

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

Vol. 3 No. 35

13th October 1984

# Tamils begin Boycott of Swiss Goods

No sooner news was received in Jaffna that Switzerland had decided to repatriate almost all the 1,600 Tamil youths who had sought asylum in that country, a number of people decided not to buy any more Swiss products, ranging from milk foods to fertiliser.

We urge that all Tamil people throughout Sri Lanka join this boycott as a protest against the Swiss Government's unhumanitarian decision formed on the basis of what we consider to be false information.

We say "false" because we are aware of the manner in which the two-member official mission from Berne gathered its information.

That was why, even before the mission (comprising the Director of the Swiss Federal Office of Police, Mr. Peter Hess, and the Head of the Refugees Division at this office, Mr. Urs Ha-

doru) returned home we said: "Swiss Fact-Finding Mission A Big Farce" (SR 18th August).

In response, the Swiss Government, through the Charge d' Affaires of Switzerland in Sri Lanka, issued a communique stating that the mission spent eight days in the island gathering information. (SR, 1st September).

The communique added: "..... The two Swiss officials

are of the opinion that the Tamil question constitutes a very serious ethnic problem, aggravated in the recent times by acts of violence. These acts of violence are due, on the one hand, to the clandestine Tamil organizations of "Freedom fighters" and, on the other, to the Armed Forces. The resulting hardening of the respective positions makes more difficult the search for a indispensable — political solution. The vast document-

(Continued on page 12)

## JAFFNA

## BOYS &

## GIRLS

## TAKE

## TO THE

## STREETS



More than 40,000 students from Jaffna schools staged a one-day hunger strike at several venues on 10th October to protest against what the Jaffna Students' Union described in a leaflet as the "continuing harassment" of students by the Security Forces, the transformation of schools into Army detention camps and the burning of the Hartley College library and other buildings.

Among the venues were St. James Church, Jaffna, Kandasamy Temple, Maviddapuram and Kumpalavalai Pillayar Temple, Alaveddy.

In Jaffna Town after the hunger strike the students took to the streets and staged a protest march at the end of which they presented a petition to the acting Government Agent, Mr. M. Panchalingam.

The Military Co-ordinating Officer for the North, Brigadier Nalin Seneviratne, in response to a petition submitted by the Jaffna Students Union, assured the Government Agent of Jaffna that no student who was going to school with books in his or her hand would be arrested without sufficient cause. He also assured that students who had been arrested would be released shortly.



## Saturday Review

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EDITOR

**GAMINI NAVARATNE**

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# TUs DENOUNCE KILLINGS

"We denounce the killing of innocent people, labelled as "terrorists" when they have been killed or declared unfortunate victims of alleged "cross-fire" between government forces and so-called "terrorists".

"We also denounce the brazen acts of terrorism against the civilian population carried out by sections of the armed forces in several coastal villages and elsewhere in the Jaffna District, and in the Mannar and Vavuniya Districts, as well as the rounding up of hundreds of Tamil youths and their forcible removal to places of detention in the South, to find out whether any of them may be 'terrorists'."

These were the resolutions passed recently by the National Conference of Trade Unions held in Colombo on the subject of "Repression in Sri Lanka."

Here are excerpts from their statement.

"Varied and conflicting reports have been published in Sri Lanka concerning actions of the Government forces in the Northern Province in the first two weeks of this month (August 1984), that have resulted in death and injury

to considerable numbers of the civilian population, deliberate destruction of property, including dwelling houses, shops and other establishments and fishing boats. These reports have been published under strict Press Censorship imposed by the Government under the State of Emergency, that has been maintained in Sri Lanka continuously since May 1983.

"The brutal policy the UNP Government has been pursuing in relation to the Tamil people has not resulted at all in a reduction of so-called "terrorist attacks" on the Government forces and its agents, and on State banks and other institutions. On the contrary, it has directly contributed to a material increase in such attacks; the Government's policy has resulted in the killings of

large numbers of innocent people, untold damage to property and unnecessary expenditure of vast sums of public money on arms and the Armed forces, as well as immeasurable and continuing losses to the country's economy. It has also served as a pretext for the continuance of the State of Emergency, under which absolutely unjustified taxes like the Infamous Rehabilitation Levy and other economic burdens have been imposed upon the working class and the masses of the people of Sri Lanka, with accompanying repression of democratic rights and civil liberties from North to South and East to West.

"Last but not least, the Government's use of Israeli and British agents in pursuance of its policy, has greatly enhanced the danger of

ultimate foreign intervention in Sri Lanka. If the Government persists with its inhuman policy. We accordingly demand that the Government abandon this policy, release all persons held in custody as suspected "terrorists", and end the Emergency. Only then can peaceful conditions for the people of this country be re-established and a democratic settlement of the genuine grievances of the Tamil people be achieved".

Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions, The Ceylon Mercantile Union, Sri Lanka Independent Trade Union Federation, Public Service Trade Union Federation.

## 10 F. T. Z. COMPANIES CLOSE

Ten companies in the much-vaunted Free Trade Zone have already closed down. More are likely to follow.

As a result of this closure, nearly 3,500 workers are without employment.

All these firms made full use of the many tax and other concessions that F. T. Z. Industries receive, for five years. When these were over they closed down or departed.

In some cases, they removed all their stocks and machinery in good condition and left the country without paying even their telephone and electricity bills.

The stranded workers have received neither pension nor gratuity and some have not even been paid their last month's salaries.

Several of these industries are joint ventures between local and foreign capital.

The closed down industries are (1) Golden Peacock (Ran Mayura) Garments; (2) Victor Garments; (3) C. N. A. Garments; (4) Playhouse Designs; (5) Filamini Rubber Industries; (6) George Steuart (Rubber); (7) Sri Lanka Cashew Export;

(8) Asia Footwear; (9) Samola Lanka Ltd; and (10) Globe Rubber Industries.

(Courtesy, Forward, 15th September).

## THE SECOND SUNRISE

by Rudhra Cheran

That day  
No wind blew.  
The waves didn't swell  
The sea too was dead.

Walking along the sandy shore  
Legs sinking in,  
Again a sunrise

This time,  
in the South.

What had happened?  
my city burnt;  
my people's faces crushed;  
in this land of mine  
in these winds of mine  
everywhere an alien impress!

Hands tied behind your back  
for whom do you wait?  
Amidst the clouds  
The flames' message!  
why wait any longer?

From the ash - strewn streets  
A w a k e !

(Translated from Tamil  
By the Author)

This poem is from  
the author's collection  
The Second Sunrise.

## THIRUKKURAL GEMS

1. Kural 599 (Patiyathu....)  
"Huge is the elephant and possessed of sharp-pointed tusks, but it trembles before the tiger".

Translated by C. Rajagopalachariar.

2. Kural 631 (Katuviyum....)  
"A minister is he who is wise in the choice of means, season and action and skilled in execution of rare enterprise."

Translated by M. S. Poornalingampillai

3. Kural 632 (Vankan....)  
"He is a minister who along with those five has in him, an undaunted resoluteness, an interest in the well-being of the sub-

jects, a spirit of study and manly effort."

Translated by M.R. Rajagopala Iyengar

4. Kural 637 (Seyatkal....)  
"Besides being well-versed in the methods of action, one should also understand the current ways of the world and act suitably."

Translated by C. Rajagopalachariar

5. Kural 638 (Arikon....)  
"It is the duty of the minister to give out decisively what is right and true, though the king be unwise and throws away his counsel."

Translated by M. S. Poornalingampillai

6. Kural 639 (Paluthen....)  
"Far better are seventy crores of enemies for a king, than a minister at his side who intends his ruin."

Translated by Rev. Drew and John Lazarus

Compiled by V. T. K.

## Proverbs of Solomon—the Ancient King of Israel

1. "We all have happy memories of good men gone to their reward, but the names of wicked men stink after them."

2. "The wise man is glad to be instructed, but a self-sufficient fool falls flat on his face."

3. "There is living truth in what a good man says, but the mouth of the evil man is filled with curses."

4. "Hatred stirs old quarrels, but love overlooks insults."

5. "A wise man holds his tongue. Only a fool blurts out everything he knows; that only leads to sorrow and trouble."

(Compiled by Jupiter)

The author of the article headlined 'Fruit trees: Double your yield' (SR 29th Sept.) was S. K. V. Achary of Mallakam. His name had been inadvertently omitted.

Editor



President Jayewardene's Government is hell-bent to have the Chief Justice, Mr. Neville Samarakoon, Q.C., impeached before he retires on 22nd October.

This, I say, is a despicable move which should earn the condemnation of every Sri Lankan.

For the main casualty will be the independence of the Judiciary, something which Mr. Jayewardene pledged to preserve and foster.

But this pledge, like many of his other pledges, began to go by the board soon after his United National Party assumed office.

The two biggest blows at the independence of the Judiciary were delivered in 1978.

The new Constitution adopted that year (it has now become a magazine) placed the executive President above both Parliament and the courts which, in addition, were deprived of the power of judicial review of executive action.

That is why Mr. Jayewardene is able to crow that "he alone has the power to do anything" and still not be accountable to anyone!

(By the way, with all the power at his command, the President is unable - or unwilling? - to visit Jaffna).

#### NEW FACES

With the new Constitution came the "reconstitution" of the courts. The Government used this ruse to get rid of judges it did not like (13 were dropped from the Supreme Court and the High Court), appoint others (there were eight new faces) and give preferential treatment to some (among them Mr. K. C. de Alwis, a district judge, who was appointed to the Court of Appeal bypassing the High Court and over a dozen senior judges).

The role Mr. de Alwis subsequently played in the special tribunal (styled the Special Presidential Commission), which recommended that ex-Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike be stripped of civic rights for seven years for "abuse of power" during her 1970-77 regime, is too well-known to need recounting here.

The establishment of the special court itself was a departure from the Rule of Law so eulogised by Mr. Jayewardene when in the opposition. As civil rights bodies pointed out at the time, the particular law discounted

the rules of evidence and the right of appeal, provided for new "offences" called "misuse" and "abuse" of power which were not properly defined and which were not known to the law, was retro-active (providing for penalisation for acts not illegal at the time of alleged commission) and allowed "punishment" to be meted out not by a judicial body but by majority vote in Parliament (i.e. for political victors to wreak vengeance on the vanquished).

was "a very significant observation as it raises some doubts regarding the findings against Mrs. Bandaranaike and Mr. Bandaranaike which are politically explosive and most embarrassing to the Government."

Mr. Justice D. Wimalaratne and Mr. Justice Percy Colin Thome held that Mr. de Alwis was guilty of actual misconduct.

The judgement was delivered on the very day Mr. de Alwis retired from the

to make foul allegations against a court that has held against him, be afforded this facility of causing the judge to be summoned before a Select Committee of Parliament to answer his foul allegations. Or is Mr. de Alwis being singled out for special treatment and being accorded a special privilege for his contribution towards the disfranchisement of some opposition leaders?"

very high level and somebody tipped off the paper.

Then, on 7th June, the Minister of Justice Mr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne, referring to my despatch as published in the Bangkok Post, said "The whole tenor of the article and in particular the words 'A Select Committee will inquire into a charge made by a junior judicial officer who retired recently in disgrace' and 'It will be weeks before the Select Committee completes its probe. Observers give the two judges little chance of escape - unless public outcry is strong enough to stay Jayewardene's hand' appear to constitute a breach of privilege of this Parliament." The Deputy Speaker, Mr. Norman Waldiyaratne, who was presiding, said, "Action will be taken."

What I was saying in effect was that if the matter was to be decided by the UNP-dominated Parliament - nearly 140 seats out of 168 - then the result was a foregone conclusion. Any jackass could have foreseen what would have happened. (I said the same thing before the resolution to punish Mrs. Bandaranaike was brought before Parliament.

While most journalists sympathised with me for what appeared to be in store a trial at the bar of Parliament some rubbed their hands in glee. Among them a scribe who claims to be the Sri Lanka correspondent of this particular paper but who does not write this kind of stuff because he is a darling of the Government.

I was in a predicament. No, I was not afraid to defend myself, because, as always, I had observed the journalists' dictum that "Facts are sacred, comment in free." I had only one good suit and that was in virtual tatters. How to appear before an august assembly like Parliament in it? I borrowed money from a friend and went to

(Continued on page 4)

# POLITICAL CAUSERIE

by

Gamini Navaratne

## CJ'S Affair: "Has Govt. Gone Mad"?

In 1982, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike (a Minister of Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government, who was also deprived of his civic rights on the recommendation of the special court) petitioned the Supreme Court alleging that Mr. de Alwis was guilty of "misconduct" in that he had entered into a financial transaction with a person (ex-Colombo Mayor Mr. A. Fowzie) in respect of whom an inquiry was pending before the special court. He sought an order restraining Mr. de Alwis functioning as a member of the court.

#### CLAIM UPHELD

In October that year, a three-judge bench of the Supreme Court upheld Mr. Bandaranaike's claim. There were three separate judgements. The Chief Justice held Mr. de Alwis was not guilty of misconduct as much but that members of the public were now likely to "look askance" at the other decisions of the special court. (This, as the Civil Rights Movement noted,

judiciary. In normal circumstances, he would have been able to continue as a member of the special court. But the judgement made it impossible for him to do so.

Some time later, Mr. de Alwis petitioned the President alleging that two of the judges, Mr. Wimalaratne and Mr. Colin Thome, were "prejudiced" against him. The Government promptly appointed a Select Committee of Parliament to inquire into the complaint.

Referring to this move, Mrs. Bandaranaike, as Sri Lanka Freedom Party President, said in a press statement (The Island, 8th March 1983): "What has happened thereafter (after the judgement) is unprecedented. It is an affront to the independence and integrity of the highest court in this country. If Mr. de Alwis honestly believed that these two judges were prejudiced against him, why did he not object to them before the case began, or even while the case was proceeding? Will every unsuccessful litigant, every convicted criminal, who chooses

#### IN HOT WATER

I wrote about this episode to the Gemini News Service of London, which circulated my despatch worldwide. The Government was naturally embarrassed and tried to silence me.

First intimation that action was proposed came through the "Anuradhapura Diaries" column of The Island of 15th May which noted: "Another People's Trial is about to begin, ever since a report from the Posts in Bangkok said that there was interference with the Judiciary. The Trial-at-Bar will begin soon...." The matter apparently had been discussed at

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(Continued from page 3)

one of the best tailors in town patronised by some top politicians and ordered a suit.

Then I sent word to the Government that I was willing and ready, but the call did not come. I was disappointed. I had covered parliamentary proceedings from the Press Gallery for donkey's years and missed the only chance of appearing in the chamber itself!

I hope readers will pardon me for this digression but it has relevance to what is happening to two vital institutions in our country, the Judiciary and the Press.

One week after the breach of privilege issue was raised came the demonstrations outside the residences of three Supreme Court Judges who had given a Judgment against the State in a fundamental rights case filed by Mrs. Vivienne Gooewardene.

The Government had the temerity to condone this action: its leaders said this was vindication that

# 'Has Govt. Gone Mad?'

fundamental rights remained intact in Sri Lanka. There was freedom to demonstrate even against Supreme Court Judges!

It is after this shameful episode that I wrote to SATURDAY REVIEW: "Personally, I am thinking of migrating to South Africa, despite Apartheid and all that. At least, in that country, Supreme Court judges are not insulted and humiliated in the manner it is happening in Dharmista Lanka." (18th June 1983).

In the end, the Government decided not to proceed against the two judges, but it has now initiated a similar move against the Head of the Judiciary himself.

What will happen to Mr. Samarakoon cannot be a foregone conclusion because Parliament has little time to act. The seven UNP members of the nine-member Select Committee chaired by the Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa, which inquired into the speech

made by him at the prize-giving of a private tutoring on 18th March this year, held that some of the statements constituted improper conduct or conduct unbecoming of the holder of the office of Chief Justice and that further action against him was warranted; the two opposition (SLFP) members dissented.

The majority report was published in the Sunday newspapers of 12th August; the minority report was not.

## LIKE KALAWANA

To quote from the Forward of 1st September: "The Government hurriedly steam-rolled a resolution signed by two-thirds of the total number of MPs (as required by the Constitution) through Parliament and set up a Select Committee to recommend action on it (the first Committee's recommendation). The Committee was required to report before 20th October. Later, it was discovered that

the resolution has serious defects. For instance, it fails to charge the Chief Justice with 'proved misbehaviour' which, together with 'proven incapacity', are the only two grounds on which a judge may be impeached and removed. Thus the appointment of a new Select Committee....

"But it seems unlikely that the new Committee will be able to finish its work until well into November, by which time the Chief Justice would have retired. Indeed, even under the Standing Orders of Parliament, the earliest date on which the Government can even move a motion on the Chief Justice's removal is 4th November. (This is because, in terms of the time-schedule set out for impeachment procedures of judges, it is imperative that the report of the Select Committee should be before Parliament for a minimum of 30 days before any action can be taken on it).

"As the constitution provides only for removal from office through the procedure that the Government has now embarked upon, it will be up against another problem, namely, how to remove from office a judge who had already quit that office.

## A VENDETTA ?

"In some quarters, it has been said that what we see in motion is a personal vendetta between the Head of the Government and the Head of the Judiciary.

"But at a special meeting of the Bar Council convened in late September to take cudgels on behalf of the Chief Justice, Mr. H.W. Jayewardene, Q. C., reportedly said that President Jayewardene was not concerned with the references made to him by the Chief Justice in his controversial speech but that other Government members were concerned with the way his speech would affect the outcome of the cases that had been filed in the courts in connection with the July 1983 Holocaust. We have to accept the President's brother's words on this matter.

"However, we cannot forget that even as the New Supreme Court was inaugurated on 11th September 1978, Mr. Samarakoon observed: "We have gathered together to usher in the New Supreme Court in the traditional man-

ner known to Bench and Bar. I and my brothers have been members of the Old Supreme Court and would have wished for it an honourable demise and decent burial, but that was not to be. Words have been uttered and aspersions cast in another place (Parliament) which seemingly affect its hallowed name. What more is in store, I do not know".

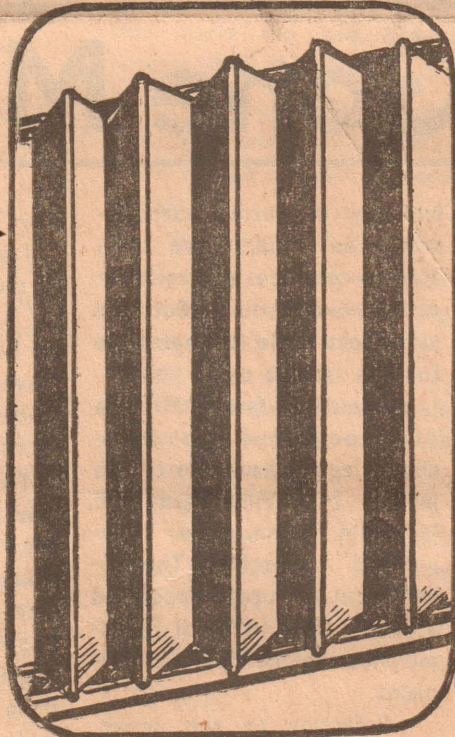
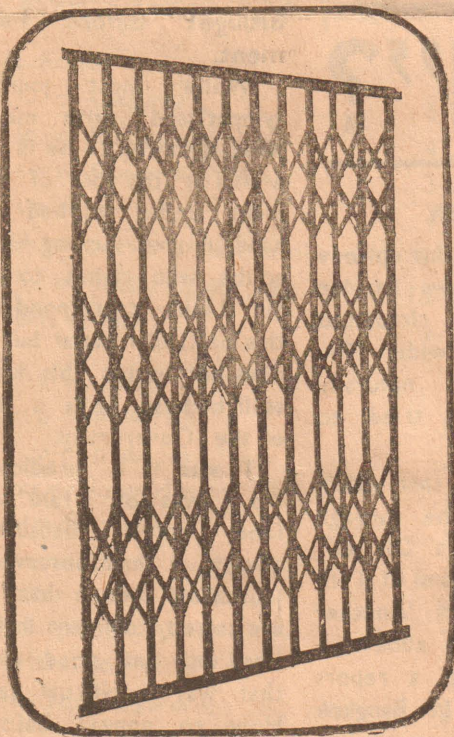
Later, in an exchange of letters between the President and the Chief Justice, Mr. Samarakoon had occasion to protest: "... During the past few years there has been a gradual erosion of the position of the Chief Justice and indeed, that of the Supreme Court Judges, by executive action. The latest move (equating the salary of the Governor of the Central Bank with that of the Chief Justice) under reference is the last of the moves. I regret that Your Excellency's Government has chosen to do this during my tenure of office. It is a matter of great concern to me, as I cannot resist the conclusion that it is personal to me. However I take solace in the fact that my period of office will soon come to an end. I must therefore stomach this insult just a little longer". (Vide the Government-controlled Daily News of 18th November 1982.)

Then came the controversial — or celebrated? — speech in which Mr. Samarakoon said, among other things, that "They (the people) are paying a hell of a lot of money to keep him (the President) in poverty!", implying that he lived in luxury while the mass of the people were groaning under severe economic hardship.

Mr. Samarakoon himself is expected to have the last say, when the Supreme Court holds a special sitting to bid him farewell, as per convention. But what he may say or may not say does not matter now because the damage has already been done.

Our Government is fast becoming the laughing stock of the world. While Sri Lanka is beset with so many pressing problems, including the deteriorating situation in the North, the Government is wasting its time and effort — and public money — on what can only be described as one more "side issue".

In this connection, the question asked by a senior diplomat at a recent reception in Colombo is excusable: "HAS THE GOVERNMENT GONE MAD?"



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Jaffna.



# TAMIL UNITY NEED OF THE HOUR

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW

In reference to the article under the caption "People's action Team for Jaffna" in the Saturday Review of 8th September, I wish to air some of my views on the problems of the Tamils, whether they are of recent Indian origin or of remote Indian origin.

It is a fact that Tamils originally came from India. This is true of our Sinhalese brethren also.

The question of who came first and from what parts of India is immaterial. Therefore, we cannot in moments of heat or rancour spurn or despise our Mother India.

It is an undeniable fact that the present population of this country comprises Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims and others. A modus vivendi should be devised for all to live in dignity and honour without any discrimination on the ground of race. The principle of majority rule does not work quite satisfactorily in a plural society or multi-national country.

The problems confronting the Tamils are not new. Tamils and Sinhalese lived peacefully and amicably during the British rule and thereafter until 1956, the year of "Sinhala only". The rub began thereafter and it has snowballed into a huge affair. The only enduring solution for the Tamils' problems is a political solution. No military solution can secure lasting peace.

A glimpse into history and a little knowledge of psychology will convince anyone of this truth. Truth and Dharma will ultimately triumph. Buddhists, Hindus, Christians and the followers of Islam believe in the efficacy of the Dharmic way of life for material and spiritual well-being. Let us, therefore, follow Dharma and eschew Adharma.

The urgent need for the Tamils at this crucial and perilous period of their history is hundred percent unity among themselves. We Tamils have a partiality or rather penchant for divisions based on selfish ends. This weakness is exploited by others. The Sinhalese with negligible exceptions are united on major issues. So are the Muslims. It is imperative on the part of all Tamils to forget their petty differences, forge unbreakable unity among themselves and fight peacefully for

their legitimate rights in one body.

Eruptions of sporadic violence in normally peaceful Tamil areas is an unusual phenomenon in recent times, born of sheer frustration and desperation engendered by non-redressal by the Government of some of their (Tamils) legitimate grievances.

Governments, present and past, are aware of the Tamils' reasonable demands. Each successive Government stated before and after election campaigns that the Tamils have some real problems. The Tamils' problems had been sufficiently articulated by their political leaders from time to time. It is not unawareness of their reasonable demands but lack of a strong political will on the part of Governments present and past which militates against political solution.

The Tamils have their distinctive culture, language and identity to preserve, just as our Sinhalese brethren are desirous of preserving theirs. In the wake of the disastrous incidents which overtook the Tamils, the worst of them in ugly July 1983 the Tamils are naturally perturbed over the security of their lives and property even in their traditional homelands. They therefore desire to live in peace at least in their own native place by internally managing matters like education, economic and land development etc.

The Tamils should bear in mind that in order to achieve their legitimate aims and objectives they should all be united under one political leadership and renew their reasonable demands. Absolute unity is a sine qua non for the Tamils to reach their goal. No responsible Government will reject outright the reasonable demands of a truly united front for fear of public opinion here and abroad.

The writer of this article is not popular or an important figure. He can only pray in his old age with its infirmities for a happy ending to the unending woes of the Tamils.

**Dr. K. Subramaniam**  
Colombo.

**THE HOOKED ONES**  
The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW

In his book "The Human Mind", Karl Menninger has written this passage which has relevance to our times: "When a trout rising to fly gets hooked and finds himself unable to swim about freely, he begins a fight which results in struggles and splashes and sometimes an escape ..... In the same way, the human being struggles .... with the hooks that catch him. Sometimes he masters his difficulties; sometimes they are too much for him. His struggles are all that the world sees, and it usually misunderstands them. It is hard for free fish to understand what is happening to a hooked one".

**P. Ramchandra**  
Jaffna.

pattern of apathy towards rights and freedom of people not only in the North but throughout the country in general.

We the 'Mother's Front' invite you to come to Jaffna and meet us, exchange views and verify the truth. The press and the media do not give the true picture of the country. We would greatly appreciate if a few of your members come here personally and assess the current situation. We will make arrangements for your stay in Jaffna and it would be a pleasure to have you amidst us.

Once again we thank you for the Solidarity extended to us in this hour of great

could call the paltry sum of Rs. 20 lakhs paid from the President's Fund and as well as from public collections as compensation.

One hopes that it is not too late even now to clarify the issue and seek the full payment of compensation to the Jaffna Library as well as recommended by the Lionel Fernando Commission.

**S. Nadarajah**  
Koddady.

## WHY 'NATION'?

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW

The recent headline in a Colombo daily "Nation mourns the killings in the North" raises the question "Which Nation?" especially because in August 1983, from every pulpit and platform, the highest in the land openly spoke of a "Sinhala Buddhist Nation" and many leaders still think in such terms.

Anyway, why make such a fetish of the concept of "nation"? It is not an organic growth; nations came into being with the fall of empires. It is an artificial concept of power politics. The real natural development of man is from selfhood to family, tribe and community; the next stage is not "nation" but humanity. The majority of us live and die at the family stage, a handful graduate to the community stage. It is only a Gandhi, a Schweitzer or a Mother Teresa who ascends to the "humanity" stage. I refer here only to those who actively participate in community life; the saints are a race apart.

If only, instead of a United Nations Organisation, we had had a "United Communities Organisation", the world would have been a more peaceful place. All today's struggles arose from communities trying to become "nations". As Bismarck correctly said, "A nation is born in blood and held together by conflict". One could change Madame Roland's famous words and say with truth, "Oh Nation, what crimes are committed in thy name!"

If, however, the newspaper report claims that it referred to the "Sri Lankan" nation it is a moot question whether such a concept ever existed and whether it is possible or probable.

**A. Ratnam**  
Colombo 5.

# LETTERS

## WOMEN'S FRONT

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW

We are encouraged and indeed thankful to you for expressing your sincere Solidarity with us in your letter.

On the 4th September Anna (Annathal Abeysekere) of the 'Kantha Handa' and her husband Jeffrey were arrested by the Hatton and Maskeliya police with no charges brought against them. The reason for their detention was not known. The exact police station where they were kept was not officially told. After about two weeks they were released. These types of violation of Human Rights take place almost daily in the North and East. In fact thousands of such arrests have been made by armed forces with no charges brought against the victims. The armed forces brutally assault, harass and take away children of tender age as hostages.

We appeal to all "Progressive Women's Front" to launch an intensive Island-wide Human Rights Campaign. Far from being human rights conscious, there has been a

stress and strain which we mothers undergo in the North.

**N. Balaratnam**  
**M. Sivalingam**  
Joint Secretaries

Jaffna.

## Rs 10 M. QUESTION

Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW

Reference the article "A Deep Dent" by Mr. K. Nesiiah (a member of the Jaffna Library Committee) appearing in the SATURDAY REVIEW of September 22nd, while expressing total agreement with the views expressed by him, especially endorsing his assertion that compensation for the destroyed Library must come from Central funds, not by diverting funds from any local development programme, I would like to pose the question as to how Mr. Nesiiah, while still serving as a member of the Committee, keeps silent when the Government failed to pay the sum of Rs. 10 million compensation recommended by the Lionel Fernando Commission to the Jaffna Public Library.

Was the money paid in full or part or whether one



The founding of the Group of 77 (which now has a membership of 126) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) twenty years ago in Geneva, were not random coincidental but intertwined events. The founding of the Group of 77 is commonly traced to the joint declaration of the seventy seven countries (of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Caribbean, and Yugoslavia in Europe) on 16th June at the conclusion of the first session of UNCTAD.

In that declaration, the 77 viewed UNCTAD I as a significant step towards creating a new and just world economic order. The basic premises of that new order; they saw that as involving "a new international division of labour oriented towards accelerated industrialisation" in the Third World, requiring "a new and dynamic international policy for trade and development" and establishing "a new framework of international trade that is wholly consistent with the needs of accelerated development". The 77 also underlined the singular importance of the establishment of "an

The objective of a new international machinery in the field of trade and development was fulfilled when the General Assembly in 1964 established UNCTAD as an organ of the General Assembly. UNCTAD was mandated among other things "to review and facilitate the coordination of the activities of other institutions within the UN system in the field of trade and related problems of economic development and initiate actions for negotiation of multilateral legal instruments" in the field of trade.

And contrary to current arguments, UNCTAD was always intended to deal, with a wide range of economic issues, including monetary and finance questions. Its rules of procedure for conciliation, clearly envisage decisions by UNCTAD on economic plans, programmes or economic or social readjustments; trade, monetary or tariff policies, or balance of payments; policies of economic assistance or transfer of resources; levels of employment, income, revenues of investment; and rights or obligations under international agreements or treaties.

the TDB was expanded to include the entire membership. the group of 31 expanded to include all the Third World members, and functioned as the Group of 77 in Geneva at UNCTAD. The group had no formal structure or constitution, but functioned on the basis of precedents and decisions. Soon it expanded to UNIDO, then to the UN in New York and other parts of the UN system.

It was not taken seriously in the beginning, and even now is often described derisively in Western media as a 'caucus' and its breakup often prophesied. But the basic commonality of the group was succinctly summed up by President Nyerere of Tanzania when he addressed the Fourth Ministerial meeting of the group at Arusha in 1979.

"What we have in common", Mwalimi Julius Nyerere said "is that we are all in relation to the developed world, developed world dependent - not interdependent - nations. Each of our economies has developed as a by product and subsidiary of development in the industrialised North, and it is externally oriented. We are not prime

industrialised East and West, and agreed to convene the Cairo Conference to discuss common problems and reach agreements on ways and means of "repelling all damage which may hinder their development" and agree on the most effective measures to ensure realisation of their economic and social development.

### Western Bias

The dissatisfaction of these countries with the then Western-dominated international framework at the UN, which refused to consider and deal with development issues, and at the Bretton Woods/GATT institutions, which were controlled by the West and based on the view that operation of the free market world-wide would solve all problems, had been simmering ever since the newly independent countries joined the international community of nations.

Founded in 1945, the UN spoke in the name of the peoples of the world, but was a political expression of the victorious allies of Europe and North America. The political order envisaged was based on the Big Five acting

in effect legally binding none.

Though frequently described in its literature as a "contract" and its signatories as "contracting parties", it is not an enforceable treaty or contract, but depends on the willingness of its members to implement it. And its history has been one of the powerful members unwilling to implement what does not suit their immediate interests. And the only power of enforcement is the right of its signatories to 'retaliate' - a jungle law and no more, through less jungle-like than the prewar practice of a cycle of bilateral relations that helped none.

### GATT rules

It was this profound dissatisfaction with the then state of affairs that resulted in the summoning and founding of UNCTAD. The analysis of the international economic scene, and its inadequacies, both structural and institutional, was provided at that time by Raul Prebisch in his Report to the Conference. After 20 years, it still remains valid. The problems afflicting the world economy

# 3rd World comes of

international machinery in the field of trade and development".

Viewing UNCTAD I as "an event of historic significance" and their own unity as "the outstanding feature of the Conference", the 77 saw "the vital need to maintain and further strengthen this unity in the years ahead as an indispensable instrument for securing the adoption of 'new attitudes and approaches in the international economic field... for enlarging the area of cooperative endeavour in the international field and for securing mutually beneficial relationships with the rest of the world... for cooperation among the developing countries themselves.'"

The 77 also pledged themselves to maintain, foster and strengthen this unity, and agreed to adopt all means to increase contacts and consultations amongst themselves, and to study the specific arrangements for this through their government representatives during the 19th session of the United Nations General Assembly.

## UNCTAD II

While the Third World efforts to create a new international organisation with focus on development was effected in 1964, the specific arrangements of the 77 towards unity became a reality only in 1967, in the preparations for UNCTAD II, at the Algiers Ministerial meeting. The Algiers Charter, adopted at that meeting, laid framework for the functioning of the group in deciding that the group should meet at ministerial level as often as necessary, and in any event always prior to the convening of the sessions of UNCTAD.

Prior to that, the 31 Third World country-members of the UNCTAD Trade and Development Board (TDB) had been meeting together informally and had, in their preparation for UNCTAD II, suggested the convening of the Algiers Ministerial meeting. This group was given a continuing role, by the Algiers Charter, in between sessions of UNCTAD and the Ministerial meetings. And when

movers in our own destiny. We are ashamed to admit it. But economically we are dependencies - semi-colonies at best not sovereign states".

It was the group of 77 (or the 75 earlier at New York) that was primarily responsible for bringing UNCTAD into being, though even in this, the strivings began much earlier at the Bandung Afro-Asian Conference, 1955, and the Belgrade Non-Aligned Summit, 1961, which initiated the 1962

In concert to preserve peace. Almost at birth that hope proved illusory, and the East-West axis and the conflicts began, with both the East and the West trying to line up the new countries in their camps, viewing "whoever is not with us is against us". The postwar economic order was underpinned by the Bretton Woods Agreement, creating IMF and IBRD.

To buttress this on the trade front, the Havana

today - the constant adverse terms of trade of primary producers worsening their balance of payments problems, the inapplicability to the Third World of the Havana Charter/GATT concept that "the expansion of trade to the mutual advantage of all merely requires removal of obstacles that impede the free play of these forces in the world economy", a concept based on the "abstract notion of homogeneity

by

**Chakravarthi Raghavan**

Cairo Conference of Developing Countries on the problems of economic development. At Bandung, at a time when "development" and "planning" were dirty words in the UN, the AfroAsians made the terms respectable and gave the call for mutual cooperation in the tasks of development. At Belgrade, the Non-Aligned saw the problems of economic development facing them as different from those of the

Charter envisaged the setting up of the International Trade Organisation to implement it, but this was absorbed when the US refused to ratify and assume obligations that would have circumscribed its national decisions. A part of the Havana Charter was put in place through the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which despite its name is no international treaty, but continues to be a provi-

that conceals the great structural difference between the industrial centres and the peripheral countries", the failure to apply "strictly" the GATT rules and principles, in spirit and letter, the problems of Third World debt, international liquidity and development finance - were all sketched out even then.

### Consensus

The decisions of UNCTAD I, and resolutions and decisions



at subsequent sessions and of the UN General Assembly, helped to forge a development consensus whose elements were:

★ the economic development and social progress of the Third World is the common concern of the entire international community:

★ the primary responsibility for development rests with the Third World countries themselves, but international action should strengthen and supplement their efforts;

★ the development of the Third World will contribute to the growth and prosperity of the industrial world too, and of the world economy as a whole:

★ at the international level, there is need for a better and more effective system of international cooperation, a modified international division of labour that is more rational and equitable, and the removal of inequity, unfairness and disparity in international economic relations and systems. All these require positive discrimination favouring the Third World

was subsumed in it, with emphasis on restructuring international economic relations and systems. Despite its current detractors, UNCTAD in its 20 year history, has made a decisive impact on international economic relations, "committed neither to the North nor to the South, but committed to this 'development consensus'" and by its innovative ideas and concepts, it has strengthened international economic cooperation for development. Many of its ideas were negotiated into international instruments, at UNCTAD itself, or elsewhere in the UN system, if Raul Prebisch, in the preparations for UNCTAD I and as the first Secretary-General, and his successors Manuel Perez-Guerrero and Gamal Corea, have provided the intellectual thrust for this, it was the Group of 77, through its unity and combined negotiations, that has made many of these ideas accepted.

In its 20 year history, the Group of 77 has defied all logic of international relations based on power-military and economic. While it was res-

General Assembly in 1974 and 1975 of the Declaration and Programme of Action for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. While the OPEC actions of 1974 catalysed these events, the philosophical groundwork for NIEO came out of UNCTAD at its Third Session in Santiago de Chile.

From inception, the Non-Aligned Movement talked of mutual economic and other cooperation among the Non-Aligned and other developing countries and gradually began moving in this direction through decisions at several summits and the Action Programme for Economic Cooperation. The Group of 77 began addressing these issues slowly, first within the UN system in terms of getting support of the UN organisations.

#### Arusha Plan

At the Mexico City 1976 Conference for Economic Cooperation Among Developing Countries, the Group formulated a comprehensive Plan of Action for ECDC. These concepts were built upon and incorporated into

While these developments have provided the Group with an institutional structure and framework, its inadequacies both for North-South negotiations and for ECDC are becoming daily more and more obvious.

The fact that the Group has managed to disprove all prophecies and attempts to break it up, and has continued to survive and remain together, is itself an achievement, given the pressures of bilateralism and centrifugal forces in world polity. As Manuel Perez-Guerrero, former Secretary-General of UNCTAD and veteran negotiator for the Group, has put it "Although the logic of its need may not always be clear to some, every member country will stay in the Group for as long as it considers it to be in its interest. And the Group will continue to exist as long as it is needed to fulfill its indispensable role. For it is certain that, without the Group of 77, the world would have done little, if anything, to modify its previous attitudes and actions on development matters".

system—with the IMF forcing the Third World debtors 'to adjust' by depriving their millions of poor with even the bare necessities of life in order to pay the foreign debts and ever-mounting interest charges.

In this situation, the USA has launched its campaign, not only to reverse the objectives of the post war development consensus forged at UNCTAD, and the subsequent NIEO decisions for restructuring international economic relations and institutions, but push the Third World back to its colonial era status in economic relations—by emphasising bilateralism, rather than multilateralism.

In the political sphere, the fundamental principles of the UN Charter—non-use of force and non-interference in the internal affairs of States—has long been observed only in its breach. But for nearly three decades, the breach was sought to be justified in terms of the right of collective security and self-defence in the words of the former CIA chief, William Colby,

# Age: Faces New Challenges

and based on principles of non-reciprocity:

★ International trade has a crucial role to play in economic and social progress throughout the world, and particularly the accelerated development of the Third World. Development of equitable and mutually advantageous trade can promote higher standards of living, full employment and rapid progress of all countries.

★ International trade should be governed by rules that are conducive to promoting development, particularly that of the Third World;

★ actions at an international level should be on a wide front, and concerted, convergent and comprehensive—and not ad hoc.

#### New Order

When the UN General Assembly in 1974 adopted the New International Economic Order (NIEO) Declaration, and in 1975 the programme of Action for the Establishment of the NIEO, this development consensus

possible for the convening of UNCTAD, and UNCTAD I was the catalyst for the group's genesis, the complicated search for consensus in international economic issues, brought about the need for group negotiations. The group negotiations soon became a fact of international life, resulting in the informal Group of 77, gradually acquiring a shape and character of its own, and a force of sorts.

From the beginning, the two major forces in the Third World, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77, have worked in tandem, with the Non-Aligned Movement by and large providing the necessary political thrust for change.

In the beginning, the Group of 77 concerned itself almost exclusively to North-South relations, and adopted a reformist approach, though even at UNCTAD I the emphasis was on a "new order". Soon, the inadequacies of the reformist approach became clear, and this ultimately led to the adoption by the UN

the Arusha Programme for Collective Self-Reliance, adopted at the Group's Fourth Ministerial Meeting in 1979. As the limitation of an ECDC approach centered on the UN system—where both the East and West were blocking it—became apparent, the Group, at the High Level Meeting in Caracas 1981, adopted the Caracas Programme of Action.

This brought foreign ministers, and foreign offices into the picture, thus providing a political thrust for ECDC. Also, for the first time, it provided the Group, albeit only for ECDC, an institutional framework, through the annual meetings of the Intergovernmental Followup and Coordination Committee of senior officials, and biennially at the meetings of the Foreign Ministers in New York during the UN General Assembly. The rudiments of a secretariat were also provided in the shape of a 'core of assistance' to help the Chairman of the Group of 77 in New York.

But as the Group faces the needs of the latter half of the 80s and the rest of the century—with a world in crisis in economic and social sectors, and soon threatening to impact on international peace and security, and perhaps life on the planet itself—it is still groping for a way to deal with these problems.

#### Debt collector

The underpinnings of the world trade and money and finance systems have virtually collapsed—though the institutional machinery is still limping along in its external garbs. The IMF, with its original concept of promoting free trade and full employment through short term balance of payments support, was from the beginning irrelevant to the development needs of the Third World. After the breakdown of the Bretton Woods Agreement and its system of fixed exchange rates in 1971, the original IMF has ceased to exist. It is now no more than a debt collector for the international private banking

covert intervention (in other countries to destabilise and overthrow governments of these countries) has long been used by the USA as an option 'between sending a protest note and landing marines'. From the East, the USSR too has used its KGB and other forms of intervention.

Recently, interventions have become more open and brazen and, as in the case of Nicaragua, the US now claims a legal right to indulge in such violations of the UN charter and international law.

It is this multifaceted crisis and the new efforts at power play that faces the Third World.

(Courtesy, International Foundation for Development Alternatives, Italy.)



## The Dirty Dozen - 3

# THE POT & THE KETTLE!

YOJANA put to Shri P. N. Haksar the following questions:

1. The YOJANA coverage in its thematic Special, "the dirty ones; and their game", includes bureaucracy as well. How do you look at the teaming-up?
2. What, in your opinion, has led to slide-down in the working of the bureaucracy?
3. How do you look at the concept of committed bureaucracy? Is the present bureaucracy capable of delivering the goods?
4. How do you look at the grievances of the technocrats vis-a-vis the bureaucrats?

We publish below Shri Haksar's response:

(Chief Editor)

THE WAY YOU HAVE STRUCTURED YOUR questions. It is rather difficult to answer them truthfully. It is extremely difficult in our country to explain the concept called "system". It is equally difficult to build and maintain institutions in our country. We, as a people, only understand individuals and, at a higher level, we are overwhelmingly concerned with self and its salvation. It is this pre-occupation which is destructive of, what I might call, a "systemic" approach and of respect for institutions.

While our academics talk about holistic approach, in actual practice we just do not actually see the interpenetrating historical, social, cultural, political and economic processes. The result is there for everyone to see. Institutions decay. We have dissonances, we have incoherence, we fall apart even while seminars are being held and speeches are being made for promoting national integration.

Bureaucracy is not an isolated phenomenon. It is a part of our state system. If one could compare the State to a ship, the political leadership will be found in the control of the Bridge of the ship constituting itself as a collective Captain of the ship. The bureaucracy would be the Engine room. Both of them have to work together to make the ship move in a particular direction. The direction is set by the political leadership. The analogy of the ship is far too simple

because the direction of its movement, its destination or destinations, are known. But when one has to provide leadership to vast processes of historical, political, social, economic, cultural, educational, scientific, technological transformation, things get extremely complicated. And they are indefinitely more complicated in India where we are, for the first time, concerned with creating modern industry, modern agriculture, modern science and technology and a state system which cannot be described as Mughal or Gupta or Vijayanagar or Chola or Chera—all based on the system of Kingship and dynasty.

The State is controlled by government and the government in its turn, is controlled by a political party and its leadership.

Reverting to the analogy of ship and State, you can just imagine what will happen to a ship in motion if the Captain and the crew do not inspire confidence in another. The inspiring of confidence, gaining of mutual trust, is perhaps the most crucial and critical element in the running of any State system, more specially, if it is done through a political process called democracy. Even if the State system is created by a political process called revolution, as in France in the 18th Century or in the Czarist Russia and China in the 20th century, a bureaucratic system becomes an inescapable necessity for the maintenance of the State system.

The System, both its political part and its bureaucratic part, functions within an environment of values and the question which arises is: whose responsibility it is to create, sustain and uphold the value system. According to our ancient wisdom, it is said: *Yatha Raja, Tatha Praja*, which means that *Raja* (the King) has to set the standards for the *Praja* (subjects) to be inspired and to respond.

If you believe in God and in the stories of creation then in all the religious books, you will find that God created everything—ocean, skies, the Sun, the Earth, the Moon, Stars and even us, human beings. God being all powerful, could have said that having created the system, He will make it run according to His moods and fancy. But the

God being, by definition, wise and all knowing, realised that such a whimsical way of running the creation and its creatures, would create chaos rather than cosmos. So He set about organising the bits and pieces of His creation within a system. Thus, we have a Solar system and the all powerful God framed rules and regulations for the governing of the system and though millions and millions of years have passed, the Earth moves around its axis, it travels around the Sun; the Moon has its regulated movement and so on.

Our politicians, even when they pretend to be believers of God are blinded by the arrogance of power and by the search for power. They believe that they do not have to observe the rules and regulations, maintain any standards or norms of the State system both in its political and bureaucratic aspect; nor do they seem to be concerned by consistently upholding the value norms without which no political cosmos can hold together.

bureaucrats life, life of industry and commerce, consists of circumventing laws, regulations, code of ethics and value system, it is not surprising that bureaucrats contribute their own distinctive quota to the playing of the dirty games. And, indeed, one has to admit that the games are getting dirtier and dirtier.

In ancient times, these was a *noblesse oblige* binding the landlord to the tenant, to the share cropper. There was similar *noblesse oblige* between our great leaders and the masses who turned towards them in hope and reverence. This is no longer obtaining. The *noblesse oblige* is now sustained by money nexus. I should not be misunderstood. The old order had to be changed. But it does not follow that in the course of structuring new order, one could have so recklessly cast away the value system appropriate to the processes of change, be they described as industrialisation, modernisation, secularisation etc.

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by P. N. Haksar

(Former Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister of India)

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According to our ancient wisdom, the *Sarkar* (Government or State) acquires legitimacy and respect among the wide masses of people only in the measure it sets high standards which are implicit in the word *Iqbal* and by providing means and mechanisms by which the grievances, the dissatisfaction and tensions of the Society have the opportunity to express in an orderly manner which is called *Soonwani*.

If there is any truth in all that I have said, then I would say that the disintegration of our bureaucracy, its lapses, both moral and in terms of performance of their duty, are a reflection of all too palpable decay of our political system, political leadership and of the value system which ought to underpin the political processes and the politicians. The result is that honesty, integrity, commitment to performing one's duty are visibly decaying.

In an environment, where the art and science of getting on in life, be it political life

clearcut policies so that the decision-making process is not fractured by influences operating outside the policy frame. However, most important thing is to generate an atmosphere and to sustain it—an atmosphere that politicians and bureaucrats are partners in building India of our dreams. History has recorded that when a nation loses a vision, civilizations and societies have perished.

About commitment

Finally about commitment. There is no one in India who is not committed. We are all committed to one thing or another. Regrettably, this commitment is to oneself, to one's own family, to one's community, religion, caste, region etc. We cannot build an integrated national entity of India on the basis of these commitments. We must have commitments to excellence, objectivity in our appraisal system, commitment to integrity and a commitment to the welfare and well being of our people and of our country. Such a commitment must be seen to be observed and translated into deeds by everyone concerned—politicians, bureaucrats, those working in the area of commerce, trade and industry, educationists, mediamen, writers and artists.

I must add a word about the quality of our people entering into our bureaucratic system. I have intimate knowledge of men and women in the various branches of our bureaucracy. Their quality is as good as anyone would wish it to be. But their training is ritualistic and mostly irrelevant. And after a few years in service, the idealism with which they join becomes heavily eroded. It is tragic to see so much of human waste. This wastage is visible even in our scientific community.

Believing as I do that not everything is lost and that given a political will, things can be set right, I devoutly hope that my diagnosis would be accepted. The necessary pre-condition for the healing process is the correctness of diagnosis. Any my diagnosis is based on my long experience and detailed observation of how we have, either out of lack of understanding or working on false assumptions, allowed our State system and our

(Continued on page 9)



# WHY INSURE ?

9th April 1984 will be an unforgettable day, as far as the people of Jaffna are concerned. It was, however, not a memorable day; rather, we would describe it as one of the most shameful days in all Sri Lanka's post-independence history.

Just because some soldiers were ambushed by militant Tamil youths near the Lady of Refuge Church and some of them were killed, other soldiers went on the rampage in the heart of the city, shooting and burning.

In the final count, 51 innocent civilians (including some old men and women) were killed and many shops and offices as well as over a score of cars were destroyed.

Among the properties destroyed was the Head Office Establishment of the Jaffna Co-operative Stores Ltd., at 420 (530), Hospital Road, about half a mile away from the scene of the ambush.

The stock-in-trade, furniture and fittings, cash, stationery, equipment and motor vehicles and bicycles were all destroyed.

The loss to the Company, as circularised to the shareholders by the Chairman of the Board of Directors, Dr. V.

Yoganathan, was Rs. 14 million.

An insurance claim was filed for Rs. 4.25 million, the insured value, and steps were taken to provide services to customers as best as possible under the difficult circumstances.

An appeal was also made to President Jayewardene for payment of an ex-gratia grant.

The Chairman's circular added: "There is no doubt that we have to rebuild and resume our normal services. We are heartened by the hundreds of citizens of Jaffna who have expressed sympathy with us and assured us of continued patronage. Our employees have stood by us and we shall stand by them.

The Board of Directors are actively considering various proposals for reconstructing and will implement their decisions as expeditiously as possible.

"We assure shareholders and others that all our obligations will be discharged in due course, in spite of the heavy, unexpected loss."

The Insurance Corporation of Sri Lanka, by letter dated 10th May, 1984 said; "With reference to the telephone

conversation you (the Managing Director of the Company) had with the undersigned this morning, we confirm receipt of the completed claim form and other connected documents in respect of the fire damage caused to the above premises on 9th April, 1984.

In this connection, we write to advise you that we are processing your claim without prejudice to our liability and shall get in touch with you in due course."

The Insurance Corporation by letter dated 15th June said: "With reference to your letter dated 12th June 1984, addressed to our Regional Manager, Jaffna, please note that we have no objection to your demolishing the above building and removing the debris."

On 17th September the Insurance Corporation wrote to the company stating: "We thank you for your letter dated 12th September, 1984.

"We have studied your loss as claimed by you, and several other claims from Jaffna arising from the incidents during the second week of April 1984.

As the circumstances of these losses fall within the exclusions contained in our policy, we regret very much our inability to assist you further in the matter."

On 1st October, Dr. Yoganathan, on behalf of the Board of Directors of The Jaffna Co-operative Stores Ltd. informed the shareholders: "It is with feelings of deep sadness that the Board of Directors have decided to send you this second circular after the disastrous fire that destroyed our head office building on 9th April 1984.

The Insurance Corporation of Sri Lanka has rejected our insurance claim in spite of the fact that we had a comprehensive policy. This is a most unexpected turn of events. Needless to say, that the Board of Directors have, in the interests of our Company and other similar establishments, decided to contest this unjust decision in the court of law.

The Board has decided to convene an extraordinary general meeting of shareholders and place before them certain proposals for their consideration to meet the present situation. The notice for the meeting will be issued shortly."

There you are. Why insure?

## SUBVERSIVE LITERATURE!

Once again we hear that several persons who were in possession of the SATURDAY REVIEW had been detained and questioned by members of the Army and Police.

When this sort of thing happened earlier, the Top Brass were informed and there was an end to the arrests.

For the information of the Top Brass everything that goes into the SATURDAY REVIEW is censored by the "Competent

Authority' (Government Agent of Jaffna), so what we publish is only officially-approved material.

Ours, in fact, is the wholly Government-approved Newspaper in Sri Lanka!

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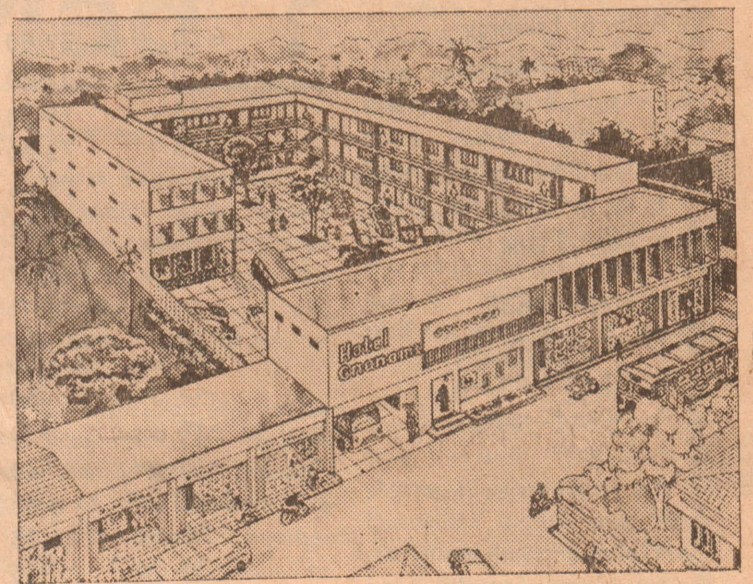
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Copies of the bimonthly Tamil Information, edited by Mr. S. Sivanayagam, former Editor of the Saturday Review, are available from the Tamil Information Centre, 3rd Floor, 24-28 Clapham High St., London SW4 7UR, England, No. E-114, 18th Cross St., Besant Nagar, Madras 600 090. and No. 18, South-North 1st St., Singaray Colony, Narimedu, Madurai - 2.

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## The Pot and Kettle...

(Continued from page 8)

institutions to develop within them serious stresses, strains, tensions and cracks.

Bureaucrats vis-a-vis technocrats

As to the last question about the bureaucrats and technocrats, the controversy is misconceived. In my view, technocrats should be as well paid, if not better, as bureaucrats. False belief that bureaucrats should not be involved in the management and the decision-making processes of our public sector enterprises, I would go even further to state that the management of our public sector enterprises must be freed from the dominance and interference of the ministries and civil servants. If this is done, the basic cause of competition between bureaucrats and technocrats would be abolished. And it is high time that it was abolished.

I shall be failing in my duty, which I owe to myself, if I did not point out the ominous implications of the near collapse

of the entire administrative structure of Punjab under the impact of the crisis in that State. And if truth be told, the state of administrative structure — Police, Bureaucracy, Intelligence etc. — in the State of Bihar is, if anything, worse. The riots in Bhiwandi has shown that the local police and the administration could not cope with it and thus the Army had to be called in aid of the civil power. From my own personal knowledge I know that the administration in U. P. and other States in India is no better. The crisis in Punjab which laid bare the anatomy of the decay ought to be seen as an opportunity to sit up, to think and to take serious remedial measures. As the old Sanskrit proverb says that it is no wise to start digging the well when the fire has already started. (Na Koop Khannan Yuktam Paradipte Vihina Grihe).

(Courtesy, YOJANA, New Delhi, 15th August).



# The Cost of Living in 1977 & 1984

## After 'Accelerated' Development

	Prices in 1977	Prices in 1984
<b>Bare Household Essentials to Keep off Hunger</b>		
Extra Rice	Rs. 2/- for all	12 00
A loaf of bread	75 cts.	3-05
A lb. of flour	81 cts.	3-50
A lb. of Sugar (on ration)	72 cts.	6-25
A lb. of sugar (extra)	5 00	6-25
A lb. of Potatoes	2 00	10 80
Eggs	40 cts.	1-50
A bottle of Jam (M. D.)	5-60	16-80
A coconut	60 cts.	3-75
A lb. of Tea	8-00	31-50
A lb. of Coriander	1-68	8-00
A lb. of Cumming Seed	4-25	11-25
A lb. of Tamarind	1-40	20-00
A lb. of Saffron Powder	11-00	32 00
A lb. of Pepper	12-00	20-25
A lb. of Onion	2-20	11-00
A lb. of Garlic	2-80	11-00
A lb. of Salt	-20	1-50
A lb. of Maldive Fish	20-00	80-00
A lb. of beef	3-50	12-50
A lb. of Halmessa	8-00	60-00
A lb. of Kattah fish (dried)	2-85	40-00
A lb. of Mysoor Dhal	3-75	9-00
A tin of Plaza	6-00	16-00
A bottle of Coconut Oil	4-50	24-00
A bottle of Kerosene oil for cooking	58	6-00
<b>Milk Foods</b>		
A lb. of Lakspray	6-00	29-00
A lb. of Lactogen	4-20	32 00
A tin of Condensed Milk	3-25	15-70
A tin of S. M. A.	4-95	72-00
A lb. of butter (Milk board)	11-00	13-50
A lb. of butter (Imported)	13-00	24-00
A pint of milk	1-10	3-75
<b>Workers' Food</b>		
A cup of milk tea	50 cts.	1-50
A cup of plain tea	40 cts.	-60
A string hopper	10 cts.	-35
A Hopper	15 cts.	-60
A parcel of rice (half)	2-25	8-00
A bun	50 cts.	1-25
A plantain (ambul)	15 cts	-45
A bristol cigarette	23 cts.	-75
Three roses cigarette	22 c's	-65
<b>Other Essentials</b>		
An Exercise book	60 cts.	2-70
A foot ruler	25 cts.	3-00
Face powder - Ponds	4-75	12-50
A piece of Sunlight	75	3-60
Sovereign bar soap	2-40	15 50
A feeding bottle	8-00	14-00
A yard of Chintz	7-50	20 00
A Sarong	17-50	80 00
A Shirt	20-00	175 00
A towel	6-10	40-00
A tube of tooth paste-Signal medium	3 75	9-85
A stamp	-15	-60
Registered letter	1-15	4-60

# Up on the Banyan Tree

Owl X: (Returning to the "residence" after weathering a heavy shower) The monsoon has got advanced by more than a month.

Owl Y: No, No. We are having a very good Ruler and therefore there are more showers that was the case before.

X: I don't quite understand.

Y: You see the principal function of a Ruler is to maintain peace, order, security and what is called law. For this end, you want plenty of arms and security personnel, Our Ruler is devoting all his time, energies and resources to building up a very large armed security force.

X: But we have really plenty of breaches of peace?

Y: You must have patience; Our Ruler has a twelve year lease of rulership; in the first six years he was engaged in the churning out process; now he has set about with the healing process?

X: How is he setting about with the healing process?

Y: He has a Round Table Conference in Colombo to pacify the reaction of the outside world and the Armed Forces, up in the North.

X: So, do you mean to say that the Round Table Conference will go on for five more years?

Y: The Round Table Conference was convened to pacify outside reaction and, so long as the Armed forces are resorting to violence against the Tamils, the Round Table Conference will go on with the co-operation of the ever obliging TULF.

X: What will the Armed Forces do during the five years?

Y: The Armed Forces in the North and the East will intensify their performance.

X: Will this not involve a lot of manpower and money?

Y: Of course it will. But the Ruler has plenty of loyal friends; there is Uncle Sam and Reagan, Auntie Maggie and the experienced Israelis; and Dollar aid is available in plenty.

X: What about manpower?

Y: That is simple; with a three-fourths majority, you can decree compulsory military service for all Sinhalese youths.

X: Will the Sinhalese youths be prepared to engage in an armed conflict of such a scale?

Y: You can represent the process as a holy war and also pay fantastic amounts for service.

### by Sakathevan

X: Why do they resort to arson?

Y: Fire is the most effective purifying agent. Set fire to homes, hearth sand persons in a grand purification as persons.

X: The rainy season begins and this business of purification by fire might prove difficult?

Y: Oh no. Tanker loads of petroleum can be obtained for the purpose

X: How?

Y: With the ever-available dollars.

X: Is that morally right?

Y: The Dhamma demands purification.

X: Then it is in compliance with the Dhamma?

Y: Most certainly.

X: So you think this is a twelve year process of purification?

Y: That is so.

X: Why do you say that the TULF is ever-obliging?

Y: Really the obliging characteristic is mutual. The TULF obliges the Government of J.R. and J.R. in return obliges the TULF.

X: How is that?

Y: Yes. We shall first see the obliging characteristic of the TULF. In the past several years the President and the Prime Minister had on several occasions to go abroad on their numerous aid-getting missions and on such occasions Mr. Amirthalingam very gladly issued either joint statements with the Governments spokesman or alone on his own behalf condemning violence and creating the impression that the disputes are being settled amicably and the main body of Tamils is behind J.R.'s Government and that only a few hot-heads are creating trouble. J. R.'s Government felt that it was fine.

X: What else?

Y: For thirteen months Amirthalingam held monthly Conferences with the President. The impression to the outside world was that the differences were being ironed out and the dispute was being settled amicably.

X: Anything else?

Y: When the Presidential elections came round, Kumar Ponnambalam entered the fray with a slogan for which he never before expressed any support but that slogan was not to the liking of J. R. TULF issued a request to the Tamil electorates not to vote for Kumar Ponnambalam.

X: But then Kumar Ponnambalam and Amirthalingam are now hand in glove.

Y: Politics makes strange bed-fellows.

X: How does the TULF help the Government of J. R. in the Round Table Conference?

Y: The TULF leader goes to Madras after the Conferences and issues a statement there to the effect that nothing would come out of the Conference; he goes to Jaffna and says that he is attending the Conference only because the Indian Prime Minister wants him to continue attending. The impression given is that the dispute is being settled at the negotiating table and foreign inquisitiveness is pacified.

Daily paper	-50	2-50
A ball point pen (orex)	1-50	3-75
<b>Drinks</b>		
A bottle of Soda	-48	3-50
A bottle of Arrack	16-00	43-00
A chew of betel	10	75
<b>Agriculture Inputs etc.</b>		
A mamoty	22-00	85-00
A ton of paddy fertilizer	140-00	2785 00
A ton of coconut fertilizer	140 00	2785-00
<b>Building Materials</b>		
A bag of cement	21-00	110-00
1000 bricks	100-00	800-00

1984-09-17

Winged Bean



# CWC Fires Salvo

The Assistant Secretary of the Ceylon Workers' Congress (Political Wing) Mr. A.M.D. Rajan referring to an alleged "oblique reference" to its President, Mr. S. Thondaman by the Minister of Mahaweli Development, Mr. Gamini Dissanayake in an interview with THE ISLAND of 23rd September, said in a press release:

"The present Government obtained an overwhelming majority at the 1977 elections on the basis of establishing a Just Society in which everybody will have equality.

"The solution of the ethnic problem was one of the

important promises made by the United National Party.

"While we were moving towards finding a solution and a dialogue had been established with the Tamil United Liberation Front it was people like Mr. Dissanayake who muddied the waters and made solutions difficult.

"Mr. Thondaman and the CWC depend on the support of the people and not on anyone's magnanimity. The extent of support the CWC has was more than amply revealed by the manner in which the plantation workers rallied behind Mr. Thondaman and the CWC during the April strike.

"The country saw how Mr. Dissanayake's Lanka Jathika Estate Workers' Union virtually collapsed during this time and is continuing to crumble.

"As stated by Mr. Thondaman during the CWC annual convention the CWC stands for a social order that will ensure equality to all people and in which the working people will have greater share in the benefits of development.

"We stand not for isolation but against discrimination and for the unity and understanding between all communities".

## PAPER TIGER

A person who had in his possession a copy of the SATURDAY REVIEW was taken in for questioning by the Security Forces at Mullaitivu.

## Elara and Gemunu

A new Elara Gemunu were named by the President at the recent sessions of the Ceylon Planters' Society.

Mindful of their private war, the President referred to Ministers Thondaman and Gamini Dissanayake as Elara and Gemunu and expressed the hope that their combat would not end in Waterloo, but did not specify for whom.

The Mahavamsa speaks of Elara as a just and righteous ruler of the Anuradhapura period. The President, updating the old story, said that Mr. Thondaman, too, was "a very just man" and "a very good friend of mine".

The Mahavamsa story hails Gemunu (Gamini) who defeated Elara in combat, as the noblest king of Tri Sinhale.

But the President had no such kind words for the modern day Gemunu. His Excellency's only reference to Gamini Dissanayake was that he came from Kotmale where the Gemunu of old too lived in hiding for several years.

In this duel, the President it seems, is backing the man whom he said hailed from a distinguished Pandyan family. The man also delivered a bloc Indian Tamil vote at the Presidential election.

(Courtesy: FORUM)

# NEWS BRIEFS

## POLICE COMMANDOS

The Minister of National Security said that police commandos would take over all security in the North and East and reduce the presence of the armed forces. They would be given a crash programme in Tamil to ensure good public relations.

## CITIZENS COMMITTEE

The Citizens' Committee for National Harmony viewed President Jayewardene's proposals as a fresh opportunity for reaching a negotiated settlement. They have, however, said that there was a 'certain ambiguity in the devolution of power'.

## SO TRUE

At a meeting held at the Ananda Maha Vidyalyaya, Chilaw, Mr. Lionel Jayatileke, Minister of Education Service said "Our war should be against poverty that existed throughout the country and not against 'tigers' in the North."

## AHIMSA WAY

Mr. Amirthalingam stated in Madras that the A. P. C. would not solve the problems of Tamils. He is further reported to have said "the stranglehold of the army, suspension of development, restrictions on fishermen in the area are signs to suppress the Tamil people and the only one prevent" atrocities perpetrated by the security personnel would be the Ahimsa way."

## ISRAELI INTERESTS SECTION

Dr. M. C. M. Kaleel, the President of the All Ceylon Muslim League, said "Israeli help in any form will be resisted." The League was unanimous in its view. It further reportedly said that it viewed with concern Government Action to renew there 'Israeli link'.

## AVOID

## NIGHT TRAVEL

At a Press Conference, Minister of National Security said it was desirable to avoid night travel in the North. The private bus operators have also been advised to avoid night travel.

## DEVELOPMENT IN NORTH

Mr. Lalith Athulath Mudali said "it must be clearly understood that we are only not moving ahead with projects that we cannot do because of terrorism. We are diverting that money to other purposes we want to utilise those funds." He cited the approval of the Mannar Water Supply Scheme as an example.

## PEACEFUL WAY

It is reported that a Committee of religious clerics will visit South India to sound leaders of 'militant Tamil youths' to give up their 'armed struggle' and solve the ethnic problems in a "peaceful way."

# 2nd MBBS Exam Results

The following are the results of the University of Jaffna Second Examination for Medical degrees held in July 1984 (Provisional results subject to confirmation by the Senate).

**SECOND CLASS:** P. Kulathunga Kogulan, Miss S. Kumarasamy, R. R. Rajaratnam, Miss S. Swaminathan, Miss Y. Thanabalasingham, Miss T. Thurai-rajah (Distinction in Anatomy)

**PASS:** J. A. Balasingham, Miss V. Ganeshan, K. Jeganathan, Miss N. Kanagasabal, K. Kanthakumar, Miss Y. Kathiravelayuthapillai, Miss N. Kumarasamy, A. M. Mahendran, S. Manoharan, Miss T. Navaratnam, Miss S. Paramanathan, V. Sripanialingam, Miss K. Arunthiavachelvi, Miss M. Ramanathan, Miss N. Sabaratham, Miss A. Santhirasegaram, Miss S. Senathirajah, Miss M. H. Sithy Abitha, Miss N. Sivasambu, N. Sriskantharajah, L. L. Sukirtarajah, Miss S. Velupillai, G. Vignakumar, Miss D. Vijayasegaram, Miss M. S. Fazeela, B. Jesudas, S. Krishnakumar.

**REFERRED:** K. Ananthan (Anatomy & Biochemistry), P. Arulpragasam (Physiology), Miss T. Balasubramaniam (Anatomy & Biochemistry), J. H. S. Jeyaranjan (Biochemistry), Miss C. Kandiah (Physiology), Miss M. Kasinathar (Anatomy), Miss K. Malthili (Anatomy & Physiology), Miss K. Nadarajah (Anatomy), Miss P. Nagalingam (Physiology), S. Nirmalan (Biochemistry), S. A. Puvina-athan (Biochemistry), S. Santhirakumar (Anatomy & Biochemistry), K. Senthilkumaran (Anatomy), S. I. Seshamany (Anatomy & Biochemistry), Miss A. Sithambarapillai (Biochemistry & Physiology), S. Suthokumar (Anatomy & Biochemistry), Miss K. Thavarasan (Anatomy), Miss R. Vadivelu (Anatomy), K. Vigneswaran (Biochemistry), M. Vijayakumar (Anatomy), A. Abdul Kaji (Physiology), M. Thamiltasan (Anatomy & Physiology).

**RE-REFERRED:** G. Ravindran (Anatomy & Biochemistry), R. Ponnusamy (Anatomy), V. Ravikumar (Anatomy & Physiology).

# Fundamental Rights Application Succeeds

A Fundamental Rights Application case filed by Mr. M.P. Raman of Kappalthurai, Trincomalee was taken up before the bench comprising of Justices Colin-Thome, Parinda Ranasinghe and N. M. Abdul Cader.

In this application the Petitioner Raman, who was an estate employee, was settled down in State Land with Government Approval since 1978.

Mr. Raman stated that 47 houses were destroyed in Kappalthurai and Villankulam in May 1983. Later 39 families were restored to occupation on identical allotments of land as a result of the efforts made by the Federation of the Trincomalee District Y. M. H. A.

On 4th July, 1984, Army, Navy, Police and Kachcheri officials invaded this settlement and evicted the occupants by force.

Their Lordships delivered their order as finally settled between the parties stating that the Petitioner will be allowed to reside in his earlier abode within the allotment provided in the permit issued and that an alternate allotment will be provided once land was found in order to resettle the petitioner, as submitted by State Counsel.

In this application Mr. Nimal Senanayake with Mr. Saliya Mathew appeared for the petitioner while Deputy Solicitor General Mr. H. S. Yapa with Senior State Attorney Mr. V. P. Tilakeratne appeared for the respondents Mr. Camillus Fernando, G. A., Trincomalee; Commodore Marshal, Co-ordinating Officer, Rear Admiral A. W. H. Perera, Major General T. I. Weeratunga and I. G. P. Mr. Rudra Rajasingham.



# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

# Bishop 'shells' Lalith

A team of priests and religious from the South be-

longing to the North-South Amity team visited Mannar and Jaffna in an effort to promote better understanding between those in the North and South. At an interview with Bishop Deogupillai of Jaffna clarification was sought on some of the charges levelled.

**Question:** What is the stand the Bishop takes on separatism and violence?

**Bishop Deogupillai:** I along with the other Bishops have very clearly indicated in our pastoral letter that we are for a united country and we are totally opposed to violence from whatever quarter it comes. I have not deviated from that stand.

**Q.** You are supposed to have made some comments to foreign journalists which have come in for criticism

**Bishop Deogupillai:** When the British Members of Parliament were several foreign journalists came here and interviewed me. They came with the approval of the Government. I am told that there are seven different versions of what I had said on that occasion. At the interview I said that "I refused to call the militant Tamil youth 'Terrorists', as the Government has not defined 'terrorism'. They call themselves Freedom Fighters because they are fighting for an independent Tamil Eelam. At the same time, I had told the journalists that I had repeatedly condemned violence from whatever quarter it came, whether from the militants or the military against innocent people.

**Q.** Is there any truth in the allegation that the parish priest of the Cathedral was aware of the place where the Allens were hidden?

**Bishop Deogupillai:** Such an allegation was totally false.

**Q.** Why were the Allens brought to Bishop's House?

**Bishop Deogupillai:** Mrs. Allen told us herself that she requested that she be released in a convent or church.

**Q.** Did you know any of those who brought the Allens?

**Bishop Deogupillai:** They were total strangers to me.

**Q.** Have you any inkling as to where they were held?

**Bishop Deogupillai:** They merely told us that the place had electricity but no tap water. The toilet was outside. When we told them that a helicopter had been searching for them, they said that they did hear any sound of a helicopter.

**Q.** Hadn't they heard a church bell ringing?

**Bishop Deogupillai:** Yes but that could have been anywhere. In Jaffna town they could have heard the bells of churches' not one. Bells are also rung at places of worship of other religions.

**Q.** On your visit abroad you came through Madras, Did you visit any camps?

**Bishop Deogupillai:** Certainly not. I paid visits to the Bishop of Madurai, Trichinopoly and Velankani who were my classmates. I stayed at Meenambakkam convent before emplaning for Sri Lanka. A close relative of mine is a nun in this convent. It is also close to the airport..

**Q.** Did you meet any of the militant leaders in Madras?

**Bishop Deogupillai:** No. No I do not even know them. Mr. Piyasena, Deputy High Commissioner in Madras, was aware of my movements.

**Q.** What would you suggest as useful steps towards a peaceful solution?

**Bishop Deogupillai:** First prepare the ground for a solution.

1. Remove section 5 of the Prevention of Terrorism Act so as to make it possible for the leaders, both civic and religious, to talk to the youth. They have no guidance from anyone at the moment.

2. Remove the 6th Amendment to the Constitution so as to make it possible for the political leaders to represent their people with dignity.

3. Make Tamil an official language so that the Tamil people will not be at a disadvantage when it comes to matters like employment.

4. Work out a political solution with the devolution of real powers to the local areas.

(Courtesy: The Messenger)

## Boycott of Swiss Goods...

(Continued from page 1)

tation collected during that mission will be used to establish, in the next few days, a report for the Head of the Federal Department of Justice and Police (the Swiss Minister of Justice) .... "

Eight days in Sri Lanka all right, but barely half a day in Jaffna!

As we said in our report, "the mission seemed to have made up its mind before it came to Sri Lanka. Note the words of Mr. Hess before he left BERNE. "The Swiss authorities had no evidence that the Colombo Government was responsible for Tamil repression"

Our conclusion was proved correct. The Reuter news agency despatch from BERNE (published in the DAILY NEWS on 3rd October) said:

"All Tamils who do not qualify for refugee status in Switzerland will be repatriated unless it can be proved that it would be dangerous for them in Sri Lanka, the Swiss Government said yesterday.

"Of some 1,600 Tamils seeking asylum in Switzerland, only one has been granted refugee status so far according to Government figures.

"The Swiss Minister of Justice, Mr Rudolf Friedrich said many cantons in the country could not welcome more refugees. He told a news conference that Switzerland may appeal to other countries to welcome a number of Tamils.

"The Government said the decision was made on the basis of a report by two senior Swiss officials who went to Sri Lanka last August on a fact-finding mission.

The report concluded that the Sri Lankan Government 'may have had disproportionate reactions towards the Tamils, but it seems it is now trying to solve the problem by peaceful means .... "

### SWEET NO

So far, requests by about seventy Sri Lankan Tamils for asylum in Switzerland, have been turned down in appeal by the Swiss Ministry of Justice according to the Swiss Charge d' Affaires in Colombo, Mr. Pierre Monod. "The Islarf" reported on 10th, October.

It added: "Such appeals have followed the decision taken by the Swiss Federal Office of Police to refuse, in the first instance, refugee status to about 200 Sri Lankan applicants up to date, Mr. Monod said".

Even the plea by Amnesty International to the Swiss Government earlier this year to stop repatriation of the youths, saying they were being arrested, tortured and killed by the Sri Lankan authorities", appears to have fallen on deaf ears.

Switzerland is making a hell of a lot of money from its exports and investment in Sri Lanka.

Nestle's has, under President Jayewardene's United National Party Government got a virtual stranglehold on the milk producing and milk food industry, while Baur's is the leading fertiliser supplier.

No wonder the Swiss Government has so readily accepted UNP Government's versions of the situation in the country in general and the North in particular.

We suggest to the Swiss Charge d' Affaires in Colombo to convey to his Government the bitter disappointment of the Tamil people over its decision.

An immensely rich and comparatively underpopulated country like Switzerland can easily accommodate all the youths who have sought asylum. After all, this would not cost more than a fraction of the money it makes out of Sri Lanka.

The asylum issue is a matter of life and death for the Tamil people of Sri Lanka.

The only way open to express their displeasure and induce the Swiss Government to change its mind is to make the boycott of Swiss products effective.

We invite enlightened Sinhalese in the South to join the boycott.

We shall publish a full list of Swiss exports and investment shortly

### CENSORED

As has been the practice since the SATURDAY REVIEW was allowed by the Government to resume publication in February, ALL matter appearing in this issue, too, has gone through the Censor's mill.