

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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This is a special censorship that applies only to the SATURDAY REVIEW of all newspapers in Sri Lanka.

In addition to the constraints imposed on us by the censorship, the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution, approved by Parliament on 6th August 1983, states under Article 157 A (1): "No person shall, directly or indirectly, in or outside Sri Lanka, support, espouse, promote, finance, encourage or advocate the establishment of a Separate State within the territory of Sri Lanka."

Vol. 3 No. 17.

9th June 1984

BROOMSTICK MARCH BY JAFFNA WOMEN!

With the menfolk generally reluctant to face up to the developing situation in the North — most of those who posed as leaders in the recent past now find it prudent to spend most of their time abroad while the ordinary men have become adepts in the "grin and bear it" technique — the women are planning to go into action.

From what we at the SATURDAY REVIEW have been able to gather, certain women who are well-known for their social work propose to organise a series of demonstrations in Jaffna, composed entirely of women.

The objective is to focus national attention on what is happening in Jaffna. One of the women who is canvassing support for the demonstrations told the SATURDAY REVIEW: "We want to launch a campaign to defend our

hearths and homes, our jewellery and other valuables and, most of all, our youths."

She added: "To hell with our hearths and homes; to hell with our jewellery and other valuables. We can somehow bear these losses. But not the loss of our sons.

"For nine months we bear them in our tummies. Then fondly we rear them, sending them through nursery school and high school. How we feed them and care for them to make them sturdy youths, so that they would be able to serve Mother Lanka all the better.

THE LUCKY ONES

"But what happens now to most of the Tamil youths in the North between the ages of 16 and 25? The lucky ones, who have rich parents or relatives, are able to go abroad. How many less affluent mothers have pawned or sold their 'thalikodis'—their most prized possession which they remove from their necks only on the death of their husbands—to pay for the air or sea passage of their sons?

"Yet, for every youth who find safety abroad, there are ten or more who have no alternative but to

(Continued on Page 12)

TIGER CALLING....

Ours is not a TIGER NEWSPAPER. This message is meant specially for the members of the Police and the Armed Forces in the North. For our temerity, we had our voice stifled for seven months from 1st July last year, under emergency regulations.

We have been constrained to say this because we have received reports that a number of youths have been questioned or even arrested in various parts of the Peninsula for the mere possession of the SATURDAY REVIEW in their hands. Since we were allowed to resume publication in February, we have endeavoured to do our job as a responsible newspaper, but acting under a severe handicap not applicable to any other publication in Sri Lanka: every single item that is intended for publication has to be approved by the Censor appointed by the Competent Authority in Colombo under the Emergency Regulations.

The SATURDAY REVIEW was originally started to espouse the cause of the Tamil people, a cause which was going by default because the so-called national dailies published from Colombo generally gave scant attention to events in Jaffna—until it was all too late.

But almost from the inception, the SATURDAY REVIEW developed into a more than regional newspaper.

It became an outlet for news and views deliberately blacked out by most of the Colombo-based newspapers, for reasons best known to themselves.

In the process, the SATURDAY REVIEW on a number of occasions published very caustic comments on the Jayewardene Government.

This was not because the SATURDAY REVIEW was anti-UNP. If at all, it has been more anti-TULF than some of the Colombo based newspapers.

THE DIFFERENCE WAS THAT OUR PERCEPTION OF THE NATIONAL INTEREST AND NATIONAL PRIORITIES OFTEN DIFFERED FROM THOSE OF THE GOVERNMENT.

So, all what goes into the SATURDAY REVIEW is approved stuff—approved trash, as some would call it!

Then why should members of the Security Forces get alarmed about the SATURDAY REVIEW.

IT IS, IN EFFECT, A GOVERNMENT-APPROVED NEWSPAPER IN A MORE TANGIBLE SENSE THAN EVEN THE STATE-OWNED MEDIA IN COLOMBO!

We hope that the top brass in the Police and the Armed Forces would instruct their juniors to leave readers of the SATURDAY REVIEW alone.

Better, we would ask them to explain to their juniors what appears in the SATURDAY REVIEW.

This would help them get a better idea of the region in which they have been called upon to serve.

As for the Police and Armed Forces top brass, we invite them to visit the SATURDAY REVIEW office to build up a sense of camaraderie, which could help in easing tension all round.



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Saturday Review

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A MOMENT WITH DIOGENES

Diogenes of late was avoiding reporters and friends. He gave the slip to them again and has now got back to Colombo after borrowing his ticket fare from Gamini.

He resumed his walks on Galle Face Green a reporter seeing him went up to him and said, "Master, we read your 18-point statement regarding a solution to the ethnic problem. Have you anything further to add?"

"Yes, the printer had played the devil. In the first place, I never said about the 'Indian Union invasion'. It should have read, 'The only Indian invasion we know of is the Indian ONION invasion, which has ruined the ONION cultivators in the North and broken the backbone of the Jaffna peasantry.

"Secondly, I wanted the withdrawal of the Army within a month and not within six months.

"I wanted an immediate suspension of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, of course, after calling for the laying down of arms on the part

of the "Terrorists" and giving them the amnesty after a six months' truce and provided there are no further incidents during this period.

"Let there be a six months' truce and that will be the foundation for a lasting peace.

"I hope my statement with the necessary corrections will be repeated in the SATURDAY REVIEW. Please send a copy of it to the President, the Prime Minister and the other participants at the A.P.C. talks. Tell them to arrive at a solution; they must also consider a method and a strategy. The path must be paved to reach the solution. Never mind what the solution is. I have only set out that a solution awaits most certainly at the end of the 18-fold patriotic path."

"Master, have you any comments to make about the President's journey to the United States?"

"With my third eye, I see that if a baby elephant is presented to Reagan by the President, it will portend the explosion of a nuclear war. I see shooting stars and I see the shrieking of owls. A few years ago, Mrs. Srimavo presented a baby elephant to the Shah of Iran and that was the end of both the giver and recipient of the noble-living being. The elephant is a sacred animal both to the Buddhists and the Hindus. It can be gifted only for sacred purposes. He is GANESH and PILLAYAR to the Hindus. The elephant in Sri Lanka will never like to emigrate from our blessed island and live in the country where the Military Industrial Complex spends 32½ million dollars every hour manufacturing armaments to destroy mankind. I hope some other gift is given to Reagan.

"The elephant is the symbol of Reagan's Party as well as J.R.'s. Both are defenders of democracy and human rights. They are twin crusaders against Communists and International Terrorism.

"The baby elephant is the symbol of wisdom. The world and the people of the United States will, after this gift, be able to identify who are the enemies of Democracy and the international terrorists. Any way, let this gift not spell disaster to the TWIN defenders and champions of democracy, human rights, human dignity, not to speak of the Mili-

tary industrial complex and the transnationals.

"The elephant is all wise. It forgets nothing.

"Diogenes appeals to the nation to stop the poor elephant from being taken on an air journey from this sacred country of his birth. He does not like to fly like the politicians. Diogenes appeals to the Sangha to prevent the gift.

"In the meantime, let us both Buddhists and Hindus pray for the survival of democracy and mankind. Let all the temple bells peal loudly and forcefully for the safety of Man".

Diogenes appeared to be rather disturbed by the gift of the elephant and he hoped that there was no foreign hand involved in this bright idea of presenting a gift to Reagan!

TERRORIST PANIC

— Lalith

The Minister of National Security Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali on Sunday requested the Opposition not to use the Israeli issue to divide the country further at a crucial period in its history.

He said that according to information received, the 'terrorists' had already panicked on hearing of the arrival of the Israelis.

The Minister said it was the aim of the 'terrorists' to unite as many forces as possible against Sri Lanka. 'Our strategy should be to create divisions and disharmony among all those who support the terrorists to defeat them.'

He said that a country's foreign policy was not a permanent one.

SIDNEY AT S.R.

Among the several visitors to the office of the SATURDAY REVIEW this week was ex-DIG Mr. Sidney de Zoysa, now an adviser to the Jayewardene Government on national security.

He told the Editor that he was on a "personal mission" to "assess the situation in the North."

He expressed surprise that the SATURDAY REVIEW of all newspapers in Sri Lanka was subjected to special censorship. He promised to take up the matter with his friend, Mr. Douglas Liyanage, Secretary to the Ministry of State who is the Competent Authority appointed under the Emergency Regulations to oversee, and even control, the media when he returned to Colombo.

The Editor told him not to waste his time. We are actually enjoying the censorship.

He was accompanied by ex-ASP Mr. Arumugam.

Replying to Opposition criticism of receiving Israeli help to eradicate 'terrorism', he said Sri Lanka's stand on the Palestinian question remained the same and would not change. It was the intention of the Opposition forces to mislead the Muslim people in this country, using the issue of the 'Israeli Interests Section' in the US Embassy.

British MPs visit Jaffna

An all-party delegation of British MPs visited Jaffna this week to make a first-hand study of the situation in the Peninsula.

The delegation met the Government Agent of Jaffna, Mr. D. Nesiiah, the Bishops of Jaffna, members of the Jaffna Citizens' Committee of Jaffna and members of the Jaffna unit of the Human Rights Committee.

The delegation was hosted to a lunch by the GA at the Harbour View Hotel in Kankasanturai.

By the special invitation of the delegation a team from the SATURDAY REVIEW comprising the General Manager of the New Era Publications Ltd. Mr. K. Visuvalingam, one of the Directors, Mr. M. Kanagarajanayagam and the Editor, Mr. Gamini Navaratne met the MPs at the hotel for an exchange of views.

The delegation later visited Trincomalee.

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Words of Wisdom

"I am the inferior of any man whose rights I trample under foot. Men are not superior by reason of accidents of race or colour. They are superior who have the best heart—the best brain..... The superior man..... stands erect by bending above the fallen. He rises by lifting others."

—Robert Green Ingersoll

"To see what is right and not to do it, is cowardice"

—Confucius

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A. KADIRGAMAR,
Principal.
JAFFNA COLLEGE,
VADDUKODDAI

"The integrity of men is to be measured by their conduct, not by their profession."

—Junius

"Since long life is denied us, we should do something to show that we have lived."

—Cicero

(Collected by Jupiter)

BISHOP WRITES TO PRESIDENT

The Bishop of Jaffna, the Rt. Rev. Dr. B. Deogupillai addressed a letter to President Jayewardene, dated 14th April 1984, commenting on the events that took place in Jaffna earlier that month and on the statement made by Minister of National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali on these events.

We have not been able to publish its contents because the Presidential Secretariat has still not released the letter to the Press.

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Can't Sri Lanka do without the Israelis?

President Jayewardene's UNP Government, which has no popular basis in terms of democratic parliamentarism based on electoral politics, has been indulging in desperate political exercises and manipulations to continue themselves in power, and the latest manipulation is in the field of foreign policy.

Foreign policy, as far as the UNP political thinking is concerned, is a secondary phenomenon, the impact of which is utilised only when it is necessary.

Mr. A. C. S. Hameed, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the first politician to head a separate Ministry of Foreign Affairs in independent Sri Lanka, is having his own mode of diplomacy and a parliamentary question revealed that this Minister of Foreign Affairs has spent nearly 502 days abroad in his capacity as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Despite this great record of the Muslim politician of Harispattuwa, the Government has been maintaining a low profile on foreign policy issues and this is not typical of the foreign policy record of the previous regimes of the UNP persuasion.

The events in July, 1983 suddenly evoked an interest to activate the missions abroad and they, instead of plugging the foreign policy postures of the party in power, were converted into glorified press offices charged with the task of disseminating anti-Eelam publicity information.

The Israeli issue is likely to be the next important question which needs to be defended by the career officials in the missions abroad with their counterparts from the Arab nations and they are likely to be faced with the dilemma of reconciling this decision of the Government with the overt non-aligned foreign policy posture which we successfully maintained in the last two decades.

MRS B'S STANCE

Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, as the leader of the United Front Government (1970-77) decided to sever diplomatic relations with Israel on the ground that the attitude to Palestinian liberation needs to become the cornerstone of our foreign policy towards the Arab countries.

It was the UNP Government which invited the Israelis here in 1965 and they

were asked to give us a bit of their technological experience in dry zone agriculture.

In 1983 they have been invited to provide us with some kind of military technology; the need to obtain their assistance to combat terrorism motivated the Government to allow them to establish an "Interest Section" in the American Embassy. The Government is prepared to obtain military aid from the "devil", and the true "devil" has been invited, and this invitation, in my view falls in line with the need of the Government to dilute the concept of nonalignment.

This Government of President Jayewardene has taken several measures to undermine the national sovereignty of this country: they include the handing over of the Trincomalee oil tanks to a company which has links with Imperialistic military designs in the Indian Ocean and the provision of facilities for a Voice of America communication agency. These moves are deliberate attempts by a reactionary undemocratic regime to barter our national sovereignty for some paltry economic aid package.

Arab Cause

The invitation to Israel needs to be examined in the context of several domestic and international factors. Mrs. Bandaranaike and her United Front Government, which came to power after the Israeli occupation of the Arab lands, recognised the importance of the Arab cause and the feelings of several millions of Muslims throughout the world. On the other hand, the overt commitment of the SLFP to radical non-alignment influenced this decision and the attitude of the constituent parties of the United Front Government was yet another factor. Sri Lanka was determined to play a vital role in the arena of the nonaligned movement, and such a role could not be divorced from the active involvement with the politics of the Arab world.

The emergence of the Arab countries with their rich oil resources needs to be recognised and Mrs. Bandaranaike, because of the foreign policy attitude she adopted in relation to the Arab nations, developed friendly relations with the Arab countries resulting in the opening up of new markets for

our tea and, equally important, employment opportunities were created for the Sri Lankans in the Arab countries. Today nearly 300,000 Sri Lankans are employed in the Middle East and their foreign exchange remittances are great source of income with which the Government has been able to survive because it siphons off the ever increasing cost of living.

Then there are the numerous variety of employment Agencies operating in the country and they, too, are some source of employment. The expansion of the markets for Sri Lankan tea and the creation of employment opportunities should have been taken into consideration; these aspects, too, are factors integral to the issues of national interest.

UNP Supporters

There is yet another important political factor. Traditionally, Muslims of this country have been supporting the UNP and certain Muslim political organisations played a significant role in the initial stage of the formation of the UNP. Eleven Muslims were elected to Parliament on the UNP ticket in 1977 and the near totality of Muslims voted for UNP candidates. The UNP continued to get this support from the Muslims who played a substantial role in the victory of the UNP at the Presidential poll and the referendum.

Popular expressions of opposition are not the concern of the UNP because they always take refuge in the oft-repeated argument that they have won all the elections; even the President is supposed to have told the Chinese leaders that his party won ten elections.

It is necessary to remind President Jayewardene that no election was held after a dissolution of Parliament and this factor has been ignored.

There are three Muslims in the Cabinet and the vital portfolio of Foreign Affairs has been given to a Muslim. This probably has some importance as far as the relations with the Arab countries were concerned.

Israeli Lobby

The Israeli lobby in Colombo, immediately after the 1977 election victory of the UNP, activates itself

and utilised certain channels to influence the thinking of the Government on the question of the closure of the Israeli Embassy.

The Government, guided by the considerations mentioned, hesitated to take a decision on the letter and the development of "terrorism in the North"—a reason with which opponents could be silenced—is now being utilised to implement one of the foreign policy decisions of the UNP.

The Government says it needs expert assistance from Israel. This, in my view, is a poor reflection on the ability of our own security forces which are now functioning under the area of the Minister for National Security. What is this special training of which Israelis are experts? It is the art of killing, and that has been the experience of the Israelis. The Arab world can provide us with a dossier of their expert activities. This arrival of the "terrorist" experts from Israel needs to be viewed in

given a free licence to interfere in the political affairs of the country because they have been invited to assist in the solution of an internal political problem. Its infiltration into the Sri Lankan Armed Forces through the route of training in anti-terrorist activities could well become a serious problem with international ramifications.

In my view, the Sri Lankan armed forces never experienced this kind of direct link with a notorious international security organisation of the calibre of the Mossad of Israel. Such a development can have serious repercussions in terms of local politics and international implications can be much more dangerous because this kind of infiltration via the route of training in combating terrorism is another vital step in a well-calculated plan to politicise the Armed Forces.

Such a development can threaten both national sovereignty and the foundation

by Dr. Wiswa Warnapala

the context of the arrangement available for defence in Sri Lanka. There is a Ministry of Defence, there is a Minister in charge of Internal Security, there is a Ministry of Home Guards, and there is the Ministry of National Security.

In addition, there is a Security Council and a National Defence Fund.

Youth Units

We understand that there are moves to establish "youth mobilisation Units", the purpose of which is to mobilise the youths and school children.

The intelligent reader into these paratoid political gimmickry of this Government, gets the impression that Sri Lanka is getting prepared to fight a war. This can be dismissed as sheer political fantasy. But the institutional changes in the area of internal security are nothing but ready instruments for dictatorial rule in this country.

Such instruments, with the assistance of the experts of Tel Aviv, are certain to be used against the people who chose democratic methods to express their opposition to this regime.

Israeli advisers and Mossad's espionage experts have been

of democratic government in this country. One gets the impression that the Government is determined to depoliticise mass politics in the country, and this approach is seen. In the pronouncements of the Minister of National Security who speaks of the need for unity of the masses. In other words he is recommending de-politicisation of mass politics.

This process is likely to be accelerated under the advice and guidance of the Israeli "Interest Section" which, in course of times, would graduate into a diplomatic mission, with all the diplomatic paraphanelia.

All patriotic people and parties must condemn the recognition and the arrival of this "Interest Section" because it, in addition to the devaluation of our own national sovereignty, interferes with the image of Sri Lanka as a non-aligned nation.

Mrs. Bandaranaike is right in calling this unpatriotic act of the UNP Government as "a blatant attack on the national interests of Sri Lanka and its people."

Pilgrimage to Jaffna-2

Why did it all happen—this conflict, the burnings, the killings, the atrocities, the savagery? Have we passed the point of no return? Are the chauvinists and expatriates and powers (super and regional) the determiners of the fate of our country? Are there any ways to heal the wounds and build anew? The questions are agonising; yet, they need to be asked.

There are no 'innocent parties' in disputes such as these. Nor did the crisis come overnight. Colonialism invariably creates imbalances and inequalities, resentments and fears. That was true in Sri Lanka too, despite the enormous benefits bequeathed to us by our colonial masters. We failed to crush adequately the negative legacies of colonialism when we emerged as a nation state. 'Minorities' tended to hold tenaciously to the unfair privileges they had enjoyed. The confrontation 'Tamil politics' with a 50-50 cry grossly miscalculated the basis of sharing, if 'race' indeed was to be substituted for 'nation' in a changed situation in Sri

Lanka in which Sinhalese, Tamils as well as others had to fashion their common destiny. So, the 'Indian Tamils' became an early casualty.

Shortly after independence, there was promise that educational opportunities to overcome imbalances in neglected areas would be provided and social inequalities rectified. However, the developmental process got into a rut. The fruits of free education and the earnings from exports were not properly used to secure the social and economic development of the country in the long term and improve the condition of the under privileged and marginalised. The country's 'inherited' and newly acquired wealth in manpower was wasted. Vicious bureaucrats, political manipulators and social climbers killed the geese that could have laid the golden eggs for a truly free and prosperous Sri Lanka—teachers, scholars, academics, engineers, scientists, doctors and a host of nationals who could have contributed enormously to the common national good. They were mistreated and

alienated. Had this not happened, the aspirations of all for a fuller and contented life would probably have been realised. The seeds of conflict would not have grown to torment the rising generations. The assassins of the Establishment responsible for the destruction of manpower resources are seldom identified as contributors to the agony of Sri Lanka today. They planted the mines; the explosions are occurring now.

The pressures of life in-

as party rivalries and feuds eroded the peace and stability of societies, villages and even families. The gentle glow of the oil lamps gave way to the glare of jets and the dignified chanting and intonations in temples to the blare of loudspeakers, symbols of "modernisation" which vulgarised the sublime nature of an oriental culture. At street corners and in assorted buildings, statues of the compassionate One, devoid of art and beauty. The piety of

comparable to the dark ages of Christianity when princes and prelates sought position power and wealth, alien to the gospel of the suffering servant the Christ. In Sri Lanka, the foundation on which the Sinhala society was built had cracked; the building was collapsing. So, the holocaust came.

But surely, from the debris, a new order must rise again, a society permeated by tolerance and compassion, and moulded by a shared concern for all beings. The evils of racial bigotry, religious arrogance, social pride, class domination and political exploitation must be buried under the rubble.

The Tamils are not exempted from the labour of creating that new order, of building a truly just and righteous society in Sri Lanka.

by Dr. Nissanka Seneviratne

creased. As the hopes generated by free education, in particular, were dimmed, causes were sought for our ills, scape goats identified. Political parties of Sinhala governments installed in power since independence fought a home-and-home battle in the south with slogans. Soon, tolerance and compassion, the values instilled in a people by their Buddhist heritage and which had moulded the national character were under attack

religious observances in the privacy of mind and heart was overtaken by the superficiality of public performances relished by the media. Newspaper religion and loudspeaker religion were freely practiced. The tone and posture of the followers of the blessed One became increasingly aggressive. Buddhism was passing through a phase

The Acid Test of Democracy

The acid test of democracy lies not in the overwhelming of the majority but in the treatment of minorities. All Sri Lankans who aspire for a free and sovereign state should bear this in mind. Let us educate the downtrodden masses that, in future they will not be made tools in the hands of powerful forces.

All right-thinking people know that there are some facts which have not reached out to the Sinhala and Tamil masses. There are genuine grievances that the Tamil minority has, which have been aggravated by successive Governments in power. The Sinhala Only Act, which gives Sinhala its rightful place has humiliated the Tamil minority. Standardisation has been one of the causes for the frustration of the Tamil youth. Government-sponsored colonisation without any consideration for the Tamil masses cannot be justified. The racial riots of 1958, 1977, 1981 and 1983 have humiliated the Tamil minority to a state of despair.

Even now, every right-thinking citizen of this country knows that the Tamil masses have nothing against the Sinhala masses and vice versa. I do not mean all

those who go round talking about peace and harmony and democracy in beautiful phrases—because sincerity is always subject to proof. The masses on both sides are simply pawns in the hands of some politicians who make use of them for their own ends. But it is a very sad thing that the facts are hidden from the masses.

For example, when the Sinhala Only Bill was debated in Parliament, the Sinhala M. P.'s of the two

few to convey this to the Tamil masses fell on deaf ears. It got drowned in the sea of communalism.

In the same way, any attempt made by some Sinhala leaders, too fell on deaf ears. It also got drowned in the sea of communalism.

The two main parties which represented the Sinhala masses must take responsibility for this act—because they supported this bill. There is no doubt that some Sinhala leaders speak

by Kunamala

political parties which stood for parity of status had to risk their lives against a misled mob. But it is to be said to their credit that they stood by the courage of their conviction. Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, who summed up the debate on the Bill, made a last minute appeal. These were the very words. He said: "Do you want one language and two nations or two languages and one nation: Do you want an united Ceylon or two bleeding halves?" How prophetic these words were.

The bulk of the Tamil masses are ignorant of this. The attempt made by a

about how Sir P. Ramanathan crossed the war-infested seas to plead for their Sinhala brethren. But this is done more to deceive the Tamil minority down South with a view to getting their votes, than with a genuine feeling.

But there was a genuine attempt made by Mr. S.W.R. D. Bandaranaike and Mr. Dudley Senanayake to remedy the situation caused by this hasty piece of legislation though it was torn up by the extremists in both their parties. Though the B-C pact could not become a reality, there were very im-

portant promises which were honoured from 1956-1965 and from 1970-1977. There was no state-sponsored colonisation.

On the other hand, if the T.U.L.F. which represents the bulk of the Tamil masses in the North and East had supported some of the progressive pieces of legislation, they would have won the love and sympathy of the progressive Sinhala masses who, in turn, would have educated their brethren. But what happened was that the leaders of the parties who represent the Sinhala masses and the Tamil masses had only succeeded in alienating the people and hiding the truth from them. The result is what we see now.

Mr. M. Thiruchelvam, who was a member of the Federal party, when he was a Minister in the National Government of 1965-70 said in one of his speeches: "I still believe that parity of status in the policy of the L.S.S.P." and went on to

say, "As a member of the Federal Party I want to say this. Our Government has no intention to undo the official languages act at all. This is an assurance". It should be noted that it was after the Federal Party accepted the Sinhala Only Act that the party down South who stood for parity of status accepted it.

We must remember that if a multi-national state like ours has to live in harmony the only solution at the present juncture is Regional autonomy and not district development councils. The Sinhala masses should be educated that regional Autonomy is not separation. It may not be satisfactory for both parties at the start but time will prove, with examples of other countries, that our effort has not been in vain.

The clergy of whatever faith also has an important part to play in the present set-up by educating the masses on the correct lines.

Racist Nonsense

The Editor,
The New York Times.

In an otherwise excellent news article, 'Recent Fighting in Sri Lanka Dims Hope for Ethnic Peace' 22nd April you state: "The Sinhalese and Tamils are divided not only by religion, but by ethnic background: the Sinhalese are of Aryan stock, the Tamils are of darker-skinned Dravidian extraction." This racist nonsense is part of the current mythology of middle-class Sinhalese.

The Aryans were motley groups of ancient tribes, probably from the Central Asian steppes, that descended into the Iranian plateau and launched a series of migrations or invasions into Northwest India in the second millennium B. C. Most of the languages of North India, and the language of Sri Lanka, are Indo-European because they are offshoots of the languages of these early settlers.

However, even during the period of the Buddha, in the sixth century B. C., miscegenation had been complete, the term Aryan ceased to have any racial connotation. It was simply a descriptive term meaning "noble".

The racial connotations of "Aryan" were introduced in the late 19th century by Sri Lankan Sinhalese nationalists to differentiate themselves from the Tamils. They were aided by 19th century European Indologists, who spoke of the Aryan subjugation of dark-skinned peoples (the aboriginal Dravidians) - a hypothesis no longer acceptable to serious historians.

In reality, there is little difference in the ethnic backgrounds of the Sinhalese and the Tamils. The first colonisers of Sri Lanka were probably North Indians. But according to the chronicles of the Sinhalese, even the first king and his followers married women after the patterns of royal marriage and mass immigration were wholly from South India, initially from the Tamil country and later (since the 13th century) from Kerala.

As for dark skin, the father of King Dutugemunu, a great hero of the Sinhalese, was called "Kavan", or crow-coloured. There are a few Sinhalese nowadays with fair complexions, but this is probably due to miscegenation with successive waves of European conquerors from the early 16th century onward. Any Aryan complexion comes from the latter-day European descendants of the ancient Aryans.

Gananath Obeyesekere
Princeton,
New Jersey.

Note by Editor: We are privileged to reproduce this letter written by Dr. Gananath Obeyesekere to The New York Times. He is the Chairman of the Princeton University's Department of Anthropology.

CENTRES OF EXCELLENCE

The Editor,
Saturday Review.

I refer to the article on "centres of excellence" in Sri Lanka (in "The Institute" journal of the American Institute for Electrical and Electronic Engineers, of March 1984).

While I wish these centres well, I cannot see how they can fare as well as they should. Admissions to the three universities at which centres are planned are not based on merit and therefore militate against the very concept of excellence that they seek to promote.

The ruling majority, the Sinhalese, at times with grades of three Ds (scraping by passes) and a failure out of four subjects at the GCE Advanced Level Examination gain entry to these universities; at the same time, the minority Tamils (several of whom only last July and August, by the Government's own admission, were massacred by the Army and other Sinhalese hoodlums) with two As and two Bs are denied admission. Those few Tamils good enough to fare better are shoved into the badly neglected University of Jaffna.

I wish that the Government of Sri Lanka would promote real excellence and justice.

A member
Colombo.

LSSP LET DOWN

The Editor,
Saturday Review.

In his letter published in your paper Mr. T. Subramaniam of Colombo speaks of the failure of the LSSP to implement its language policy when it had a chance to do so.

In this context, I am provoked to request my Tamil brothers to think of our failure to act in the suitable and inspiring manner at the correct times. Had we done so, I am sure the LSSP would not have been driven to a position where it could not act in the manner it desired.

other institutions too, they were trounced.

At this juncture, what did we Tamils do? Why did we fail to do anything to inspire and strengthen the LSSP. Is it because the LSSP did not deserve any gratitude? Is it because we Tamils who belong to a race of long and exalted culture and morals did not possess the highest virtue of gratefulness then. Is it because the LSSP leaders are Sinhalese and they cannot be trusted! Is it because we are a race who are always wanted to be served and not to serve

LETTERS

In the period just after independence, the LSSP fought very hard for parity of status for both Sinhalese and Tamil and citizenship rights for all the people of Indian origin. It was at a time when the strongest Tamil political party, the Tamil Congress joined hands with the UNP, while its offshoot the Federal Party was trying to establish itself. In the struggle for our rights, the LSSP underwent severe hardships and even the party leaders were beaten severely in many places.

The party was branded as the "Kochchi Party" and its leaders were named "third grade Tamils". In the elections to local bodies and

and who always receive from others and do not offer anything in return.

On the other hand, had we returned a few of the LSSP candidates at the general elections in the North and East to show our gratitude and magnanimity, in return for their sacrifices and sufferings, surely the LSSP would have been in a better position to act and help the Tamils and, perhaps, we would not have been driven into this pathetic plight.

Let charity begin at home. Before blaming others for their failures, let us blame us for our own.

Selvam
Colombo 15

TAMIL BROADCASTS

The Editor,
Saturday Review.

I am able to hear Sinhala language broadcasts from the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation and I am also able to hear Tamil language broadcasts from London, the Philippines and Guam (U. S. territory). But it is completely impossible to hear Tamil language broadcasts made by the SLBC.

I would be grateful if your readers in Canada and the U. S. A. will be good enough to let me know whether they are able to hear Tamil language broadcasts made by the SLBC with details of frequencies, times of broadcasts, type of shortwave radio used, etc.

I am sending you this letter in quadruplicate to meet the demands of the Censors in Jaffna and Colombo re your Editorial SENSELESS CENSORSHIP which appeared on in the issue of 14th-21st April 1984. Have you ever thought of entering the name of the Saturday Review in the Guinness Book of World Records as "the most censored newspaper in the world?"

V. T. Saravanapavan
P. O. Box 1131 Alberta,,
Canada T1A 7H3.

KIDNAPPING

Editor,
Saturday Review.

When Sepala Ekanayake hijacked a plane and got ransom, he became a national hero.

But when the Allens got kidnapped and released, it became a national crime.

Let the readers assess the above.

Dr. S. Paramanathan
Ariyalai.

CHINA VISIT

The Editor,
Saturday Review.

Your article "Yankee Dickie's China Visit" in the issue of May 26th was both refreshing and interesting reading.

Panadura. V. K. Wijeratna

BANK OF CEYLON JINKS

Editor,
Saturday Review.

I read with great interest in one of your recent issues an article entitled "A Banker Par Excellent" by Mr. S. Supiramaniam of Jaffna. While agreeing with each and every point of your reader, as a staff member who has been in the Bank of Ceylon Central Office for the last 25 years, I recollect with pride the perfect administration that Mr. C. Loganathan maintained in the institution.

Today this same Bank has reached an incorrigibly and alarmingly low standard, contributed

mainly by political interference.

Perhaps, you will be shocked to hear that recently an officer who has not passed any examination higher than the Junior School Certificate was promoted to the grade of Assistant General Manager because of his political influence. His only eligibility was that he is a torch-bearer of a district minister in the UNP Government.

Our middle management is scared to do anything according to the rules and regulations as they will be indirectly penalised by the top

management for nothing but political pressure.

Indiscipline among all grades of staff and immorality, especially among executives who take advantage of their high positions for their sexual passions over their female staff who are compelled to yield for fear of victimization have become a routine thing in our state Bank that is fast heading for a total collapse in spite of the fact that the management is boasting of advancement and further developments.

A few years back, a World Bank official commented that the

Bank of Ceylon would go bankrupt unless some remedial measures were taken over its lending policies

In conclusion, believe me or not, if you give 10 percent to the management (10 percent of the face value of the facility) you can get almost any facility for any purpose, crossing formalities on the earth.

Hope you will publish this letter in full in the interest of the nation as a whole.

J. S. S. de Silva
Bank of Ceylon,
Central Office,
Colombo-1.
(More letters on page 8)

Sri Lanka's Economy in a mess

by Gamini Navaratne

We at the SATURDAY REVIEW have been repeatedly warning the public of Sri Lanka through our columns that our country is heading for economic disaster under the Jayewardene Government's economic policies dictated by the US-dominated World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

We have been doing this because we are sincerely convinced that the Western model of economic development is unsuited to Third World countries like Sri Lanka.

We have been laughed at by some people, a few of whom have even branded us as "commies", the appellation given by the great "defenders of democracy" to any persons or groups who dared to question the conventional wisdom of those who believed implicitly in the capital system of development.

Mr. Ronnie de Mel, once a good socialist - we suggest that readers should study the speech he made in Parliament attacking Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike's Budget for 1977 - was full of ebullience when he presented the UNP Government's first budget.

He was talking of people seeing stars when the Government's finished its development programme.

How true! Our people have begun to see stars in day time already!

For evidence, there is the speech made by Mr. de Mel himself at the Government Agent's Conference in Colombo this week. (two versions of which we have published alongside, one from the Daily News and the other from the Sun.)

Before concluding, we would like to quote a few excerpts from a book titled **THE WORLD BANK** - a critical analysis by Cheryl Payer (published by the Monthly Review Press, New York in 1982) which should convince any doubting Thomases how U. S. manipulates the world economy through the two international financial behemoths,

Cheryl Payer was the author of that penetrating and devastating book **The Debt Trap; The IMF and the Third World** (published in New York by the Monthly Review Press in 1975).

The **Economic and Political Weekly** of New York, in a commentary on Payer's second book, states;

"Payer's **The World Bank** seems to be by far the most outstanding work in the literature about the Bank. It provides the reader with a fascinating, if shocking, panorama of how modern capitalism oper-

ates in the Third World bound to be a milestone in the development literature.

Here are the excerpts;

"The World Bank is the foremost international development agency. Some call it the best, some call it the worst; but no one escapes its influence, it was the first bank of its type, founded in 1945, and is still the largest with an administrative budget of \$410 million in fiscal year 1981. It also moves more money, by far than any other development agency; in fiscal year 1981 its three components - the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association (IDA), and the International Finance Corporation (IFC) - made lending and investment commitments of more than \$13 billion dollars in seventy six countries....

Another important source of co-financing for World Bank projects is commercial banking and finance institutions. In fiscal year 1980, private sources provided \$18 billion co-financing for twenty-one Bank projects. The total amount co-financing from all lenders in fiscal year 1980 \$6.5 billion, or more than 50 per cent of the total extended by the World Bank group.

"This financial hegemony is combined with an attempt at intellectual hegemony, the co-optation of technical expertise from a number of specialised agencies of the United Nations. The World Bank and its sister agency, the IMF, are themselves nominally specialised organs of the UN, but their structure of control (weighted voting which ensures the predominance of the capital-exporting nations) is very different from that of the UN. In fact, the agreement of liaison which the Bank signed with the UN in 1947 has been described as 'more a declaration of independence from than co-operation with the UN. The Bank was fearful that association with the UN would subject it to political control or influence and hurt its credit rating on Wall Street and insisted on a number of special privileges which had the effect of keeping the

central UN bodies at arm's length....

"In summary, the World Bank is perhaps the most important instrument of the developed capitalist countries for prying state control of its Third World member countries out of the hands of nationalists and socialists who would regulate international capital's inroads, and turning that power to the service of international capital.

"There are at least four levels of which the influence of the World Bank will touch, for better or worse, the lives of the poor people in the countries to which it lends.

"The first level is that of the individual projects financed by its loans. Although the evidence in the following chapters may suggest otherwise, I by no means insist that poor people never gain any benefit from these projects. It is clear that the figures put out for public relations purposes about the number of poor people helped are fantastic calculation that bear little relationship to reality, but it would be equally foolish to maintain that all the projects supposedly designed to help poor people are actually malicious tricks to deceive them. Some poor people do benefit from some projects. But poverty is not abolished, and is not even alleviated, if only a few people step up a notch or two in the hierarchy of wealth. By the Bank's own admission the type of projects, it has designed so far cannot reach the very poorest people.

"The second level of influence is at the 'sector' level. When, for example, the Bank lends for a mining project, it demands changes in the legal and taxation code concerning mining investment. Similar procedures occur in the case of every loan and every sector. If no major changes are demanded, it is because the Bank finds the situation in that sector to be basically satisfactory. To the extent that greater advantage for foreign investment is incompatible with the alleviation of poverty and the satisfaction of human needs

(a possibility that is never entertained in the Bank's ideology), poverty in the sector, and society are likely to increase as a result of the Bank's intervention.

The third level is the overall thrust and direction of national policies. The Bank's influence on policy at this level is called "leverage" and has already been explored in previous works. Usually working in cooperation with the IMF and with the governments that control both these institutions, the Bank is able to force borrowing governments to abandon progressive policies in favour of harsh austerity programs. They are without exception disastrous for the poor people of the country which the Bank claims to be trying to help.

The fourth level is the most fundamental of all. It will be noted in the following chapters that many projects have proved to be detrimental to the interests of the poor for reasons which do not seem to be directly the fault of the World Bank, but are an inevitable consequence of the type of society in which the project is situated.

A very high proportion of these societies are inegalitarian, corrupt, and unjust, and it is almost impossible to run a progressive, beneficial, and at the same time successful project within such a society, however well-designed and well-intended it may be. Is this the responsibility of the Bank? Absolutely. If the Bank chooses to lend its support to the government of such a society by making loans to it - and a very high proportion of the Bank's largest borrowers

are notorious for extremely inequitable income distribution and/or violations of human rights - this is not an accident. It is a natural consequence of the Bank's preference for lending to governments that offer favourable conditions for foreign investment, and of its unwillingness to jeopardize the power of such governments by exerting pressure on behalf of the underprivileged it champions in the rhetoric.

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LISTEN to RONNIE DE MEL, PLEASE!

The Minister of Finance and Planning, Mr. Ronnie de Mel warned that the very high tea prices of recent months that had "temporarily masked" Sri Lanka's economic problems had now begun to decline and cautioned the people about being over optimistic about an upturn in the economy.

"I wish these prices could hold for a long time to come. But they have already come down. They have declined by 20 per cent from the high prices of January this year, in London, in Colombo and

other auction centres, there have been similar declines", he told the Government Agents' Conference, which opened in Colombo this week.

The Minister's "State of the economy" speech was clearly intended to jerk both policy-makers and implementors out of any sense of euphoria that the back of the economic problems had been broken.

He pointed out that over the last 20 years coffee and cocoa had maintained their real values practically unchan-

ged, while the real price of tea had declined almost continuously. In 1982, the real price of tea expressed in constant dollars, was only 40 per cent of the 1960 price.

"It is still too early to believe that this continuous slide in real tea prices has now been permanently reversed and that the present high tea prices will continue indefinitely," he warned.

Admitting that all politicians are gamblers one way or another, Mr. de Mel, who

said that a Minister of Finance who was a gambler would soon court disaster, told the Government Agents that the Government was now changing its strategy in some areas of the development efforts.

A major change of strategy was the decision to greatly emphasise the rehabilitation and maintenance of the country's capital assets like roads, irrigation systems, schools and hospital buildings, electricity, and water supply and telecommunication systems that had been neglected and were crying out for repair.

"In the next few years, we hope to make good this neglect. We will undertake new infrastructure projects only where such projects are absolutely essential, such as the rapidly growing need for electric power", he said.

The Minister, who remarked that one of the "saddest features in Sri Lanka's recent development story is the gradual decline of the plantations", also said that a lot of new money was being pumped into the estates.

Alongside this, Mr. de Mel, who said he did not believe that manufacturing industries could solve the country's employment and foreign exchange problems, drew attention to the re-casting of the tax structure to offer incentives for export industries and a few import substitution industries.

The economic climate of the world today did not favour an industrial take-off such as that of Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan, who were able to raise low interest capital to launch their industrialisation 20 years and more ago.

Mr. de Mel expressed the strong belief that Sri Lanka's hopes lay in areas like agriculture, animal husbandry and fisheries, which were not too capital-intensive and provided both export and import substitution opportunities.

In this area he made special mention of sugar, milk fish and minor exports.

"Is there any reason why the deep-sea fisheries catch of the Maldives should be fifteen times that of Sri Lanka?", he asked, to drive home the point that investment in fisheries had been "ludicrously small".

Some of the other points he made related to project approvals based on the "flimsiest data", fictional estimates and weak financial management that were a drag on the development effort.

"It is not only the financial management of projects which is weak. The entire project management cycle including, in particular, the proper scheduling and monitoring of project implementation, leaves much to be desired", he said.

(Based on a report published in the Daily News of 5th June).

The Sun also adds

The Minister of Finance and Planning Mr. Ronnie de Mel yesterday sounded a warning that the rate of inflation was now running at around 20 per cent and was in need of a sharp and quick reduction, if the country was to avoid an economic disaster.

It would be futile, Mr. de Mel said, for Sri Lanka to pin its hopes on foreign aid, as current economic trends indicated an unfavourable climate for foreign aid.

Addressing the annual conference of Government Agents at the Central Bank's Auditorium, the Minister disclosed that the country's foreign trade was completely out of balance.

In 1983, the value of Sri Lanka exports was only 55 per cent of that of imports, while the Government's total revenue was only 55 per cent of its total expenditure, Mr. de Mel said.

"These massive economic problems remain despite an economic growth of 6 per cent per annum over the past six years", he said.

"The solution to the crisis has to come from within as chances of further aid are slim. The whole world climate is turning against foreign aid. I doubt whether in the future we will receive foreign aid on the same scale as before". (Based on a Sun report of 5th June)

TABLE I.1

MAJOR SHAREHOLDERS OF IBRD, PERCENT OF VOTING POWER (30th JUNE 1981)

United States	20.84	China	3.47
United Kingdom	7.44	India	3.28
Germany, Fed. Republic.	5.06	Canada	3.22
France	5.05	Italy	2.94
Japan	5.04	Netherlands	2.25
percent held by top five.	43.43	Belgium	2.13
percent held by top twelve.	62.62	Australia	1.90

MAJOR BORROWERS FROM IBRD WITH PERCENT OF LOANS OUTSTANDING (30th JUNE 1981)

Brazil	9.73	Thailand	3.60
Mexico	7.92	Rumania	3.24
Indonesia	6.59	India	3.15
Korea	5.63	Nigeria	2.84
Turkey	5.11	Morocco	2.64
Colombia	5.02	Argentina	2.10
Philippines	4.90	Malaysia	2.10
Yugoslavia	4.65	Egypt	2.01
percent held by top eight.	49.55	Algeria	1.91
Percent held by top seventeen.	73.14		

MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS TO IDA (30th JUNE 1981)

	PERCENT OF CONTRIBUTIONS	PERCENT OF VOTING POWER
United States	30.56	21.35
United Kingdom	12.20	7.32
Japan	12.03	5.59
Germany	11.78	6.57
Canada	5.52	3.80
France	5.40	3.85
Sweden	3.64	2.59
Netherlands	2.95	1.95
Part I members.	95.86	63.53

MAJOR RECIPIENTS OF IDA CREDITS, PERCENTAGES (JUNE 30, 1981)

India	40.33	Indonesia	3.94
Bangladesh	7.41	Tanzania	2.63
Pakistan	5.93	Sudan	2.42
Egypt	4.01	Kenya	1.90
Total of top four	57.68	Total of top eight.	68.57

WHY INVITE ISRAEL?

The Editor,
Saturday Review.

It is my considered view, which I believe is shared by many, that the Muslim leadership wielding power, especially the Muslim Ministers in the UNP Government, are guilty of betraying not only the Muslims of the country and the Sri Lankan nation, but the whole world which stands for reason and justice by their callous disregard for the voice of humanity which calls forth all nations big and small not to have any dealings with the Government of Israel - a proven aggressor and an international terrorist.

Has the world forgotten their hand in the brutal murders in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila?

It is said that the government of Sri Lanka, vociferous though a tiny non-aligned state, is seeking the hand of Israel for the ostensible purpose of putting down 'terrorism' in the North. We the people of this country are ashamed of our leaders in the Government for resorting to such supine blasphemous acts, whose 'terrorism' in the North are they intending to control?

We are fast sliding into an abyss created by the present regime, which has been highly successful in destabilising politically and economically a country which was once quite sound.

Let us not be found guilty by our future generations, that we were sadly in want of moral strength to stand up to the inequitable actions of a government which would have relationship with even the devils (as said by Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali)

Dr. E. S. Mahendrarajah

King's Street,
Matale.

MOTHER LANKA

The Editor,
Saturday Review.

Most of the "internal problems", if left eternally unsolved, may prove to be infernal and it is a pity that petty prestiges prevent politicians rising from their positions to that of statesman.

"Ill fares the land, to hast'ning ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates
and men decay:

Princes and lords may flourish,
or may fade;
A breath can make them,
as a breath has made;

But a bold peasantry, their
country's pride,
When once destroy'd can
never be supplied".

The above lines from the 'Deserted Village' by Oliver Goldsmith comes to my

mind when I think of Mother Lanka.

With apologies to the great poet, may I add,

"Sweet smiling Sri Lanka,
loveliest of the lands,

Thy sports are fled, and
all thy charms withdrawn;

Amidst thy bowers the tyrant's
hand is seen,

And desolation saddens all
thy green,

My humble prayers to all the
mighty 'mightys' is to shed their
petty party prestiges and lead
the people to a prosperous
Sri Lanka.

May they not waste their
time, energy, and the Nations'
wealth in Fighting for peace.

Be it Dharma or be it
Democracy, let it be practised.

Ex-physicians may prescribe,
but the prescription is
not the one that cures our
ills.

OH, MY LANKA WITH
ALL THE FAULTS OF THY
CHILDREN,

I LOVE THEE STILL.

MAY YOUR CHILDREN
WHO LIVE IN THE AID
OF THE COUNTRY THAT
CRIES.

WITH LOVE TOWARDS
ALL AND MALICE TOWARDS
NONE" get up from the
slumber, and echo the very
words in Sri Lanka, in the
aid of the country they trod.

Son of the Soil.
Karaveddi.

POTHOLES

The Editor,
Saturday Review

Last week I went with a friend of mine and two of his friends from the South in my car to Pandatheruppu, about eight miles from Jaffna town.

On our way, I heard someone from the back seat say, "Machan, are you trying to climb a hill or something" at once I realised that the two people from the South were new to the place and were seeing the Jaffna type of potholes on the roads for the first time.

Before I could say anything, the other person seated behind said, "your roads are still better you must come and see the Colombo city roads and suburbs"

As a marketing man, I do a lot of travelling daily within and outside the Jaffna Peninsula. At times, when I think about the roads, I do not feel like working, because I know that every few days I will have to send my car to a garage for repairs and this will cost me money. Where am I to go for the money? Will the company pay? Certainly not!

I see very often my colleagues, neatly dressed, standing in front of garages, com-

plaining "Machan, suspension gone, shocks gone, spring blades gone, work held up because of these roads."

The Government is supposed to be very much developing the country. But the Minister of Highways does not seem to be much concerned about the condition of our roads.

The time we waste at garages and the money spent on repairs could be made use of for some worthwhile purpose. I hope the authorities concerned will take immediate action to remedy this situation.

A. Ariasesan

Jaffna:

NO SALVATION

Editor,
Saturday Review.

I was overwhelmed with joy to read your bold flash of the SUN's Damn Lie. And it is a pity that the "Incompetent" competent authorities have warned you.

But, let the world know that if not for the unscrupulous role played by the Sun and the other Colombo based newspapers, the July/August disturbances would not have developed or reached the peak. It was all aggravated by the unscrupulous

LETTERS

politicians who are in power in the UNP government today and who inflamed the violence by their provocative speeches during the very tense period of violence. Had they played a similar role as they did subsequent to the kidnapping of the American couple, the July/August violence would have never escalated.

This country and the people of this country have no salvation as long as there are unscrupulous politicians, whatever party they may belong to, in this miserable isle.

R. S. Kulasekera
Ratmalana.

INHUMAN ACT

The Editor,
Saturday Review

I wish to condemn unequivocally the abduction of Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Allen who were working on a project that is beneficial to the people.

Even if they had been up to subversive activities, they should have been forewarned.

They are foreigners who are guests in our soil. It is unethical, ungenerous and inhuman to subject them to such harsh treatment.

CMU to go on with 3-pronged campaign

The general meeting of members of the Ceylon Mercantile Union held in Colombo on 29th May resolved that the Union should pursue, by all means possible, the three matters in respect of which it staged a general strike on the 29th:

(1) Provision of work and pay by the employers and/or by the Government to the workers who have been displaced from employment and denied wages since their workplaces were destroyed or damaged by organised gangs in July 1983, and the restoration by the Government of the issue of food rations to such workers, once a fortnight, as was done from August 1983, but stopped in March 1984.

(2) Abolition of the rehabilitation levy of one per cent compulsorily deducted from the pay of all wage-earners and restoration of the amounts already deducted since January 1984.

(3) Defence of the fundamental right of freedom of association the workers of Blue Diamonds of Ltd., Seeduwa, and the holding of an inquiry immediately by the Commissioner of Labour into the actual circumstances in which the company locked out all the workers on 20th February 1984.

The meeting condemned the refusal by the police to allow a procession of CMU members, preceding this meeting, as requested by the union.

The meeting also resolved that "the Union should pursue the demand for the ending of the emergency and the restoration of human and democratic rights and civil liberties which are being suppressed under it throughout the country, while the Government extends the 'State of Emergency' from month to month, under false pretexts of dealing with 'terrorism' in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

Muslims Protest

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF Y.M.M.A.s of Sri Lanka has protested to the Government against its decision to allow an Israeli "Interest Section" in the U.S. Embassy in Sri Lanka.

In a letter to the Government, signed by the President of the National Council, Mr. O. M. M. Hussain, it has stated: "Our fear is that the Israelis are not going to stop at the original purpose for which they are called in, but may in the course of time create a lot of confusion and disturbance among various communities here, and particularly the Muslims may be very sensitive to the kind of problems which the Israelis might create.

"After all, past record of the Israelis has not been laudable in the international arena, particularly

with their blatant disregard for the views of Third World countries like ours and their treatment of the Palestinians is the biggest blotch in the history of mankind.

"Our interest is always towards the welfare and prosperity of our nation. In our view, our nation is not at all going to benefit by the slimy entry of the Israelis into our country.

"We hereby lodge our strong protest against the coming of the Israelis, on behalf of our organisation which is essentially non-political.

SUPPORT FOR S.R.

The United Workers' Union Tamil publication, WORKERS' NEWS, in its APRIL/MAY 1984 issue notes;

The SATURDAY REVIEW is being published again after a long interval. The only English weekly which is published in the Jaffna peninsula is subjected to stringent censorship, which is not applicable to other newspapers.

When the Sinhalese and English dailies are maintaining absolute silence regarding the repression in the North, the Government's attitude towards the SATURDAY REVIEW is understandable.

The censorship is to prevent the publication of the truth about events that are taking place in the North.

Trade unions should protest against the continued censorship imposed on the SATURDAY REVIEW.

The demand for ransom money and the laying of the conditions that it should be paid to the Government of Tamil Nadu are equally disgusting.

The Government and the people of Tamil Nadu, from the highest to the humblest, have been sympathetic to the claims of the Sri Lankan Tamils. We should not, while fighting for our cause, hurt those who have raised their voices on our behalf.

N. Sivagnanam
(Retired Principal)

Vaddukkoddai.

Frightened of pseudonyms

Pseudonyms are the latest bogey raised by those who fear an Independent press. Sometime ago it was reported that legislation would be introduced to prohibit the use of innuendo in newspapers. Now comes the news that the Press Council Law No. 5 of 1973 is to be suitably amended to stop the use of pseudonyms as well. There is obviously no limit to the phobias of those who dread a free press.

It is necessary to ask straight away what the rationale for this move is. The proposed legislation we are told will make it an offence for any proprietor, printer, publisher or editor of any newspaper to publish what have been called "anonymous articles or reports". The amendments further seek to ensure that any person submitting an article or report for publication shall sign such documents. The punishment for violat-

ing these proposed provisions will be a term of imprisonment not exceeding a year or a fine not exceeding Rs. 2,000 or both.

What is obvious from this is that those who seek to foist these ridiculous provisions on the country's press seem to feel that there is no difference between newspapers and those "kale pattara" which scurrilous scribes bring out to defame various persons. Are those who are contemplating this move seriously telling newspapers that every single column news item in a newspaper must bear the name of the writer? This is not a far fetched thought or an attempt to ridicule the proposed amendments because the implication of publishing anonymous articles or reports is that every such item must carry the writer's name.

If this provision is absurd the next is redundant. Do

the sponsors of these laws mean to say that newspapers are in the habit of carrying stories whose authorship they do not know? Even in cases where a reader wishes to withhold his name from a letter to the editor newspapers make it a point to insist that he should first disclose his name. If a name is not written at the bottom of a letter that is an anonymous letter and one need not say where it will end up.

The use of pseudonym pen names or non-de-plume has been a time-honoured and cherished journalistic tradition. Early newspapers both here as well as in England on which our own journalism was then modelled did not carry the names of writers. The great columnists of yesteryear whether it was Cassandra of England (Daily Mirror) or Fly-by-Night of Sri Lanka (Observer) did not flaunt

their names. The use of by-lines as they are called in journalistic jargon (the name of a reporter over a story) became standard practice in Sri Lanka's newspapers only in the 1960's.

The journalistic giants of an earlier era such as Hilaire Jansz, D. B. Dhana-pala, S. J. K. Crowther, J. L. C. Rodrigo, Fred de Silva etc: either wrote under pen names or never signed their articles which lampooned pilloried the establishment of the day.

Thus it would be seen that the use of pseudonym in newspapers is a practice of great antiquity and unimpeachable integrity. Why should a writer disclose his name if he or she does not wish to? Surely it is what is said rather than who says it which should matter? Today, of course, we live in an era where even staid newspapers in Fleet Street use half

column blocks of their columnists or regular correspondents over their articles. The journalist is as much a public man as a TV newscaster and these are the perils of living in an age ruled by the electronic image. But we in Sri Lanka still adhere to a more sober tradition of journalism. We are still old-fashioned enough to believe that our photographs should not appear in our own newspapers.

There is a further peril to which a journalist can be exposed if it is insisted that he should sign his articles and that is nothing short of physical danger. In an age which has seen rowdy demonstrations opposite the houses of respected Supreme Court Judges journalists championing unpopular causes will be made sacrificial victims to thugs and hired hooligans. Do the sponsors of these laws wish to indirectly stifle the free press by revealing the identity of journalists to the mob?

(The Island, 28th May)

APC TO SECOND CHAMBER

Addressing the last session of the All-Party Conference, President Jayewardene is reported to have made a statement appealing for a welcome shift of interest from solving the problems of politicians to solving the problems of the youth of North and the East. Whatever be Mr. A. Amirthalingam's reservations, the concern for devolution of power remains uppermost only in the minds of politicians. The people still look for the centre for solutions to the problems of education, employment, colonisation and language.

In fact, the youth of the entire country are anxious to see quick and just solution to these urgent problems. They have long watched with frustration the gamble and squabble for power attending the devolution of power at all levels ever since independence. The grievances of the youth of the North, which have crystallised in the early '80's, as well as the grievances of the youth of the South, which crystallised in the early '70's, await something more than military or political solutions.

Whatever be the TULF's claims to represent the thinking in the North, the youth who took so militancy in the Peninsula have been equally frustrated with the messiahism preached by misleading Northern politicians at the turn of this decade as were the youth of the South, by politicians who

led them up the garden path at the turn of the last decade.

NORTH-SOUTH BRIDGE

The bridge building evident today between militarism of both the North and the South is symbolic of common grievances that have led to an ideological rapport. While their ideological stance does not represent the entire youth of the country, their militancy should be a warning about the frustration of youth and the erosion of confidence in politicians.

The summoning of the All-Party Conference enhanced with a wider representation of the religious sector brought in a ray of hope in such a context. With renewed hope the nation began to view it as a supra political forum, reaching beyond petty divisiveness that had earlier begun to fatigue and frustrate them even with our style of democracy. In spite of the petty partisan outlook of some parties of both the North and the South, the APC still retains the confidence of the people.

The APC has today brought in representatives even of political parties that were shut out of the legislature after the 1977 elections. The widening of its composition with representatives of the country's religious and cultural life has helped the APC come closer to representing the totality of the

Sri Lankan nation. It has already animated a pan-religious conference. Similar supra political national groupings, particularly representative of the grassroots, could help formulate a healthy consensus.

In spite of the dark clouds overshadowing our future, this new emerging national forum could still be widened so as to help it grow into a truly national structure, representing a voice that often gets stifled in the melee of petty politics. Representatives of the world of learning cultures, Trade Unions and the professional groupings could help enrich it.

COUNCIL OF ELDERS

Such counsel of the country's leadership enjoying the confidence of the nation has within it the nucleus of a Council of Elders. It could grow into a novel type of ad hoc second chamber animating solutions to national issues like the ethnic crises and monitoring their implementation.

The suggestion made by the Minister of National Security Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali to set up a permanent national commission comes close to this possibility. However, mere political structures carry within them the germ of self-defeat thwarting effective functioning. Even the much looked forward to office of Ombudsman has not gone very far. We saw the politicisation

of the Public Service Commission under the 1948 Constitution. Hence only a supra political structure with constitutionally guaranteed status could win the people's confidence as an impartial forum.

UNLIKE SENATE

The Senate under the 1948 Constitution, too, became political creature. It was in no way consonant to our national ethos and ended up as the refuge of political bankrupts enjoying mere political patronage. Hence its elimination in 1971 was mourned by none.

Yet a deeper reflection on the need for constitution-making to reflect the totality of our society's character has often surfaced a deeper vacuum. Even after the landslide victory of 1977, President Jayewardene, as the then Prime Minister, regretted the absence of some erstwhile seasoned politicians in the National State Assembly.

A healthy interplay of all political thinking as well as the wisdom of our religious and cultural plurality and the people's movements would only help enrich our efforts with the enhanced resources of an integral vision of growth. — MINDA.

(From "The messenger" Sri Lanka's Catholic weekly 3rd June.)

Equal pay

The civil rights movement of Sri Lanka, in a press release states that it welcomes the recent move of the Government to equalise the wages for men and women workers in the plantation section.

"The principle of equal wages was accepted as Government policy some time ago. However, the latest Labour Gazette published for the last quarter of 1983 reveals that the wages fixed under several wages boards still discriminate women, with lower wages for against women at even unskilled levels.

"Among the wages boards that practice discrimination are those for the biscuits and confectionery manufacturing trade, cocoa, cardamom and pepper growing and manufacturing trade, match manufacturing trade, paddy hulling trade, rubber export trade, tea export trade and tobacco trade.

"Accepting that the Government's move to equalise wages in the plantation sector is based on a correct appreciation of the injustice and unconstitutionality of discriminating against women, CRM calls upon the Government to see that such discrimination is totally abolished and to issue instructions to its nominees on all wages boards to seek equalisation of remuneration to women and men".

NARROW NATIONALISM MUST HAVE NO PLACE IN SCHOOLS

Here are a few excerpts from Earl Russell's contribution to "WHAT LIFE HAS TAUGHT ME" (published in 1948 by Odhams Press Ltd., London.)

To anyone possessed of sympathy and psychological imagination, this sort of thing is infinitely painful. When a human being has been humiliated beyond a point, something of value in him has been irreparably destroyed. The Stoics maintained that a man could always avoid this damage by the exercise of his own will-power, but we now know that this is false. There is no one whose will cannot be broken by torture which is sufficiently severe and sufficiently prolonged, but apparently the ancients were less ingenious in these ways than the governmental fiends of our day. The knowledge of these dark facts saps most men's resistance at an early point, since they are aware that it will give way sooner or later.

Consider a German who was a Communist till 1933, then a Nazi till 1945, and now (in the Russian Zone) is again a Communist. What self-respect can such a man have retained? What crimes will he refuse to perform, and in what atrocities will he be unwilling to bear a part? And almost the whole

of the Continent of Europe is full of such men, many of them in positions of some authority.

Aristocratic pride was formerly regarded as a virtue, in part with justice, and in part not; it was a virtue in so far as it consisted in self-respect, but a vice when it involved contempt for inferior mortals. In Spanish peasants I have found the good element of pride without the bad; so I have in all classes in China.

But in Western urban communities, and among those who have submitted to dictatorships, whether of the German or the Russian variety, not only is the good kind of pride usually absent, but there is no willingness to admit that it is a virtue.

This is due, I think, to the diminution of economic, social, and political independence. It has been revived, to some degree, among Western wage-earners by the growth of trade unionism. But it is hardly to be expected where success depends upon currying favour with official superiors or where unguarded candour may lead to execution or the concentration camp. To preserve it should be one of the aims of a good social system. In economic and political relations, and above all in edu-

cation, self-respect should be carefully guarded, and humiliation avoided to the utmost extent that practical necessities permit.

The problem of combining the greatest practicable degree of respect for the individual with the indispensable controls required for public order, economic justice, and technical efficiency, is one of immense difficulty and consequences and a doubtful balancing of one set of ethical values against another.

In the province of education, respect for the child demands that instruction shall, as far as possible, be a matter of co-operation between teacher and pupil, not of discipline imposed by force without the child's inward assent. It demands also that the beliefs and precepts instilled into the child's mind shall be such as are genuinely believed to be for his good, and not merely such as are convenient to the powers that be and calculated to make him die quietly whenever a predatory government can further its end by having him killed. These considerations led me to believe in "progressive" education.

At the same time, I am compelled to acknowledge that many "progressive" educators, in their zeal for in-

dividualism, neglect things that are of great importance. We are not only individuals, but also members one of another; education should make a man not only an upstanding individual, but a useful member of society. This requires, on the one hand, adequate instruction, and on the other hand a social ethic. Everything possible should be done to make children enjoy learning, but learn they must, if they are to play their part in a civilized community. And in a world where organisation has created great forces—churches, political parties, industrial corporations, and above all armed States—a man who never thinks of himself as a unit in a group is impotent unless he is a great creative artist. It is necessary to find a cohesive force as powerful as patriotism inadequate. Education must take account of the need for collective sentiments, with the correlative concept of social duty.

We need, and should teach in schools, loyalty to something greater than our own nation. It is nationalism that has brought the world to its present terrifying condition, and that is making an acceptable solution of inter-

national problems so hard to find. The loyalty that is needed is loyalty to Man, and not to Man merely as a biological species, but as the sole embodiment, so far as our knowledge extends, of certain values.

Man is capable of creating and appreciating beautiful things, he is capable (within limits) of knowledge, he can experience love and admiration and ecstasy. It is true that he exemplifies also the opposites of these goods; the creation of hideous squalor, wilful ignorance, hatred and envy and anguish.

But in spite of all that is horrible and all the insistent incitements to despair, I retain the belief that Man is capable of developing his better potentialities and gradually lessening the intensity of his evil passions. It is this belief, not a narrow nationalism that should be taught in schools and made the basis of social obligation. It is this belief—so at least it seems to me—that alone supplies an antidote to despair that is rational and not based upon some comforting myth that invites men to abrogate the primary duty of a sober search for what is true.

Irish P. M. on the National question

The Irish Prime Minister Dr. Garret Fitzgerald, in a live phone-in programme on BBC world service and Radio 4 on 20th May 1984, gave answers to wide ranging questions posed by listeners around the world.

Dr. Fitzgerald reiterated the position taken by the recently published New Ireland Forum report that any steps taken to unify divided Ireland must have the full consent of the Protestant minority in the North, and that they must have their sensibilities respected and guaranteed to their satisfaction in any new constitutional arrangement.

The New Ireland Forum report the result of a year long deliberations by Ireland's four nationalist parties, including the SDLP in the North, laid down several open possibilities for a new constitutional arrangement. These included, besides a unitary state, federation, confederation and joint authority (exercised by the Republic and Britain).

Dr. Fitzgerald was firm in rejecting the view held by the Irish Republican Army and its sympathisers that the problem is simply a case of British colonial rule whose solution lay in pulling out British troops willy-nilly. He recognised that British public opinion would favour such a withdrawal, but that such an action will leave a dangerous power vacuum into which will spring the IRA on one hand and the Protestant Ultras on the other.

He went on to say that the reality was that the British could not abandon the Protestants, nor could the Republic abandon the nationalists. He respected the wish of the Protestants to be British and added that a settlement can make allowance for this.

One questioner asked, "If the French can get out of Algeria and the British out of India, why cannot the Unionists go back to Scotland?" In his reply, Dr. Fitzgerald

affirmed that the Unionists (Protestants) are Irish as much as anyone else, pointing out that they had been in Ireland longer than the majority of Americans had been in America.

Asked if a solution will stop the IRA murdering people in their beds, he replied, pointing out that the IRA is doing just even today with a heavy British military presence and that as things are the chasm between the two communities is growing dangerously. Thus, he said, there is an urgent need to get negotiations moving.

On being pressed about his own preferences for a solution, he said it is all open and anything is possible, adding jocularly, "It is not for me to start negotiations on the air".

Biographical note: Prime Minister Fitzgerald is the son of a London Catholic and a Protestant mother. (Based on a BBC world service feature)

The Media Scene

The following communication has been issued by the Centre for Communication and development, 137, Jawatte Road, Colombo - 5.

The reporting by the morning newspapers of 28th May of the crash in Batticaloa lagoon of a Sri Lanka Air Force helicopter reveals some significant differences between different sections of the Press in treating this kind of story.

None of the English-language newspapers led with the story. The Island and Daily Mirror both gave it double column headlines only; the Daily News and the Sun had four column headlines, but in the middle of the page.

In contrast, all the morning Sinhala and Tamil papers of the mainstream Press carried the story as their front-page lead.

However, the Sinhala and Tamil papers with one exception, headlined the story in a

factual manner. The exception was the Dinamina, which stood apart from the rest of the Sinhala Press in its mode of treatment of the item. It headed the story with two glaring red straps each one inch and a quarter in depth, across six columns, with white lettering against the red, asking: "Did the Air Force helicopter explode or was it exploded?"

It may not be unconnected that in that evening's TV news bulletin Rupavahini displayed, behind the announcer reading the item, an inset saying there had been no explosion before the crash.

The foisting of a particular interpretation of the incident on readers' minds without any factual basis, and the underlining of this interpretation by special display, raise serious questions of journalistic ethics — especially when it is a state-owned newspaper that is in question. We hardly need to emphasise that to speak of explosions when no explosion has been proved to have taken place can have explosive consequences in the troubled times we are living in.

SPORTS

By Victor S. Kiruparaj

Central Youngsters Show Their Colours

Jaffna Central's under 17 cricket team heads the table with three straight first innings wins in the under 17 Schools' Cricket Tournament conducted by the Jaffna School's Cricket Association.

A swashbuckling 119, which included 17 boundaries and one sixer in 120 minutes of play by K. Karunaraj saw Central amass 255, in reply to the Johnian first innings total of 164. The Johnians were restricted to this total by Central's spinner Terry Mahan Ganeshalingam, who claimed 6 for 49.

The main scores were: St. John's (1st Innings) 164 S. Mariyanayagam 32, Ganeshalingam 6 for 49, S. Nagathas 2 for 39, and K. Karunaraj 2 for 40.

Jaffna Central (1st Innings) 255. K. Karunaraj 119, K. Vivekanandan 43, S. Jeyakumar 25, A. Newton 28 not out, A. Vakeesan 3 for 57.

St. John's (2nd Innings) 27 for 1 T. Ragulan 25 not out, Ganeshalingam 1 for 19.

After dismissing Jaffna College for 135 in the first

innings, Central's Second XI hoisted 212 for 9 to score another first innings win.

The main scores were Jaffna College (1st Innings) 135. D. Shanker 36, S. Augustine 36, P. Ragan 22, S. Nagathas 5 for 28, Ganeshalingam 3 for 50, Umaharah 2 for 25.

Jaffna Central (1st Innings) 212 for 9. R. Rajasekar 44, S. Sutharhar 38, K. Jeyakumar 21, S. Newton 21, Vivekanandan 19, K. Karunaraj 18, Prabaharan 17, S. Shankar 2 for 53, Premaraj 2 for 33.

Jaffna College (2nd Innings) 14 for 2 wickets.

Jaffna Central scored yet another first innings win, this time over St. Patricks. After dismissing the Patricians for a lowly 64, Central registered 138.

The Patricians in the second essay were staggering at 79 for 9.

St. John's did well to score a first innings points win over Jaffna Hindu last week.

TO HELL WITH SWARAJ

— S. W. R. D.

These are the concluding remarks made by Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, as Prime Minister, in winding up the debate on the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Bill in Parliament on 5th August 1958:

'I am satisfied that extremism in the country consists of the activities of a small minority, whether they be Sinhalese or Tamil, but that the vast majority of the people are reasonable and moderate and only wish to live together with mutual respect for each other as well as self-respect, so that we can march forward together and achieve that progress and that position for us all which we have been hoping to obtain under this freedom which we have, free-

dom for Sinhalese- yes, remember, too, that it is freedom for the Tamils, for the Muslims, for the Malays, for the Burghers, who are all fellow citizens.

'Yes, and if it is not freedom in that way for all, I, too, repeat the words of another leader, a Prime Minister very

much greater than myself, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, who stated recently, after being many years in Jail and having suffered for many years to obtain freedom, that if freedom meant internal communal strife or injustice or suppression of minorities, 'to hell with Swaraj'

Campaign for defence of Tamil rights

The Tamil Rescue Appeal, of P.O. Box 208, London WC. 2 has issued a booklet on the events concerning the Tamils of Sri Lanka since July 1983.

It has been published with the assistance of the Tamil Information Centre, London.

The booklet starts off with a quotation from Aurobindo Ghose: "The despot is dazzled by the pomp and splendour of his own power, infatuated with the sense of his own irresistible strength. He is deceived also by his temporary triumph of his repressive measures. He thinks, 'The trouble is over, there is nothing more to fear. My rule will endure forever; God will not remember what I have done or take account of the blood that I have spilled.' And he does not know that the fiat has gone out against him. Thou fool, this night shall thy soul be required of thee; For to the powers that rule the world, one day is the same as fifty years... And so the old drama is staged again and acted till it reaches the old catastrophe."

MIRJE MOVE

Members of the Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE) at a meeting held at the GCSU Hall on 3rd June discussed the following resolution:

'A special conference of the members of MIRJE consider the proposal that the campaign for civil and democratic rights requires a special organisation such

as a National Council for Civil Liberties and that the changing conditions in the country make it difficult for MIRJE to perform both this task and its substantive task of combating racism at the grass roots level."

A fact-finding mission of MIRJE is due to visit Jaffna next week.

Religion & Nationalism in India

(Continued from last issue)

TWO NATIONS

But the results are material. The Muslim elite, predominantly North Indian, refused to make common cause with the Hindus in the struggle for independence; instead they sought accommodation with the British and they received it. While they could not and did not reject modern education and could not escape altogether the impact of the forces of modernisation on their lives, there was no intellectual framework within which the modernisation process would acquire legitimacy. This reality was covered by the two-nation theory, the demand for Pakistan and the "hate Hindu" campaign accompanied it.

The reality broke surface in Pakistan once it came into existence. By and large commentators have concentrated their attention on the rise of regional sentiments based on language and culture that

goes with it. This is understandable in view of the open assertion of language-based Bangla nationalism in the very first year of the birth of Pakistan and its final triumph in 1971. But it has left us unprepared for the helplessness of the Muslim elite to resist those who speak in the name of Islam.

Thus in 1971 when many of us in India were passionately supporting the cause of an independent Bangladesh, we had little difficulty in convincing ourselves that Bangladesh would be one predominantly Muslim country where nationalism would be genuinely secular. Subsequent events have put paid to this hope. The Buddhist tribals from Chittagong tracts have been squeezed out and forced to flee into India; and the Hindu minority is treated pretty badly. The struggle between language-based nationalism and Arabised Islam is not over but that such a struggle should be taking place is itself an indication of the weakness of nationalism.

It will be dishonest for anyone to claim that he or she anticipated the rise of a mullah in khaki as the ruler of Pakistan even in early 1977. It was, of course, an accident in the sense that but for Bhutto's decision to promote him out of turn Gen. Zia-ul-Haq would not have been the army chief of staff at the critical time in the summer of 1977. But the fact remains that there has been little resistance to his

if one was to be held. The PPP is, of course, not the party of the mullahs. But Bhutto himself was not able to resist the pressure of the bigoted mullahs; he yielded to them all along the line—in putting the Ahmediyas beyond the pale of Islam, closing down bars and night clubs and so on. So what guarantee can there be that Benazir Bhutto or some other PPP leader in office will be able to follow a

the Shariat and partly because General Zia has been cautious in enforcing these punishments. But all that apart, another point is more pertinent which is that the Pakistani intelligentsia is unable to oppose the General in the name of rationality and secularism.

Islam, of course, does not recognise a distinction between the sphere of religion and the domain of politics and economics. But this is theory. In reality the distinction has been a fact. There has seldom existed in history a Muslim state run by the mullahs. In historical terms the Islamic revolution in Iran is an aberration. But in terms of the trends in modern Islam, it is nothing of the kind. Revivalism is a powerful current in all Muslim countries.

I am aware that this is an incomplete formulation. But I am unable to go beyond it. For I am unable to assess the future course of events in India. So I have no choice but to stop here.

(Reproduced from World Focus, New Delhi, Nov-Dec, 1983 issue)

by GIRILAL JAIN

Editor

THE TIMES OF INDIA

programme of establishing Nizam-e-Mustafa (an Islamic order) among Pakistan's supposedly westernised military officer corps.

INTELLIGENTSIA

Many of us have made a great deal of the popularity of the Pakistan People's Party and the possibility that it would sweep the poll

secular-rational path in Pakistan?

Similarly, we have tended to emphasise the fact that much of the Pakistani middle class is opposed to General Zia's Nizam-e-Mustafa and makes fun of it in private. In reality their attitude is ambivalent, partly because they see virtue in harsh punishments prescribed by

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Direct Threat to Sri Lanka

"By allowing the American Embassy here to have an office to look after the interests of Israel the Government has brought about

a direct threat to our country's independence and our integrity is at stake. The entire people of this country should in one voice frustrate

this move of the Government".

This call was contained in a press release issued by Mr. K. A. Subramaniam, Secretary of the National Preparatory Committee of the Sri Lanka Communist Party (Left).

The statement further adds, "that the steps taken by this government would seriously affect our national independence and integrity that would bring national and international repercussions."

"By inviting international community's most hated, notorious Zionist Israeli terrorists into this country, this government has earned yet another bad name. No self respecting person of this country should accept this move.

Allowing the Israelis into this country under the American umbrella is a subtle move to drag our country into the power bloc. Sri Lanka Communist Party (Left) strongly condemns this move of the government and calls upon the entire people of this country to express their opposition in one voice and campaign vigorously to block this reactionary action of this government".

K.A. Subramaniam,
Secretary,
National Preparatory Committee,
Sri Lanka Communist Party.
(Left)

Alarm and Anger

Sections of the Muslim community have already expressed their anxiety, alarm and anger at the Government's decision to allow the Israelis to enter Sri Lanka through the backdoor, as it were.

Already, there have been demonstrations and protest rallies at Maradana (in Colombo) and a few other areas.

The Minister of Transport, Mr. M. H. Mohamed, who is also Minister of Muslim Affairs, has been quick to reassure the community that there has been no change in the Government's basic stand on the Palestine issue.

U.S. INDIANS MOST PROSPEROUS

WASHINGTON: Indians living in the U S are the best educated minority community and are perhaps also the most affluent. According to one estimate, their averages in education as also in median family incomes are higher than those of other minority groups like the Black Americans, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans and the Hispanics (Spanish - origin people). In fact, the Indians' average family incomes are

estimated to be even higher than those of White Americans.

There are close to half-a-million people of Indian origin in the U S, many of whom have assumed American citizenship. To distinguish themselves from the American Indians (formerly known as Red Indians), the people of Indian origin call themselves "Indian Americans" but the Americans refer to them as "Asian Americans".

Most of these "Indian Americans" possess high professional skills and have settled here as doctors, university teachers, attorneys, engineers, accountants. Some have started their own small businesses and scores of them, if not hundreds, have become millionaires. Some even own aircraft for their private use.

But as they excel in their jobs and skills, the Indians increasingly face some sort of racial discrimination and find it harder to get job promotions and opportuni-

ties adequate to their usually high qualifications.

Normally, the Indians could have fought this discrimination by seeking the protection of the Civil Rights Commission but the Asian minority groups, like the Chinese, Koreans and Indians, are not within the

Commission's jurisdiction, which only protects the rights of minorities like the Black Americans, the Hispanics and the immigrants from Latin America. Recently, the minority groups of European origin have also been added to this list, but not the Asians.

(From "The Times of India")

INSTANT SOLUTION?

The Prime Minister Mr. R. Premadasa said at a UNP rally at Moratuwa presided over by President Jayewardene, that Sri Lanka would be able to wipe out

'terrorism' in the North "within three months" if India told Northern terrorists to clear out from its soil.

The Prime Minister said the country had been compelled to spend vast sums of money to counter 'terrorism' due to the wrong attitude of a friendly country. Sri Lanka hoped to make representations before the United Nations about the injustice caused to it as a result of this.

Broomstick ...

(Continued from Page 1)

remain behind in the land of their birth, come what may.

"And what has come to many of them already? And what will come to many others in the coming months?

"Which mother would like to see her son pummelled as if he were a punching bag? If they stop at pummelling, it is a great blessing. But how many receive more than a mere pummelling? How many end up in Chemmany or some such place, unhonoured, unsung, unknown, often faceless? How long can we mothers bear this agony?" she asked.

No dates or places have been fixed for the demonstrations.

But from all indications, the plan is to induce 5,000 or more women to march the streets of Jaffna in groups, peacefully in Gandhian style, exhorting the Gods—for there is no one else in Sri Lanka now to whom they could appeal to—to save their sons.

For their personal safety, lest they be set upon by thugs from any quarter, the women will carry broomsticks, a time-honoured and very potent instrument in the hands of the fair sex.

Library re-opened

The rehabilitated building of the Jaffna Public Library was opened by Mr. A. Amirthalingam, former MP for Kankasanturai and Leader of the Opposition on 4th June.

Mr. Amirthalingam appealed to the Government to pay the balance Rs.8 million compensation as recommended by the Lionel Fernando Commission in 1982.

The Jaffna Municipal Commissioner, Mr. C. V. K. Sivagnanam, who presided over the function, thanked all persons within and outside the country for their donations towards the Library Fund.

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