nadu. He said that the ethnic problem could not be solved militarily but politically by mutual accommodation. Indiscriminate and violent killings by security personnel were bound to have repercussions in other parts of Sri Lanka precipitating a further influx of refugees

NRTB - Cheerio!

The Authorities have decided to suspend the Services

Chemical...

(Continued from page 11)

possible effects on women's reproductive organs.

Health is a basic right, not a privilege or a profit-making business as it is in the apartheid system and other capitalist countries. Women's organisations, health organisations, and all progressive doctors and health workers must combine their forces in 1984, the year of the women, to expose the "family planning" farce of the racists, and in particular, the use of Depo Prevera on black women, often without their knowledge or consent.

This article is reprinted from *Voice of Women*, journal of the African National Congress Women's Section, No. 1984.)

of the Northern Region Transport Board.

The employees, numbering nearly 2000, have been asked to present themselves at the Anuradhapura Head Office.

This order followed after an armed group of youths stormed the Kondavil Depot of the NRTB and got away with over Rs. 10,000 from the Vault.

A Colombo daily reported that "under intolerable burdens" with continuing terrorist attacks and rampant ticketless travel heaping unbearable burdens on the NRTB, the NRTB is compelled "to pull out from the North".

FLASH

P.S.: The NRTB has resumed normal services from 5th October.