

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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SUPREME COURT HOLDS AGAINST S. R.

A five judge bench of the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka on 14th June unanimously dismissed without costs two fundamental rights applications filed in respect of the sealing of the SATURDAY REVIEW on 1st July 1983 by the Jayewardene Government under emergency regulations,

The bench comprised Mr. Justice D. Wimalaratne (President), Mr. Justice Colin Thome, Mr. Justice Parinda Ranasinghe, Mr. Justice Abdul Cader, and Mr. Justice M. Rodrigo.

The first application (No 85 of 1983) was filed by Mr. K. Visuvalingam, Mr. M. Kanagarajanayagam, Mr. J. X. Philipupillai, Mr. V. Kanapathipillai, Mr. Gamin Navaratne, Mr. N. Kandasamy, Mr. Oscar P. L. Pereira and Mr. T. U. Cooray.

The second application (No. 6. of 1984) was filed by Mr. V. Kanapathipillai, Fr. Tissa Balasuriya and Mr. Manel Fonseka.

In both applications, filed under Article 126 of the Constitution, the Secretary to the Ministry of State, Mr. Douglas Liyanage, as Competent Authority under the Emergency Regulations relating to publications, the

CASE PUT OFF

The case against Fr. A. Singarayar and four others was Tenthday put off for 23rd July by the Colombo High Court Judge Mr. K. Vignarajah, to enable the Government authorities to consider the written memorandum submitted by attorney-at-law Mr. Mr. Bala Tampoe seeking the release of Fr. Singarayar.

The report headlined 'Democracy running riot' on Page 2 is a Times of India report from New Delhi.

Inspector General of Police and the Attorney-General were cited as first, second and third respondents, respectively.

In both applications, it was contended that the closure of the SATURDAY REVIEW published by New Era Publications Ltd, Jaffna, was a violation of the fundamental rights of freedom of speech and expression, including publication" set out in Article 14 (1) of the Constitution.

On 20th February the Supreme Court, by a two-to-one decision, granted leave to proceed in respect of the two applications.

The petitioners claimed, among other things, for a declaration that the Competent Authority's order was null and void, and for damages.

BACK AGAIN

Supporting the two applications, Mr. S. Nadesan Q.C. said the SATURDAY REVIEW had been allowed to re-start publication from February 1984 but under very stiff guidelines which, he said, did not apply to any other publication in Sri Lanka.

"This itself was discriminatory", he said, adding that the Secretary of State as Competent Authority, had not paid any consideration to the fact and

circumstances relating to the SATURDAY REVIEW but had merely copied the words of the Emergency Regulations mechanically without bringing his mind to bear upon the matter.

"SAME SONG DIFFERENT CHOIR"

Justice H. Rodrigo, in a separate judgement, stated "I have come to the same conclusion. The Saturday Review keeps knocking at the door of this court with each monthly renewal of the ban on the paper following each extension of the emergency. The song it sings is the same But the choir changes.

"The owning company and its shareholders had on different occasions petitioned unsuccessfully in this court against the ban. The present application is by some alleged readers of the paper.

Dismissing the application Justice Rodrigo stated: The petitioners have proved nothing beyond making a plea of differential treatment.

THE ORDER

Dismissing the two applications, Mr. Justice Wimalaratne, agreeing with Mr. Justice Colin Thome, Mr.

Justice Ranasinghe, said in his order that the petitioners had failed to discharge the burden, which was on them, to establish discrimination.

He said the petitioners' claim that their fundamental right to equality had been violated must also fail for the reason that the SATURDAY REVIEW was published in Jaffna where there was considerable disorder and a threat to national security, unlike in other parts of the country.

"The publication in Jaffna cannot, therefore, be said to be 'similarly circumscribed' as publications in other parts

of the country at the same time."

"For these reasons, the applications are dismissed but without costs."

Mr. Justice Rodrigo, in a separate judgment, came to the same conclusion. (An extract from his judgement is published alongside.

Mr. Nadesan. QC, with Mr. A. R. Surendra appeared for the petitioners.

The Deputy Solicitor-General, Mr. Sarath W. Silva with Mr. W. Y. Casie Chetty appeared for the respondents.

(A detailed report will appear in our next issue)

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All news and views appearing in the SATURDAY REVIEW have been subjected to censorship by the Government Agent of Jaffna, who is the Competent Authority appointed for this purpose by the Secretary to the Ministry of State, acting under Emergency regulations.

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."

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A MOMENT

"Master", asked his friend from the Philosopher, "Tell no more about the Elephant. You said it was a sacred animal". "Not quite", replied the Master. "He is Divine. He is a God. He is Ganesh. He is Pillayar, the Son of Siva and Parvati and the brother of Murugan".

Once Naradar caused a contest between the two brothers to test their intelligence. Which of them was to win the cross-universe race? Murugan mounted his peacock and actually rode round the Universe and returned to the starting point only to find Ganesh already at the winning point.

Accepting the wisdom of the sages, he went in salutation round his parents. To Ganesh, his parents were the Universe. They were everything. He did not journey even a distance of three feet. He was adjudged the winner and given the prize, defeating Murugan who actually journeyed around the Universe, covering

billions of miles in a record time which would have far surpassed all the records mentioned in the Guinness Book.

Murugan, like the standardised Jaffna boy, went into a self-imposed exile at Palany. He did not, however, become a "Terrorist". Ganesh is considered one of the wisest of divine beings. He knows all. He is all wise. He forgets nothing. The Elephant is divine.

"If it is for this reason that the presentation of an elephant to a politician forebodes evil, it will bring curses on the Giver and the Recipient, two excellent men defending Democracy and Human Dignity. Why can't they learn a lesson from the fate that befell Sirimavo and the calamity that overtook the Shah of Iran after the presentation of a baby elephant a few years ago?"

"There are many instances in Indian and Asian history where gifts of elephants have spelt disaster to both the giver and the receiver. Let the curses fall on the foreign hand that prompted this gift. There is a Quisling

in the Palace! Let the Lord of Kataragama save our blessed island", exclaimed Diogenes.

"Master, what is it that can save our country and our people. Who can save us?" asked his friend.

"No mortal should fancy himself as the saviour. No man should think that even the Devils can save us. Truth, absolute Truth, Sincerity, absolute Sincerity, Honesty, absolute Honesty, Good, absolute Good—can save the country and our people. Only the Divine can save us. The Dhamma can save us".

"Why then, did our President say, he would even avail himself of the assistance of the Devil to save us?"

"Surely, he could not have meant Reagan. He could not have insulted his good friend and the twin-lover of Democracy. It is most unlikely that heart of hearts he would have considered him a Satanic force.

Our President, schooled in the dhamma, a follower of Mahatma Gandhi as he says, surely will not depend

on Satan to save us. At the most, he was joking but, unlike Nero, he does not know that Sri Lanka is burning. The Elephant must be allowed to remain where he belongs in the company of his parents. He must not be left behind in the United States where one-third of the young children between the age of 12 and 17 are drug addicts. He is not a Charles Doll".

"What do you, then, think we should give Regan?"

"A Book on the Dhamma to Ronald and a Blue Sapphire to Nancy. What on earth does Ronald need an elephant for and that, too, a baby elephant? He would have preferred a horse. Why should a Sri Lanka elephant and an infant at that, be allowed to languish in the backyard of White House?"

"I can see the heavens crashing. I can hear the owls hooting. I can hear the howling of wolves and the whining of dogs. God save our President and Reagan from the Devils.

"On the other hand, we must never forget that old saying 'We fear the Devils even when they bring us gifts'."

Words of Wisdom

"A man sustained by an ideal does not give up easily."

— Ira Morris

"There is however a limit at which forbearance ceases to be a virtue."

— Edmund Burke

"Discontent is the spur of progress."

— Mahabharata

"No tree bears fruit for its own use. Everything in Gods will give itself".

— Martin Luther

"You must rise or you must fall, You must rule and win or serve and lose, You must suffer or triumph, You must be anvil or hammer."

— Goethe

(Collected by Jupiter)

Democracy running riot, says Beg

The minorities commission is in favour of fundamental changes in the political set-up in order to usher in a just social order in which the minorities' rights will be ensured.

Mr. Justice H. M. Beg, chairman of the commission, told a press conference that under the system of democracy existing in India it was easy to "exploit" religious sentiments and create communal disharmony.

That he thought was at the root of the present troubles in the country. The minorities today felt more alienated than at any time before. That was the reason for the frequent communal clashes.

Mr. Justice Beg thought that there should be a fundamental change in the present system of government because he felt "democracy is running riot in the country".

He did not clearly spell out the alternative he had in mind. While disapproving of the existing system of democracy in the country he also did not favour the American system.

For India, he wanted a "disciplined democracy"—a democracy in which the rules would be strictly enforced. It should be based on a new system of ethics which would adopt the best in all religions.

He conceded that the present plight of the minorities in the country arises partly from their attitudes. In recent times, there had been the department of a new kind of fundamentalism. "There has been a recrudescence of religious bigotry, and this is not a good thing".

Partly, this was a consequence of the type of education the minorities were receiving. The minorities commission was trying to find out what was being taught for example in the "Madrasa" schools. The secretary of the commission had been deputed to make a study.

Mr. Justice Beg, who is a former Chief Justice of India, said that the existing laws were quite adequate to bring to book all those out to create communal disharmony. Section 153A of the

Cr. P.C. and other following sections should be strictly applied.

Mr. Justice Beg said it was wrong to say that the commission was not in favour of direct negotiations between the agitators and the Government for finding solutions to the Punjab and Assam problems.

In fact, the commission had deputed a member to help the Government in negotiations with the Akalis he said.

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President warns press

The All Party Conference consensus issues, which are to be placed before Parliament and submitted for a referendum, will be responsibility of the President and the Cabinet under a resolution adopted at the Executive Committee meeting of the United National Party in Colombo on 10th June.

The committee meeting, attended by over 100 branch delegates islandwide and all UNP members of Parliament was however urged, by the Deputy Home Minister Mr. Percy Samaraweera to simultaneously seek the opinion of Government MPs at district level on such issues before they are submitted to Parliament or to a referendum.

In a reference to the resolution at this meeting President Jayewardene stressed that "...It is the state, the Cabinet which decides the vital questions and solutions in relations to threats to law and peace and the integrity of the country."

In relation to these factors, irresponsible elements had made efforts to build up the question of Israeli assistance to wipe out terrorism yet another political problem. This had led to demonstrations, necessitating a clamp-down by the services, he said.

He reiterated that the availing of Israeli expertise to wipe out terrorism did not mean that the Government had in any way deviated from its foreign policy, particularly in relation to the Arab world.

"We thought we should have their help to fight terrorism. We shall not change this decision nor shall we change our Arab policy. In fact we have invited Arafat to visit us. I hope he will come here now. We will certainly give him all the protection needed".

President Jayewardene also added a note of caution to sections of the press in connection with this issue and the national security problem.

Instead of the Political Causerie column, we reproduce today, without comment, the proceedings at the United National Party Executive Meeting held on 10th June, as published in the Sun the next day.

"We have appealed to the press for responsibility. People are easily agitated" The racial conflicts could easily erupt through such agitation. We intend preventing all such problems."

"If the press cannot act with responsibility, we will close down such papers" he warned.

The country, he added, could do very well without such a Press.

President Jayewardene also cautioned Government members to exercise discretion in their statements. If their statements ran counter to Government policy and opinion and if they wished to persist in this manner, they should either resign or they would be expelled, the President said.

Although the S.L.F.P. claimed that they could wipe out

terrorism within a week, he said he had been informed that the insurgency in 1971 had been such that Mrs. Bandaranaike even had to leave Rosmead Place packing her clothes in a box and hurriedly seek refuge at 'Temple Trees.' Terrorism was not an easy problem to solve. Not a single country was helping to solve this problem. "We cannot do it alone. So we asked the Israelis who are ready to help us" he added. It was to

Maha Sangha, he said. But the aims of the opposition parties had become clear in that they had the sole objective of exploiting this national problem of ours for self-centred political advantage, he charged. Meanwhile it was also becoming evident that Tamil youth were making it heard loud and clear that they wanted nothing to do with the terrorists.

"We are committed to a resolution of these problems

"The last seven years had witnessed the greatest revival of irrigated agriculture in the country." The Minister further pointed out that nearly all the major projects handled by this ministry were proceeding on schedule and that the Mahaveli hydro-projects when completed would be more than double the present hydro capacity of our country.

The Mahaveli Lunugamvehera, Nilwala, Ingimetiya, Muttukandiya and other large and small development projects would see the elimination of the food problem in our country and the easy availability of energy and power to provide rural electrification and industrial development.

The Minister pointed out that the object of this ex-co meeting was to enable the Ministers and the leaders of the government.

He said that many references had been made to the problems of terrorism. He said that there were some which could be solved in a short time and some which could not.

The Minister appealed to the Central Government of India Mrs. Indira Gandhi in particular, to use their good offices and dissuade the Tamil Nadu government from encouraging terrorist activities against Sri Lanka using Tamil Nadu as a base.

He said that the people in Sri Lanka must learn to live with each other in peace. It was the responsibility of the Government to protect the Tamils, all the plantation workers and others who live in our country. "Our Government will not run away from this responsibility."

"Terrorism in the long run will never succeed. We must try to eradicate the genuine causes of mistrust and heart-burning. There are some problems which may not be solved during our lifetime.

The greatest challenge facing the government is to prepare our country and our people to take full advantage of the major scientific and technological advances made all over the world and apply them in industry and agriculture and education.

Lalith on Terrorism

National Security Minister Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali charged opposition parties of "prevarication and placing impediments in the way of the All Party Conference and the efforts to find a solution to the country's current problem.

"I hold the firm belief that the terrorists as well as the opposition parties harbour the common aim of ensuring the failure of the conference" he said.

"We often have doubts whether some people are in the APC or whether they are out of it" he said. The only consistent support this search for a peaceful solution has received has been from the

through negotiation, but if we are given no other option we shall then accept the option of force. He denounced the contention of the British Parliamentary delegation, which called for a low services profile in the North. This would only result in a high profile of terrorism there, he said. The resolution made at the meeting was a reiteration of the UNP Government's belief that negotiation was the best formula for evolving a resolution to the ethnic problem, he added.

Minister of Mahaveli Development Mr. Gamini Dissanayake reported to the exco the progress on the development frontier and pointed out that from the time of Mr. D.S. Senanayake his Ministry's main task had been the upliftment of the rural peasantry.

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SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE TAMIL FREEDOM MOVEMENT

It would appear that the Tamil freedom movement in Sri Lanka is destined to pass through a number of phases in the future as indeed it has passed through quite a few of them in the past. The early phase of mendicant politics gave way to the era of verbal pyrotechnics of G. G. Ponnambalam who nevertheless helped to galvanise the "Tamil consciousness" as opposed to the evolution of a "Ceylonese consciousness". Under the Federal Party, Tamil politics assumed a mass character albeit with limitations. The party organised satyagraha and non-violent campaigns in pursuance of its goals. But these were never sustained and did not make much headway partly because of its isolationist politics within the overall Sri Lankan context. Yet, the passive resistance organised by the Party enabled the Tamils to hold their ground without bloodshed and loss of life, not withstanding disenfranchisement, Sinhala only, discrimination and repression unleashed by successive Sri Lankan governments.

The TULF made its entrance with the separatist bang but was soon eclipsed by the emergence of militant youth groups resorting to acts of violence. It is important to bear in mind that the entry of violence into Tamil politics was caused not at all by any consideration of its suitability or its superiority (vis-a-vis non-violence) as a form of struggle but only and only by the violent repression inflicted on the Tamils by the State security forces. The arrest and torture (for the first time) of several Tamil young men and young woman who were involved in civil disobedience campaigns in the early nineteen seventies, in the wake of the introduction of standardisation (1970) and the adoption of the First Republican Constitution (1972), provoked the first bouts of violence either by those who had suffered torture or on their behalf and directed primarily against those who had administered the torture and those who were considered to be informers to the security forces.

But what have been the consequences of the recent and the current phase of violence in the development of the Tamil freedom movement? For some time we like many others have been confused. No path seemed clear. No leader seemed to lead. Moral prerogatives too seemed

difficult to define. We intend here to reflect on our past experience and state, what will seem to many, the unorthodox case to provoke some thought. We trust we are still a democratic society and can talk about such things without rancour.

One can hardly deny that our situation on the ground has deteriorated considerably since 1977. We were then talking of defending the Tamil homeland against state colonisation. Today we know little of what is going on in many parts of our homeland. Even life in Jaffna has become a struggle against sudden death. Cessation of civilised existence looms at the threshold. Much of this may have eventually come about through government action alone. But we must look squarely at that portion of it, if any, which has resulted from our action or inaction. The fate of our youth is tragic though many of them put a brave, even heroic, face on it. Instead of doing what comes naturally - raising a family in settled circumstances and contributing to the common weal - they are fugitives; many of them having left the country out of fear, to resist oppression, or to earn a living. And our girls, pining for the young men who will not come, are, many of them, living on postal orders, or, are also leaving the shores as cut-rate domestic.

We shall not launch on the desultory course of blaming anyone. We have all been to some extent carried away by the emotions of the times. No Tamil was unaffected during the best moments of the TULF and the FP or by the courage of the militant youth.

But we feel that our violence, however, inevitable and justified, has been counter productive in the present cycle of violence, each time the state acts tens of civilians are murdered, civilised life becomes more difficult and leads to the kind of exodus that has critically demoralised people in some parts of the Tamil homeland. Our moral sensibilities take a beating - something that seems to affect expatriates more than people on the land. We have seen a picture of two policemen slumped at the back of a van being displayed as a victory against the oppressor. The tendency to excuse such actions is distasteful considering that the policemen were only performing

a legitimate function in protecting public money. The plight of Tamil policemen most of whom do not mean ill towards their people requires special sympathy. For them, unlike their Sinhalese counterparts; a transfer south will mean hardships of a different kind. Caught between the frying-pan and the fire when one is killed we are told that he was a spy and people readily pass it off with a shrug.

Our violence gave the state the excuse to crack-down on the activities of the TRRO and the Gandhiyam - two non-violent organisations on which we relished much hope for the upliftment of our refugees affected by racial violence. Violence was even visited on these refugees by the state. Our violence though small and retaliatory will be held partly to blame. If the present cycle of events continue, international sympathy will desert the Tamils. And the world will dismiss both the Tamils and the Sinhalese as implacable haters like Iran and Iraq which bore mankind.

One further cause for optimism is that unlike in the 50's the problem has attracted far more broad based Sinhalese concern including a large section of the intellectuals and nearly the entire left, all of whom agree that there must be a solution on the basis of regional autonomy.

If we fail to learn from history, we will pay a heavy price. Victory is not of necessity on the side of those who take up arms in the cause of justice. The Red men of America were brought to the present state of despair in part because they took up arms against White men who were technologically superior and had large and expanding resources of manpower. The Armenians in the Ottoman empire suffered genocide at the hands of Turks in which over a million died. Ironically the Ottoman empire was moribund and had only a few more years before its demise.

We cannot also be oblivious to the more recent experience of Ibos in Biafra

on the racial avalanche which they had willingly unleashed. The almost universal sympathy and concern aroused not because Tamils are a special people in this world, not because they are a special minority group in this world, but because the world was able to see that the Tamils were not waging war against the state, that they were not taking arms even in self-defence, but that they were the clear victims of well-organised violence. They were not engaged in a civil war with the Sinhalese nor were they party to Sinhala-Tamil rioting, but, the Tamils were at the receiving end of an anti-Tamil program a qualification which the Ibos of Nigeria could not have claimed or which the present day Palestinians or any other minority group indulging in violence could lay claim to.

Both Sinhalese and Tamils are heirs to the great Indian civilisation which produced sages such as the Buddha, Valluvar, Mahavira and Gandhi. The Mauryan empire under Asoka, the Gupta empire under Samudragupta and Vikramaditya and the Mogul empire under Akbar produced feats of moral and political genius. Surely we have the seeds of wisdom to solve amicably what was once a language problem and that of citizenship of upcountry Tamils.

by

R. and R.
Singapore

Mr. M. G. Ramachandran has in effect said this in relation to the recent kidnapping of the American couple. Mr. Venkat Narayan, a concerned observer of long standing, says explicitly for the first time, "... at least 75 lives were lost in the northern districts of Sri Lanka in violence caused by the Sinhalese armed forces and the Tamil extremists". (India Today 15 May 1984)

Then what are we to do? Sit it out? Perhaps. When this was suggested by Bishop Lakshman Wickremasinghe, it struck nearly everyone as absurd. Perhaps our capacity to suffer will win the day. On the bright side, the UNP government is too unpopular in the south to last forever. It is very likely that a new government coming in, will without delay set out to exorcise the odious legacy of its predecessor, just as the new President Alfonsín of Argentina did. The state of the economy demands it. Besides it is far more urgent for a government in Colombo to repair its relations with India than it was for Argentina to mend its with Chile and Britain. This will certainly mean an acceptable settlement to the Tamil problem.

who were crushed by the conquering armies of the Nigerian government while the international community stood largely unconcerned save for the prayers of Paul VI and mild protests from French Catholics. The Palestinians suffered such large scale expropriation and misery in part because Israeli propaganda successfully used their weak resistance to portray them as oppressors and, despite massacres of Palestinians such as at Dir Yasin, themselves as the oppressed.

We stress again that we must avoid acts of violence which will be suicidal for us and will cost us international sympathy. What saved the Tamils from total genocide during the dark days of July 1983 and ever since was not the fire power of the liberation movements. What came to their rescue was the expression of concern and sympathy for the Tamils and of anger of hostility towards the government in Colombo - an expression which was widespread all over India and in the Western world, so much so that the myopic UNP leaders were soon taken aback and hurriedly applied the brakes

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Sri Lanka violence

LETTERS

The Editor,
Saturday Review.

I refer to the letter "what is terrorism" of Mr. A. Anandeeswaran.

It is common knowledge that there is widespread sympathy and admiration for the militant Tamil youths who have taken to arms in pursuit of their professed goal of 'liberating' the Tamils in Sri Lanka. What is not generally known outside Sri Lanka that such sympathy and admiration are shared by considerable sections among the Sinhalese as well.

This understandable. Given the present situation in Sri Lanka where the people are under the yoke of a Government which for all its pretensions to democracy is, in the first place illegitimate (save for the dubious legitimacy it secured at the undemocratically imposed and violently rigged referendum of December, 1982) and secondly secures its survival through reliance on state terrorism, political thuggery, and all manner of victimisation, harassment and intimidation directed at the Tamils and the Sinhalese who are opposed to the Government. The state of affairs in the island is best illustrated by the continuing executive harassment and parliamentary intimidation of no less a person than the country's Chief Justice himself.

In so far as the declared aim of the militant Tamil youths is the 'liberation' of their compatriots, it is time that those concerned took note of how and to what extent the actions of the militants have been successful. It is ten years since they embarked on the liberation struggle, and how nearer are they to their cherished goal? Within the short span of four or five years the Tamil cause had been sanctified by several martyrs. Can it now be said that the day is not far off when such martyrs will be canonised as the "hallowed and universally respected founding fathers of a sovereign and independent Tamil Eelam"? — as speculated by Mr. Anandeeswaran.

The militant groups have often made the charge that (30 years of) parliamentary politics of the Tamil bourgeoisie (sic) leadership has proved itself barren. One is constrained to say — and this is not intended as a cynical rejoinder — that if (ten years of) political violence conducted by the militants had not been found to be barren. It is only because of its counter productive results and the frightening prospect of a large scale decimation of an utterly defenceless Tamil population in

the island. Can a responsible leadership pursue its programme of action in the hope that in the event of mass killings, the Tamils will be saved from total annihilation by some benign neighbourly intervention?

It is not the intention here to argue that the present alarming situation has necessarily been the result of eschewing the non-violent path of struggle. The point that is sought to be made is that individual terrorism (the stock in trade of Tamil militants to date, with all due respect to the violence of the oppressed) is by no means an acknowledged form of struggle for a liberation movement whose leadership rejects the non-violent path of struggle. It is at this stage that the letter of Mr. Anandeeswaran becomes relevant. The relevance lies in his reference to Lenin as "today's terrorist turned tomorrow hero" and the fact that almost all the Tamil militants claim to follow Lenin.

Lenin was by no means a terrorist. He was not a supporter of terrorism. He was a relentless opponent of the use of individual terrorism as a political weapon. He condemned and exposed the futility of individual terrorism which characterised the anti-Tsarist movements in 19th century Russia. At the same time Lenin was no apostle of non-violence. He did not preach or practise non-violence. It is well known that insurrection and civil war were the highest points of the October revolution in Russia to which Lenin gave successful leadership. In doing so Lenin was adopting the means that suited the ethos of the Russian nationalities in the context of their struggle against Tsarist dictatorship.

At the other end of the spectrum of liberation leaders stands Mahatma Gandhi. He was the apostle of non-violence. He preached and practised non-violence. It was he and the Indian National Congress who led India to the gates of freedom, and not the daring deeds of Bhagat Singh and his associates, no matter to what extent such deeds were admired then and are remembered now. Mahatma Gandhi never shirked his responsibility nor abdicated the leadership of the struggle for independence to those who resorted to violence. The forms of struggle which Mahatma Gandhi adopted were appropriate to the ethos of the Indian people in their struggle against British imperialism. The parliamentarist (sic) Tamil United Liberation Front of Sri Lanka

has always claimed it follows the path of non-violence blazed by Mahatma Gandhi.

But one looks in vain for an effective leadership of the Tamil freedom movement in Sri Lanka either along the lines of Lenin or along the path shown by Gandhi. As David Selbourne aptly remarks in an interview he gave in London the Tamil 'leaderships' are characterised either by "sheer lack of skill and sense of direction" or by an obsession with the wholly negative approach of "hit-and-run attacks on soldiers and policemen"—and of late kidnapping.

N. Sivapalan

Singapore.

(Reproduced from the Hindu, Madras, of 2nd June)

'WHERE IS COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY?'

The Editor,
Saturday Review.

The recent outburst of the Prime Minister, challenging India to invade Sri Lanka, I am constrained to say, with the utmost respect to him, savours of marketplace outpourings.

Looking back nostalgically to the long line of distinguished men who have occupied the position of Prime Minister, from Mr. D. S. Senanayake to Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike and even Sir John, except for his occasional display of political buffoonery none have descended to such levels as to indulge in futile vituperations against a friendly neighbouring country.

Should India, if she is bent on invading Sri Lanka, resort to any "hide and seek" tactic as a prelude to such invasion? If India had even the slightest intention of invading Sri Lanka, it could have done so in 1978 and in July 1983, when thousands of people of Indian origin were subjected to torture and humiliation, although they never gave their support to an "Eelam State".

If the United States, the bastion of democracy, could have marched into Grenada, to protect a meagre one-thousand Americans, certainly India would have been justified before the bar of international public opinion if it had invaded Sri Lanka to protect the interests of thousands of Indians and could have created a Cyprus-like situation here.

On the other hand, the Minister of Internal Security, supposed to be a more responsible member of the Cabinet, is reported to have opposed any conspiratorial and irresponsible utterance

that might provoke India. The people are in a quandary as to which of these two ministers are to be believed.

Is there no such thing called the collective responsibility of cabinet in Sri Lanka "the Five Star Democracy"? Or is it a case of collusive manoeuvre to dangle the largest number of carrots before the largest number of donkeys?

Democracy is not the freedom of the wild ass. It does not furnish every Minister with the licence to utter at random whatever that emanates from the innermost heart, however contradictory these may be.

Democracy, as has been rightly reiterated by the President, time and again, is a form of Government that places much reliance on negotiations and talking over things and definitely not in the show of thuggery.

Mr. Ananda Tissa de Alwis, in an attempt to sweep everything under the carpet, dismisses the entire episode as differences in "shades of opinions". Whatever opinion a Minister holds is a matter for himself and nobody is bothered about it. But when he expresses them in public, he is bound to observe the democratic convention of the collective responsibility of the cabinet. If what is expressed by a member of the cabinet is contrary to the accepted policy of the cabinet, he can no longer remain in the cabinet. The only honourable alternative is to resign his portfolio.

Will the Prime Minister, who is only a "primus inter pares" and who exhibits so much intensive and aggressive patriotic emotions, quit the Cabinet if he has knowingly or unknowingly acted against the policy of the cabinet? Or, as the Leader of the Opposition said, will he fly to a foreign country in case of an Indian invasion, as the TULF leaders did during the black July?

V. Mahalingam

Nelliady,
Karaveddy.

OH, LORD!

Editor,
Saturday Review.

I am one of those who, with my family, narrowly escaped death during the civil commotion of July 1983 in Colombo when we had to

flee from our self-owned home with all the valuables being burnt and looted.

After seeking shelter in a camp in Colombo, we reached Jaffna and are now in destitute state, day and night thinking of the pleasant life we had till then and our plight now, entirely depending on relations and friends for our upkeep.

There are several like us in the North and the East. We were all U.N.P. supporters and invested everything we had on the houses and belongings, fully confident that the law enforcement officers would safeguard us at all times but were disappointed when they failed in their duties during the time.

My complaints to the police regarding the loss of my belongings, apart from the burnt house, have been fruitless.

Several leading persons have deplored from platforms about all that took place, but few have so far taken any step to help us.

Business establishments and those who still remain rich have been helped with low interest loans, but people like me, reduced from affluence to poverty, cannot afford to take loans and are left in the lurch.

Now there is a conference to solve the ethnic problem, but there is no mention about us whose victimisation has brought about the conference. I am sure there can be no solution without compensation being paid to the victims of the ethnic violence.

Further, religious leaders are now holding prayer meetings to establish peace in the country but how can there be peace when we, the victims of July 1983 holocausts have not been compensated so far for our losses. Day by day we are sinking to the grave, unable to bear our plight.

Will it not be possible for social service and religious organisations and philanthropists to contribute to a fund to help us.

I would suggest that Ven. Rahula Thero, Rev. Fr. Tissa Balasuriya and Sarvodaya Leader Dr. A. T. Ariyaratne sponsor this.

Civil Commotion Victim.
Martin Road,
Jaffna.

More letters on
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Sri Lankan Problems

The Social Scientists' Association of Nawala Road, Colombo-5, organised a seminar on "Nationality Problems in Sri Lanka" in December 1979; the papers presented at which, some of them subsequently revised by their authors, have now been published by the Association under the title 'Ethnicity and Social Change in Sri Lanka'.

The publication has been dedicated to the late Prof. K. Kailasapathy of Jaffna University, who was one of the participants at the seminar.

In an introduction to the publication, the Association states!

"Discussion of ethnic or nationality problem in Sri Lanka, particularly the relationship between the Sinhala and Tamil communities has been always charged more with fervour than with intellectual analysis. Emotional bias has been more in evidence than a correct interpretation and analysis of the problem. It was against such a background that the SSA organised this seminar. It was the first occasion on which Sinhala and Tamil intellectuals had gathered together to discuss and analyse some aspects of the social, economic and ideological roots of continuing ethnic conflict.

"This volume, though somewhat belated, appears at an opportune time; ethnic conflicts, the subject then of academic discussion, exploded in July 1983 into a paroxysm of violence unmatched in the country's recent history. We have now seen that the ideological and economic forces behind ethnic conflict can lead to savagery that puts into question the very civilizations we call ourselves heirs to. It is our hope that the papers in this volume will at least force some of the exponents of Sinhala and Tamil nationalism to look more closely at the myths, misinterpretations and misunderstandings that have nourished their ideologies".

We propose to serialise the papers presented at the seminar, in the SATURDAY REVIEW, this week beginning with the contribution by Dr. Senaka Bandaranayake.

Questions of history and ethnicity have played, almost universally, an important role in the formation of modern nations. They continue to occupy a prominent place in contemporary politics the world over and constitute, in many situations, an integral aspect of the 'national question'. Although the basis of the relationships between ethnic groups lies outside the

realm of ideas, concepts of ethnic identity, territoriality historical origin, 'racial' distinctiveness, biological and cultural exclusiveness or superiority, form part of the ideological and psychological matrix that nurtures inter-ethnic conflict and contradiction; and from which arises that specifically modern phenomenon, racism or, in its less aggressive form, ethnic chauvinism (often subsumed under two terms, 'communalism' in South Asia and 'tribalism' in Africa).

The 20th century experience in this regard is most instructive. It shows that the evolution of various modern political and social systems—and especially those of an extremely rightist or fascist type—often draws great sustenance from racist ideas. It is also clear that the momentum generated by those ideas is not easily solved by even the most advanced and progressive forms of political, social and cultural development. Thus at one end of the spectrum, societies such as South Africa and Israel continue to have structured racism as an integral part of their social, economic and political base, while at the other end of the spectrum, societies which have undergone various forms and degrees of socialist transformation such as the Soviet Union or China, still continue to have problems raised by inter-ethnic conflicts and contradictions.

The matter becomes more complicated when we consider that ethnic self-identity and self-consciousness (or national consciousness) have also had a positive role in history, binding together dispersed or expanding groups and contributing to the development of more advanced forms of social organisation or forming a powerful 'spiritual' force in the struggle against foreign conquest and domination. The contradictory nature of this phenomenon is best seen in many Third World countries, where a progressive nationalism is often intertwined with backward forms of national chauvinism, communalism, casteism, and tribalism—the one contributing to the struggle against colonialism and foreign domination and the other activating internal strife and the oppression of minorities.

These problems are well known to us in Sri Lanka where, since the beginnings of the national movement in the 19th and early 20th century, the history, origins, status, territorial rights, identity, distinctiveness, etc. of

various nationalities and caste groups have been the subject of heated internal debate and polemic, fuelling communal conflict and often forming a more conspicuous issue than the struggle against foreign domination. This is apparent for example, in the caste debates of the 19th century, the chauvinism of the early Sinhala and Tamil nationalists, the Ramanathan-Azeez polemic, the Suntheralingam controversies (amongst others) of the 1950s and 1960s, the more recent 'archaeological' controversies at the Sansoni Commission hearings, etc. — all intellectual expressions of the underlying social, economic and ethnic contradictions which have from time to time broken out into open and violent communal conflict.

Thus, in our own context, as elsewhere in the world, historical notions and the consciousness of ethnic differentiation form a fundamental and highly visible aspect of the national question, the daily currency of communal tension and conflict. Historians, sociologists and all those working in relevant fields are

prehistoric and proto-historic times.

The first question that should be raised is a fundamental one; the concept of race and the tendency to identify race with culture. The idea of race itself is so abstruse that physical anthropologists have never been able to come to any agreement about its nature or its origins. Human variation is an extremely complex subject and in a scientific sense has no connection with ethnic i. e. ethno-cultural differentiation. For instance, we do not know whether the visible physiological ("phenotype") differences we see between the so-called "races of man" or the invisible genetic (or genotype) variations that we can detect are the result of very ancient divergences and cross-connections going back in geological time to man's hominid ancestors of the Pleistocene epoch three million years ago, or whether there are factors which have arisen in relatively recent, post-Pleistocene times, that is to say, about 10,000 or 15,000 years ago. The latter is much more likely. In any

sometimes useful to historians prehistorians and palaeodemographers in detecting ancient migratory and demographic patterns, but we can scarcely apply the term race to these differences.

If the concept of race itself is so dubious, the attempt to equate race with culture is even more so. We can today say quite categorically that culture is in no way affected or determined by race, that is to say, there is no possible equation between the genetically acquired biological traits of a particular ethnic group or community and the historically acquired cultural traits that distinguish and define that community as an ethnic group. It is as common an error in day to day discourse as in the rhetoric of communal discord to use the term 'race', with clear biological connotations when what is meant is 'an ethnic group'. What 'ethnic group' signifies is a historically defined, self-conscious community, which has its own distinctive history and cultures of which language and religion often constitute im-

by **Senaka Bandaranayake**

thereby compelled, in one way or another, to address themselves to these issues and have a special responsibility to lay bare some of the myths and distortions that lie at the heart of these ideas. While such attempts may not directly contribute to solving the national question, they help in the disestablishment of what we might call the cultural structures of communalism and in the formation of a modern scientific consciousness in matters of history and ethnicity, especially a sense of national Sri Lankan unity.

The present paper has a limited objective. It raises, somewhat at random, a few issues of history and ethnicity which have some bearing on the national question in our country and on the contradictions, conflicts and debates that have arisen in that context. There is an extensive literature on these subjects but there is no attempt here to present a survey or critical analysis of this literature. Instead this paper presents an orientation and interpretation of some broad historical issues and patterns and deals specifically with the question of our present state of knowledge regarding the peopling and settlement of the island in

case, so much intermixture has taken place since that time that the only classification of the human race that is possible is into the four or five broad categories such as Negroid, Caucasoid, Mongoloid, etc. Whether that classification itself is of any use whatsoever is doubtful. It applies only to such visible or detectable characteristics as skin, colour and blood group variations. These factors themselves are not invariables being affected by such variables as environment, nutrition, disease, genetic drift, etc. Thus, as Claude Lévi-Strauss, in a famous essay on "Race and culture" observes: "Anthropologists have simply ceased to use the concept (of race) at all". On the other hand, looked at in a much narrower sense, the fact that human communities tend to interbreed amongst themselves in relatively narrow groups and even narrower spatial or geographical limits does result in the perpetuation of certain superficial biological traits among communities—that is to say, we can sometimes detect a higher frequency of particular phenotypical or genotypical characteristics among certain groups that marginally differentiate them from others. This is

portant aspects, and which has or had definite territorial affiliations, in the present and of the past.

Applying these observations to the subject of our discussion today, we may consider two fundamental notions that apply to the context of inter-ethnic contradictions in our own country in modern times: one, the concepts of "Aryan" and "Dravidian" and two, the question of the so-called different "races" that inhabit Sri Lanka today. The idea that 'Aryans and Dravidians' constitute different races is a common fallacy frequently rejected by scholars but so deeply embedded in both popular and scholarly thinking that it still has common currency. The essence of the matter is that the term 'Aryan' refers to a linguistic phenomenon, the Indo-European family of languages; to a particular aspect of Indian history, i. e. the role of the Vedic Aryans in the formation of Indian history and culture; and to the concept of 'Arya' in Hindu and Buddhist thought. The full and proper meaning of the term is best clarified by two extensive extracts from A. L. Basham and Romila Thapar.

History & Ethnicity

We must be quite sure what we mean when we talk of Aryans and Dravidians. In an Indian context the term Aryan originally was the name of a group of kindred peoples who entered India in the middle of the second millennium B. C. and some of whom composed the hymns of the Rig Veda. In those days the word was more or less racial (*sic*) in connotation. Later the term came to mean a person who was accepted as a better-class follower of the Dharma of Class and Asrama (Varnasrama dharma) associated with early Hinduism — a man of the brahman, kshatriya or vaisya order who had undergone the ceremony of *upanayana* (initiation with the sacred thread) — and in one text at least, the *Kautilya Arthashastra* (iii, 13) it explicitly includes the better type of sudra. The Buddhists used the term *Arya* with a wide connotation, and in their texts it often seems to mean merely 'noble' or 'excellent' as in the *chattari ariyasachchani*, the 'Four Noble Truths'. Thus, according to the usage of more than two thousand years, the Tamil brahman is strictly speaking an Aryan, and the common Tamil honorific *Aiyar*, added to so many proper names, is in fact ultimately derived from the Sanskrit *Ariya*.

'In ancient days there was a vaguely defined region of South India known in the North as *Dravida* probably a corruption of the word *Tamil*. This word was applied by the nineteenth century philologist Caldwell to a group of languages, spoken mainly in the Peninsula — its four chief tongues being Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. The ethnologist Risley borrowed the term and applied it to a certain ethnic (*sic*) type, which he found in many parts of India, but in highest concentration in the Peninsula. Later ethnologists and anthropologists do not normally use the term in learned publications. In fact in scientific usage there is no Dravidian race and no Aryan race, but the two terms are used only in linguistic or perhaps cultural contexts. Politicians may attach other senses to them, but in doing so they have no good scientific basis'. (Basham)

'By far the most influential theory to emerge from Indological studies in the nineteenth century was the Theory of the Aryan Race. The word *arya* which occurs in both the Iranian Avestan and Vedic

Sanskrit texts, was given a racial connotation, as referring to the race of the Aryans. They were described as physically different from the indigenous population and their cultural distinctiveness was apparent from the fact that they spoke an Indo-European language. It was held that large numbers of *aryans*, described as a branch of the Indo-European race and language group, invaded northern India in the second millennium B. C., conquered the indigenous peoples and established the Vedic Aryan culture which became the foundation of Indian culture.

'The identification of language and race was seen to be a fallacy even during the lifetime of Max Muller, one of the more active proponents of the theory. Although in his later writings he rejected this identification, it was by then too late, and the idea had taken root. It is curious that *aryan* should have been interpreted in racial terms since in the texts it refers merely to an honoured person of high status and in the Vedic context, this would be one who spoke Sanskrit and observed the caste regulations. The racial connotation may have been due to the counter-posing of *arya* with *dasa*, in the Rig Veda, where the *dasa* is described as physically dissimilar to the *arya*. This was interpreted as representing two racial types with the *aryas* evolving later into the three upper castes and the *dasa* remaining the lowest, *sudra* caste, the racial identity of each being preserved by forbidding inter-marriage between the castes. The pre-eminence of the *arya* was explained as due to the successful conquest of the *aryas* over the *dasas*. The term *varna* etymologically associated with colour and occurring as a technical term referring to the caste organisation of society, was used as yet another argument to support the Aryan theory of race. It was believed to provide a 'scientific' explanation for caste, namely, that the four main castes represented major racial groups, whose racial identity was preserved by forbidding inter-marriage and making birth the sole criterion for caste status. The latter half of the nineteenth century in Europe was concerned with the discussion on race in the theories of Gobineau and the growing interest in social evolution. Some of the Indologists were by no means

unfamiliar with this debate. The distinction between *aryan* and *non-aryan*, and the polarity of Aryan and Dravidian suggested by them for the Indian scene, echoes to a degree which can hardly be regarded as coincidental, the *aryan-non-aryan* distinction and the Aryan-Semitic dishotomy based on language and race, in the European context. The suggested social bifurcation is also remarkably similar; the upper castes were the *aryans* and the lower castes were the *non-aryans*'. (Thapar)

What the Aryan-Dravidian misconception represents in the Sri Lankan (as in the Indian) context, is the way in which purely modern misinterpretations are projected into history and play a key role in providing historical sanction for the ethnic self-identity of the two major nationalities which inhabit the island, the Sinhalese and the Tamils. Much of the debate in the connection has also centred on territorial claims based on 'ancient historical presence', proceeding from 'we were here before you' and 'this is our ancient homeland' arguments. The validity of such propositions themselves, which would call into question the very basis of many advanced modern states, has never been raised. Even scholarly attention has been directed only at the verification or falsification of the propositions themselves, rather than at the relevance or irrelevance of 'ancient historical presence' to the process of modern nation formation.

One of the issues central to the discussion is the long historical process involved in the peopling and settlement of the island, in both historic and prehistoric times. As an island territory, lying off the southern extremity of the South Asian subcontinent, there is no doubt that the peopling of Sri Lanka took place through two distinct and sometimes interrelated processes: one, by a series of migrations both by land and by sea and the other by internal population expansion. Hitherto however, both scholarly research and popular belief have placed the greatest emphasis and devoted almost the whole of their attention to the migratory factor while almost entirely ignoring the question of internal development. It is the traditional view that the Vadda people are aboriginal, the Sinhalese are the descendants of protohistoric

migrants from North India, the Tamils are of South Indian stock, the Muslims descended from Arabian immigrants, the Burghers from Portuguese and Dutch settlers, and so on. The ethnic identity and the supposed racial and cultural distinctiveness of each of these nationalities is validated by simplistic unilinear theories of migration and unmixed descent. Official demographic publications reproduce these ideas in their purest form. An official museum monograph, *The Physical Anthropology of Ceylon*, published as late as the 1960's using once popular but now discredited anthropometric methods, gives authoritative sanction to the existence of distinct bio-ethnic (i.e. 'racial') differences between the different communities, relating them to historical antecedents. Even contemporary archaeological and historical scholarship still tends, in one way or another, to validate these views and to see migratory origins and bio-ethnic differences as persistent and dominant trends in historical evolution. Even refutations of these ideas, such as the view that the Sinhalese are originally Dravidians, or that the Tamils are — at least partially — Tamilized Sinhalese, tend to operate within the same paradigm.

It is becoming increasingly clear, however, that the peopling of Sri Lanka and the formation of its ethnic variety have been an extremely complex process which we do not fully understand as yet. It is not only the new facts which are emerging but new approaches to and interpretation of the available evidence, which compel us to look at historical and cultural processes in a fresh light. In general terms, we are beginning to pay much greater attention to the internal dynamics of historical development and to formulate the relationship between internal and external factors in a more scientific manner; to see that patterns both of *integration* and *differentiation* exist between ethnic groups; that the process of cultural formation is not determined by the various constituent elements of a cultural complex wherever those cultural elements may come from originally, but by the specific social needs of a particular community in a given place and time, and the creative syntheses which that community generates as a result of its own internal dynamism.

The question of *source* or *origin*, therefore, is not a historical puzzle which we have to solve by looking for clues in distant or even in not so distant places, but which has to be resolved by reference to internal processes of development, in the first place, and external migrations and influences only secondarily.

We may apply this emerging paradigm in different ways to any of the major or minor nationalities which we find in Sri Lanka and to the various phases of historical development. We will limit ourselves here to a brief consideration of the prehistoric and protohistoric period and to the beginnings of civilization in the early phases of the historic period.

We have today an increasing knowledge of the pre- and protohistory of Sri Lanka, although we are still very far away from anything like a full understanding of the prehistoric situation. There are, however, three distinct conditions or stages of development that we confront, each of these with its own patterns and problematics, which we may consider in turn.

The first of these is that of prehistoric man who lived in Sri Lanka for hundreds and thousands of years before the historic era, spread out quite extensively over the low lying plains and high plateaus of the island. How far back this goes is as yet uncertain, although rare fossil remains of *homo-erectus*, an extinct form of modern man (i.e. Balangoda man) and uncertain finds of crude paleolithic implements, all indicate that the human occupation of the island may date from periods that have to be measured in geological time. We are on much safer ground in dealing with later, post-Pleistocene prehistory, dating from about 10,000 to 15,000 B. C., from which time extensive collections of stone implements have been found. These are mostly of a Late Stone Age or Mesolithic type and are associated primarily with a hunter-gatherer way of life, not dissimilar in principle from that of the latter day Vadda peoples. Clearly, these stone implements are related to similar artefacts found in Peninsular India and elsewhere but show a degree of local specialization. They have been described as being 'much more highly developed and specialised' than similar

(Continued on page 9)

Fundamental Aspects of Present Youth Problems

The Editor
Saturday Review,

In a lecture on Decision of Character delivered on 30th March 1892 almost 90 years ago the late Mr. Nevins Selvadurai, Principal of Jaffna Hindu College, stressed that the first thing that should be instilled into the minds of the youth is the existence of God and the reverence to be paid to Him.

About the existence of God I quote what Mahatma Gandhi wrote:

"There is an indefinable power that pervades everything I feel, though I do not see it. It is this unseen power which makes itself felt yet defies all proof because it is so unlike all that I perceive through my senses. It transcends the senses. I do dimly perceive that whilst everything around me is ever changing, ever dying, there is underlying that change a living power that is changeless, that holds all together, that creates dissolves and recreates. That informing power or spirit is God, and since nothing else I can see through the senses can or will persist. He alone is. Besides what has been quoted from Mahatma Gandhi, we all have come across many events in the lives of individuals where we say: 6th sense or Divine guidance or miracle. God is ever ready to guide anyone whenever His guidance is sought. "He shall direct thy path". Proverbs 3-6 but you cannot expect Him to enter an 'unclean heart'. This can explain why all requests are not answered and why so many people today ask;

Where is God?
Show me God?

The acceptance of God was clearly brought out in the recent (July 1983) ethnic violence where may helpless victims just shouted "kadavulae", "kadavulae" or "Jesus. Jesus".

Not accepting the existence of God is a clear indication of the failure in duty on the part of parents and teachers mainly during the past 25-30 years. The result is that "the good Tamil culture" which was the basis of the Tamils to be looked up to about 25-30 years ago has almost completely disappeared.

The religious instructions given in our schools in the recent past has not had any impact on our children. In the classroom, there is too much emphasis laid on the observance of prescribed religious rituals and erudition in theology and philosophy but too little on the development of the moral uprightness of a

person. The basic objective of all religions is the moral perfection of man and to inspire and encourage moral behaviour. Generally religion is taught in terms of individual morality which is concerned with the salvation of the individual both in this world and the next - quoting Mr. Patrick Gunawardene. Also activities connected with religion are indulged by some with a sinister motive. Worldly: publicity, social upgrading etc., in 'self-cleansing' as bribing God in order to sin at one's whim and fancy. The latter cannot be accepted as paying reverence to God.

"No man can serve two masters for either he will hate one and love the other or else he will hold to one, and despise the other. You cannot serve God and Mammon" - St. Mathew 6-24. and in total agreement with Mr. Patrick Gunawardene.

The best policy in our paying reverence to God is: "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven" - Mathew 5-16.

It is best that all realise in early life itself that one cannot fool God. This attitude will make religious rituals a secondary matter. The main governing factor in reverence to God is one's day-to-day life. It is an undisputed fact that one reaps what one sows: that is, one will pay for one's sins.

The mode of reverence paid to Him varies with circumstances. Among the totally educated people reverence to God is paid mainly by their day-to-day lives - a disciplined life which promotes condition for better community living. To attain the optimum results the policy should be: whatever you do, do it to the very best of your ability in order to contribute to the final objective of improved living for the whole community - this is social morality.

Quoting from Mr. Patrick Gunawardene's - Headmaster, St. Thomas College, Gurutalawa, 1983 Prize day report * A Considerable degree of emphasis on religious teaching in our schools should be on the teaching of social morality.

Social morality is concerned not with the salvation of the individual but with the salvation of society as a whole.

Politics is concerned with the acquisition and exercise of power, Economics is concerned with the creation of wealth.

The task of our schools therefore is to implant the

correct values and attitudes of social morality into our children when their minds are still young and their hearts open and receptive.

This is the key to the remedial measure and will be effective only if all the teachers co-operate. One professor told me, but the teachers are running from one tutory to another - they are too tired to offer good total education. I replied, look, the reward is hidden - study the achievements of the children and those who have been teachers 30-50 years ago. Many are doing very well in life and what better reward than this. The reply was, "Yes Doctor" I am the son of a teacher."

LETTERS

Among those was blindly stick to tradition, reverence to God is observed more by the traditional rituals. As these people become more enlightened, the rituals take second place. To me too many rituals subtly gives licence to repeatedly doing wrong.

All parents of to-day teenagers have an equal part with the teachers to actively promote social morality. The Foundation of this is a good home and good family life. A frequent cause of home instability is addiction to alcohol. These people have money for their alcoholic drinks but invariably no money to buy better food for their children. A most important factor to be noted is that good nutrition promotes brain power. Hence, in promoting good and total education, this aspect must be looked after.

Dr. W.N. Donald Watson
Jaffna.

THE ALLEN KIDNAP

Editor,
Saturday Review.

I was amused to read in the press the speech of Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama in Parliament on the above subject. He seems to think that it was all a fairy tale.

In my opinion, the EPLRF, which acknowledged the kidnapping, not only completely out-witted the Government but also rubbed its nose in the dust. It was no mean feat to kidnap the Allens, despite the presence of an entire "army of occupation" in the North, and to have hidden them for five days despite their tell tale white skins (and that, too, within the peninsula or perhaps

within Jaffna town itself) and to release them without anyone being the wiser as to who the kidnappers were or where the captives were kept.

It demonstrates not only the total impotence of the Government's security forces in the North but also the complete isolation of the Government from the people. Such a daring deed could not have been carried out without the support of the people.

Not only that. The militant youth seem to have endeared themselves to the Allens so much so that they refused to label them as "terrorists" - thus making nonsense of the Government's claim and of the propaganda of interested parties about the "torment and agony" of the Allens.

Undoubtedly, the Government has suffered total discomfiture although the Minister for National Security would have it that the whole episode was a victory for the Government. This is like the man who fell on the ground but claimed that there was no sand in his moustache.

But why should the M.P. for Kalawana share the Government's discomfiture? Or, is he jealous of the Northern youth because he or his comrades cannot emulate such revolutionary action, which, however, has been condemned by his leader under the guise of phoney Marxism?

N. Sanmugathasan
Colombo - 3

TOMB OF ELARA

The Editor,
Saturday Review.

In the text of the lecture delivered by Dr. J. T. Rutnam and published by you as an article in your issue of 19th May under the above title, there is an error in the rendering of passage from the Mahawamsa.

According to the article, "The Arahats had consoled him (Dutugemunu) saying that his slaughter of a great host numbering millions was equal only to slaying one and a half human beings".

But according to Dr. Geigar's translation of the Mahawamsa, the Arahats did not so equate the slaughter, but consoled the King, who was grieved that by him was caused the slaughter of a host numbering millions (of beings) "by saying that" only one and a half human being had been slain by him while the rest were un-believers and men of evil life, not more to be esteemed than beasts. And by this deed arises no hindrance to thy way to heaven".

The exceptions were, as stated in the article, "one who had come unto the (three) refugees, while the other had taken on himself the five precepts".

Obviously, the "unbelievers" are non-Buddhists, and in this case Hindus as were the Tamil warriors. This poisonous opinion that the non-Buddhists are to be esteemed as beasts has been expressed by a member of the Sangha.

It is pertinent to recall, in this connection speech made by President Jayewardene at a meeting held on 18th December Anuradhapura, as reported in a Tamil Newspaper. The President was reported as having said thus: "If the Tamils follow Buddhism, there will be no room for problems. They will live as Tamil Buddhists and we will live as Sinhalese Buddhists. No problem will raise its head".

What is more; this speech was made on the eve of the round-table conference convened by him to find a permanent solution to the ethnic problem. The proposed solution goes counter to the democratic principle of "live and let live" and seems to sound a danger signal to other religionists as well.

It is, therefore, a matter for consideration as to whether the problem facing the country is only an ethnic problem or a religious problem as well.

K. Sivanandasundaram
Point Pedro.

PM'S HOUSES

Editor,
Saturday Review.

When admissions are given to universities, it is now on a racial ratio basis.

What about the Prime Minister's one million houses? How many of these have been built in the Tamil-populated areas and how many have been given to Tamils?

The Tamils are the ones who deserve them most, because they lost their houses during the July 1983 riots.

How much money has been spent in developing the North compared to the other parts of the country?

How many of the Sri Lankan cricketers are Tamils? How many of the Service personnel are from the minority Community?

What steps has the government taken to keep its promise of establishing engineering, law and other faculties in the Jaffna University?

I hope the government will reply to these questions.

Miss. Saradha
Ramanathan.
Kondavil.

Dams with faint praise

by

John Madeley

In 1970, Sri Lanka embarked on a 30 year project to dam its 206 mile Mahaweli River, revolving around building five dams and three power stations. The aim was to triple the country's generating supply and irrigate 900,000 acres of new land downstream, on which a million and a half people were to be resettled.

A new government decided in 1977 to scale down the scheme, but to accelerate its pace and try to complete it within six years. However, despite the fact that the scheme attracted about £400 million in overseas aid—one of the largest amounts ever for a single development project—it has been fraught with problems.

The cost of the scheme tripled in the six years to 1983, causing Sri Lanka financial difficulties. The first people to move into the resettlement zone have met severe problems and prospects for them hardly seem good. In addition, the scheme is bringing heartbreak to people such as the 45,000 who live in and around the town of Teldeniya, near Kandy, in the shadow of the Victoria Dam, whose homes are scheduled to be flooded in April 1984 for a 9,000 acre reservoir about which they were never consulted.

Poor co-ordination has been responsible for many such problems that face the Mahaweli scheme. In the planning stages for the acceleration programme, at least two vital aspects were overlooked.

First it seems that the implications of rising costs were not sufficiently considered. In 1977, the scheme was expected to cost around £700 million. In 1983, the price had risen to over £2,000 million. Foreign financial aid meant that in 1977 the Government only had to con-

tribute £300 million. But whilst costs rose, aid did not and by 1983 the Government had to find not £300 million but around £1600 million from its own pockets.

It is doing this by cutting subsidies to the poor, raising taxes, borrowing from abroad and by printing more money. Inflation is soaring. Ironically

hillsides have tree cover. In an area with over 100 inches of rain a year, heavy rain will inevitably bring silt down into the riverbed. The silt will either block up the dams or be washed down stream into the irrigation zone, where it could seriously clog up the irrigation canals.

During the planning stages

Big dam schemes have become rather like the apple that Eve offered to Adam in that famous garden. Looks tasty, is difficult to resist, but leads to so many problems that it might have been better left on the tree. Developing countries today are littered with big dam schemes that have gone badly wrong, after appearing to offer so much. Damming a river that runs through a range of hills seems to give a country the chance to generate electricity and thus import less oil, provide irrigation, grow more food, and create jobs into the bargain. But many countries have had cause to doubt whether such schemes are of any lasting development value. Egypt's Aswan High Dam, for example, has led to increased salinity, reduced the fertility of the soil and caused the spread of bilharzia.

Can big dam schemes ever work, or do they contain within them the seeds of their own destruction? The answer is important because, despite failures, many developing countries seem keen to go on building dams that gobble up a large slice of their scarce resources. Sri Lanka's recent experience helps to throw light on the subject

the world's biggest aid schemes is ending up with the poorest footing the bill.

Secondly, too little attention was given during the planning stage to parts of the scheme other than building the dams. "All the attention went to the dams" believes Gamini Iriyagolle, Sri Lankan lawyer and specialist on the Mahaweli scheme, "not to the jobs that needed to be done if the dams were to be of any use."

One of the main jobs needed was to replant the almost bare hillsides that slope into the Mahaweli River. Estimates suggest that only about 8 per cent of these

for the accelerated programme in the 1970s, however, this crucially important replanting was pushed into the background, as offers of dam financing were received from the U. K., Sweden, the Federal Republic of Germany and Canada. Replanting the hillsides did not begin until 1981, when plans were made to replant 30 per cent of the hillsides, that is, over 400,000 acres. But by the end of 1982, only about 1,000 acres had been replanted and the government had enlisted the help of a voluntary organization, National Builders, to try to harness the enthusiasm of young volunteers.

Also neglected at the planning stages was the question of transport in the resettlement zone. The new zone is largely isolated, with few roads. Tools and equipment for the task facing families of clearing their allocated three acres have often been lacking when the settlers needed them.

For these settlers other problems are also looming. Fuelwood is in plentiful supply at present because jungle has been cleared. But officials admit that within 10 years there could be a serious shortage. The electricity that the power stations of the dams will generate will be too expensive for most people, if indeed they have access to it - and only people living by the main roadsides are likely to have such access.

The scheme could therefore turn out to be a nightmare. "It could leave us with no resources to implement a better alternative", believes Iriyagolle. In 1979, a UK consultant warned the Sri Lankan Government that a major constraint on the programme's success was the implementation capacity, doubting whether or there would be sufficient local people with skills to implement it. Most developing countries that embark on a big dam scheme have to use foreign expertise. Yet can foreign consultants really know and understand local conditions and local people in enough depth to help the scheme towards success?

The power of Western companies to persuade Third World governments to build dams should not be overlooked, either. The era of dam building in Europe and North America is now largely over. The dam builders have only the Third World left; the companies have a vital interest therefore in seeing that developing countries go on building dams that they cannot manage alone.

Even if a country is confident that it can handle foreign companies, co-ordinate and implement a big dam scheme, broader questions still remain. Bringing large amounts of water to land has caused considerable problems. World Bank estimates suggest that of some 200 Million hectares of irrigated land throughout the world, about half are adversely affected by salinity or poor drainage, and that every year some 2.3 per cent of that land has to be totally abandoned.

Furthermore, even if hillsides have good tree cover, it is often difficult to keep silt out of the riverbeds entirely; the threat is never far away.

Big dam schemes do seem to contain within them seeds which lead to their own long-term demise, if meticulously planned, they can yield benefits perhaps for a number of years, but there must be serious doubts as to whether they can result in sustainable development. The alternatives to the big dam scheme warrant the highest possible exploration.

[Courtesy: "Development Forum", published by the United Nations, New York.]

SRI LANKAN PROBLEMS: HISTORY AND ETHNICITY

(Continued from page 7)

assemblages in mainland South Asia. Although migration must certainly have played some part in these developments, we may well pose the question, from these preliminary findings, whether migration of technique was not more important than the migration of peoples and whether technical adoption and local adaptation and improvement were not the most significant factors in the territorial expansion and demographic increase of th-

prehistoric populations of the island.

Prehistory, therefore, is becoming an increasingly important aspect of our understanding of the growth of human settlement in the island and of the process of ethnic formation. Thus, what we may call the 'Pre-Vijayan' era becomes an integral and important part of Sri Lankan history.

The next major development in this historical process is the transformation from a nomadic hunter-gatherer way of life to one

that was based on food production and settled village existence. Hitherto, two major hypotheses have dominated our interpretation of these protohistoric developments. One that waves of so-called 'Aryan' migrants came to Sri Lanka by sea from the western and eastern regions of North India, bringing with them the rudiments of plough-based agriculture, irrigation, the use of iron and also the basic elements of what was to later develop into the Sinhala Language. Spreading

along the river valleys, they established their village settlements throughout a greater part of the island. Two, that these iron age settlers either replaced or assimilated the existing prehistoric peoples of the island and gradually but rapidly developed their economy and culture into the civilization of the historical period. A further aspect of this hypothetical reconstruction and one that is not often featured in the standard historical writings is the presence of South Indian or

Dravidian migrants who figure at best in minor roles or as 'alien' invaders. Critical modifications to this picture deal largely with ascribing a more important role to the South Indian elements without basically questioning the primacy of the 'migration hypothesis'. The major source and still dominant expression of this migrationist view is the story of the coming of Vijaya and the ensuing events as recorded in the Pali Chronicles.

(Continued on next week)

IS HEROIC DEFIANCE ENOUGH?

We were very moved by your open letter to the Sinhalese. If it is heeded, it is possible that peace will return to our island. Indeed, as you put it, "The Tamil people are with us; we cannot kill all of them or push them all into the sea." It would be wonderful if only people who speak one language, profess one religion, and belong to the Goigama caste inhabited the island! But unfortunately that is not the case; hence we have to learn to live with each other.

One can, however, address an open letter to those who claim to be fighting for the welfare of the Tamils, too. Since they began their direct action, the Tamil people have paid a higher price than even the most hostile of the Sinhala chauvinists could have wished. Hundreds have been killed, huge properties lost, and Tamils have been subjected to more humiliation. In nearly all cases, these actions were reprisals to acts of violence initiated by the militants.

Direct action is often needed by a movement driven to desperation by the antagonists. The Tamil people surely have been driven to these straits by successive governments over the years.

Yet those who undertake direct action have the responsibility to ensure that it is sound in military and tactical sense. Increasingly it is obvious to many that the actions taken by the Jaffna militants are neither sound militarily nor intelligent in the tactical sense — unless there is a secret tactical logic that escapes many of us.

Desperation

It is not that one does not understand the desperate straits to which the Tamil people have been driven over the last years, or recognise the utter callousness and irresponsibility of the Sinhalese leadership. One does not have to cite a long litany here; a statement by the Minister for Internal Security, who is hardly ever mentioned without his appellation "Harvard and Oxford educated", captures all that has ever been wrong in the Sinhalese attitudes over the years.

He notes in an interview to *The Island* newspaper, "The patience exhibited so far shows that the people of the South are not willing to dance to the tune of the

terrorists any more". In one stroke, he is able to justify the barbarism against non-involved, non-combatant, and, in many cases, non-separatist, Tamils by the mobs of July and to denigrate the reasonable demands of the Tamils at the same time.

The Sinhalese people are "patient" and the Tamils have no rights to protest, lest it test the patience of the Sinhalese! No clearer demonstration of Mr. Athulathmudali's view of the rights of the minorities is necessary: the Sinhalese will tolerate their presence if they behave like nice little subservient boys.

Nevertheless, any struggle that the Tamils undertake must be well considered. Direct action leading to a

by
**Committee for Rational
Discourse**
6, Impasse Delaunay,
75011, Paris.

confrontation with an organised military should not be undertaken whimsically or temperamentally, nor should it be used to prove one's manhood or heroism and dedication. It should have a military purpose or a communicative purpose. If direct action involves the certain death of the antagonists, there should be anticipations made about the reactions from the other members of the military institutions.

Irresponsibility

It would surely be the height of ignorance and irresponsibility to just throw grenades at the military and run away. If indeed this is done, what the militants are doing is to present the unarmed civilians in the vicinity as the second line of defense. And who gave these self-appointed spokesmen for Tamil lives without their knowledge or consent?

Although it is quite true that the Sinhala Army in Jaffna is behaving like an occupation force, an army is always more than that, as is a police force. They have a loyalty to the service, to the institution above everything else. This is not a simple clubiness: it is a defensive strategy among people who have every reason to think that violence will be directed against them.

Police forces in all countries double their efforts to

discover a police-killer; this is their insurance against further attacks. The military has this sense of institutional solidarity: their income and status depend on their membership in the military and they will engage in extreme actions if they find their fellow members attacked — particularly in an ambush. They cannot help but go on the "rampage" go "berserk", etc, however immoral it may be.

Self Defeating

Hence, the isolated individual acts of violence against the military are self-defeating in every way. Its value as a gesture of communication, of heroic defiance, is also extremely limited. No doubt it had some value at the beginning of the campaign of direct action; it demonstrated grit and determination, a seriousness of purpose. It certainly does not have that value any more. Today it only represents a foolish irresponsibility and a callous indifference for the welfare of the very people the militants are trying to help.

Surely the time has come to re-think the methods of achieving the liberation of the Tamils. Perhaps a return to the Gandhian methods should be considered, as recommended by K. Nesiiah in his column in the *Saturday Review*. As Gandhi pointed out, the victims of violent methods are the perpetrators themselves. Win or lose, they become callous, ruthless, and absolutely incapable of ordinary human feeling and sympathies. When they eventually become the rulers, they become ruthless to their own people, interpret all opposition as treason and establish tyrannies of their own. The people they sought to liberate become victims all over again.

Impatience

It is natural for the young — rendered unemployed and unemployable by successive governments — to be impatient. However, peaceful political methods can be effective in the long run and it is better than to have our people brutalized in the short run. In any case, now that our problem has been internationalized and the chauvinists as well as the others have been driven to extremes of exasperation, there is every chance other methods will be successful. Courage and dedication are not enough to win political goals: intelligence and rationality are as important. Look what happened to the Irish and the Palestinians.

Finally, let it be pointed out that it is extremely shortsighted to think that somehow the international community or some foreign

Understanding People's China

There is nothing like expertise on China. There are only varying degrees of ignorance. He was a wise man who said this some decades ago. Almost no one has heeded this sane view. So we have now varying degrees of expertise on China, depending on the length of stay in that land. Experts of one week's standing, two weeks and so on. Most of them are, of course, Americans. Who else has the money and the enthusiasm? But that is a separate matter which we can let pass, though it is not an unimportant one in view of the power of the United States and the pull of its "specialists".

To return to our theme of our ignorance of China, the language obstacle is well known. Apart from the Japanese, most visitors to that country do not know the language. They have to rely on interpreters provided by the Chinese government and translations provided by the Americans. This is quite a formidable obstacle in the path of understanding China. But this is a relatively small one compared to another which is that the Chinese are not allowed to meet and speak freely to foreigners. The assigned Chinese speak as if they are reading a page out of the *People's Daily* or some other propaganda sheet. But this too is a relatively minor difficulty compared to a more basic one.

The Chinese civilization is

power or human rights agency will come to the aid of the Tamils. In the game of international politics there are hardly ever any favours without a quid pro quo. The agencies or newspapers may be sincere in their concern for the rights of the Tamils, but they can do nothing but publicise the cause, sometimes sensationally. Various foreign governments cannot help the Tamils in any way either. In nearly all cases, they themselves are guilty of human rights abuses in their own countries, or are supporting regimes that violate very grossly the rights of people in their countries, e.g., El Salvador, Chile, Afghanistan, etc. It is inconceivable that they will come to our aid in any way. One need hardly mention the international agencies: they are quite powerless.

No, we cannot rely on any one else but ourselves, and in eventually winning enough Sinhalese opinion on our side.

unique in the sense no other is. The connection between the Indian and the European civilization is too well established to need to be detailed here. Sanskrit is a member of the European family and Greek philosophy up to Plato bears such striking resemblance to the Indian that it is legitimate to believe that contact between the two lands must have been quite extensive. Europe has evolved differently from India but the family resemblance has survived.

It is, of course, sure that Buddhism travelled to China. But it was first transformed almost out of recognition by the Chinese and then rejected. It survived on the periphery — in Mongolia and in Tibet — in a dramatically altered shape but that has little effect on China. That is why the talk of 2,000 years of India-China cultural links which flourished in the fifties was so much hogwash. China's is a very different world from India's. The same story is being repeated by China in our times, a good deal of it before our eyes. It has not only accepted a minority, deviant ideology — Marxism-Leninism — but has been seeking to "signify" it.

The importance of this fact cannot be exaggerated. Russia's example is illustrative. It is different from Europe, even Eastern Europe, primarily because at a critical stage it went over to orthodox Greek church when the rest of Europe had gone over or was going over to the Roman Catholic. And again in the 20th century, it rejected mainstream European ideologies of nationalism, liberalism and socialism in favour of the prophetic (almost in the Judaic tradition) Marxism. China has done something similar.

Its version of Marxism-Leninism could not serve as a bridge between it and other communist societies, not to speak of other countries. Now it is busy discarding even its own version — Mao's Thought — of Marxism-Leninism. No one can say in favour of what.

The Americans have, of course, no doubt that it is opting for a free market economy and all that goes with it but they had no doubt earlier either when they said that China was a Soviet satellite or when they opened that China was more dangerous of the two. We should be more wary.

SPORTS

Jaffna Central's under seventeneers scored a convincing first innings win over Kokuvil Hindu College last Saturday to top the table with 34.64 points. The Centralites who still remain unbeaten are more or less assured of the crown with but one more match to be played against Jaffna Hindu this week.

Kokuvil Hindu, after lying comfortably at 80 for 2 at one stage, were restricted to 143 in their first essay, thanks to a great-hearted effort by Central's wily spinner, Terry Mahan Ganeshalingam who collected six scalps for but 28 runs.

Jaffna Central, in reply amassed a staggering 341 for 6. Opening bat K. Karunarak, wielding the willow with gay abandon hoise a delightful 143, his second 'ton' for the season. Skipper K. Jeyakumar was unbeaten on 63.

The main scores:-

Kokuvil Hindu 1st Innings

V. Mathitharan	143
S. Wijeyanathan	45
Terry Mahan Ganeshalingam	6 for 28
S. Nagathas	1 for 20
K. Karunarak	1 for 30
K. Rajasekar	1 for 07

Jaffna Central 1st Innings

K. Karunarak	143
K. Rajasekar	57
K. Jeyakumar N.O	63
N. Newton	84
S. Kirupananthan	3 for 79

Jaffna Hindu which lost to St. John's and Jaffna College on the first innings, has first innings victories over Kokuvil Hindu and St. Patricks. It plays Jaffna Central this week in its last engagement.

Kokuvil Hindu who started off the season with an encouraging first innings win over St. Patricks, went

down to Jaffna Hindu, Jaffna College and Jaffna Central on the first innings. It has yet to take on St. John's.

Jaffna College has two wins to its credit. It took first innings honours over Jaffna Hindu and Kokuvil Hindu, and went down on first innings to Jaffna Central. It has yet to play St. John's and St. Patricks.

St John's, too, has been credited with two first innings wins over Jaffna Hindu and St. Patricks. It lost to Jaffna Central on the first innings. She has yet to play Jaffna College and Kokuvil Hindu.

St. Patricks is at the bottom of the table with out a single win to its credit. It lost on first innings to Kokuvil Hindu, Jaffna Central, Jaffna Hindu and St. John's. Its last game is against Jaffna College.

Tamils to hold 3-day parley in New York

An international Tamil conference, organised by the Tamils in the USA and Canada, will be held in New York from 30th June to 2nd July.

Organised by Dr. W. V. Panchacharam, it will bring together Tamil leaders from Tamilnadu, Sri Lanka and Malaysia and will discuss among other things, human rights violations in Sri Lanka.

The three-day parley will be held at the Holiday Inn in Nanuet, New York.

Among the other objectives of the conference will be the promotion of the culture of the Tamils all over the world, discussion of matters connected with the future of Tamils world wide and assembling the best personnel, both within the Tamil community and outside, for the establishment of a Tamil Informa-

tion Centre to be sited in New York.

Among those who are likely to attend the conference are Dravida Mun-neta Kalazham leader Mr. M. Karunanidhi, Mr. A. Amirthalingam, Mr. M. Sivasithamparam and leaders of SriLankan Tamil militant groups based in Madras.

A similar international conference organised by the same sections, was held in June 1982 titled "The World Eelam Conference"

What has intrigued observers about the forthcoming parley is that it merely refers to "human rights violations of the Tamil people" and does not speak of Eelam.

The registration fees for the conference range from 350 dollars for professionals and 200 for non-professionals to 60 for foreign participants and students.

(The Island, 12th June)

Chinese review idea of mother working

Thirty years after the communists reversed Chinas, feudalism tradition by promising equal employment for women, a major Beijing newspaper said recently that mothers belong at home with their young children.

There jobs could be taken by unemployed youths, said the "Beijing Daily", municipal organ of the Communist Party.

Instead of eight weeks maternity leave, as provided under China's marriage law, women should take a three-year leave of absence starting in the seventh month of their pregnancy, said columnist Xing Hua.

If 70 per cent of child-bearing urban women did so, it would create more than three million jobs, the article said.

The mothers would get 75 per cent of their base pay while at home and could return to their jobs after three years.

The suggestion may appeal to women who have found it difficult to cope with a job, a small child and housework.

The "Beijing Daily" reported an absentee rate at one textile factory of more than 30 per cent when new mothers went back to work without recovering from pregnancy. Their efficiency also suffered, it said.

JAFFNA COLLEGE ENGLISH MEDIUM CLASSES
Associated Examining Board of Hampshire, U.K.

ADVANCED LEVEL—BUSINESS STUDIES

The following subjects are offered - Accounts, Business Studies, Economics and Geography. Examinations are held at Jaffna College in June and November each year.

NOTE: In order to register for the I.C.M.A. or any other Accountancy courses two passes in the A.E.B. examination is required.

Further information may be obtained from

**The Principal,
Jaffna College,
Vaddukoddai.**

US - SRI LANKA PACT TAKES SHAPE

Sri Lanka and the United States are adding final touches to a comprehensive investment agreement whose major objective is to accelerate the flow of American investments into the country.

Immediately following President J. R. Jayewardene working luncheon at the State Department on 19th June, the Reagan administration is also expected to announce an investment mission to Sri Lanka.

The proposed mission, comprising mostly American private sector businessmen and industrialists, will make a survey of the current investment climate in the country. A report by the mission is expected later.

Although the investment agreement is expected to be finalised by the end of this week, it will not be signed by President Jayewardene for protocol reasons. The agreement will finally be signed by the Ministry Finance Mr. Ronnie de Mel when he visits Washington for a World Bank meeting later this year.

Although there has been an investment protection agreement between the US and Sri Lanka since the 1960's this is the first time the two countries are signing a bilateral agreement spelling out details.

The proposed new agreement will provide American investors with a guarantee that there will be no expropriation without compensation.

Additionally, they will also be assured that all remittances, profits and capital will be transferred out of Sri Lanka without any exchange control restrictions.

The agreement will also convey the assurance that the Government of Sri Lanka will not discriminate against American investors vis-a-vis their local counterparts.

At present, total American investments in Sri Lanka amount to more than

10 million dollars (about Rs. 250 million).

Last year, ten new American projects were approved for the Free Trade Zone. The total investments amounted to about three million dollars.

Meanwhile, the State Department has already finalised two other agreements which will be ready for signature when Mr. Jayewardene arrives at the White House.

The science and Technology agreement is expected to be signed in Washington. But the second agreement, the double tax agreement, may be signed later by of the Minister Finance.

(The Daily News 13 June)

CHESTO

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An excellent mouth freshener

Available at all good stores.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA GOVERNMENT IMPOSES BLANKET CENSORSHIP

The Government on 12th June imposed a blanket censorship on matters pertaining to terrorist activity, acts of terrorist violence security operations of the armed services and the Police.

The censorship imposed under Regulation 14 (1) of the emergency (Miscellaneous Provisions & Powers) which became effective from midnight on 4th June, also applies to foreign despatches from Sri Lanka.

The Secretary of State Mr. Douglas Liyanage told the Press that the Government was deeply concerned that elements other than separatists seemed to capitalise on the agitation opposing the Government seeking the assistance of specialised operatives from Israel.

The Government did not want this protest turning into an agitation which could put members of one community not connected with the agitators in danger. The Government was determined to prevent this, he said.

In the circumstances, the Emergency Regulation No. 14, would come into operation from midnight 11th June.

The full text of the Censorship Notice is as follows:

ORDER UNDER REGULATION 14 (1)

By virtue of the powers vested in me under Regulation 14 (1) of the Emergency (Miscellaneous Provisions & Powers) Regulations No. 5 of 1984 to take such measures and give such direction as are considered necessary for preventing or restricting any publication in Sri Lanka or any specified area in Sri Lanka

or the transmission from Sri Lanka to places outside Sri Lanka, of matter which would or might be prejudicial to the interests of national security or the preservation of public order or the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the life of the community, or matter inciting or encouraging persons to mutiny, riot or civil commotion or measures taken to combat terrorism, including steps taken in connection with training of persons engaged in the suppression of terrorist activities or matters connected therewith, I, Don John Francis Douglas Liyanage, Secretary to the Ministry of State, appointed as the Competent Authority for the purpose of Regulation 14, do hereby direct that all documents including news reports, editorials, articles, letters to the editor, cartoons, comments, advertisements, pictorial representations, photographs or cinematograph film relating to terrorism, terrorist activity or similar acts of violence in Sri Lanka or to security operation of the armed services and the Police in relation to such activities or training of such personnel and matters connected therewith for publication in Sri Lanka or transmission to places outside Sri Lanka by telegraph, teleprinter, or television, shall before such publication and transmission, be submitted or exhibited to me at the Ministry of State, Transworks House, Lower Chatham Street, Colombo 1.

(Reproduced from the Island of 13th June)

NEVER AGAIN

An Associated Press Agency reports from Columbus, Ohio, states that the American couple held for five days by "terrorists" in Sri Lanka in May, say they have decided not to return to the country.

"My wife and I could just not feel comfortable or safe there" Mr. Stanley Allen said.

Mr. Allen, 36, said he and his wife Mary Elizabeth 29, could identify the 11 Tamil separatists who held them captive.

Mr. Allen said his employer, Ruhlin Company of Ohio, will complete the 4 million water plant construction project at Pt. Pedro where he was working on at the time of his abduction.

ICJ Criticises Lankan Laws

A Press Trust of India report from New Delhi dated 7th June states:

The laws Sri Lanka has enacted in the wake of ethnic violence last year have come under severe criticism by the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ).

In a report just released by the Geneva-based commission, it says that the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the emergency regulation 15-A are "unjustified in law", and in fact are "grossly disproportionate" to the threat faced by the state.

The ICJ report, entitled "A mounting tragedy of error", says in the assessment of the Sri Lankan authorities, an "exceptional situation of crisis" has arisen which affects the whole population and constitutes a threat to the organised life of the community. This, according to the ICJ, is a "mistaken judgment".

The report, quoting Gen. Attygalle who was in charge of security operations

against the Tamil tigers, says their hard core numbered "no more than about 25 to 30 with perhaps another 100 to 150 on their periphery".

The Tamil tigers are thus "only a tiny group" of violent youths in a fundamentally peaceful population of 15 million, it says.

The British author of the report, Mr. Paul Sieghart, makes a comparison between the death toll from terrorism in Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka and comes to the conclusion that in intensity Northern Ireland's terrorism is 57 times more than that of Sri Lanka.

TIGERS UNSOPHISTICATED

"Unlike other and better-known terrorist groups in other parts of the world, the Tamil tigers are relatively unsophisticated," the report adds.

In a strong censure of the Emergency Regulation 15A the report says that it is an "open invitation for abuse" Under this law, junior police

authorities have been empowered to take possession and dispose of bodies without determining the cause of death by an inquest.

The law was enacted on June 3, 1983, precisely three days after the Jaffna magistrate had returned a verdict of homicide at the inquest into the death in army custody on April 10, 1983, of K. T. Navaratnam. He had no fewer than 35 external and internal injuries. No one has as yet been charged, according to ICJ.

But it is also a hostage to future, cautions the ICJ since so long as such a regulation is in force, it will always be open to their opponents to cite it as an "unanswerable demonstration of scandal, whitewash and cover-up".

Thus, the report concludes that these rigorous measures of law are "counter-productive" and serve only to reinforce the Tamil tigers in their determination and to alienate even the law-abiding Tamil community from their legitimate government.

PM blames India

The Prime Minister Mr. R. Premadasa has said that because of the "double-standard policy adopted by India in regard to terrorism, it was bound to earn the disrespect and condemnation not only of Sri Lanka but of the world if it persists in that policy.

Mr. Premadasa was speaking at the opening of "Herathgama" model village in the Hiriyala electorate on 10th June.

He said the Sikhs in Punjab who were rebelling for a separate state, were labelled as terrorists and traitors by India. However when Sri Lankan terrorists were unleashing a wave of terrorism against their own motherland from Indian territory, they were considered as those fighting for human rights and freedom.

"India knows very well that among these terrorists there are murderers, kidnappers

and looters, but they are given refuge on Indian soil he said.

"Is this not a clear instance of double standards?" asked the Prime Minister.

Mr. Premadasa said that India gained universal respect and acclaim because of Lord Buddha and sages like King Dharmasoka and Mahatma Gandhi. Sri Lanka, too, had great admiration and respect for India because of these illustrious personalities.

"However, because of the double-standard policy of India in regard to terrorism, it would earn the disrespect and condemnation not only

of Sri Lanka but of the entire world"

By Foreign Ministry

In our report captioned "British MPs visit Jaffna", which appeared on page 2 of the 9th June issue, it was stated that the delegation was hosted to a lunch by the Government Agent of Jaffna at the Harbour View Hotel, Kankesanthurai.

The Government Agent Mr. Devanesan Nesiah informs us that this is incorrect. The lunch was given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The error is regretted.

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