

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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SINHALESE MUST FACE REALITY—AT LEAST NOW

My Dear Sinhalese Friends :

Now that Sri Lanka has been afforded a little breathing space, through the delicate truce between the Security Forces and the Tamil militants, I felt it appropriate—as the only Sinhalese civilian in Jaffna—to again share some thoughts with you. (My first letter to you appeared in the SATURDAY REVIEW of 7th April 1984).

I am in my temporary Jaffna abode in Kasturiar Road. The time is about 4 a. m. and I am about to begin the day's work.

I am in a very happy frame of mind. There had been no gunfire or bomb blasts during the night. Like all these past nights since 18th June.

After the many years of almost daily turmoil, it is a situation difficult to get used to!

This is an ideal time for as many of you as possible who care for a United Sri Lanka to visit Jaffna and see how life goes on here. You will be in for many surprises.

One is that the people are again going about their daily business freely—as in Colombo.

How nice if we can keep it that way for ever?

We can keep it that way provided all of us support all efforts to arrive at a political settlement of the ethnic problem which, while preserving Sri Lanka's unitariness, would do justice to the Tamil people.

By now especially after the Anuradhapura episode most of you must be convinced that the

"military approach" will never work.

President Jayewardene's Government pursued this policy with all its vigour in the past eight years. What have you got? Whereas there were only about 25 "hardcore militants" in 1975 there are now, according to military intelligence itself, nearly 10,000 (in north Sri Lanka and South India)!

How do you like that? How do you account for it?

From a truant child, the militant movement has grown into a full-fledged man able to stand up to almost any challenge.

The Sinhalese people have more to lose in real terms than the Tamil

people by refusing to accept this reality.

Mere shouting by Sinhalese politicians from public platforms that they would "never allow Sri Lanka to be divided" is not going to help solve the ethnic problem.

Nor any amount of flag waving, Premadasa-style.

As I have said many times previously, the main enemy of the Sinhalese is not the Tamil people but the economic underdevelopment of the country. And economic development will continue to suffer as long as the ethnic problem remains unresolved.

The sensible course for the Sinhalese, at least at this very late stage, is to agree to a meaningful devolu-

tion of state power so that the Tamil people could live with self-respect and dignity in the regions in which they are in a majority.

That is what the Thimpu talks are all about.

If the talks fail—by the refusal to meet the demands of the Tamil people at least half way—then we would be paving the way for anarchy in Sri Lanka.

Do you want that, my dear Sinhalese friends?

Think about it deeply. Think also of the future of your children

My best wishes and regards to all of you.

Sincerely,
GAMINI NAVARATNE

'NOT THIS, NOT THIS'

Devolution of power, like Brahman, can only be defined negatively. Or so National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali seems to think.

Speaking at a seminar on 'Devolution of Power' held at Kamburupitiya recently, the Minister is reported to have said that "no government in the world had yet decentralised defence, immigration and emigration, printing of currency notes, administration of ports and airfields, control of coastal lines and its national boundaries.... Whatever the devolution of power might be, certain vital institutions such as the Army, Navy, Air Force, the radio, the Rupavahini, ports and various strategic organisations would remain in the hands of the central government."

The Minister also said that all shipping and ports including

Trincomalee Port would not be decentralised and those would continue to be under the control of the central government.

Replying to a question, the Minister said that if institutions after the devolution of power abuse such powers, "then the President will dissolve them like in India."

HARTAL

Jaffna observed a two day hartal on Thursday and Friday (25th, 26th July) to mark the Second Anniversary of the massacre of 53 Tamil prisoners including Thangathurai, Kuttimani and Dr. Rajasundaram, at Welikade prison.

FULL ALERT

The Armed Forces and the Police in the North and East have been placed on a 24 hour alert.

A'pura Teachers Meet

A meeting of the displaced teachers of the Anuradhapura District will be held today (27th July) at 9.30 a.m at the Malayan Ceylonese Association Hall.

The meeting has been arranged by the Coordinating Committee of Displaced Employees.

EDITOR BEFORE PRESS COUNCIL

The Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW appeared before the Press Council of Sri Lanka yesterday pursuant to a notice issued on him and the Publisher, the Printer and the Proprietor of the paper.

Mr. F. Sittampalam, Attorney-at-law, appeared for all the defendants and made submissions. The case has been postponed for 9th August.

(Proceedings of the inquiry will appear in our next issue).

Saturday Review

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A Curious Incident

We publish without comment this editorial which appeared in the "Times of India" on 13th July.

The attempt to assassinate the Lanka President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene on 11th July morning by planting a time bomb in a vehicle near his office must be strongly condemned. Happily according to the Sri Lanka Cabinet spokesman, Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis the plot was discovered just over two hours before the bomb was set to go off. Two of the three men said to be in the vehicle were separately apprehended and, after questioning, laid bare the conspiracy.

Mr. de Alwis has said categorically that the three men, who have been named, are members of the Tamil militant group known acronymously as EROS (Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students). This is where the matter becomes somewhat curious. Had one of the minor guerrilla groups not taking part in the current Thimpu peace talks between official Sri Lanka

representatives and Tamil leaders been suspected of planning the assassination, it could at least have been said that the perpetrators' motive was to disrupt the negotiations. But EROS is very much taking part in deliberations at Thimpu as a member of the united front with LTTE, the TELO and EPRLF. A fifth major group, PLOT(E) is also participating, as is the TULF. So why should EROS members want to sabotage the negotiations? Not surprising, a spokesman of the group has repudiated Colombo's charge as "slandorous."

There is another curious aspect to the incident. President Jayewardene has been down with influenza and his engagements since 9th July have been cancelled. His illness was no secret; news of it has been published in the media, which also reported that he had not been able to chair the weekly Cabinet meeting.

If so much was common knowledge, how did the conspirators still

go ahead with their plan on the assumption that at nine in the morning, when the bomb was timed to explode, the President would be driving into his office? If they had had the slightest doubt about his precise movements on 11th July morning—and they could scarcely have been in the dark about his illness, for they would have been looking out like hawks for every scrap of information about him—they would have called off the attempt.

Mr. de Alwis' statement spoke of "gelignite of Indian manufacture ('Torch' brand)" being used by the plotters. Even if no insinuation was intended, the remark was unfortunate, and New Delhi has been commendably prompt in denying any Indian involvement in the incident. While it cannot yet be known who the culprits are, it can be said with certainty that the plot was aimed at undermining the moves towards a Tamil-Sinhalese reconciliation based on amicable settlement of the long-standing dispute between them. Any number of interests could be opposed to such a reconciliation, and some of them are to be found in Sri Lanka.



One of Jaffna's most erudite convert Catholic priests and only brother of the late Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam (a little known fact) celebrates his Golden Jubilee of Priesthood with Holy Mass at 6.45 a. m., on the 10th of August this year in the small chapel dedicated to St. Joseph at Colombagam, Jaffna.

The Jubilarian Rev. Fr. G. T. Balasundaram, O.M.I. was born on 29th of May 1907 at Navaly, Manipay. He was the third in a family of four — Ponnambalam, G. G., his elder brother, Kanthymathy, his elder sister and Rukmany his younger sister. He is also an uncle of Kumar Ponnambalam (GG Junior). Like his late elder brother GG, he is a silver tongued orator. He and GG as orthodox Hindu students won many a gold medal for oratory at St. Joseph's, St. Benedict's and St. Patrick's—all Catholic schools.

GG'S PRIEST BROTHER CELEBRATES GOLDEN JUBILEE

The influence of these Schools and his Catholic priests and professors like the saintly Fr. B. A. Thomas, Fathers Matthews and Long, John and Charles had a terrific impact on him, though there was absolutely no coercion or proselytism whatsoever as he says in his memoirs. These great and holy priests were mainly responsible for shaping and moulding his career and leading him into the light.

The call to the priesthood was irresistible and Bala began to take instructions from Fr. Thomas followed up by Fr. T. M. F. Long in order to become a Catholic. And despite terrible opposition and obstacles placed in his way, the willing and determined young man was baptized with his consent in the small chapel at St. Joseph's Colombagam (where he is to say his Jubilee Mass) on the 13th of February 1928. Thereafter he left for St. Bernard's Seminary, Colombo (his brother GG and the other family members having no objection) to start his ecclesiastical studies when Fr. Nichola (a former Rector of St. Joseph's) was the Director. He was ordained priest by Bishop Guyomar at St. Mary's Cathedral, Jaffna, on the 10th of August 1935.

Fr. Balasundaram served as Parish Priest at Ilavalai, Point Pedro, Chunnakam, Manipay, Anuradhapura, Mannar and Atchuvally. He was chiefly responsible for bringing the sisters of the Apostolic Carmel for the first time to work in the diocese thus providing a choice for vocations. The fact that he was GG's (who was then Minister of Industries and Fisheries) brother helped him to solve many a knotty problem and to have easy access to persons in authority, besides negotiating the granting of loans to the fishermen of Pt. Pedro.

Of all the wonderful talents our Jubilarian is gifted with, the one which the writer is enamoured of is his eloquence. Few can match him in preaching in English or hold a candle to him in the exposition of matters religious. With his golden voice and matchless wit he can hold an audience spell-bound.

Father has a great devotion to his favourite saint, the Little Flower. But his devotion to the Blessed Sacrament is more than words can tell. Today, after living the life of an Oblate of Mary Immaculate for over 50 years his oneness with the Eucharistic Lord is inexpressible.

May the Good Lord bless and keep you dear Father Jubilarian.

W. J. P. Gnanaretnam

JAFFNA: One of the Oldest Habitation Sites

(Continued from last issue)

In Lower South Asia—4

From the beginning of British rule, the people of Jaffna took to English education in a remarkable way. Various foreign Christian missionary organizations and local Hindu associations and philanthropists established schools all over the peninsula. The American Mission, which came to the island in 1816 and was one of the first to begin activities in Jaffna, established several free schools in the peninsula and soon went on to establish the Batticotta Seminary, the first institution of higher learning in the country. They also started the first western medical school. Despite the interest of the Dutch in education during their long rule in Jaffna, when the first missionaries came early in the nineteenth century there were only a few Tamil schools and not many people could claim to be literate. In their free schools, the American Missionaries taught the children to "read and write the Tamil language and had instruction in small works of Tamil poetry, and Arithmetic and Geography on the European plan". Later these missionaries started boarding schools where instruction in English was also included. These schools were established for both sexes first at Tellippalai and Vaddukoddai and later at Uduvil, Pandaterippu and Manipay. "The pupils were boarded and clothed free and their expenses were paid by individuals and associations in America. Names designated by the benefactors were given to the pupils" (J. V. Chelliah). In 1823, a central institution of higher education, the Batticotta Seminary was established at Vaddukoddai and instruction in Tamil, English, Sanskrit, Greek, Hebrew, Astronomy and the Sciences was imparted there.

Other missionary societies, like the Wesleyan Mission, the Church Missionary Society and the Baptist Mission, opened up many schools where English was taught. The demand for English education grew, but the conversion of the pupils to Christianity by the missionaries provoked a reaction among the Hindus. Arumuka Navalar, a great Tamil scholar and a champion of Saivism, was prominent among those who led the movement against conversion. He was not against English education or British rule, but fought hard against the proselytizing movement of the missionaries, and led the way for the founding of Hindu schools for English education. Soon there were numerous Hindu schools everywhere in the peninsula and in the twentieth century the Hindu

Board of Education set up Hindu Colleges within easy reach of every child. Education cut across caste barriers and soon there was a relaxation of caste restrictions. Missionary activities and English education profoundly influenced the traditional life and age-old values began to change. The craze for English education, however, did not result in the flow of unlimited western influences. The timely movement led by Arumuka Navalar, continued later by Ponnampalam Ramanathan and other Saiva leaders, ensured the imparting of English education without the indiscriminate imbibing of western culture by the vast majority of the people, and thus checked the progress of westernization in the district.

While all the other missionary organizations were preoccupied with education, the American Mission also showed much concern for caring the sick. They introduced the practice of Western medicine in the district and Jaffna has an enviable history in this respect. Early in the nineteenth century, when the missionaries arrived, the people of Jaffna were subject to diseases such as the dysenteries, parasitic infestations, consumption, intermittent fevers, dropsies and other tropical illnesses. Epidemics of cholera and small-pox plagued the community repeatedly and took a heavy toll of lives.

From the time of their arrival, the American Missionaries showed concern for the plight of the people and in July 1820 they established the first medical mission in Asia at Pandaterippu, in a small hospital where Dr. John Scudder, a graduate of Princeton University and of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University, began his memorable medical practice. At the same time, local students were trained in Western medicine. Soon the Mission established a medical school on a more definite basis and this was an event of great significance to the district and to the whole country, for this happened at a time when the Government's efforts to set up a medical school in the island had failed. Under Dr. Samuel Fiske Green, one of Dr. Scudder's successors, the school not only translated Western medical books into Tamil and imparted medical instruction in Tamil, but also supplied graduates to the hospitals in the district and outside and won wide renown. Wes-

tern medicine, as a consequence of the activities of the Mission, came to be widely accepted in Jaffna, long before it was accepted elsewhere in the island.

Politically, in the nineteenth century, Jaffna was brought under the control of Colombo and the administration of the district was effectively unified with that of the rest of the island. This was from 1833 when the Colebrooke-Cameron reforms came into operation. From that year, the district came to be administered by a Government Agent who was the head of all the branches of administration in the district. In the nineteenth century, when communications with Colombo had not been developed, he ruled the district in royal style, and was indeed known as the "Raja of the North."

The first of these colourful administrators, and the best known too, was Percival Acland Dyke (1805 — 1867), who first assumed duties in Jaffna as Assistant Collector in 1824. In 1829 he became Collector (later termed Government Agent) of Jaffna and remained here till his death in 1867, except for two brief terms of interruption. The extent to which Dyke as Government Agent played an important role in shaping the affairs of the district in the early years of British rule could be seen from the many legends that have grown round his name and the period of his administration.

During this period, he presided like a benevolent despot over the administration of the Northern Province, with the Jaffna District under his immediate supervision. In this new British system of administration, the traditional headman system (with its officers known as *Maniagars*, *Adigars*, *Udaiyars*, *Mudaliyars* and *Vidanes*) occupied a vital position. The Government Agent depended wholly on these officers for the collecting of revenue and the administration of justice. He felt that the people of the north needed guardianship and extended care and protection to them but not liberty (B. E. S. J. Bastiampillai).

For a good part of the nineteenth century the Jaffna District was in a miserable state. As mentioned earlier, agriculture had declined and farmers were leading a precarious existence until the end of the century when the tobacco crop brought them profits. Cholera and small-

pox ravaged the district almost every year and every time there was a major epidemic several thousand lives were lost. The Government had not opened any hospital and it was the Government Agent and the American Mission that instituted medical services for the people. A Friend-in-Need Society was founded with Dyke as its Chairman and a hospital was opened in the town of Jaffna in 1850 by this Society. It was started by graduates of the American Mission Medical School. This was the nucleus of the General Hospital that we have in Jaffna today. In this and other ways, Dyke and his successor Sri William Crofton Twynam (1848—1896) took certain benevolent steps to improve the lot of the people of the district.

Conditions began to improve at the turn of the century. Towards the end of the nineteenth century tobacco exports began to fare better and reached the peak in the 1890s. In 1896 more than ten million pounds of tobacco were exported. This no doubt brought in substantial amounts of cash. By the beginning of the twentieth century the "remittance economy" was in operation. Under these changing economic conditions and with the growth of literacy and English education, there was also an increased political consciousness among the educated people.

The election of Ponnampalam Ramanathan, the Tamil leader from Jaffna, to the Educated Ceylonese seat in the first ever election held in the country no doubt was one of the factors that contributed to the growth of this political consciousness. But, more than that, the developments in India had a profound influence on the minds of the youth of Jaffna. Added to this was the impact of western ideas that resulted from a century of English education. The American Missionaries especially, being in no way associated with British rule, were agents in the spread of liberal ideas among the youth of Jaffna. It is therefore not surprising to see the birth of various political groups and associations in Jaffna in the 1920s. The Tamil Mahajana Sabhai (1921), Servants of Lanka Society (1922) and the Students' Congress (1924, later named Youth Congress) were among these political associations. The Students' Congress, it may be mentioned, was committed to national unity and independence from British rule. It was greatly influenced by Gandhi's movement in India and was responsible for his visit to Jaffna in 1927. Gandhi's visit must have helped to raise the political consciousness of the masses too. In 1931, when elections

(Continued on page 6)

UNP'S DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY:

MYTH AND REALITY

If the UNP government has truly resolved the economic crisis of Sri Lanka as a result of the economic policies pursued during nearly eight years (July 1977 - April 1985) as the government claims to have done, or has at least paved the way for an economic solution, some pointers to prosperity should by now be visible. Whatever may be the pompous talk of government leaders, an examination of the statistics regarding the state of the economy do not reveal signs of prosperity, but on the contrary points to danger signals of forthcoming disaster. In terms of these statistics no one with any brains will believe that the government can get anywhere near the development targets which they proclaim they will reach in 1989 or before. Though the Minister of Finance chatters about the measures he has taken to resuscitate the economy in order to fool the masses, he himself complains from time to time about the precarious state of the economy.

The growth rate of the economy which had declined as a result of the bankrupt economic policies of the previous government registered a natural increase soon after the present government introduced its ruinous economic policies. However it, was not based on a sound economic foundation, but on intensive monetary expansion and on massive foreign debt. Hence in accordance with the internal working of a capitalist economy, the natural result has been, as it happened under previous governments, that the artificial rate of growth has already begun to decline even before the lapse of many years.

The basis of a sound long-term development of an economy is the development of industry. However the ruinous policies adopted by the UNP government in relation to the open economy have contributed to the ruin of the country's industry not only in the long term but also instantly as well. How deep the repercussions have been can be seen from the fact that Cyril Mathew, who was till recently the Minister of Industries, has come forward to chatter about the need to safeguard "domestic industry".

The Central Bank Review for 1983 states that "the public sector which represents about 60% of the production of all industry showed a decline of 15%." These industries were able to survive only by increasing the prices of their products manifold. Though the government boasts that because of its economic policies production has increased, unlike under the previous government, the following statistics demonstrate the fate of many sectors under this government:-

	Percentage decline
Milk Board	16
Cement Corporation	9
Mining & Mineral Development Corporation	30
Fertiliser Corporation	41
Distilleries	32
Salt	30
Petroleum	21

(Source: Central Bank Report 1983)

The production figures of the state sector have only a short distance to reach the low levels of the pre-1978 period. Before that happens, the World Bank fiat has been received to destroy these Corporations under cover of closing down the 'non-profit-earning' ones.

The other aspect of the ruin of industry is that small industries and cottage industry face extinction being unable to compete with imported products. While the domestic market is being captured by imported goods, the native bourgeoisie is changing roles by starting businesses and rackets which bring in quick money.

On the other hand, foreign capitalists have the opportunity of setting up their slave-camps in the Free Trade Zone (FTZ). Besides, they have been permitted to start industries in various fields even outside the FTZ. Thus the UNP by permitting foreign capital to enter industry and other fields has brought Sri Lanka into a situation which is similar to the one which prevailed when foreign capital dominated Sri Lanka's economy through a dominance of the plantation sector.

The so-called FTZ does not lay the foundation for sound industrial development. Of the industries established there, a very large number are confined to the production of ready-made garments and shoes. In 1983, the production of these items amounted to 79% of the total production of the FTZ. There is no heavy industry. In a recent interview with the "Divaina" newspaper (Sinhalese daily of the Upali Group of newspapers), the Minister of Finance has said that "the socialist countries have given aid to set up factories which are of no relevance to the economy". This is an obvious reference to heavy industry. It is needless to mention that heavy industry has no significance to a government of racketeers.

Outside the fact that a fraction of the unemployed have been given the opportunity of engaging in slave labour, the country gains no advantage from the FTZ even in the short term. When the foreign ex-

change expended on imports for these industries and the dividends et cetera that are sent out of the country are reckoned, the margin between these and receipts is not large. It is a matter for laughter that a government which is unable to provide jobs to 26,000 persons otherwise than by permitting geographically a large extent of land and economically the brutal exploitation of labour sans labour laws in industries which do not constitute a permanent base for the country's economy in the long term should talk of development!

The traditionally important base of Sri Lanka's economy, viz. the plantation sector has been almost destroyed under the UNP government. In fact there hasn't been such a decline in recent times. Tea production has registered in 1983 the lowest figure since 1956. Such is the destruction! The Central Bank Review points out that the decline in the production adversely affected the balance of payments, widening the hitherto existing gap. The decline is reflected not only in production but also in the utilisation of fertiliser and in the extent of land under tea. The destruction of the tea industry would have been more serious but for the fact that India restricted her exports of tea temporarily. In fact it was only in one year out of 7 years under UNP rule that the UNP government, was able to approach the highest level attained in tea production under the former government, namely in 1981. However, the UNP government has already succeeded in reaching a level in tea production lower than the lowest level attained under that government.

The position regarding rubber production is not different. During the last seven years it has not been possible for the UNP government to surpass the highest level reached under the previous government. However this government has twice reached levels below the lowest level in the period 1970-77. After seven years of "massive development", with regard to rubber production, this government stood in 1983 at the 1974 level.

The position regarding coconut is similar. Despite the fact that a Minister was appointed for the first time to look after the coconut palm, it was not possible for this government to keep the price of a nut at the 1977 level or to increase production. It was only in 1983 that the highest figure reached under the previous government was

surpassed. The only difference in relation to tea and rubber production is that coconut production did not reach, in any year from 1978-84 the lowest level that obtained in 1977.

It is only in paddy production among the major crops that an increase has been recorded when compared with the performance under the last government. The UNP's claim that the country is on the verge of self-sufficiency in rice is nothing but deceptive talk. It is worth recalling how a former Minister of Finance, Dr. N. M. Perera stated in 1975 that the country was nearing self-sufficiency in rice while paddy-production that year was tumbling down to its lowest level. Self-sufficiency in rice has been a declared ambition from the time of the 'Father of the Nation'. It has been possible to make fraudulent claims regarding the nearness to self-sufficiency in rice, because unlike in the case of tea or rubber and even coconut, it is not possible to check the veracity of the statistics. On the contrary it is easy to serve cooked-up statistics.

Whatever may be the state of the statistics, it could be accepted as a fact that paddy production has registered an increase after 1977 when compared with the pre-1977 period. If despite the fact that billions of rupees have been expended on the Mahaveli diversion, paddy production has not increased, the government should be thrashed by the people on that fact alone. On the other hand, if the government's claim regarding self-sufficiency is not false, there should be no reason for the continual increase in the price of rice or for the state of such abject poverty in which the peasants find themselves so as to be unable to pay cultivation loans. It is utter stupidity to prove Sri Lanka's self-sufficiency in rice by donating 500 tons to famine-stricken Tanzania!

On the other hand when the massive foreign debt to which Sri Lanka is subjected as a result of the accelerated Mahaveli programme is considered, whatever progress that has been attained during the last few years in paddy production is not such a big achievement. In fact a look at the paddy production figures from 1970 onwards will disclose the fact that there has not been recently a great leap in paddy production to justify Jayewardene's impatience to accelerate the Mahaveli programme.

President Jayewardene and his Ministers point to the Mahaveli diversion scheme as a symbol of the government's commitment to development. The scheme as a whole lacks scientific planning and it is nothing but an attempt

(Continued on page 7)

SCALES OF WORLD EQUALITY OUT OF BALANCE

"The scales of world equality are out of balance", says the State of the World's Women Report 1985. The side marked 'woman' is weighed down with responsibility, while the side marked 'man' rides high with power.

Summing up the effects of centuries of injustice, the Report goes on to demonstrate how "advantage builds on advantage until today almost all the world's wealth is on man's side, while most of the world's work is on woman's".

The Report, issued to coincide with July's World Conference being held in Nairobi, Kenya to mark the end of the United Nations Decade for Women, outlines the achievements of what it calls "ten years of international commitment to improving the status of women".

The Decade for Women, launched at the end of the International Women's Year in 1975 and culminating in July's Conference, has been according to the Report, "a first step in redistributing the wealth and the work, the power the responsibility, more fairly between men and women".

The Report summarizes the results of "a research effort of unprecedented scope". 121 governments completed a questionnaire on the current position of women in their countries, and United Nations agencies compiled research from all over the world to complete the picture.

For the first time in history, says the Report, "the eyes of the world have focused on that half of its population who, by virtue of an accident of birth, perform two-thirds of the world's work, receive one-tenth of its income, and own less than one hundredth of its property."

The results reveal some significant advances during the Decade: in legal equality, in education and employment, in health and family planning, in political participation. But it also highlights some global trends—world recession, industrialization, modernization of agriculture, the increase in single-parent families—that threaten to undermine the Decade's achievements unless governments recognize and respond to them appropriately.

On the positive side the Report shows that "there are signs that governments are beginning to take seriously their debt to their nations' women". Ninety per cent of governments now have official bodies dedicated to the advancement of women and 50 per cent of these have been set up during the Decade. Sixty-five governments have ratified the Convention on the Elimination

of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 62 have special programmes for women in their national development plans and 45 now provide free legal advice to help women fight for their rights.

GAP CLOSING

Other good news of the Decade is that the education gap is beginning to close. According to the Report, though women still outnumber men among illiterates by around three to two, an "education avalanche" has been gaining momentum all over the world so that today 82 per cent of boys and 71 per cent of girls of primary school age are in school and "girls are edging forward slightly faster in the race towards literacy".

The World Health Organization's major initiative, launched in 1978, to bring health to all people by the year 2000, has also benefited women. By focusing on prevention of disease, it has meant added emphasis on maternal and child health with

This year marks the end of a ten year effort to improve the status of women. The State of the World's Women Report 1985 reviews the achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women—in education, health, employment and politics—and shows how these are being threatened by recession, by changes in agriculture and by the increase in single-parent families.

A World Conference to review and appraise the achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women was held at Nairobi, Kenya from 15th to 20th July.

more trained birth attendants, more nutrition programmes, more safe water, better sanitation: measures which both improve women's health and help reduce their workload. Today an estimated 45 per cent of births are attended by a trained person.

An important part of the new health package has been the expansion of family planning facilities. According to the Report: "Today there are more women using contraception than ever before. An estimated 50 per cent of women in the world who want to delay having children—temporarily or permanently—are able to fulfil the wish".

The Report cites one survey of 31 countries showing that, in the space of just one generation, the average number of children women want has dropped from six to four and a quarter of all married women are using some kind of contraception.

More education, better health care, and the chance to choose when, whether, and how many ba-

bies they will bear, combine to give many women the confidence and the opportunity to explore the world outside the home. The Report reveals, for instance, that women have been coming into the labour market at a rate of ten million a year throughout the Decade and that they now number 676 million—or 35 per cent of the world's entire official labour force, compared to 31 per cent in 1950.

In politics, too, though progress is painfully slow, women are beginning to make their presence felt in some countries. Between 20 and 30 per cent of elected members of parliament in Denmark, Sweden and Finland are women. Figures are similar for some countries with centrally-planned economies—33 per cent in the USSR, for instance, and 21 per cent in China. But in other parts of the world the totals are disappointing: in most of Europe women take less than 11 per cent of government seats and in the majority of developing countries women's political participation is equally low.

DEBIT SIDE

So much for the good news. On the debit side the Report emphasises one fundamental obstacle to the advancement of women: "The results point, again and again, to the major underlying cause of women's inequality. A woman's domestic role as wife and mother—which is vital to the well-being of society—is unpaid and undervalued".

"There are few generalizations that hold as true throughout the world", says the Report. "Unpaid domestic work everywhere is seen as woman's responsibility."

The problem is that domestic work is not the only work women do. As the Report points out: "There are relatively few women anywhere in the world who can claim to be just a housewife". In Europe, for instance, 35 per cent of married women have a job. In fact according to the Report, "it is a very rare family indeed which can manage on the labour of just one family member".

This is the reason why, worldwide, women work twice as many hours as men. Such a double burden of work is unjust in itself. But the Report spells out the profound effect of women's domestic role in every aspect of their lives. And it describes how their dual role—as both mothers and breadwinners—interacts with major social and economic world trends systematically to women's disadvantage.

Their domestic responsibilities prevent women from devoting themselves to their jobs and means many are forced to take unskilled, badly-paid, temporary or part-time positions. Such jobs are often more vulnerable to recession and the Report reveals that, in many industrialized countries, women outnumber men among the unemployed.

In the developing world women's domestic responsibilities can have equally important effects. In Africa for instance, where women do three-quarters of the agricultural work—on top of their domestic chores of fetching water and firewood, cooking, cleaning, bearing and caring for children—there is evidence that their inability to cope with the sheer quantity of their work leads to smaller harvests.

The amount of domestic work women do is bad enough. But the Report shows that the assumption that domestic work all women do is equally damaging. It means girl's education tends to be oriented towards training them to be wives rather than career women. It also means, says the Report, "that though women grow around half of the world's food, they own hardly any land, find it difficult to get loans and are overlooked by agricultural advisors and projects."

Mrs. Leticia Shahani, Secretary-General of the 1985 Conference sums up the situation: "We must admit that formidable obstacles exist. But the time has now come for the women of the world to accept no excuses, to tolerate no further delays, in the achievement of equality."

Off to Europe

A delegation of the Nava Sama Samaja Party led by its General Secretary, Dr. Vickramabahu Karunaratne are touring Europe participating in several meetings and discussions. Other members of the delegation are the Organising Secretary Vasudeva Nanayakkara, and Central Committee members A. K. Annamalai, Siritunge Jayasuriya and P. D. Saranapala.

They are expected to explain the NSSP view on the Bhutan talks and the present political situation to Trade Unions and Sri Lankans living in Europe.

COMPLACENT ELITISM

Editor

SATURDAY REVIEW

I write in response to the reply by the 'Dons' of Jaffna on the system at the University.

The point of my letter was not who is more nationalistic or qualified. It was indeed not my intention to question the admirable nature of the services performed by the staff at Jaffna, under trying circumstances. Not was it my intention to question their abilities which have been established in international centres of learning. The arguments of the 'Dons' have already been adequately responded to, by an alumnus, A. Ponnampalam, in the issue of 8-15th June. That a graduate of the University can write with such maturity, is perhaps the best evidence of the good work being done by the staff.

However, the central point of my letter, which still remains unanswered, is that students at Jaffna, at the point of entry, on the basis of their A Level results, are on par with, if not superior to, those entering London, Cambridge and Oxford; but upon finishing, while most coming out of Jaffna have no classes at all, a good 25% of their British counterparts have first classes, leave alone 2-1's and 2-2's. I stand by my notion that Jaffna takes in the creme de creme and starts them off in life with a handicap.

In demonstration of what I mean by this handicap, I quote from correspondence I have received just last week from my Graduate Dean, about a Tamil student, to indicate the reaction here to the Third Class Honours he holds: - "I know by reputation, a second class degree is often unacceptable and I have never known of a third class degree being acceptable. The applicant has slightly above a "C" average by our standards and if a graduate of Drexel, would be denied admission." The attitude of my Dean is not difficult to understand, since first classes are common in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and England. A high proportion of students here too, make the equivalent Dean's list. The fault then, is in our being out of step with the rest of the world. I am happy to state that the correspondence over this particular student had a happy outcome as a result of my producing the US transcripts of other Tamil Third Class holders here. But how many students have someone to say all this on their behalf?

Many Tamil academics abroad can and do promote the interests of Tamil students from Ceylon. And

our role should be deemed complementary. All good universities continually invite comments for self-examination through commissions, external examiners and so on. I strongly suspect, as would be borne out by comparison of the workloads of the physical science degrees at Jaffna and London, that the students in Jaffna are expected to absorb too much under difficult circumstances. (While the syllabi, subject by subject, may be the same, the Jaffna student takes many more subjects). The minority who survive the rigors of such a system, naturally earn exceptional accolades when they come to the West, as pointed out in the reply. But at what expense to those who do not survive? And does the University fulfil its function of stimulating the thought processes of these students and making them enjoy their studies.

As a teacher, I would rest very uncomfortable with the notion that the majority of the science students, as the reply suggests, are frustrated, uninterested or of poor quality. Whoever wrote the

reply must think again. The allusions about students doing a general degree are certainly unjust and insulting. With their A. L. grades and money they could have gone to London, Oxford and Cambridge, and in a previous era, to the engineering and medical faculties in Ceylon. Once again we are up against the complacent elitism of Tamil society, which casts the bulk of her able sons and daughters to the rubbish heap. It is bad etiquette, unbecoming of the station of the authors, to make insulting allusions of a personal nature while hiding behind a veil of anonymity. A rule for teachers is that they should be caring and that students should be encouraged and never be run down. Likewise, a rule by which researchers abide, is never to inject personal aspersions into a scientific inquiry and to think without emotion. Knowing some of the staff at Jaffna personally, I am thankfully confident that the attitudes of those behind the reply, are not representative of those of the entire Faculty.

An open discussion of these questions will serve only to benefit our society. There have been at various times, organisations of expatriates to help Jaffna University with books and equipment; these have collapsed for some reason or the other. I invite the University to send me a list of books they want, either directly or through SR. I will do the best I can.

In closing, I repeat with emphasis, I wish our roles to be complementary and cordial.

S. R. H. Hoole, Ph. D.
Assistant Professor,
Drexel University.

Pennsylvania.

SINHALA ONLY AGAIN

Editor

SATURDAY REVIEW

The Tamil Graduands who are called upon to attend the Convocation at the University of Peradeniya have been informed that the certificates will be in Sinhala and if they desired a translation in Tamil or English,

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sh, it will find a place on the reverse of the certificate. Does this not contradict the provisions of the Constitution, Chapter IV under heading 'Language'. Section 19 reads as follows:- The National Languages of Sri Lanka shall be Sinhala and Tamil.

Sec.21 (1) A person shall be entitled to be educated through the medium of either of the National Languages: Provided that the provisions of this paragraph shall not apply to an institution of Higher Education where the medium of instruction is a language other than a National Language.

The students who are attending the University of Peradeniya are having many of the subjects especially in the Science, Medical and Engineering Faculties taught in the English medium and are they to receive the Degree Certificates in Sinhala with a translation if desired? Is this Justice? Who is responsible for this breach?

May I therefore appeal to the Hon. Minister for Higher Education and the Body governing the Uni-

versity of Peradeniya not to act counter to Sec.12 of the Fundamental Rights that states as follows:

12 (1) All persons are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of the law.

12 (2) No citizen shall be discriminated against on the grounds of Race, Religion, Language, Caste, Sex, Political Opinion, Place of Birth, or any one of such grounds.

Therefore I hope immediate action will be taken to award the Certificates at the Convocation to be held in all three Languages Sinhala, Tamil and English.

R. Rudra

Point Pedro

JAFFNA ...

(Continued from page 3)

were held under the Donoughmore Constitution, the Congress led a successful boycott of the elections in the north, for which it is still remembered. After this event, its influence began to wane. It has been described as "primarily Jaffna's response to the Gandhian nationalist movement in India" (S. Kadirgamar). It may be mentioned here that Mr. Handy Perinbanayagam, who was a prominent public figure for the next three decades in Jaffna was the most outstanding leader of the Congress.

While the Youth Congress was committed to an all-island nationalism, the other political movements of importance in the Jaffna District were committed to the Tamil cause. The Tamil Mahajana Sabhai, the All Ceylon Tamil Congress (1944) and the Ilankai Thamil Arasu Kadchi (Federal Party, 1948), though organizations concerned with the Tamils of the whole island, have drawn their strength primarily from the Jaffna District. Since 1956, it has been the home of resistance movements and has been represented in Parliament by a majority of Federal Party members. When the Federal movement transformed itself into a separatist movement, again the district has been in the forefront of the new movement. In the 1977 elections all the M.P.s returned to Parliament from the district belonged to the Tamil United Liberation Front (1977). Similarly, when the first elections to the district's Development Council were held in 1981, all the members returned were from the TULF. Since 1979, the most significant development has been the growth of an underground movement.

(Concluded)

MISSION'S APPEAL

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

This appeal comes to you from the Ramakrishna Mission, Ramakrishnapuram, Batticaloa on behalf of the refugees who are affected in the recent communal violence in the Batticaloa and Amparai Districts.

Ours is a non-sectarian, charitable institution which promotes cultural, religious and social activities among the needy and down-trodden communities. As a part of our activities we are managing three orphanages (Students' Homes) of which two are for girls and the other is for boys, situated in the Batticaloa and Amparai Districts. In addition to this we also participate in the social activities of the people in times of need such as floods, communal disturbances etc.

We have actively joined the Government and other social organisations and collected food items, clothing and even applied for help to outside organisations and finan-

cial assistance for the reconstruction of Karaitivu village which was badly affected in the recent communal riots between the Muslims and the Tamils. As a result of these riots in both districts, about 25,000 people were rendered homeless and about 4,000 houses were completely reduced to ashes. As an immediate relief, dry rations were supplied by the Government and other social

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organisations to the refugees who were sheltered in the refugee camps. Now the monsoon rain is about to set in and as a result of this, the refugees have to be provided with housing facilities and bare necessities to establish themselves in their traditional dwelling places for a peaceful living. To a certain extent some social organisations have extended help providing semi-permanent huts and a few others

were provided with permanent houses, which of course are not sufficient to alleviate their sufferings.

At this juncture the Ramakrishna Branch in Batticaloa is willing to participate in this rehabilitation work to those who are affected in Karaitivu and in the Amparai District especially to those at Manchanthoduwai in the Batticaloa District; particularly to the under-privileged community forming the Dhobies, Barbers and Toddy Tappers, with permanent houses.

The approximate cost of each permanent house will be about Rs.12,000/- to Rs.15,000/-. May we add that if this work is commenced at an early opportunity the refugees who are sheltered in the camps could be shifted to their traditional surroundings for a quiet life.

Any financial assistance towards this rehabilitation work could be sent to the Ramakrishna Mission, Batticaloa Branch to the credit of our Current Account No. 3555. Cheques should be crossed and drawn in favour of RAMAKRISHNA MISSION ASHRAMA, BATTICALOA.

Swami Jivanananda

Batticaloa

UNP's...

(Continued from page 4)

for Jayewardene to pose off as the modern Parakramabahu by mortgaging the country. This is similar to the modus operandi of a racketeer who makes a fast buck by producing worthless, but glittering objects.

Further, it is not the peasant who will reap the benefits of this scheme, but the multi-national companies who are fortunate to lease out the adjacent lands for a song.

As pointed out earlier, the other show-piece of this government-tourism does not provide a base for stable economic development. The setback suffered by the tourist industry after the 1983 anti-Tamil pogrom demonstrates that fact clearly. Further, like the FTZ, apart from providing a certain number of jobs, it does not make a direct contribution to the economy.

The government has been able to stave off a collapse of the economy since it took office in 1977, not because of its economic policies, but because of the savings transmitted by poor Sri Lankans working in the Middle East. The foreign exchange earned by them was sufficient to set off one-third of the deficit in the balance of payments. Such earnings are estimated this year to total a billion rupees. It is dishonest and mean on the part of the government to claim credit for this. How can the UNP government stake a claim to the supply of jobs consequent to the oil-price rise in the Middle East in the 1970s? When the unemployed secure jobs in the Middle East by paying thousands of rupees to employment agents, after selling their belongings, on what basis does the government claim credit?

It was this government which as a gesture to the imperialists initiated mass petitions asking the oil-rich countries to reduce the price of oil (the petitions were shelved later). It is this government which has permitted agents to exploit job-seekers ruthlessly. Therefore the government has no right to claim credit for the supply of jobs.

The UNP government has no solution to the economic crisis in Sri Lanka, which has been deepening over a period and which is part and parcel of the world capitalist crisis. Nor does the SLFP have a solution. No government which takes office in the bourgeois parliament has a solution. It is only a workers and peasants government based on the revolutionary power of the masses and which smashes the capitalist framework that can provide a solution to the capitalist crisis.

— Workers Marxist Review,
Vol. 1 No. 1, July 1985.

APPRECIATION

D. J. Thamotheram

On 8th April, 1985, the gates of eternity opened wide to let Mr. Thamotheram in. 'Come thou noble son, your task on earth is over. You have done your part with honesty, integrity and true devotion. You have earned your well deserved rest.' This I am sure would have been the greeting on the other side.

That he was a man of honesty and integrity is no exaggeration. At a time when amassing wealth is the goal of many, he belonged to the group of rare exceptions who believe in absolute honesty. He could have lived a comfortable life and given his family a luxurious living. But he chose the narrow path and built a house out of his hard-earned money, but did not have the satisfaction of moving into the house he had built.

Mr. Thamotheram hailed from a distinguished family in Jaffna. He was the son of the late Mr. J.C. Thamotheram (Gold Medalist), Vice-Principal of Hartley College and Mrs. Penny Thamotheram.

He revealed himself in his writings. One can see Mr. Thamotheram, the humanist, yearning in his heart for the upliftment of his motherland. He was against all communal and chauvinistic movements. He was concerned about the world at large. He had no political leanings but the humanist in him craved for a new order. He was also a deeply religious man in the true sense of the word and had an abiding faith in God. He was an idealist and he never wanted to come down from that high pedestal. He has left behind the fragrant memory of a truly noble soul.

K. Sothinathan

BUDDHIST MONK'S APPEAL

The following are excerpts from an appeal drafted in Sinhala by the Ven. Delgale Padumasiri Thero, Incumbent of Tissa Vihara, Kankesanthurai:

The nine workers of the Kankesanthurai Cement Factory who were taken hostage on 3rd. Dec. 1984, after the attack on the train at Chunnakam, are persons who were fully confident that they would never be harmed by any Tamil militant group or by the Tamil people.

They thought that the fight was with the Armed Forces and the Government and not with them, who were quite innocent.

Because it was a struggle against injustice, sections of Sinhala youth also had some feelings in favour of the Tamil liberation campaigners.

The Sinhalese workers at the Cement Factory had realised the reality behind the struggle in the North.

Of the nine workers, Podi Singho had come to Kankesanthurai at the age of nine. He loved KKS more than his own village. G.L.S. Ratnasena is a youth born and bred in KKS. His parents lived there for 40 years before leaving for their own village during the disturbances of 1977.

They left Ratnasena at my temple at my request, for I was living alone. He had won the goodwill of all his colleagues at the Cement Factory. He had more Tamil friends and he knew the

Tamil Language better than Sinhala. His mother is now mentally deranged and is constantly weeping. She blames me for Ratnasena's plight and is asking me to get him back.

The others are also equally innocent. Their relations are in tears.

The Minister of International Security had stated that these nine workers had been killed.

The Army told me that because I had helped to secure the release of many innocent persons arrested by the Security Forces, I should also intervene and get the Sinhalese persons released.

Therefore, please heed my earnest appeal and hand these nine persons to the Works Manager of the Cement Factory. No information will be revealed about who took them or where they were taken.

HARDLINE

The Government will not be allowed to enforce proposals with regard to the ethnic crisis without consulting the people. This was the position taken by the Maha Sangha.

The Maha Nayake Thero of Asgiriya, Ven. Palipane Chandananda, made this categorical statement in the course of his speech at the felicitation meeting for Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike to mark the 25th anniversary of her assumption of office as the world's first woman Prime Minister.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Ceasefire Breached

A direct confrontation between the armed forces and the militants over the weekend — the first major clash in the North since the ceasefire came into effect on 18th June — led to the death of a soldier and injuries to three others.

According to reports, the soldiers had opened fire at Polikandy in Valvettiturai area on a militants' camp and the militants had returned fire.

The confrontation which began round about 8 p. m. on Saturday 20th July went on into the early hours of the 21st. The continuous gun fire and bomb explosions led to people evacuating the area and seeking refuge in neighbouring villages.

Official sources say the militants had opened fire on an army patrol, killing one soldier and injuring two others. The sources also said that the soldiers had returned fire injuring two extremists. They had recovered a machine gun left behind by the militants.

The 'Eelanadu' in its report (22.7.85) says that acting on a tip-off the army had come by boat round about 8 p. m. on Saturday and hidden in a garage close to the militants' camp. A sentry posted by the militants had noted this and flung a grenade. Following this, there was an exchange of fire for several hours. The report also adds that, before this incident, for two days running helicopters had flown low over the area where the clash occurred.

The 'Virakesari' (22.7.85) quotes the Northern Co-ordinating Officer Brigadier H. Wanasinha as saying that the army camp at Point Pedro had received vital information. Acting on this, search operations were carried out in the Polikandy coastal area. Then an extremist group had attacked the patrol. When the 'Virakesari' reporter pointed out that there was a ceasefire on, the Brigadier countered "The information received was very vital. How could one desist from carrying out a search operation?"

FRONTLINE'S DISCLOSURE

The following item appeared in the Island of 23rd July:

The Indian Magazine 'FRONTLINE' a publication of 'THE HINDU' publishers in Madras has published what is claimed to be the terms of the four phase plan for a ceasefire between the Sri Lanka Government and the militant groups 'at the instance of India'.

According to this journal the secret talks were to come only in Phase IV, but in actual event it was judged that talks could take place quite early in the process to explore the ground — hence the first round of the Thimpu talks which lasted from July 8 to 11.

The following table is published in 'FRONTLINE' as the series of steps that should have been implemented between the Sri Lanka Government and the Tamil militants.

ACTION TO BE TAKEN BY SRI LANKAN GOVERNMENT

Phase I: Start on June 18. For three weeks.

1. Government will lift restrictive legislation on use of roads and vehicles and suspend enforcement of the Prohibited Zone.
2. New settlements will be suspended.
3. Security forces will carry out cordon and searches and operations in the presence of local officials and magistrates.
4. Lift Surveillance Zone and stop infusion of further resources to Armed Services and Police establishments. Stop using Prohibited Zone as staging area for carrying men and material. Stop attacks on civilians — both Sinhalese and Tamils — in the North, East and elsewhere. Cease attacks in the North, East and elsewhere on government offices, economic targets and private property. Stop induction of men and material in the affected areas from outside Sri Lanka.

AT KARAINAGAR

NAVY OPENS FIRE 3 Civilians Killed

Three persons were shot dead and two injured at a bus halt at Alady, Karainagar when Naval personnel opened fire on Monday morning 22nd July round about 5 o'clock.

The dead persons are: Subramaniam Sothinathan (26), A. Thambiah (61) and S. Tharmalingam (45), an Apothecary attached to the Nedunkerny Hospital.

At the inquest held by the Jaffna Magistrate, Mr. S. Nagarajah, at the Jaffna Hospital, one of the injured persons Kanagasabai Lambotharanathan (45) testified that he along with ten others were waiting at Alady bus halt to board a bus. Round about 5 a.m. they heard the sound of a vehicle approaching. Thinking it was their bus all the passengers got ready to board it. Two armoured vehicles carrying Naval personnel approached the bus halt and stopped. Those who came in those vehicles got down and began shooting. "Through fear we fell flat. We continued to hear gun shots. A shot struck my left leg." Later a lorry was brought and the injured were taken to the Jaffna Hospital. On the way to the hospital the lorry was stopped by Naval personnel in two vehicles. "All were asked to get down and put up their hands. They examined us. Later they allowed us to proceed."

At the inquest into the death of S. Sothinathan, A. M. Subramaniam testified that the deceased was his eldest son and had set out in the morning to go to the market to buy the things necessary for the sixth month observance of his dead grandmother.

Testifying at the inquest into the death of his father A. Thambiah, T. Pathmanathan said that he accompanied his father to the

Alady bus halt where there were about ten others waiting. On hearing the sound of a vehicle approaching all had got up thinking that it was a bus. An armoured vehicle came up and stopped at the halt. Another large vehicle came up, stopped and switched off its lights. "Then firing began and we all fell flat on the ground. At least fifteen shots were fired." After the vehicles had left he got up and found that his father was lying injured. Including his father five persons had been injured.

At the inquest into the death of Apothecary S. Tharmalingam, P. Sivasothy testified that the deceased was his brother-in-law who had come on ten days' leave. The deceased had set out that morning to travel to Nedunkerny. When he heard gunshots, said Sivasothy, he ran towards Alady. On the way he met Gunarasa who had escaped from the spot. Gunarasa told him that among those lying at Alady after having been shot by Naval personnel was his brother-in-law. When they were on their way to the hospital in a lorry, Naval personnel in uniform had stopped the lorry and examined it. The dead persons and the injured were off-loaded while they examined the lorry for about 20 minutes. The Naval personnel had also asked whether they knew who had thrown the bombs.

The Jaffna Magistrate ordered that the bodies be handed over to their relatives after the postmortem and adjourned the inquest.

Meanwhile the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation quoting Lankapuvath said that hand bombs had been flung at a Naval patrol near the Karainagar Naval Base. The Navy had opened fire, killing one and injuring four extremists.

PHASE II: THREE WEEKS

1. Security forces will suspend raids and suspend curfews. Cease attacks directed against convoys of security forces including police, establishments, mining of roads, railtracks and bridges. Stop carrying of arms.

PHASE III: TWO WEEKS

1. Observe ceasefire.
2. Police Stations which had been closed down will be reopened and the law and order function will be carried out by the police.
3. Amnesty will be declared and those in custody against whom charges have not been filed will be released. (Those who have been charged will be released after the conclusion of successful discussions.)

PHASE IV

Secret talks on substantive issues

for reaching a political settlement to take place between the emissaries of the Government and representatives of the Tamil political leadership and Tamil militant groups. The venue of these talks could be a third country acceptable to both sides. Every effort should be made to maintain the secrecy of these talks and in any case, of the course of the discussions. The search for a solid foundation for a political solution must be completed within a period of three months from the date of declaration of the ceasefire and the amnesty. Depending on the result of these secret talks, open and direct dialogue between the Government and the representatives of the Tamils can commence as soon as the necessary groundwork is considered to have been laid.