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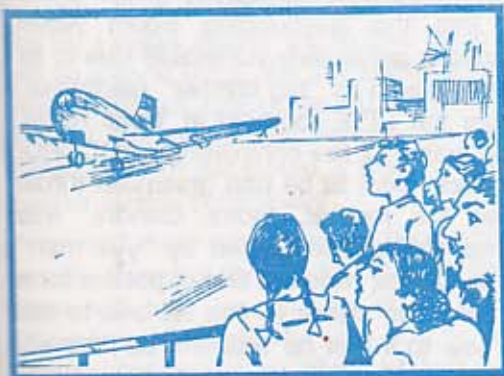
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A nice name for a sad game
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- **THE LOCAL
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- **IMMIGRANTS --
become the victims
of racism**

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'Big brother' in trouble



With the impending and inevitable destabilization of democracy in India, which is likely to follow in the footsteps of the dastardly assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, waves of discomfiture are bound to radiate from the heart of the largest democracy in the world outwards, and into the surrounding South Asian countries. Sri Lanka is particularly vulnerable due to its love-hate relationship with its "big brother" neighbour, which stems from the LTTE foothold in Tamil Nadu. Rajiv Gandhi, the author of the controversial ACCORD, was a happy-go-lucky pilot till he had greatness thrust upon him when his mother, Indira Gandhi, was removed from the scene. Surrounded by "yes men" and his chosen favourites, rode the tide of politics for a while. But, the sect who swore to see an end to the Nehru dynasty, saw to it that he was first de-throned. Whether LTTE was used as an instrument of wrath is yet to be verified. But the message that emerged loud and clear is that Sri Lanka, situated as it is in the shadow of a tumultuous Indian nation, must stay alert, not only to the back lash of political instability which is closely knit to the holocaust in the North-East, but to the possible infiltration of cessionist ideology that the Indian elections brought to the forefront. The best approach would be to "hang in there".

"PEOPLISATION" - A nice name for a sad game

Giving a bad name to those whom we wish to damn is one strategy of making a deadly blow palatable to the public. Another is to give a nice name to a sad reality. One is to make a devil of the enemy, the other is to sugarcoat a bitter pill.

Living beyond our means, Sri Lanka is deeply in debt to foreign countries. We cannot balance our budget. We need foreign assistance for this, and for the war in the NorthEast. The IMF and World Bank demand a price for the "aid" they give us. They want our productive sectors be given to foreign companies as this benefits the countries that determine their policies.

Sri Lanka is like the farmer who is so indebted that he has to mortgage his crop before it is harvested in order to get a loan from the moneylender. Sometime later his situation worsens and he is obliged to sell his land itself in order to meet the interest and repay the capital of his loans. He ends up becoming a hired worker on his former farmland.

Now Sri Lanka cannot refuse to accept the terms laid down by the IMF and WB. These agencies have demanded that several public sector industries and enterprises be privatized before the end of 1991, as the condition for further aid from the industrialized countries. Likewise they prescribe the reduction of public sector employment, resulting in situations such as the retirement of tens of thousands of able teachers.

The Government uses the term peoplisation to present this ultimatum to the public. If peoplisation means that the Sri Lankan people are to own these enterprises, it will be a good thing. But the reality is far from it. The workers will get 10% of the shares; this is a good thing. 30% of the shares may initially be bought by local capital. 60% of the capital is sold by tender to very big local or foreign businesses.

Eventually these enterprises are becoming either foreign owned or owned by big Sri Lankan firms or capital. These will have the majority of the shares. They will determine policies such as what is to be produced, under what conditions and for whose advantage. The purchase of raw materials, the hiring of foreign experts and the marketing of the products will be in their hands. The Sri Lankan workers will not be strong enough to determine policies especially in the international business operations.

The local capital and management will benefit from the foreignisation. They will get their share of the returns. Some speculators will benefit from the dealings in the stock exchange as in the case of the Ceylon Oxygen shares. (cf.p.5)

The country and the people will be the losers when a profit making enterprise, like the Telecommunications Department or the State Distilleries Corporation is first made a corporation, then a company and finally probably foreignised through the share market.

By such "peoplisation" (which is a misnomer, if not an untruth) the people as such lose ownership of their assets.

We should not forget that in poor underdeveloped countries like ours, state enterprise has been important as a countervailing power to exploitation of the people by big foreign companies. The public sector has been useful for developing local enterprise, capital, research, technology and marketing. Some public enterprises like the railways serve an essential need of the people. They are a subsidy to the rest of the economy, even if they are run at a loss. Thus the private bus owners pay scant regard to public needs when they may not profit from it, as at off peak periods or on holidays. Others like telecommunications are vital for the security of the country.

With this spate of privatisation, the government will obtain some money by selling the people's assets to local big capital and foreign companies; there may be some spurt in economic growth as these will be interested in profits. But it is to be feared that they will not develop enterprises and industries for the benefit of the country and the people. Our real industrial growth will be neglected, inequalities will worsen, and Sri Lankans will become cheap expendable labour for the benefit of their new economic overlords. Our mass media will carry their programmes and advertisements as they will have the funds. They will subsidize our political parties. They will trap the local elite to serve their interests as in colonial times. We will lose control over our economy. We will be an insignificant cog in their manipulation of the global economy.

It is a pity that little attention is given to viable alternatives towards economic growth in the present world economic situation. Can we not obtain capital and technology without selling the equity capital? Should we

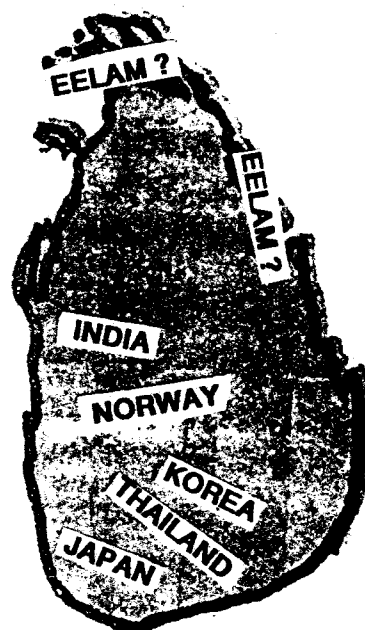
not think developing economic cooperation within the SAARC region for the benefit of the countries and the good of their ordinary people. Within such a group we can make up for our deficiencies in size and even in technology and capital. Selling the state industrial and services sectors we leave us less bargaining power even within SAARC.

It is a tragedy that the fruit of decades of effort to build up the public enterprises and industries in Sri Lanka is being thus given away cheaply due to our inability to resist the IMF-WB combine. Being debtors we have to pay Shylock's pound of flesh to our "donors" who are supposed to be helping us.

TISSA BALASURIYA O.M.I



ON SALE TO THE HIGHEST BIDDER



Sri Lanka for sale

(from a statement by a senior Treasury official in the Daily News of 18-5-91 page 1 and page 14)

Divestiture being implemented under the Conversion of Public Corporations and G.O.B.U.'s (Government Owned Business Undertakings) Act no 23 of 1987 Four wholly Government owned industrial ventures will soon be converted into public companies under the Government's peoplisation programme.

"Under this Act, these undertakings have first to be converted into companies, with the Treasury holding 100% equity. Sixty per cent is then sold outright, 30% is a made a public issue and 10% goes to the employees."

- Ceylon Leather Products Corporation 60% has been sold to a Lankan corporation ...in the red for the past three years...
- Ceylon Tyre Corporation ...offers received.
- Ceylon State Hardware Corporation
- Ceylon Plywood Corporation tenders called ...one offer rejected
- Ceylon Oils and Fats Corporation
- State Distilleries Corporation
- Lanka Milk Foods (CWE Ltd)
- Asian Hotels Corporation (Owners of the Hotel Lanka Oberoi)
- Subsidiaries of the CWE such as Sathosa Computers' Sathosa Motors, Sathosa Printers and the Colombo Commercial Group of Companies.
- Mattegama Textile Mills
- Veyangoda Textile Mills
- Pugoda Textiles (Lanka) Ltd. will be put on a public share in mid-June 1991 Three million rupees worth of Rs 10 shares at par will be on offer. 60% of the Pugoda equity is owned by Lakshmi Textiles Ltd. of India.
- Thulhiriya Textile mills now owned by Kabool of Korea
- United Motors 90% public ownership, with 5% owned by Mitusbishi of Japan and 5% by the employees.
- Ceylon Oxygen : 60% owned by Norsk Hydro of Norway; 30% public share holding and 10% by employees. Cf. comment of The Economist in the Sunday Times of 19-5-91...
- Dankotuwa Porcelain : 50% owned by a consortium of Japanese companies, 40% by the Employees Trust Fund (ETF), and 10% will be transferred to the employees shortly

Is this fair ?

ASK THE CITIZENS WATCHDOGS



THE OXYGEN SHARE SCANDAL

The principles of allocation of the Ceylon Oxygen Limited shares offer have raised several important issue on the peoplisation of government-owned business undertakings.

Shares of Ceylon Oxygen were offered much below their market value and the documentation of the prnciples on which the shares would be allocated was delayed far too long. As a consequence of these two reasons, considerable sums of money are still being retained by the brokers.

The Secretary to the Treasury offered 1.8 million Ordinary Shares of the nominal value of Rs. 10 each in Ceylon Oxygen Limited at Rs. 15 per share. It was widely known that the shares of Ceylon Oxygen Limited were under-valued and that the market value of the share would be more than twice the sale price.

In fact, it is widely known that - Norsk Hydro AS -- the company to which 60 per cent of the shares ws sold by the Government, was willing to buy the remainng shares at Rs. 40 per share. Consequently, as was to be expected, there was a rush for the shares and an over subscription which amounted to over four times the offer.

Should the Government have offered this share issue at such a low price ? By offerng a share at less than a third of the expected market value, the Government was in effect giving the shares as a partial gift to those who succeeded in obtaining these shares at the expense of the State and the general public. Should the Government confer such gifts to what is a small section of the population, largely the affluent and those acquainted with the share market ?

The most fundamental issue that has been raised by the Ceylon Oxygen share offer is whether the shares of business undertakings, held by the Government should be put on the market at what are markedly lower than market prices. Apart from the problems created in handling such a share issue, there is the question of equity as more affluent sections of the population who are knowledgeable about shares are likely to receive the benefits . In turn, the Government has lost revenue.

In this particular case, it could be estimated that the loss in revenue to the Treasury would be in the order of Rs. 27 million, at least. This is on the basis of the market share value being Rs. 30. If the value at which Norsk Hydro AS was willing to purchase the remaining shares , i.e. Rs. 40 is considered, then the Government has lost Rs. 45 million.

The argument for selling shares at concenssional prices is twofold. It is contended that by such a sale of shares at below market prices and by limiting share purchases to a small number of shares per person, that the ownership of shares would be more broad-based and that investment in the share market would be popularized. There may be some merit to this argument but we contend that if it is overstated it would be interesting to know how many new shareholders entered the market and how many of them would be continually in the share market in the future. ●

Beyond socialism and unbridled capitalism

POLITICS - New forms of emerging democracy

The unexpected and promising significance of the events in recent years reached their climax in 1989 in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and over a longer period of time embraced a wider geographical area. In the course of the 80s, certain dictatorial and oppressive regimes fell one by one in some countries of Latin America and also of Africa and Asia. In other cases there began a difficult but productive transition towards more participatory and more just political structures.

"It would appear that the Free Market is the most efficient instrument for utilizing resources and effectively responding to needs... but there are many human needs which find no place on the market, and it is a strict duty of justice and truth not to allow fundamental human needs to remain unsatisfied.."

Among the many factors involved in the fall of oppressive regimes, some deserve special mention. Certainly, the decisive factor which gave rise to the changes was the violation of the rights of workers. It cannot be forgotten that the fundamental crisis of systems claiming to express the rule and indeed the dictatorship of the working class began with the great upheavals which took place in Poland in the name of solidarity. It was the throngs of working people which foreswore the ideology which presumed to speak in their name. Also worthy of emphasis is the fact that the fall of this kind of "bloc" or empire was accomplished almost everywhere by means of peaceful protest, using only the weapons of truth and justice. While Marxism held that only by exacerbating social conflicts was it possible to resolve them through violent confrontation, the protests which led to the collapse of Marxism tenaciously insisted on trying every avenue of negotiation, dialogue, and witness to the truth, appealing to the conscience of the adversary and seeking to reawaken in him a sense of shared human dignity.

PART ONE

This is the first installment of a three part feature based on the philosophical thinking and abstracts from the **ENCYCLICAL LETTER** of Pope John Paul II, which is addressed to all men and women of goodwill.

May 1991

Collapse of Marxism

It seemed that the European order resulting from the Second World War and sanctioned by the Yalta Agreements could only be overturned by another war. Instead, it has been overcome by the non-violent commitment of people who, while always refusing to yield to the force of power, succeeded time after time in finding effective ways of bearing witness to the truth. This disarmed the adversary, since violence always needs to justify itself through deceit, and to appear, however falsely, to be defending a right or responding to a threat posed by others.

"The absence of stability, together with the corruption of public officials and the spread of improper sources of growing rich and of easy profits deriving from illegal or purely speculative activities, constitutes one of the chief obstacles to development and to the economic order."

The second factor to consider was the inefficiency of the economic system, which is not to be considered simply as a technical problem, but rather a consequence of the violation of the human right to private initiative, to ownership of property and to the freedom in the economic sector. To this must be added the cultural and national dimension. It is not possible to understand man on the basis of economics alone, nor to define him simply on the basis of class membership. But the true cause of the new developments was the spiritual void brought about by atheism, which

deprived the younger generations of a sense of direction and in many cases led them, in the irrepressible search for personal identity and for the meaning of life, to rediscover the religious roots of their national cultures. Marxism had promised to uproot the need for God from the human heart, but the results have shown that it is not possible to succeed in this without throwing the heart into turmoil.

CHRISTIAN REACTION

In situations strongly influenced by ideology, in which polarization obscured the awareness of a human dignity common to all, the Church affirmed clearly and forcefully that every individual - whatever his or her personal convictions - bears the image of God and therefore deserves respect. Further the events of 1989 are an example of the success of willingness to negotiate and of the Gospel spirit in the face of an adversary determined not to be bound by moral

"The apex of development is the exercise of the right and duty to seek God, to know him and to live in accordance with that knowledge."

"In the developed countries there is sometimes an excessive promotion of purely utilitarian values, with an appeal to the appetites and inclinations towards immediate gratification, making it difficult to recognize and respect the hierarchy of the true values of human existence.."

principles. These events are a warning to those who, in the name of political realism, wish to banish law and morality from the political arena. Undoubtedly, the struggle which led to the changes of 1989 called for clarity, moderation, suffering and sacrifice. In a certain sense, it was a struggle born of prayer, and it would have been unthinkable without immense trust in God, the Lord of history, who carries the human heart in his hands.

In the crisis of Marxism, the natural dictates of the consciences of workers have re-emerged in a demand for justice and a recognition of the dignity of work, in conformity with the social doctrine of the Church. The worker movement is part of a more general movement among workers and other people of good will for the liberation of the human person and for the affirmation of human rights. It is a movement which today has spread to many countries, and which, far from opposing the Catholic Church, looks to her with interest.

In the recent past, the sincere desire to be on the side of the oppressed and not to be cut off from the course

"It is unacceptable to say that the defeat of so-called 'real socialism' leaves capitalism as the only model of economic organisation. It is necessary to break down the barriers and monopolies which leave so many countries on their margins of development, and to provide all individuals and nations with the basic conditions which will enable them to share in development."

of history has led many believers to seek in various ways, an impossible compromise between Marxism and Christianity. Moving beyond all that was short-lived. In these attempts, present circumstances are leading to a reaffirmation of the positive value of an authentic theology of integral human liberation. Considered from this point of view, the events of 1989 are proving to be important also for the countries of the Third World, which are searching for their own path to development, just as they were important for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

FUTURE TRENDS

Assistance from other countries, especially the countries of Europe which were part of that history and which bear responsibility for it, represents a debt injustice. But it also corresponds to the interest and welfare of Europe as a whole, since Europe cannot live in peace if the various conflicts which have arisen as a result of the past are to become more acute because of a situation of economic disorder, spiritual dissatisfaction and desperation.

This need, however, must not lead to a slackening of efforts to sustain and assist the countries of the Third World, which often suffer even more serious conditions of poverty and want. What is called for is a special effort to mobilize resources, which are not

"The social nature of man is not completely fulfilled in the State, but is realized in various intermediary groups, beginning with the family and including economic, social, political and cultural groups which stem from human nature itself and have their own autonomy, always with a view to the common good."

lacking in the world as a whole for the purpose of economic growth and common development, redefining the priority and hierarchies of values on the basis of which economic and political choices are made. Enormous resources can be made available by disarming the huge military machines which were

(continued on page 9)

TWO VIEWPOINTS ON THE Commission of Inquiry into NGOs

The Presidential Commission on NGOs continued its sittings in April. Mr. M.K. Fernando, the Exchange Controller, Mr. Dias Hettiarachchi, Assistant registrar for the registration companies and Mr. Keerthiratne Koswatte, Deputy Director of the Ministry of Planning and Plan Implementation gave evidence.

Mr. M.K. Fernando in his evidence stated that there were a lot of other means of bringing foreign currency into the country apart from the Banking system.

Mr. Hettiarachchi in his evidence stated that there were about 350 registered NGOs in Sri Lanka at present. He also said that once registered, a company had to comply with the Company Act and had to have a name and declare its objectives. Mr. Hettiarachchi brought to the notice of the Commission that there was only a single clerk to handle all activities pertaining to 350 NGOs and one thousand and odd other organisations.

Mr. Keerthiratne Koswatte said that there were about 38 foreign NGOs and all of them had entered into agreements with the Ministry of Public Administration and the Ministry of Social Services. Mr. Keerthiratne also said that besides these, there were 4 other NGOs.

Mr. Keerthiratne forwarded some statistics pertaining to NGOs like Redd Barna, SAP, etc. He further stated that a model application had been prepared to obtain more details from these organisations.

While the Commission of Enquiry into NGOs continued its fact finding, the state-controlled Lake House papers - particularly the Sunday Observer-continued its scathing attack on Sarvodaya one of the big NGOs in Sri Lanka. In its 7th April issue, the Sunday Observer published an expose and directly accused Mr. Harsha Navaratne, one of the important leaders of Sarvodaya and also a close relation of Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne, the leader of Sarvodaya. The article alleged that Mr. Navaratne had taken Rs.600,00 from the savings of the villagers of Rajangana, in 1906 and Rs.1.6 million from the Samusala wholesale shop in Anuradhapura, and hinted that the money had been used to produce 4 Sinhala films. Interestingly, the Sunday Observer of 25th April reproduced a front page article and an editorial from the Communist Party's newspaper Aththa of April 3, 1984. The article was about the sale of Sri Lankan children to western countries and attempted to link Sarvodaya with the

'international racket'.

Seven years after the article appeared in Aththa the Sunday Observer must have thought it fit to reproduce it.

SOURCE: INFORM Situation Report April 1991

Acceptance and Accountability of NGOs

The NGO Commission, while fulfilling its assigned tasks, could render a signal service to the country by recognizing the "peace with justice" efforts of many NGOs. It can recommend steps for their further development within a suitable public policy framework of the country. Sri Lanka is sorely in need of such groups.

Sri Lanka had some of the advantages of a democratic society, such as universal adult franchise, gifted to us by the British almost against the wish of the ruling elite of the day. During the past two decades there has been a trend towards authoritarianism as well as a safeguarding of democratic rights of the people.

Within such a framework it is necessary there should be accountability of the NGO activities, particularly in relation to finances. A certain sense of security concerning public policy is required for the NGOs to be able to serve the community on a long term basis. Some of the older generation of citizens opted for this type of work and life style on the basis of a certain commitment, and have the advantage of previous education and experience, social contacts, and/or religious affiliations. But the younger generation would need more opportunities for their overall and ongoing education before they took up such types of work. They need encouragement to continue in this service by a recognition and appreciation of its need and value.

The NGO Commission would render a great service if it were to recognise that some of the members of the NGOs have given their lives for the service of the community in periods of conflict. They too could be counted among the non-violent heroes of our country. This might encourage younger persons to opt for this service as a challenging and meaningful vocation.

In this connection the NGO Commission could identify what is an "NGO". Would it not be relevant for it to recommend that NGOs should not be subjected to more government surveillance and scrutiny than other private bodies? Should not accountability be more or less similar for all those who benefit from the inflow and outflow of funds to the country? Some of them are incorporated under the Companies Act, or registered under the Societies Act or registered with a state agency such as the Social Services Department, and hence already subject to some type of state supervision. The NGO Commission may consider whether it is within their terms of reference to advise against policies which may give the impression of a selective severity on NGOs by the state, so committed to a liberal economy?

The NGO Commission can make a positive contribution by recognizing the need and role of NGOs and by providing for their operation in a manner that safeguards the rights of all concerned, namely the State and foreign funders, the public, the NGO workers, and their beneficiaries.

Example of the CSR

From its inception, the Centre for Society and Religion has participated in the people's efforts to defend their rights. We have campaigned for the freedom of the press, for the broad-basing of at least the direction and management of the state owned mass media including the radio and television.

As the situation evolved we had to relate to government policies. We supported steps such as the furtherance of human rights through the Constitution. We objected to steps that we considered bad and dangerous for the common good of the country such as the removal of civic rights of the Leader of the Opposition by a process that left much to be questioned. A turning point in the constitutional breakdown of the recent times was the Referendum of December 1982 by which the general elections due in 1983 were postponed for a further six years. We opposed this proposal along with the human rights groups and the "Pavidi Handa", an organization of Buddhist and Christian clergy. This opposition was physically silenced by the officers of the law acting on the instructions of the government of the day.

A significant activity of the CSR is our legal aid section. We are fortunate to have the services of a retired senior public servant, (now) an attorney at law, who does this work pro Deo. We have many persons coming every afternoon to consult him. In the mornings he attends the courts for these cases. Much work has been done in this connection especially in the conditions of violence in the country.

If NGOs such as ours are to be accepted as part of the social fabric of our country they should be able to live with self-respect and acceptance as an honourable section of the community. We would find it useful if the NGO Commission were to indicate what it would consider reasonable allowances for persons in NGOs like ours at different levels. We can then advise the funding agencies accordingly. We would welcome some way in which foreign funds, in so far as they are available, are made on a longer term basis to give us a certain possibility of ensuring continuity of service to our co-workers. ●

SOURCE: Response from the CSR to the NGO Commission Questionnaire.

(Continued from page 7)

Beyond Socialism and unbridled Capitalism

constructed for the conflict between East and West. These resources could become even more abundant if, in place of war, reliable procedures for the resolution of conflicts could be set up, with the resulting spread of the principle of arms control and arms reduction, also in the countries of the Third World, through the adoption of appropriate measures against the arms trade. But it will be necessary above all to abandon a mentality in which the poor - as individuals and as peoples - are considered a burden, as irksome intruders trying to consume what others have produced. The poor ask for the right to share in enjoying material goods and to make good use of their capacity for work, thus creating a world that is more just and prosperous for all. The advancement of the poor constitutes a great opportunity for the moral, cultural and even economic growth of all humanity.

Finally, development must not be understood solely in economic terms, but in a way that is fully human. It is not only a question of raising all peoples to the level currently enjoyed by the richest countries, but rather of building up a more decent life through united labour, of concretely enhancing every individual's dignity and creativity, as well as his capacity to respond to his personal vocation, and thus to God's call. The apex of development is the exercise of the right and duty to seek God, to know him and to live in accordance with that knowledge. ●

FOOTNOTE: Part 11 of this serial feature deals with Land tenure, Private property and Material goods.

The local Government Elections

AN ANALYSIS BY OUR ROVING REPORTER

Sri Lanka has always exhibited democratic tendencies even though there has been spells of terrorism, despotism ethnic conflicts, which are not alien in other parts of the civilized world. Since 1948 a single party was in power till 1956 after which the people selected a centre-left party. In 1977 it was changed and the present party in power was elected. Since 1977 the country has seen the birth and fall of the first president rule and in 1989, the president incumbent Ranasinghe Premadasa, a man from the grassroots unlike the elitist Jayawardane took power. A General Election held in February 1990 put into power the United National Party. Before this there has been the District Development Council Elections in 1981 and the Provincial Council Elections in 1980. The last Local Government Elections was held in 1979. Thus, a local government election held after 12 years cannot be ignored.

On May, 11th 1991, except in the North and the Eastern Provinces, local government elections were held under the local government elections ordinance of 1977, in the rest of the country. Nearly 75,000 public servants and 20,000 policemen manned the election where 6,293,929 voters polled from a total registered 8,625,145 voters. The election covered 237 councils and 7 provinces. It involved selecting representatives to 10 Municipality Councils, 33 Urban Councils and 194 Pradeshiya Sabhas. The election was conducted in 7499 polling booths. There were 11 political parties and 82 independent groups who contested the local bodies. The outcome of the Elections was that the UNP which contested 234 local bodies won 9 MC's, 27 UC's and 153 Pradeshiya Sabhas totalling 189 which is 79.74% of total local bodies. The UNP and its allied CWC contested 2 local bodies and captured power in them. On this basis UNP together with its allies controls 80.59% of local bodies. The SLFP which contested 202 local bodies won 1 MC, 2 UC's and 33 Pradeshiya Sabhas which is 15.18% of all local bodies. MEP contested 18 local bodies and won 2 Pradeshiya Sabhas which is 0.84% of local bodies. The SLCP contested 6 local bodies and won only 1 UC and 2 Pradeshiya Sabhas which is 1.26% of local bodies. LSSP contested 10 local bodies and won none. Similarly, SLMP contested 120, BEP 12, NLSSP 43, SLMC 65, SLPF 2 and won no seats. However, independents and

ELECTION RESULTS BY PARTY

DISTRICT	UNP	SLFP	SLMP	SLMC	MEP	NSSP	BNP	LSSP	IND 1	IND 2	IND 3	CP	Regd. Votes	Votes Cast	Spoilt
Anuradhapura	1,37,470	99,895	3,829	2,250	553	660	4,342		839				3,58,811	2,73,900	24,062
Polonnaruwa	61,273	49,296	2,523	319					1,081				1,72,700	1,28,928	14,437
Badulla	1,74,322	83,473	5,764	1,644	379	2,493	2,201		2,857	881			3,97,322	3,12,964	38,950
Moneragala	66,871	47,076	2,929						2,949				1,89,573	1,34,678	14,853
Hambantota	88,693	86,418	1,936		3,352				2,930				2,96,123	2,04,696	21,367
Matara	1,37,720	1,01,520	2,758	200	1,134				16,357			30,912	4,67,337	3,21,133	30,532
Galle	1,95,004	1,53,665	22,168	1,853	2,397	4,485			13,698				5,93,524	4,32,552	39,282
Puttalam	1,15,123	76,578	2,787	5,278		2,539			12,208				3,28,407	2,33,070	18,557
Kurunegala	2,89,580	2,09,892	22,774	6,399	1,615	14,079	9,142		9,744				8,07,984	6,19,426	56,201
Kandy	2,64,265	1,61,329	16,885	12,726	738	1,435	1,606	1,172	6,555	664		C.W.C.	6,81,910	5,16,637	49,262
N'Eliya	63,479	53,329	449			1,650	1,918		24,174	807	909	59,294	3,36,820	2,42,372	36,666
Matale	94,746	44,820	7,121	2,187		1,970			10,274			SLPF	2,36,148	1,81,538	20,420
Kegalle	1,71,142	93,382	2,119	3,944		523		28,363	11,623			11,929	4,49,224	3,56,443	31,865
Ratnapura	1,66,113	1,37,632	4,830		615	12,998			5,398				5,05,094	3,70,798	43,212
Gampaha	2,98,993	2,75,661	19,135	3,748		2,253			19,153				9,60,866	6,70,003	51,060
Kalutara	1,89,694	1,62,582	9,142	3,759	3,108	751		7,889	21,451	2,674			6,01,755	4,40,676	39,627
Colombo	3,48,534	1,27,028	26,324	11,888	59,884	13,356			76,984				11,77,887	7,20,558	56,560
Total	28,63,022	19,63,576	1,53,472	56,195	73,755	59,192	19,209	37,424	2,38,275	5,026			86,21,485	61,60,372	5,86,913

independent groups contested 75 local bodies and won 2 UC's and 2 Pradeshiya Sabhas. One independent group who contested Akuressa (was backed by the UNP/CWC).

Thus, it is evident that the UNP has gained votes over the years. Within 10 years the total UNP votes have increased by 1,395,330. The SLFP has lost 293,040 between 1989-1991 whereas within the same period the UNP has gained 341,237.

The popularity of the UNP has been due to:

- (a) The personal charisma of the President
- (b) The lack of an alternative leadership who could offer stability
- (c) The Janasaviya programme
- (d) The anti-corruption, waste programme
- (e) The recurrent political campaign by the UNP using every opportunity to get closer to electorates
- (f) The land and water resource development programmes
- (g) The urban/rural housing programmes
- (h) The offering of marketable leadership of the candidates offered by the party

The Local Government Election results were as follows on the basis of local bodies.

The pattern of Local Government Election results revealed the following:-(A) Reversal of the Centres of Power

ELECTION RESULTS BY PERCENTAGE

Total polled by the UNP	- 2,910,436) = 33.74% of total registered
) = 46.24% of total polled
by the CWC	- 59,294) = 0.68% of total registered
) = 0.94% of total polled
by the UNP/CWC	-) = 0.17% of total registered
) = 0.22% of total polled
backed Independents (Akuressa)	- 14,411	2,984,141 = 34.59% of total registered
		= 47.41% of total polled
Total polled by the SLFP	- 1,996,820	= 23.15% of total registered
		= 31.72% of total polled
Total Votes polled by all other parties and groups excluding SLFP	- 724,027	= 8.39% of total registered
		= 11.50% of total polled
In Summary overall results reveals		
* Only UNP	-	received 34% of registered or 46% of polled votes
* UNP and its allies	-	received 34% of registered or 47% of polled votes
* SLFP	-	received 23% of registered or 32% of polled votes
* Others	-	received 8% of registered or 11% of polled votes

The votes of the two major parties at the local elections are worth comparing with past Elections.

	1981 DC Elections	1989 Presidential Elections	1990 General Elections	1991 Local Elections
UNP	1,515,106	2,569,199	2,837,961	2,910,436
SLFP	Boycotted	2,289,860	1,780,599	1,996,820

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS - RESULTS ANALYSIS

(1) Total Registered	8,625,145
(2) Total Polled	6,293,929
(3) Total Valid	5,704,990
(4) % of 2 of 1	72.97
(5) % of 3 of 1	66.14

The Presidential Elections of 1989 revealed that the Nuwara-Eliya, Matale, Badulla, Kandy, Puttalam, Moneragala, Ratnapura, Kegalle, Polonnaruwa, Vanni, Kurunegala districts were favourable to the UNP. In the Parliamentary Elections of 1990 Kandy, N'Eliya, Matale, Kurunegala, Puttalam, Kegalle, Ratnapura, Badulla districts polled heavily with the UNP. In the Local government elections all agricultural and plantation districts voted with the UNP and the dome-try districts around the Colombo city voted with the SLFP. SLFP supporters polled heavily in Colombo, Gampaha, Kalutara, parts of Mahaweli, Ratnapura. It reveals that in urban and semi-urban areas government is not popular despite the urban housing programme. High cost of living, high cost of land, high transport cost, ineffective and corrupt urban/local bodies (eg. Panadura UC) explains the cause of the failure of UNP. The Janasaviya programme was effective in attracting more votes to the

UNP. The Presidential Mobile programme also accounted for the success, inspite of negative factors like the Provincial Council system, low prices for paddy, landlessness, ineffective credit policies.

(B) The High Percentage of Rejected Votes

The percentage of rejects at the local elections reveals

- (a) a protest vote
- (b) a lack of understanding of the preferential system of votes
- (c) a protest by unhappy UNP against "new" elements like CWC who wants to represent Sinhala traditional homelands in the Kandyan areas
- (d) the infighting within UNP to get a place under the preferential system - and failing which spoiling the votes

(C) The Role of CWC and Independent Groups

The CWC claims to represent Kandyan areas due to the new electoral process. This will create problems to both the UNP and SLFP in a future elections of CWC decides to contest alone in the next General Elections. A similar factor is the SLMC. Due to these parochial groups, the Sinhalese voters are going to openly divest and find other extra parliamentary measures to look after their lot. Can CWC who managed to win the election represent Kandyan Sinhalese? This is a question silently discussed by Sinhala voters.

(D) The Disarray among the Opposition

The disunity among the opposition groups acted as an advantage to the UNP. The left seems to be loot, and SLFP is loosing ground in the electorates.

(E) The Lack of Alternative Party to Government

This is clearly evident from election results

The agricultural areas where paddy prices were low (eg. Polonnaruwa) or had no irrigation waters (eg. Bakamuna) voted with the UNP, revealing that the Janasaviya has been an effective instrument in the results being in favour of the UNP. Thus, the results of the local government elections reveals a popular support to the President Ranasinghe Premadasa.



CSR ATTORNEY - AT - LAW

Question: What is the law regarding registration of motor vehicles?

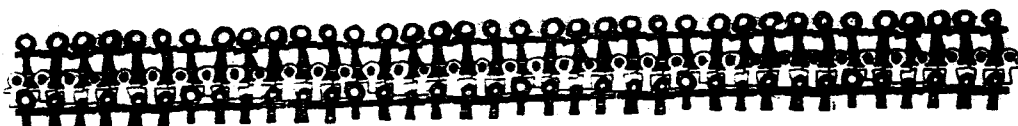
Answer: Every motor vehicle should be duly registered with the Registrar of Motor Vehicles, at the office of the Commissioner of Motor Traffic.

Question: What documents should a motorist obtain in this connection?

- Answer:**
- (i) The certificate of registration on payment of the fees relevant to the class of vehicle
 - (ii) The Third Party Insurance Certificate (as a minimum -you may get comprehensive insurance cover against accidents, theft, fire etc, but these are not compulsory)
 - (iii) The revenue licence for the year
 - (iv) The Fitness Certificate in the case of lorries, buses etc.

Question: What are the regulations regarding driving licences?

Answer: You should obtain the relevant form from the RMV office, and if you are over 18 years of age, you could apply for a driving test with two photographs and the required fee. You are required to know the Highway Code and the road signs, and be certified medically fit to drive motor vehicles.





Immigrants become the victims of racism

A. SIVANANDAN



The problem for an open Europe predicted this journal in 1988, 'is how to close it against immigrants and refugees from the Third World. Today the structures for that closure are being set in place in the informal meetings of the Trevi group of ministers and police chiefs and the discussions of the inter-state treaty makers of Schengen. And, as before, the danger for democratic government, for accountable administration, shows itself in the erosion of the rights of some of its citizens and, therefore, for all of its citizens. For although Trevi is meant to be addressing the problem of terrorists and drug-runners and Schengen the problem of illegal immigrants and refugees, a common culture of European racism, which defines all Third World people as immigrants and refugees, and all immigrants and refugees as terrorists and drug-runners, will not be able to tell a citizen from an immigrant or an immigrant from a refugee, let alone one black from another. They all carry their passports on their faces.

And it is these aspects of the emergence of an institutionalised racism on a pan-European basis, fomenting and fomented by popular racism, that portend the drift towards an authoritarian European state.

To understand that, however, one has to understand the way that the different types of European racism have taken shape in the crucible of their particular national histories. Thus, where German racism would appear to stem directly from the aggregation of one Volk into a nation exclusive of all other Volk, French racism seems to have taken shape at the point where the Enlightenment, carrying the nation state in its arms, stubbed its toe against the colonies. Unlike Britain which treated its colonies as peoples apart, to be acculturated only to be exploited, France saw the cultural assimilation of its subject peoples into a greater France as the burden of its Enlightenment. Where British racism was driven by the economic

imperatives of the industrial revolution, French racism was driven by the cultural imperatives of the Enlightenment. Both racisms, however, were imbricated in the creation of the nation state. German racism, on the other hand, formed the very basis of that creation.

While these same processes of industrialisation and nation-building with, of course, their different time-spans and their differential colonial encounters - appear to have shaped the national racisms of Europe, it was their need for cheap labour in the period of post-war reconstruction that gave these racisms their particular point and purpose. Invariably, such labour came from either the colonies and ex-colonies of the Third World or from the then poor south of Europe, and were 'saddled' with different cultures, different colours, different creeds. What Europe wanted, though, was the labour not the labourer and towards that end racism was ready instrument.

But, with the passing of industrial society, that labour is no longer needed. The problem for European governments now is how to settle the

labour that refuses to go back whilst evolving, at the same time, a common policy that will keep out any further intake of labour in the form of refugees and asylum-seekers. And yet, it is precisely such peripatetic migrants who form the ideal workforce, flexible and ad hoc, required by the manufacturing and service sectors of post-industrial society. Hence these governments are faced with two sets of contradictions. On the one hand, they are compelled, as a part of the tidying-up process for the new open Europe, to regularise the status of long-standing 'immigrants', but risk the danger of being thrown out of power by the popular racism that they themselves have engineered. On the other hand, they want to appease their racist constituencies by keeping out Third World migrants and refugees, but run the risk of undermining the black economy and the increased prosperity it brings countries, and a growing anxiety about who is to do the work.

Already the cracks are beginning to show in the battlements of Fortress Europe even as its foundations are being threatened by the revolts of the new natives in Lyon and Lesjofors. (SOURCE: EUROPE- VARIATIONS ON A THEME OF RACISM)

CAMEOS FROM SELECTED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

FRANCE

In France, the same term 'immigrant' is used to describe widely differing populations which, taken together, total nearly four and a half million people, out of a population of approximately 56 million, just under 7 per cent of the total. For years, people from various European countries - particularly Portugal, Italy and Spain, but also Belgium, Poland and Yugoslavia - have come to France for seasonal or more permanent work. A significant population has also arrived as refugees: recent asylum-seekers have come from South-East Asia, South America and the Middle East. Then there are those from the Overseas Departments of France (such as Guadeloupe, Martinique, French Guinea, etc.), who, while having full rights as French citizens, are in practice subjected to the most flagrant discrimination. Finally there are large communities of Algerians, Moroccans and Tunisians (and to a lesser extent Indo-Chinese), whose presence, like that of the Martiniquans and Guadeloupans, is inextricably linked with France's colonial history. There are now many different communities settled in France over several generations. There is no satisfactory concept, and hence no terminology for a community that falls between the 'immigrant' outsider and that of the assimilated French - only disputed terms to describe specific groups such as 'beurs' (Parisian slang for Arab) or 'populations of immigrant origins'.

ITALY

The origins of immigrants now living in Italy correspond to two different phases of migration: the earlier, mainly covering the period from 1970 to 1985; the recent, which began after that date. Immigrants gain employment in Italy in two main ways. On the one hand, some are employed in areas which have been abandoned by Italians. In other words, by accepting employment on conditions which Italians refuse, immigrants supply an unsatisfied demand in a number of sectors. In agriculture, immigrant workers are used for the various harvests, in several regions in both the north and south. They receive derisory salaries, often have no work contract and consequently, no legal protection. In industry, small and medium-sized enterprises in the north are increasingly seeking foreign labour already in Italy, either legally or illegally, to undertake unskilled work for wages which Italians would refuse. If one looks at the situation more closely, it appears that the more or less legal zones of the market economy which control such activities have rapidly created a demand for immigrant labour. In fact, immigrant travelling sales is largely controlled by illegal organisations which have taken maximum advantage of the most vulnerable section of immigrant labour. It is clear that this type of exploitation of immigrants is only possible when there is a complete vacuum in immigration policy.

SWITZERLAND

By the end of 1989, Switzerland had according to official statistics, an alien population of just over one million (1,040,325), which is 15.6 per cent of the Swiss population of 6.67 million. Of these, some have settlement permits, are free to change employment, can move from one canton to another and can have their residence permits extended without limit. 'Annual residents' on the other hand, have to have their residence and work permits renewed every year. After an uninterrupted stay of one year, their families may join them. According to 1987 figures, there are, in addition, 156,725 so-called seasonal workers, who are allowed to work and live in Switzerland for a maximum of nine months in any one year.

Swiss nationals and those with unlimited residence permits have priority within the labour market. Behind them come the annual residents and, even further back, the seasonal workers. But worst off of all are the asylum-seekers, from countries like Turkey, Sri Lanka, Lebanon, Yugoslavia, Iran, Iraq, Angola and Zaire. They have to accept the jobs of the most temporary nature, no one else wants. And they are the butt of racism. For with the growth in Third World refugees in the 1980s has come an increase in those seeking asylum in Switzerland and, correspondingly, a growth of Swiss racism.

THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES - NORWAY

The presence of black people in the Scandinavian countries is quite recent; the injustice and discriminatory mechanisms they are subject to has, however, a long history behind it. Norway for example has never had colonies - although it has benefited (indirectly) from the colonial system, and imbibed racist theories from colonial Europe. Immigration in Norway is closely linked to economic development. One such factor is the discovery of oil in the North Sea. Workers were needed, yelled the daily ads in the Middle Eastern and other overseas newspapers. They were wanted not only in the off-shore oil industry, but also in timber and steel and, not least, to take on the unwanted jobs in the service industries. The first immigrants from the Third World started coming in the late 1960s, but more arrived in the 1970s. Before then, there had been only a few dozen black people living in Norway. Reasons were many, but restrictions in Germany and the 1970 ban on immigration in Denmark were the main factors in the move northwards. Seven Pakistani workers arrived one winter night at the border. The border guard was drunk, he undid his tie and threw it towards them: "Those of you who can tie this tie can stay." Three of them came across the border. Once a person got work, to get a work permit was not difficult.

This laissez-faire period, however, was over by 1975, when the first immigration ban was introduced, not, ostensibly, to stop immigrants, but 'to make conditions better for those who had already arrived.' The conditions never got better, but the ban remained. Its true function was to maintain state control over the influx of labour; it was a mediating instrument for government between the trade unions and the employers and was racist in that it was aimed directly at people from the Third World.

* European identity is no longer an imperial, expansionist identity in the old sense. The era of imperialism is past. The era of decolonisation is past and Third Worldism is no longer a la mode. European chauvinism now is prosperous, complacent, aloof. Fortress Europe in cultural uniform, is not expansionist but critical. The prospect is that of Europe as a fort, with the Straits of Gibraltar and the Bosphorus for moats, and parts of the Third World as hinterlands, and optional labour reserves. ●

Peace in Middle East heading for disaster

The fighting in the Gulf war ended on March 3 in triumph for the allies, when General Norman Schwarzkopf sat down with British and Saudi colleagues in a military tent pitched on the Safwan airbase deep in occupied Iraq. They faced three Iraqi generals who had just experienced the humiliation of being escorted over their own territory by US troops. "I am here," said Schwarzkopf, "to tell them exactly what we expect them to do."

The outcome seemed so certain then. Two months on, the clarity has gone. Saddam still rules, with army and terror apparatus intact, while visions of peace in the Middle East and a new world order dissolve amid reassertions of national interests. The permanent ceasefire entrusted to the UN shows signs of running into the sand, while Saddam skilfully plays for time.

It has taken some 27 days from the adoption of Security Council Resolution 678 for a permanent ceasefire to confirm the first two appointments to the three special commissions needed to oversee the terms of the peace deal.

It is a start, but it leaves roughly 43 special commission seats to fill. The figure is uncertain because, although each commission (on weapons of mass destruction, borders, and compensation) will have about 15 members, they are still trying to agree the exact number.

Many are puzzled. After a winter of dynamic action which appeared at last to harness the potential energy of the UN, spring has brought little but the slow grinding of bureaucratic wheels. As one diplomat said: "Our job here is, after all, to talk."

▪ The urgency seems to have gone. During the war, no-one thought what would happen next. Instead of controlling events, we are now being dragged along by them ...

Each day there is news of the agonies of the Kurds stranded in the mountains in flight from Saddam and of the fears of the Shia in the south who also rose and failed. In Baghdad, Saddam tinkers with the apparatus of government, bent on presenting a reforming face to his people and foreign states.

British and US forces are unilaterally dispatched to the mountains to help the sick and dying. The UN queries the legality of this while being urged by John Major to hasten an official relief effort under the umbrella of its troops.

The UN, on whose resolutions the coalition forces fought the war, has been handed the job of supervising the peace and, in both the popular mind and expert opinion, little is happening. "The situation is utterly disgusting; it is cruel and heartless," says Elie Kedourie, Emeritus Professor of Politics at London University. "All the words in the dictionary cannot describe the nature of this ceasefire agreement with Iraq. These poor millions in Iraq, what is their future?"

Kedourie, an expert on Middle East politics, is angry at the outcome of the war and contemptuous of White House policy. He says the UN was dragged into the conflict unnecessarily; he supports Mrs. Thatcher's original argument that, as Kuwait had asked for help in defending itself, there was no need to involve the

Security Council, and that the US and Britain - "the only coalition that mattered" - were justified under international law in taking military action on their own.

"What went wrong from the start was all the hullabaloo about the UN," he says. "We are now predictably entrapped in this resolution and that resolution, while Saddam gets away with literal

General Schwarzkopf in conference with defeated Iraqi generals



murder yet again. The allies should have weeded out every last trace of Saddam's Ba'athist regime."

Derek Hopwood, director of the Middle East Centre at St. Antony's, Oxford, makes a less virulent analysis but arrives at a similar conclusion. "Just a few weeks later, Saddam seems hardly to have suffered a military defeat at all," he says. "He has his army, his equipment and does not appear to be under threat in Baghdad. Things are disappearing into the usual channels - in which most things get bogged down."

On path to disaster

Reports from American intelligence suggests that Saddam is already beating the embargo by smuggling in urgently needed stocks of military spares and equipment, at the same time as resuming small-scale oil exports by road to Jordan. And Baghdad has made no effort to return looted treasures, ranging from medical equipment and computers to civilian airliners and the al-Sabah's collection of historic artefacts seized from the Kuwaiti National Museum.

"It is not alarmist to say that the peace is heading for disaster - disaster in the sense of nothing happening," says Hopwood.

In the meantime, the UN works on to set up its commissions. No detail is too small to cause delay - even the location of an office. The Dutch feel they should play host in The Hague; the British in London. Officials are confident of a solution within the week.

THE UN'S SEVEN STEPS TO PEACE?

RESOLUTION 678, adopted on April 3 (1991), makes provisions for peace under seven headings...

* **CEASEFIRE:** This formally began when Iraq officially accepted the resolution.

* **BORDERS:** Iraq and Kuwait must respect the disputed 1963, border; the UN must demarcate it, the Security Council guarantee it, setting up a commission to that end.

* **PEACEKEEPING:** UN military observers to monitor border zone.

* **WEAPONS:** Iraq must accept destruction or removal of biological and chemical weapons, missiles with a range of more than 95 miles, and nuclear weapons-useable materials. Iraq must furnish a declaration of all such weapons. The UN is to set up a special commission to deal with inspection and destruction within 45 days of the resolution's adoption.

* **COMPENSATION:** Iraq is liable for damages arising from its actions. Funds based on oil revenues to be established, with supervision by a special commission.

* **SANCTIONS:** The embargo on food to be lifted, and eased on some civilian essentials, and the Sanctions Committee of the Security Council to review the embargo every 60 days.

All sanctions on Iraq exports to be lifted once dangerous weapons have been removed and the council agrees a compensation mechanism. Arms embargo to be maintained.

* **OTHER PROVISIONS:** States to prevent Iraq suing for contracts broken by the war or sanctions. Iraq must co-operate with the Red Cross on the repatriation of Kuwaitis and others. Iraq must pledge not to support international terrorism.

The Kandyen Dance

*Beat the drum! Rend the air with thy rhythmic throb -
Now slow, now fast and from thy audience rob*

*This conscious world.
Let their freed minds plunge into the depths
Of bygone ages--to steal across the steps
Of Royal Palaces, decked in ancient glory
Lead me O Rhythm to the environs of thy story.
Now pierce the stillness with the dancers' bells
Jingling a treble to the drum's deep bass.
Dance, dance on!*

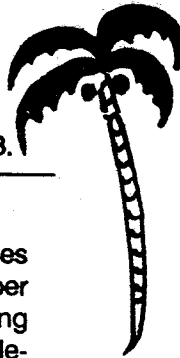
*Each bend, each curve, each toss and movement tells
Too much for rigid consciousness to brace
Paint thou my vision with thy graceful art
To touch the fringe of consciousness and part!
Beat the drum! Ring in our minds the glory past
Dance the dance that holds what's fading fast
Of kingdoms old -Into a mere historian's lay*



*Sunk in Time's abyss--nay
Crushed by a fickle Fate
Striving a newer world to sate.*

LEARNING FROM OTHERS

Coconut research and development



J. L. AMARATUNGA, Director C.R.B.

Although statistics

(1985) indicate that among coconut growing countries in the world Sri Lanka has the highest average yield per ha. as compared to almost 12 other countries growing coconuts, the coconut growers are not getting adequate income to meet the high cost of production. The environment for growing coconuts in Sri Lanka is good, compared with Kerala. Southern Kerala has a similar rainfall pattern to Sri Lanka, and ground water is readily available throughout the year and the soils are also deep.

The coconut holdings in Kerala are small because of the high population density. Approximately 98% of the holdings are less than 2 hectares in extent. Land ceiling in the State is 15 acres in extent. The average yield is 23 nuts per palm per year.

Significant Shift

A significant feature is the outlook of the growers shifting from Monoculture cultivation of coconuts, to coconut based agro-forestry system. This system needs to be fully investigated and adopted in Sri Lanka. The cropping pattern is a multi-storeyed system utilising both sunlight and space factors with a view to high inputs and high productivity and profits.

In most areas irrigation of coconuts by surface or drip irrigation systems were provided to maximise production.

A simple gravity flow system was seen at the Central Plantation Crop Research Institute in Kasaragod North Kerala. The farmers are more convinced of the returns from irrigating coconuts than the use of fertilizer for increased production. According to statistics, only about 2% of the acreage is fertilized.

Mr. V.T. Markose, Director of the Coconut Development Board based in Cochin summed up the main constraints of increasing productivity and profitability in a small holder coconut sector as follows:

1. Uneconomic holding size (i.e. less than 2 ha. uneconomic).

On a recent visit to Kerala State in South India a team of three members from Sri Lanka made a study of certain aspects of coconut research and development. The team consisted of Vidya Jyothi, Dr. C.R. Panabokke and J.L. Amaratunga (Directors of CRB) and K.S. Jayasekera, a Research Officer of CRI.

One of the aspects stressed in this article is the need to intensify production in coconut lands which are under-utilised both in the wet zone and in the intermediate zone.

2. Gestation period of 3 years to realise fertilizer effects.

3. Not convinced about the returns from fertilizer application.

4. Social priorities and attitudes inhibit the investments to from achieving high productivity.

These constraints listed above may apply to Sri Lankan conditions. A study of these problems will provide the solutions to increase productivity in the small holder sector in the wet zone.

Productivity of Coconut Holdings

In the wet zone in Sri Lanka most of the coconut holdings are small, but could be made more productive by better extension programs. In CPCRI Kasaragod in India, agricultural extension appears to be effectively carried out. Extension training programs are drawn up quarterly for all Government Officers. Research officers regularly appear on TV programmes on research aspects concluded. They have organised training courses, seminars, exhibitions, film shows and regular visits to demonstration plots organised by the extension division of CPCRI. The demonstration plots include animal husbandry which includes rabbits, poultry, quail, high yielding milk cows stall-fed and with bio-gas production units.

As mentioned earlier, coconut growers are convinced of the advantages of irrigated coconuts combined with high density intercropping and mixed farming systems. Throughout Kerala, it is difficult to see a single farming plot without intercropping with bananas, lime, pepper, cloves, nutmegs, pineapples etc.

The high density coconut based intercropping model at the CPCRI Kerala has a variety of crops with large canopy perennials like jak, breadfruit, nutmeg and medium canopy perennials like mango, lime and

pepper and small canopy annuals and perennials like coffee, papaya, pineapples, yams, colacasia and tapioca.

Coconut production in India is vital to the agricultural economy of millions of small farmers in the country. They have stressed that adequate attention is required for the effective transfer of improved technology available with the research institutes. The small farmers are updated with the latest scientific findings on all aspects of crop protection through TV and radio programmes. Publicity programmes are not merely confined to periodicals, but participation at exhibitions is encouraged to provide information to coconut

farmers. Several research cum demonstration plots are organised at different locations covering various aspects such as performance of hybrids, fertilizer use, coconut based high density cropping systems and irrigation. The Indian Government, in order to encourage farmers to irrigate their coconuts and other crops, provides a subsidy of Rs.1000/- to purchase water pumps, Rs.3000/- per ha. for planting new areas, and Rs.10,000/- per ha. for drip irrigation systems.

It is suggested that these aspects of development in Kerala High Density Intercropping systems should be adopted by coconut growers in Sri Lanka. ●

THE OTHER INDIA BOOKSTORE

An unique institution that promotes books among Third World people

More than four decades into political independence, countries like India are still flooded by books, magazines, newspapers and journals from a group of powerful publishers in England and the United States. The resultant "knowledge imperialism" is formidable and almost impossible to combat.

Attempts to change this situation have not borne fruit, despite the emergence of strong southern political institutions like the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). Persistent currency and exchange problems combined with the dominance of western academic scholarship in the Third World have made it practically impossible for readers in India, for instance, to get books and journals written, printed and published by colleagues and writers in, say, the Philippines or Kenya.

In 1986 a group of intellectuals and activists from India got together and decided that something ought to be done about this depressing state of affairs. Their answer: The Other India Bookstore (OIB).

Over three years, through sustained efforts, the OIB has now dramatically changed the existing scenario.

Books and periodicals from the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Pakistan began to be available by 1987 in Indian bookstores. This was the first step. Contrary to established opinions and prejudices, the OIB has succeeded in proving that people in India are ready to buy books from other Third World countries, provided the product is of good quality.

From its inception to OIB has followed a few important principles. With precious few exceptions, all books marketed by the bookstore have to be written by Third World writers, and must be printed and published in a Third World country. The bookstore's most important achievement: it sells books at practically the same rate in the country of origin.

Having successfully introduced Third World books into India, the OIB is now set to promote Indian books in other countries. India produces thousands of books every year. OIB editors select the best titles the prolific Indian publishing industry has to offer. Titles selected are generally with the global audience in mind.

In addition to Third World writing, the OIB uses the same infrastructure built for marketing the entire volume of publications brought out by voluntary groups, NGOs, and environmental groups in India. It is the only outlet specializing in such publications: the ultimate one-stop shop for whatever is produced in India by non-commercial publishers, small activist groups, alternative thinkers and change-makers.

Copies of the OIB 1990 Catalogue(\$1-postage) are available from IFDA (International Foundation for Development Alternatives), 13 Alipur Rd, Delhi 110054, India, ●

WOMEN

A new "area" of female prostitution

AN EXPOSE BY OUR
ROVING REPORTER

The media have been singing paeans of praise to the "nimble-fingered" females who monopolize - in their numbers only - the Garment Industry in this country. It is still, so it is claimed, "Lanka's top export" and grosses Rs.25.2 billion for 1990 as against 17.6 billion the previous year (Central Bank figures).

While we are perturbed that only around 30 per cent of the value of garment exports is an actual earning by the country, due to the fact that 70 per cent of gross earnings are inputs, we are even more dismayed at the sinister fact that 30 percent of the females working in this industry are on full-time prostitution. How, you might well wonder, are they also then, working in the industry or designated as "workers" (garment workers)?

It is not as mystifying as it seems! According to sources within the industry, that refused to be named for obvious reasons, and who themselves are deeply disturbed by this phenomenon, the workers, usually younger than the stipulated and legal age for employment, are recruited privately and only ostensibly as garment workers. They never, thereafter, even see the 'inside' of a garment factory or stores! They are really recruited as prostitutes and serve the top management, both local and foreign, their guests and business contacts, also both local and foreign, and even 'junket tours' that apparently come in quite covertly though legitimately into the country.

Monetary gains

It is a well known fact that about 60 per cent of these women workers have from time to time also hired out their bodies in 'part time' prostitution, if that term can be used in this context. In other words they have felt free to go out with men after working hours for money and whatever else in material terms they can get, and even may be to ensure their promotions and higher positions in their respective places of work. This is not new, and the Garment Industry itself, we might remind ourselves, is about four decades in existence and doing business in Sri Lanka.

In addition to legitimate employment in garment factories about 60 per cent of the young women employed in this trade are lured away to practice the oldest profession known to civilization ... once ensnared in the web they find it impossible to get away

return to their sink of poverty if they are finicky about giving of their 'services'. What is perturbing also is that no-one is concerned about the health, both the physical and mental health of these unfortunate girls.

Health conditions

Incidentally it is worth finding out how many garment factories provide free medical aid to their workers and workers' families. How often are girls checked for their health conditions, even though working on assembly lines is now known to be detrimental to well being, both mental and physical and it has been found that the damage done to eye-sight working under artificial light for long periods or engaging in sewing which takes a toll of the eyes is a common one in the garment industry all over the Third World. Little attention is also paid by employers, intent only on profit motives, to the psychological health of their workers.

Girls engaged to work in garment factories and then relegated to prostitution suffer from a truly traumatic experience as far as most of them are concerned. "The human factor is too much neglected", said one woman involved in training in this area. "Too soon the girls are treated like machines and become like machines."

While some attention has been paid by the authorities to ensuring better working conditions for these girls, there is still room for the provision of better facilities in most factories, both in the free trade zone region and in other industrial sectors along the south-west coast.

Our sources feel that an investigation into the malpractice is imperative. "It is essential to discover how and why these girls are being lured into vice especially as all of them, after a time, are left destitute and their exploitation in this manner will in the long run be detrimental to the industry itself" said one spokesman who desires to remain anonymous. "It has been noticed", he added, "that about 10 per cent are leaving the industry altogether as they prefer to be 'poor but honest'." The question is: what action should be taken in this regard? What is deplored is 'organised' prostitution - a matter for urgent action. ●



Liberating education for women

Now there is a new concept of WOMEN'S EDUCATION "Women's Education" is one way of learning things made new through the women's perspective. From this view, one would realize how some knowledge about women had been hidden or missed from the general treatment of persons because the male is the norm. Women find difficulty identifying with a body of knowledge that subordinated our identities as women when we are subsumed under the masculine pronoun "he" or the generic term "man".

Free from bondage

Women's Education becomes liberating because it frees us from the bondage of gender-based roles, of stereotypes, of being boxed according to men or women. Women's Education helps us in the discovery of ourselves and our uniqueness as persons without losing our femininity or masculinity.

For who wouldn't grab the opportunity of exploring one's talents and potentials without the inhibition based on gender? Who wouldn't want God to be portrayed as having the qualities of a mother? Who isn't fed up with media spewing out images of women as sex objects and in their traditional role ALONE? Who wouldn't want every person developed to his/her fullest and integrated according to choice in all spheres of production and reproduction?

Women's Education is an education worth welcoming if we realize that we could drop our defenses, our charade in acting to the expectations of what and how we were conditioned to be instead of what and how we are as persons. Through it, we understand that partnership, not domination is the preferred structure of relationships.

Multi-disciplinary approach

It is not an independent subject but Women's Education is fully a part of every subject. It is

integrated in psychology, history, religion, culture, and ecology. It is fully a part of any subject from childrearing to building a house. It cuts across races, economic status, political and religious affiliations. In short, it is a unifying education amongst people that shall propel us to unknown heights of full human development and truly life-giving relationships.

Women's Education is not a magic wand transforming unjust social arrangements into life-giving structures for all. It is a process of consciously raising women's issues and advocacy work for the transformation of persons and structures. It is a lifetime commitment of re-thinking and re-doing things in a perspective that recognizes women and men as equal partners in development.

Integration with formal education

Formal Education is just one area where we see how women's education could be integrated. It is a challenge to focus on Formal Education and its capacity for social transformation.

Formal Education shapes every person who has undergone it. With most of the early part of our life spent within the premises of formal education, we find great importance in it because our thoughts, feelings, and actions are molded by our classmates, teachers, and administrators through the aid of subjects and books. It is not an exaggeration to say that what we become in later life depends on the influence of formal education.

But what education have we undergone?

Lifetime training

Upon graduation, did we feel the urgency of going

back to our rural communities and apply our knowledge to uplift our communities from poverty? Or did we opt to stay in the urban areas because we failed to see the relevance of our degree to our rural communities' needs and situation? Did we set our minds to applying our earned skills and knowledge in other countries? Or have the knowledge we gained changed some of our basic positive cultural values?

Or did we realize that we have undergone an education that perpetuated some unjust structures? Or did it allow us to choose our roles and our careers according to our capabilities?

Do we discover that our education has alienated us from ourselves as persons and as cultural communities? As Igorots, how did our education make us proud of our identity as Philippino? ●

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

As a regular reader of your paper and as a Sri Lankan who has made the deliberate option and choice of living and working in this country despite "The State of the Nation" I wish to respond to the President's address to Parliament as reported in the Daily News of Saturday, 20 April 1991

It is strange but true that the "Thought for the Day" in the front page of that issue are words from one of my favourite leaders, the assassinated Black American Southern Baptist Pastor Martin Luther King Jr; his words being "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere"

So I am glad that our President in his address has spoken about the need to restore normalcy. This I feel is the NEED OF THE HOUR. In fact I feel that all the other dreams which the President has spelt out in his address will be either nullified or not achieved fully, if we do not as a nation return to normalcy soon.

Enough, I think, is enough. How long more are we as a nation, as a people, going to play this game? We are not fighting a foreign power; we are fighting among ourselves. We are destroying each other.

Those of us who work with people from Point Pedro in the North to Dondra Head in the South, know only too well the misery that our people are going through. The suffering, the insecurity and death our people face, the wounds, the pain and the trauma that they are experiencing we know for we meet them and we listen to them. Ours is a human problem. We are at the cross roads of history; our civilisation and culture are at stake. This suffering of humanity in our land must end. We can no longer afford to play the game of party politics.

As a product of the Peradeniya School of Political Science, after having sat at the feet of George Lerski and Alfred Jeyaratnam Wilson, I know the difference between politics and power and party politics. The latter I despise; the former being the affairs of the city, I relish. Being a Third World country we cannot continue to play this game of party and power politics anymore.

It is a sad commentary on our political life that the S.L.F.P M.E.P. and U.S.A. members of Parliament were not present when the President addressed the House. I have friends in these parties, some of whom were with me at Trinity College, Kandy. My dear friends of the opposition, it is time that we thought of our people and not of our parties. We seek the vote of our people, as we are doing right now with the Local Government elections in the horizon. After we position ourselves in some legislature what do we do? Do we think of our people and their misery? Let us not forget the lessons of history. During the Second World War, Winston Churchill was given all the support that he needed to win the war. After the victory the Labour Party was invited by the people of Britain to form the new government and govern Britain.

It is time that we as a people get together to address our minds as a nation to restore normalcy so that the deep-rooted political, economic, social and cultural problems may be solved thereafter.

Bismarck, the leader of Prussia, had the concept of blood cement. He said that blood cements a nation by bringing the people together. Have we not shed enough of Sri Lankan blood? Where are the flowers of our youth gone? Haven't they reddened the rivers of Sri Lanka?

As a Sri Lankan I hope that we Sri Lankans will get together and solve the Sri Lankan problem so that our people will have the future they ought to have as a nation.

(Rev.) Sydney Knight

DISRUPTED LIVES & SOARING PRICES

Every sensible person will be ashamed to witness the present unholy and pitiful scenes in the country, not only in the north-east, but also in the south-west, where politicians and some communal-minded monks were the root cause for the present plight. The average man has been badly cheated by them with broken promises. Most of our former members of parliament are now in foreign lands for safety and some of them, it is saddening to know, are doing pawn broker and eating house business. Recently one attorney-at law sold yams in the market as the courts have been levelled to the ground. His wife got ashamed, pawned her jewellery and sent him to the West to do some jobs of any type.

It will fill volumes to mention in detail all the sad scenes in the North. I have no paper to write about it in detail. One typing sheet is 75 cents, a Litre of petrol adulterated is sold at 500 rupees; a box of matches with just a few sticks at four rupees, an average coconut at 25 rupees, manioc at 25 rupees per kilo, country rice at 50 rupees a measure. There are no drugs, no cycle bowls, no 3-in-one oil to lubricate the domestic machines. The newspapers use card board as there is an acute scarcity of newsprint. The Yarl Devi express train is still being held up as the rolling stocks have been damaged or pilfered north of Vavuniya. The people go to bed early as there is no fuel to light even a bottle lamp. The priests are compelled to give communion in tiny pieces as there is a shortage of holy hosts. The people use bicycles for public transport. Some of them went to Colombo by cycle, sold it, and proceeded to the West. Plenty of people are planning to leave the peninsula for good.

Thank you once again for all the good work you are rendering to mould a just and righteous society.

BIOTECHNOLOGY - THE FACTS



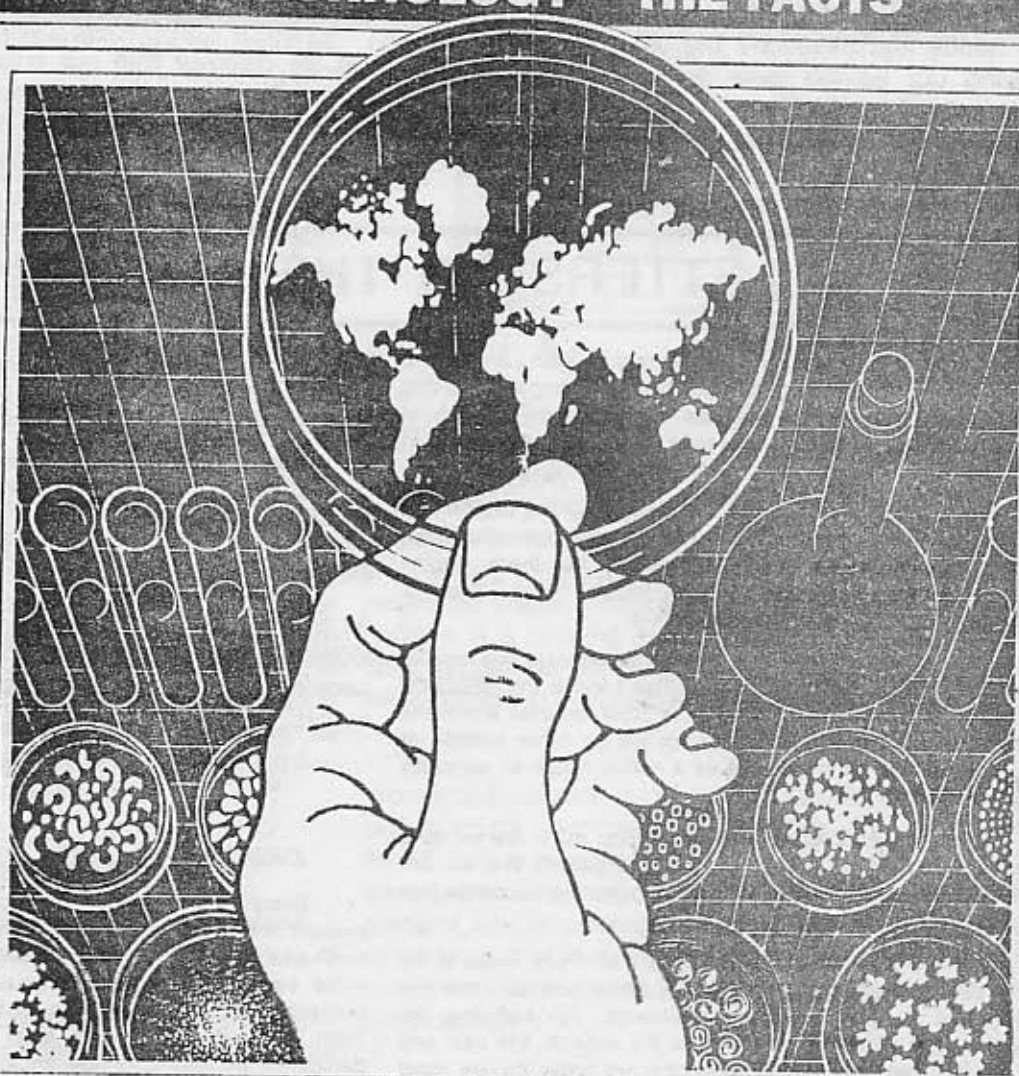
Poor people need cheap, nourishing non-perishable food produced in a culturally and environmentally-friendly way.

Traditional biotechnological methods of food preservation like fermentation could be further developed.



The Third World needs to conserve its genetic diversity. Poor people need livestock which live longer and produce more.

Vaccines and ways of diagnosing diseases could be developed. Cross breeding could create healthier, more efficient livestock.



3. NEGLECTED NEEDS

Third World needs are rarely met by the new biotechnologies.³



What is needed?

Poor people's crops need conserving and improving to make them more pest-resistant, more nourishing and higher yielding.

What is being done?

Instead of making crops pest-resistant some companies are making them chemical resistant to increase chemical sales. In general only major cash crops are being bred to yield more.

What could be done?

Traditional crop varieties could be conserved and new crops selectively bred for hardiness.



Third World people need clean water, preventative health care, improved sanitation and nutrition most of all. Next come new vaccines for tropical diseases.

Tools for medical diagnosis (rather than treatment) are being developed, along with hormone production and drugs to prevent aging and cancer. Organ transplants and gene therapy are also top priority.

Biotechnology could provide better techniques for water testing and vaccine production.

SOURCE: NEW INTERNATIONALIST, March 1991