

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 1 No 13

April 24, 1982

Rs. 2

Editorial

Tall claims and too many holes!

Writing before the World Hindu Conference in the last issue of "Saturday Review" we said: "From what we have seen of the mental approach of the organisers, we are in a position to make a safe prediction. All foreign delegates are going to be told ad nauseam: One, that this is the only country or the only other country in the world that has a separate ministry to look after Hindu affairs...."

Our prediction has come true. This is of course one of those tall claims that look tall on the face of it but is as deceptive and false as a tall claim made by a man walking on stilts. Does India, a land of Hinduism, need a Ministry for Hindu affairs? Nepal is a Hindu kingdom in itself. Which other country in the world has such a large minority Hindu population? Which other country is there in the world where Hinduism has influenced the art, sculpture, architecture, music and religion of the majority of the people? Which other country in the world is there where the majority religionists owe so much to Hinduism? The average Sinhala peasant in the village, freed of the politician's grip is as Hindu in his outlook as the Hindus in the North and East. There is no Sinhala Buddhist who does not know (if not worship) Vishnu, Ganesha, Pathini. The Buddhist stake in Hinduism has become so formidable that even the foremost Hindu shrine at Kataragama has ceased to be Hindu! Which other country anyway does Mr. Chelliah Rajadurai expect to establish a separate ministry to look after Hindu affairs? Could it be United Kingdom, U.S.A., Soviet Russia, Pakistan, Japan....?

Smug as we are that our prediction has come true, even we did not expect Sri Lanka's Chairman of the Organizing Committee, Lakshmana Iyer, to make the tall and foolish claim that no Indian University could boast of a Department of Hindu Civilization whereas the University of Jaffna has a full-fledged one!

There is more than one hole in Lakshmana Iyer's statement that needs attention. Firstly, he goes and forgets that there is not merely a department but a whole University in India—Benaras Hindu University—dedicated to Hindu Civilization. Bad enough, but what does one think of his forgetfulness when the University concerned was where he himself had done a thesis! It was gracious on his part to have thought of Jaffna's Department of Hindu Civilization, but where was the head of that Department in Lakshmana Iyer's World Conference? By what yardstick did the World Hindu Conference pick its Lankan delegates? What place did Jaffna itself, the chief centre of Hindu Civilization in the country, occupy at the Conference?

It is probably no use being surprised at the aberrations of Colombo's World Hindu Conference which was conceived in political sin and born in bureaucratic bedlam.

T.U.L.F. & T.C. may merge: New slate of candidates for elections

Some old familiar faces will be missing when the Tamil United Liberation Front draws up its slate of candidates for the next General Elections, political pundits predict.

The impending elections will be the first General Elections in Sri Lanka to be held under the new proportional representation system.

This new set-up has already led to considerable stresses and strains in every party—and the TULF is no exception, knowledgeable sources say.

Some of the TULF Old Guard have already offered to step down, the SATURDAY REVIEW understands. One of them has openly stated that he has had his innings and would now like to get back to his old profession. Prolonged ill-health is likely to compel another TULF parliamentarian to quit the political scene altogether.

The TULF high command is likely to drop some of its parliamentarians, both in the North and the East, who have not merely stepped out of line but also talked out of turn, causing the TULF quite a lot of political embarrassment.

The fact that after June even first time MPs will be eligible for a pension, is an added incentive to all parties to ruthlessly axe sitting members who are either useless or tend to be obstreperous, political observers point out.

In place of the voluntary drop-outs and those kicked out, the TULF is likely to bring in some youngsters prominently associated with

the Front's activities, especially its youth wing. This is one way of pre-empting a challenge from radical youth elements, political observers think.

There is also a lot of speculation that the TULF leadership might seek to disarm the All Ceylon Tamil

Congress by offering to accommodate one or two key members in the TULF's electoral list.

Those who confidently forecast such a development point out that before the last General Elections, hectic but ultimately fruitless attempts were made to get Kumar Ponnambalam, the ACTC General Secretary, nominated as a TULF candidate. This time, they say, the attempt is sure to succeed.

Band Music and green shawls at Hindu Conference

Tradition seems to have been observed in the breach at the World Hindu Conference, leading to quite a number of raised eyebrows both among foreign and local participants.

For instance, instead of the traditional NATHASWARAM, band music was the accompaniment when the THIRUMURAI manuscripts, placed in a casket, were taken in procession on elephant-back from the old Kathiresan Temple at Bambalapitiya to the Ramakrishna Hall, Wellawatte.

Some foreign delegates, particularly, strongly condemned this departure from tradition.

Another violation of tradition which came in

for censure was the use of green—coloured shawls (green is the colour of the ruling United National Party—Ed.) instead of the traditional golden-coloured shawls (Ponna dai).

The green shawls were wrapped around President J. R. Jayawardene and Mrs. Jayawardene by Hindu Affairs Minister Chelliah Rajadurai and Mrs. Rajadurai, respectively, as a traditional mark of respect and honour.

Minister Rajadurai's welcome speech also came in for criticism. Quite a number of participants felt it should have been delivered at the annual session of the ruling party instead of at the BMICH where a World Hindu Conference was ostensibly being held.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Published Weekly
by

KALAINILAYAM LTD.,

303, K. K. S. Road,
JAFFNA, SRI LANKA.

Tel: 7707

Chairman of
Board of Directors
K. C. THANGARAJAH

Editor

S. SIVANAYAGAM

Subscription Rates
inclusive of local
postage and foreign
Air Mail rate

Sri Lanka

Annual Rs. 120/-

Half-year Rs. 60/-

India

Annual Rs. 200/-

(Indian rupees)

All other Countries

Annual U. S. \$ 50

Cheques payable to
Kalai Nilayam Ltd.

Advertising Rates

Contracts — Rs. 10/-

per col. centimetre

Casual — Rs. 15/-

per col. centimetre

Subscribers are
requested to inform
Circulation Manager
in the event of the
non-receipt of their
copies.

WILLING
TO ACT AS CONSIGNEE
FOR

**AGRO CHEMICALS
IN THE NORTH**

CONTACT:-

MULTI
AGRICULTURAL STORES,
MAIN STREET,
CHANKANAI.

↓
(EXCLUSIVELY
AN AGRICULTURAL AREA)

LEELA Jewellery

Palace

Visit our
air-conditioned
showroom

No. 117-119

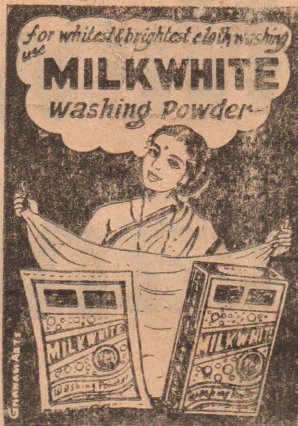
Sea Street

Colombo 11

Tel: 35639

FOR SALE

Excellent Garden Land
and Five Adjacent Building
Blocks of 4 Larchams each
available for sale on Jaffna-
Point Pedro Road 4th Mile-
Post on western boundary
of Kopay Catholic Church.
Communicate offers to W.
Muttukumaraswamy, At-
torney-at-Law, Kalvalavu,
Kopay or R. Sinnathurai,
"Santham", Irupalai, or
M. Kanagarajah, 200 Kas-
turiar Road, Jaffna.



Milk White
Soap Works

P. O. Box 77
JAFFNA.

VISIT OUR SHOW ROOM
FOR
HONDA SPECIAL

OFFER UP TO 15TH MAY '82

C. 90	Rs. 12,510/-
CD. 50	Rs. 12,150/-
CD. 125 T	Rs. 19,800/-

MAHARAJA INVESTMENTS LTD.,
122, K. K. S. ROAD, JAFFNA.

RABBIT — ZEBRA — NOORANI
CHANDRICA BRANDS

ROOFING TILES,
BRICKS & CONCRETE BLOCKS ETC.

SOLE DISTRIBUTORS:

M. T. PONNAMPALAM

36, K. K. S. ROAD, JAFFNA.

Phone: 7493

Air Tickets

TO ANY DESTINATION
IN ANY AIRLINE

Special Fares

TO SINGAPORE, MIDDLE
EAST, LONDON AND
OTHER EUROPEAN
COUNTRIES

American Express

TRAVELLERS CHEQUES
AT BANK RATES

Visa

FOR NIGERIA ?

CONTACT:

Mackinnons Travels Ltd.

NO. 8, POINT PEDRO ROAD, JAFFNA
Telephone: 8154 JAFFNA

Head Office: MACKINNON'S BUILDING,

4, Leyden Bastian Road,

Fort, Colombo 1.

Telephone: 29881, 20456, 29563, 22641

Telex: 21124/21936 MAKINON CE.

T.U.L.F. M.P. IN IRAQ

Mr. V. N. Navaratnam, Member of Parliament for Chavakachcheri and Member of the Executive Committee of the Inter-Parliamentary Union who is on a visit to Iraq as a personal guest of Mr. Na'eem Haddad, Speaker of the National Assembly, had talks with the Iraqi Speaker on the Iraq-Iran conflict and the political situation in Sri Lanka. This discussion was featured on the Iran Television.

Mr. Navaratnam also met Tamil workers who are employed in various parts of Iraq and made a personal call at the home of the sister of youth hero Sivakumaran of

Urumpirai. Sivakumaran's only sister is now living with her husband at Habaniyh Tourist village which is about 100 Miles from Baghdad.

Mr. Navaratnam earlier visited the ancient city of Babylon. He was shown round by officials of the National Assembly.



**BRIAN BARNES
IN JAFFNA**

Brian D. Barnes, internationally known for his solo performances, will present TALES OLD AND NEW on Monday, 26th April at Chundikuli Girls' College Hall, Jaffna at 6-30 p. m.

Barnes' One Man Theatre is being sponsored by the British Council.

PEACE EXHIBITION AT CHAVA

A two-day (16th & 17th APRIL) peace exhibition organised by the Non-violent Direct Action Group (NVD-AG) was held at Sivakumaran Padippakam, Chavakachcheri. The Chairman of the Chavakachcheri Urban Council declared it open.

The peace exhibition featured posters, pamphlets, newsletters, books, stickers and periodicals on peace, Non-violence, Nuclear Disarmament and Arms Trade.

The NVDAG hopes to organise similar exhibitions throughout the Jaffna District.

SUB-POSTMASTERS WANT PERMANENCY, PENSIONS

Sub-postmasters want to be made permanent and pensionable, like other government servants. This was the main resolution passed at the 9th annual general meeting of the All Ceylon Sub-Postmasters Union held at Veerasingham Hall, Jaffna, on 18 April.

V.R.V. TRANSPORT SERVICE

OFFERS A NEW
LUXURY COACH SERVICE
WITH

COMFORT SECURITY COURTESY

COLOMBO — JAFFNA — COLOMBO

Leaving Colombo Daily at 8 p. m. to JAFFNA

Leaving JAFFNA Daily at 8 p. m. to COLOMBO

ONE WAY TICKET AT ONLY

RS. 60/-

Seats may be booked at the following places in Colombo

★ **Greenlands Hotel** ★ **V. R. Vadivetkarasan**
Bambalapitiya 271, Chetty St ret
Tel: 85592, 81986 Colombo 11
Tel: 34800, 32540

★ **Ajantha Hotel Ltd.**
125, Olcott Mawatha
Colombo. Tel: 32769, 28089

Seats may be booked at the following places in Jaffna

★ **V.R.V. Transport** ★ **Ricoh Sweet & Cream House**
Segaram Buildings 370, Hospital Road,
188/3, Hospital Road Jaffna
Jaffna

Tel: 8162

Tel: 464, 7889

SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS

- For the convenience of the passengers the Coach leaves Greenlands Hotel, Bambalapitiya at 7 p. m. daily and proceeds to Chetty Street (near the temple) and leaves for Jaffna at 8 p. m.
- Passengers from Jaffna can proceed till Wellawatte without extra charge.
- The Jaffna—Trincomalee Coach Service functions daily. Bus leaves Jaffna at 6 a. m.

The Island (that paper with lots of pictures and lots of colour) sometimes behaves like an over-fed Boy Scout wanting to do good deeds in journalism but not quite knowing how! Once it rescued Mother Lanka's image (or thought it did) from the jaws of an international monster called Amnesty International. In its issue of December 29, 1981 it asked editorially "What is this organization called Amnesty International which is apparently interfering in the internal affairs of this country?"

ROUND NO. 1

On 11th of January, 1982 The Island carried a virtual "editorial" on page 1 masquerading as a page 1 lead story written by News Editor, Gamini Weerakoon. The International monster to get pummelled this time was the International Commission of Jurists.

Under the headline Sinhalese have a minority complex, says ICJ Report the "news item" began thus:

"The International Commission of Jurists, a supposedly impartial body of lawyers safeguarding human rights round the world in a lopsided report released just before the Universal Declaration of Eelam from London" has described the terrorists in the north as a "small group known as Liberation Tigers".The ICJ report also makes a Freudian observation "it has been claimed that the Sinhalese have a minority complex since although a majority within Sri Lanka, they are a minority within Asia".

Not satisfied with the editorial by the News Editor on page 1 the Editor himself waded headlong into the ICJ report and Prof. Virginia A. Leary who undertook the mission to Sri Lanka on behalf of the ICJ.

The Editor also found it difficult to keep psycho-analyst Sigmund Freud (how does he come in?) out of the picture. The editorial said "Since Prof. Leary has begun with a piece of psycho-analysis it would not be out of place to place her on the Freudian Couch ourselves. She says "It has been claimed that the Sinhalese have a minority complex since although a majority within Sri Lanka they are a minority within Asia". We are not at all sure who the author of this socio-political observation with a Freudian touch is....."

ROUND NO 2

The next Act in this drama was staged recently. The first issue of the "Media

The Island's slip is showing!

Monitor" (a monthly bulletin of the Council for Communal Harmony through the Media) gave a gentle reproof to the Bloemendhal Road paper thus:

"Sinhalese have a minority complex, says ICJ Report"- in this way The Island of 11th January picked up a part of a sentence appearing on page 9 of the 88 page publication of the International Commission of Jurists, titled "Ethnic conflict and violence in Sri Lanka", to headline its first page. This headline reflected the attitude that the paper had towards this report. The report written by Prof. Virginia A. Leary gives a detailed account of the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka and of the violence this problem created. Its chapter on the Prevention of Terrorism Act is almost the best to appear so far on this draconian law which the author had compared with the 1967 Terrorism Act of South Africa. The report also has a lengthy section on the socio-economic background to the ethnic problem. Despite these, the reporting and especially the editorial of that day reacted violently against a foreigner telling the Sinhalese that they have a minority complex. The prominence given to this single sentence was so excessive that the paper might have proved the very same point by its behaviour. Not only that, in their enthusiasm to give a communal perspective to this reporting the learned editors seem to have got muddled in their understanding of Freudian psychology....."

ROUND NO. 3

Columnist "Islander" who runs a somewhat infantile column with a pronounced racist and anti-Indian bias in the Sunday issue of The Island, next jumped into the fray. Said he (11th April, 1982):

"A guardian angel of inter-communal harmony took "The Island" to task for its reportage of the Virginia Leary ICJ report on Ethnic Conflict and Violence in Sri Lanka. Our headline 'Sinhalese have a minority complex says ICJ report' has not met with the approval of the monitor of the

press on communal issues. We have been accused of playing up this single line about the minority complex in our report. While the Wardens of our local think tanks powered by foreign funds are generally expected to make noises on such issues we wonder why the ladies and gentlemen who keep a hawk-eyed watch on the press had failed to notice some of the balderdash offered in its report by the learned jurist. Having studied a 2500 year old problem in a matter of four weeks the woman jurist comes to the conclusion



that the majority community of this country has an inferiority complex because there are 50 million Tamils in South Asia and the fact that Palk Strait are not wide enough. We have no grouse against such four weak wonders coming to such conclusions but what baffles us is that our local communal doves and legal eagles could not tell the jurist that she was being led up the garden path. On the other hand we have come to know professional lawyers as those who go by hard facts and facts alone. How this conclusion of a minority complex was arrived at passes our understanding. On the other hand given the same situation of numbers and distance couldn't it be concluded that the minority might be having a superiority complex.

"Then here are so many other slips of Virginia which the local communal amity doves had failed to notice. Says the jurist: The British maintained a neutral position with regard to ethnic groups but the superior ability of Tamils in English gave them advantages during the colonial era. Islander has so many dear in the North and East. If they had said mathematics we might have even considered granting to such a myth but

pray who ever said of the Northern and Eastern brothers superiority in English! That stupid contention itself is indicative of Leary's judgment but not to our brethren promoting communal amity.."

(The blank space in the middle of the para belongs to The Island not Saturday Review.)

SATURDAY REVIEW COMMENT

Tut, Tut, Mr. Islander, your jingoism is bad enough but your ignorance is worse. Let us get the record straight before you fly off in a tangent again.

1. Prof. Leary did not come to any such conclusion as you say that the majority community of this country has an inferiority complex. In presenting the historical background of the present ethnic conflict Prof. Leary merely records a point of view that has been stated by others before. Her actual words are: "It is frequently pointed out that, although a majority group within Sri Lanka, the Sinhalese have a minority complex, since they are a minority ethnic group within Asia. The Tamils in Asia out-number the Sinhalese by five to one. There are more than 50 million Tamils in South Asia, primarily in the south of India, only a few miles across the sea from Sri Lanka. This insecurity of the Sinhalese may have contributed to the racist tension in the island".

2. We cannot see how The Island and the Islander came to react hostilely to a comment which after all was meant to take a sympathetic-stand-point in understanding the Sinhalese mind!

3. Here is something which, is going to jolt Mr. Islander. Pitching into Prof. Virginia A. Leary looked a simple enough exercise for him but does he realise that he was really pitching into someone else who even in his own eyes must enjoy higher credentials? Mr. Howard Wriggins, an academic, author and one time Ambassador of the United States of America in Sri Lanka says

in his well-known book "Ceylon: Dilemmas of a new nation" (Princeton University Press.) "Underlying the arguments for and against parity was the intractable fact that the Ceylonese majority community of 7 million Sinhalese was a small minority in the face of the hypothetical comparison of Ceylon's Tamil population of 27 million Tamils in South India. Indeed, both groups were beset with acute minority feelings. The Tamils believed they were destined to be perpetual minority in Ceylon itself which the majority was determined to dominate by every means and the Sinhalese believed that they were the language minority in the shade of India". The book, for Mr. Islander's information was published 22 years ago in 1960!

Even if Islander's reading does not reach out to Wriggins he could have read Mr. Leslie Goonewardena's 1978 publication "A History of the L.S.S.P. in Perspective". In Chapter 4 of "The L.S.S.P. and the minorities" explaining the change in the language policy of the L.S.S.P., the author, a former Secretary of the Party says:

"...Although in the state of Ceylon, the Sinhalese constituted the majority and Tamils the minority, the Sinhalese considered themselves to be the minority in the region, when one counted also the tens of millions of Tamils in South India. With a history of constant wars with the Tamils in the pre-colonial era, the Sinhalese considered that it was the Sinhala language and not Tamil which needed special protection and special guarantees to safeguard the position of the Sinhalese and their language. However unfounded these fears may have been, they were both widespread and deep among the Sinhalese population."

FOR GOOD MEASURE

For good measure here is one more recommended reading for Islander: "The Interpretation of Cultures" by Clifford Geertz (Hutchinson & Co.—1975). Author Geertz makes this incidental reference on page 265 of the book: "In a similar way, in Ceylon both the Tamils and Sinhalese manage to see themselves as minorities: the Tamils because 70 percent of the Ceylonese are Sinhalese; the Sinhalese because the 8 million of them in Ceylon are all there are, while in addition to the 2 million Tamils in the island there are 28 million more in South India....."

So there.... All the World has been talking of this!

(Continued from
last issue)

The I. C. J. Report

Historical background to the present ethnic conflict

(continued)

Terrorist acts by Tamil youth have exacerbated the already tense relations between Sinhalese and Tamils. The political violence or terrorism by Tamil youths, primarily against police in the Jaffna area, began substantially in 1977. The terrorist acts have been attributed to a group called the "Liberation Tigers," estimated to include fewer than 200 persons by government sources. A government pamphlet published in June 1981 stated that the group of terrorists had been involved in over 200 acts of violence in the previous three years including the killing of politicians, 18 police officials, acts of homicide and robberies of banks. The leadership of the Tamil United Liberation Front has condemned the violence and does not advocate violence to achieve the separate state of Eelam, although allegations have been made that individual members of the TULF have advocated violence as a means of achieving a separate state. The terrorist youth gangs are acting independently from the policy of the Tamil party and there is no evidence that they have substantial support from the Tamil population in the North.

BANK ROBBED AND POLICEMEN KILLED

On March 25, a bank was robbed in the town of Neerveli in the Jaffna Peninsula area and two policemen were killed. The robbery was attributed to a terrorist gang and one month later, the army and police, without warrants, arrested 27 young Tamil men under the Prevention of Terrorism Act for implication in the robbery. This Act and its application will be discussed more fully in a later section of this report. At the end of May, further violence developed during the campaign for District Development Council Elections. These elections were to be a significant step towards decentralization and were regarded as a positive act by the government in responding to the demands of the Tamil population for more control over their own affairs. Unfortunately, the election in Jaffna turned into a tragic event further exacerbating the racial conflict. On May 24, Mr. A. Thiagarajah, a Tamil who headed the UNP list of candidates, was assassinated. Since the UNP is the governing majority party in the country and a predominantly Sinhalese party, the killing was perceived as a threat to Tamil politicians not to enter the UNP lists. On June 9, 1981

Ethnic Conflict and Violence in Sri Lanka: Report of a Mission to Sri Lanka in July - August 1981 on behalf of the International Commission of Jurists by Professor Virginia A. Leary.

Mr. Gamini Dissanayake, Minister of Lands and Land Development, stated in Parliament that "those who take to politics opposed to the Tamil United Liberation Front run the risk of death." On May 31, two policemen were killed during a TULF rally, in disputed circumstances. According to some sources, the policemen shot each other during a dispute. According to others, the two were shot in the back of the head by unknown assailants. The ICJ observer was unable to verify personally the veracity of either account of the deaths. This event precipitated a rampage by police in Jaffna (which is described in the next section under violence by security forces) and led to the imposition of a temporary state of emergency in Jaffna.

On July 28, a terrorist gang of about 15 persons attacked a police station in Anacottai, six miles out of Jaffna. One policeman was killed, another, who was seriously wounded, died later. The gang escaped with firearms including 17 rifles, two shotguns, a sub-machine gun and a thousand rounds of ammunition. The attack was the first attack against a police station in Sri Lanka since a Sinhalese youth insurrection in 1971. It was immediately condemned by the leadership of the TULF who described it as a senseless act of violence. The government reacted with a number of strong measures. Police personnel were pulled out of six stations in outlying areas and replaced by army officers. Army units were moved into Jaffna. Trucks and armoured vehicles carrying army personnel on patrol in Jaffna were evident during the visit of the ICJ observer in early August. The Police Department requested the Defence Ministry to permit police to require national identity cards at all times in the Jaffna peninsula. The increased security measures took on the tone of an army of occupation in Jaffna.

The government is clearly deeply concerned about the problem of terrorism in the north. They have applied the provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act to detain a number of youths. The government issued a regulation, under emergency legislation, on August 25, providing for the death penalty or life imprisonment for unlawful possession and transport of weapons and explosives in four Tamil areas. A consideration of whether such measures will prove effective depends on an understanding of the causes of violence among a segment of the Tamil youth.

Tamil publications have explained the development of youth violence in the Jaffna peninsula. Although full scale violence did not erupt until 1977 the roots of it can be traced to events occur-

eventually suppressed. Funds for the insurrection had been obtained through bank robberies and hold-ups. Tamil youth, who increasingly suffered the effects of discriminatory measures in language, education and employment, apparently learned some of the tactics of violence from the earlier insurrection. These discriminatory measures, and the unsuccessful efforts of the Tamil representatives to combat them, led a group of Tamil youth to abandon hope for a peaceful solution to the ethnic problem and to turn to violence. Police harassment and cruelty against young Tamils also appears to have played a part. Early instances of violence against police officers appeared to be directed against particular officers considered responsible for brutality against Tamils. Although much of the cruelty and harassment

with kidnapping in connection with the repatriation.

VIOLENCE BY SECURITY FORCES.

Violence or state terrorism by police and armed forces is the third type of violence that has been prevalent in Sri Lanka. The most recent serious incident occurred in early June in Jaffna, but it has been a recurring fact since 1974. In that year, during a session of an international Tamil Cultural Conference, the police waded into a large group of persons, ostensibly in order to prevent a particular person from speaking, and a stampede resulted causing nine deaths, the majority of them through electrocution by a fallen wire. The government refused to appoint a Commission of Inquiry and the Tamils set

Political Violence or Terrorism



"The roots of it can be traced to events occurring during her reign"

ing during Mrs. Bandaranaike's reign from 1970 to 1977. In 1971 a major insurrection occurred in Sri Lanka. It was led by Sinhalese youth and there appeared to be no participation of Tamils. During the insurrection, 92 police stations were attacked by Sinhalese youth, 37 members of the police and 26 members of the armed forces were killed. The insurrection was

against Tamil youth occurred in the 1970-77 period of the previous government, particularly brutal attacks by police and armed forces occurred during a state of emergency declared in the Jaffna peninsula in 1979 by the present government.

Thus far, no Tamil youths have been convicted of terrorist offences. The complaint is frequently heard that the Tamil population has not assisted the government in apprehending terrorists.

In July, some 150 Tamil youths fled to East Germany and from there sought political asylum in West Berlin claiming to be persecuted at home. The Sun (Colombo) reported on August 1 that "According to officials both in West Berlin and Colombo, the Tamil youth, who claim to be persecuted at home, are being lured to Berlin by unscrupulous agents promising them work or asylum". Officials in West Germany repatriated a number of the youth to Sri Lanka. The West German section of Amnesty International then began legal proceedings charging "persons unknown"

up their own. Commission which reported the growing antagonism of police forces against Tamils in the north.

Numerous incidents of detention of Tamil youths and maltreatment were reported during the 1970s. The Sri Lankan Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE) reported that, following the adoption of the 1972 Constitution, "hundreds of Tamil youths were arrested and left to languish in gaols for long periods of time without being charged and convicted in accordance with the law. Several of them were taken into custody, ostensibly for questioning, but were most inhumanly tortured whilst in custody. The high handed action of the police on the final day of the Fourth International Tamil Research Conference held in Jaffna, in January 1974, when nine lives were lost, has left bitter memories among the Tamil youths."

(To be continued)

The 1982 Chelvanayakam Memorial Lecture



Prof. Arasaratnam

(Continued from last issue)

A Historical foundation of the Economy of the Tamils of North Ceylon (Continued)

The growth of property rights was further underlined in the legal institutions that evolved. It is not known when or how the customs and provisions embodied in the **Thesavalamai** first struck root in Jaffna. When the Dutch commissioned a group of Jaffna Mudaliyars to codify these customs in 1707, they had secured the force of customary law in the community. Cases were heard, probably from the period of the kingdom of Jaffna, on the basis of these laws, with pleaders and adjudicators in regular judicial proceedings. The **Thesavalamai** recognised three types of property: **seedhanam** or dowry property that the woman received at marriage; **muthisam** or property inherited by the man from his parents; and **thediya-theddam** or property acquired by the married couple after their marriage. This distinction brought some regularity into the ownership and disposal of property and above all gave considerable property rights and security to women and protected children. Such a complex set of rights and obligations also produced a litigious people, and this was observed even as early as the mid-17th century. But it contributed to the stability of society, to its conservatism and its integrity during centuries of successive colonial rule.

SOCIO - ECONOMIC MOBILITY

There was then the institution of caste which evolved in ways different from the original homelands of the Tamils. The absence of a large group of Brahmins in society weakened the Brahmanic norms which the Tamils had brought from south India. Castes did not have to strictly adhere to traditional occupations and there was some socio-economic mobility. These occupations did not and could not have the same social values attached to them as in south India. Agriculture and agricultural pursuits continued as the most valued occupations but seafaring and the industries associated with seaproduce achieved a value greater than in south India and provided the means

to upward mobility. The numerical preponderance of the major agricultural caste, which soon became the dominant caste in society, gave a stability to society. This also contributed to the orderly progress of economic relationships in society.

Land hunger, Cultivation Techniques and Spread of Tobacco

The amount of land under cultivation in the old settled areas of the peninsula was expanded by every possible means. This was done by pushing the frontiers of the village into adjoining bush land and by government schemes of reclamation of salt lands by putting up bunds against the flow of salt water. The Dutch did some valuable work in this respect in the Navatkuli area. Another means to bring more land under cultivation was to sell waste lands owned by the state by auction. These sales took place regularly from the 1670's well into the early 19th century. So great was the land hunger in the peninsula that these lands were immediately taken up and cash payments made. The extension into the mainland, across Elephant Pass, took up part of this pressure right from the end of the 17th century. It gathered momentum in the 20th century with governmental activity in reconstructing old irrigation works.

Cultivation techniques were soon adapted to suit the soil and the climate. A large part of the land was used in the cultivation of paddy as a crop for the rainy season. After its harvest a variety of dry grains were sown to provide for both man and beast. A decision was taken very early to divert land from paddy to market gardening and cash crops. It is not known when this happened, but by the 17th century these market gardens flourished to the north and east of Valikamam and in Vadamarachi. About the same time the cultivation of that queen of Jaffna's cash crops—tobacco—was spreading. This diversification and specialization was of immense importance to the evolution of the economy of the Tamils. It served

to monetize the economy to a far greater degree than the continuance of near subsistence paddy farming would have done. It brought villages into exchange relationships with each other and led to the growth of important market-towns such as Pt. Pedro, Chavakachcheri, Atchuveli, Chunnakam, and Chankanai—strategically distributed through the peninsula. It brought commerce as a strong ingredient of the economy and contributed to making Jaffna a centre of brisk commercial interchange. Finally, it served to open up Jaffna to seaborne commerce with India and with the southern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka.

most common of which was the kasu, some of which were minted locally. Pagodas, fanams and kases were brought in by Malabar, Coromandel and Bengal merchants.

Exports of high value were elephants and tobacco. Elephants must have been a valuable trade commodity from the period of the Jaffna kings. They continued so under the Portuguese and the Dutch, fetching high prices in the 17th and early 18th centuries because of the demand in the Moghul Empire and the Nayakdoms of the south. During the peak of this trade they fetched annually up to 200,000 Dutch

which Travancore merchants, acting on behalf of the Rajah, sailed annually to Jaffna ports to buy tobacco. They developed a network of agents in the producing areas who advanced money to the cultivators to purchase the forthcoming crop. As these peasant tobacco farmers were in desperate need of this credit, the purchasers as providers of credit were able to buy the crop at very low rates. Some farmers, who were able to do so, harvested and cured the leaves and sold them to brokers at the market price. These brokers were mostly Jaffna entrepreneurs, Chetties and others, who in turn would sell the tobacco to the Malayalee traders at a profit. When faced with this prospect of a steady cash income, the acreage under tobacco increased steadily in the second half of the 18th century. Land in Vadamarachi and East Valikamam villages were diverted to this crop. Its cultivation extended to Mannar and the Vanni.

A report of 1783 provides some detailed statistics of this trade. It appears that annually from 1 million to 1,300,000 pounds of tobacco leaves were exported from Jaffna. The best quality tobacco appears to have fetched about Rs. 120 per Candy (of 500 pounds) with lower prices for lower quality leaves down to Rs. 40 per Candy. The brokers enjoyed a commission of 10%. No Jaffna merchant could participate in the export trade because of the tight monopoly of the Rajah of Travancore. There was an export duty of 20% levied by the Dutch. This duty was farmed out by public auction. In the 1790's it was worth Rs. 80,000 per year. The Malayalee exporters paid for the tobacco in pagodas and fanams which they brought into the country. Unlike the elephant trade, the trade in tobacco benefited a wide segment of the community—cultivators, labourers, transport operators, brokers. It was soon growing into a life-line of the Jaffna economy and for this reason was vulnerable to any shifts in demand.

by Prof. S. Arasaratnam

Commerce was made imperative by the growing population and by the inability of food production to cope with this rising population. By the beginning of the 17th century, Jaffna was dependent on rice imports from India—mainly Bengal, Coromandel, Tanjore and Madura—and this dependence increased as years passed. In the 17th and 18th centuries, it appears as if about half the rice consumed in the peninsula had to be imported. Any interruption to this import trade caused serious shortages and steep increase in prices. It was in the interest of the ruling power to keep the price of rice down as all other prices and wages rose and fell with the price of rice.

The dependence on imported rice and on the purchase of local rice by those in areas that did not grow paddy necessitated the circulation of money, not merely at the higher and more affluent social levels as was the case in many pre-modern societies but among ordinary working people. The sources of money supply in the country was the excess of exports over imports. The entire coinage in circulation was of foreign origin, mostly Indian. The gold coins, pagoda and fanam, were of the higher denomination and there were copper coins, the

Buyers were the wealthy merchants of Bengal, Golconda and Tanjore, who paid in silver and gold coins. Under the Dutch, export of elephants was a Company monopoly and the proceeds were credited to the Dutch treasury. The community itself did not benefit from the trade except in brokerage fees, handling costs and labour. The decline of the trade in the second half of the 18th century created large deficits in the accounts of the Jaffna Commandement and caused a shortage of money in the country.

EXPORT OF TOBACCO

The second item that brought cash into the country was tobacco. There must have been some cultivation and export of tobacco in the 17th century and earlier but it is only in the 18th century that this product reached the heights it did as an article of export and occupied an important place in the economy of the peninsula. This happened with the burgeoning demand for Jaffna tobacco in south Malabar. The expansion of the kingdom of Travancore and the emergence of that ruler as a monopolist trader in his kingdom opened a steady market for the Jaffna product. A permanent commercial relationship was established by

(To be Continued)

From the pages of Hansard - 50 YEARS AGO

Debates in the Legislative Council of Ceylon - Friday

November 9, 1928

(Continued from the last issue)

The Hon. Mr. K. BALASINGHAM:—I rise, Sir, to say a few words on the motions before the House. I gather from the many speeches that have been delivered so far that there is practically unanimity that there should be manhood suffrage in this country. The Commissioners have themselves made that the foundation for the grant of a large measure of responsible Government. They say "We could not recommend a further grant of responsible Government unless the Government were to be made fully representative of the great body of the people." Then they say: "When a considerable increase in responsible Government is being recommended, therefore the question of the franchise becomes of first importance." They have made that the very foundation for their recommendations. In this matter the Commissioners have been merely giving effect to the sentiments prevailing to-day throughout the world. In all the post-war republics that have come into existence—and there are so many—manhood suffrage is a cardinal doctrine. The reason for that is this, that the differences between men on the ground of wealth, or education, or on any other ground are discarded.

WE MUST CHANGE WITH THE TIMES'

Nobody now argues that one human being is not the equal of another in a political sense. I quite agree with the remark of the Honourable the Veteran Knight that all men are not equal; that the foundation of most democratic Governments is built not on fact but on theory. Theory though it may be, it is a necessary theory for a democratic Government as we have been all asking for a democratic Government. I quite agree with the sentiment that a few wise men would be able to administer the Government better than the entire nation; that they would be able, if well-intentioned, to better the condition of the state than if the Government were placed in the hands of the many. But we have passed that stage now. All nations have

accepted democratic Government as the ideal and it is too late now to hark back to the earlier theories even if they are right because we find we must change with the times.

The question of literacy has been urged and I realize that it is a very important point. It has been asked how can suffrage be exercised by persons if they are not literate? But that has not been a condition for the grant of manhood suffrage in other countries. Take for instance the case of Hungary. According to the Census of 1920, 25 percent of the people were illiterate and yet they adopted universal suffrage. Take the case of Russia where illiteracy is much greater. They have universal suffrage. And it may come as a surprise to some of those who advocate

the First FRANCHISE debate

capable of understanding political questions by merely reading and writing, is there any reason why literacy should be insisted upon as a test for the vote? Bryce argues this question about literacy and says:—

"How far does the ability to read and write go towards civic competence? Because it is the only test practically available, we assume it to be an adequate test. Is it really so? Some of us remember among the English rustics of sixty years ago shrewd men un-

of his fellows. On the printed page truth has no better chance than falsehood except with those who read widely and have the capacity of discernment. A party organ suppressing some facts, misrepresenting others, is the

worst of all guides, because it can by incessantly reiterating untruth produce a greater impression than any man or body of men. A modern voter so guided by his party newspaper is no better than his grandfather."

Literacy should not be a condition for manhood suffrage —the Hon. K. Balasingham

property and income qualifications to know that in that country the possessors of unearned wealth are disqualified from voting, and many of those who opposed the extension of the franchise here would be disqualified in Russia.

The actual worker who earns his daily bread is the man who is given the vote in that country. The beggar is disqualified, so is the plutocrat with unearned wealth. The question of literacy is a point that has been considered in democratic countries and the trend of opinion to-day is that literacy should not be a condition of the franchise. And are they wrong in this matter? What is the advantage of being able merely to read and write a language? That does not really lead to much political wisdom; it does not lead to much capacity for Government. And if people are not rendered more

able to read, but with plenty of mother wit, and by their strong sense and solid judgment quite as well qualified to vote as their grandchildren to-day who read a newspaper.

"The man who reads only the newspaper of his own party and reads its political intelligence in a medley of other stuff, narratives of crimes and description of football matches, need not know that there is more than one side to a question, and seldom asks if there is one, nor what is the evidence for what the paper tells him. The printed page, because it seems to represent some unknown power, is believed more readily than what he hears in talk. He takes from it statements, perhaps groundless, perhaps invented, which he would not take from one

ANOTHER BIG INCENTIVE TO INVESTOR

Mercantile

Even deposits of

UP TO **30%** P.A.

A deposit of Rs. 3000/-

30% p.a. on interest at maturity

DEPOSITS LESS THAN RS. 200,000/-

INTEREST AND BONUS PAID AT MATURITY.

2 YEARS-

27% p.a. on deposits of Rs. 100,000/- and over.

25% p.a. on deposits of Rs. 50,000/- and less than Rs. 100,000/-

24% p.a. on deposits of Rs. 2,500/- and less than Rs. 50,000/-

1 YEAR -

22% p.a. on deposits of Rs. 2,500/- and over.

Mercantile Credit Lim

It has been truly pointed out that if the examination test is insisted on not even one in thousand, perhaps not one in ten thousand, would be eligible to exercise the franchise. That would be practically denying women the right they ask for. It has been also said that the women themselves did not ask for more than a limited franchise; that the Members of this House who asked for franchise for women, including myself, have not asked as much as the Commissioners have granted. That is perfectly true. But that is also true as regards manhood suffrage and certain other matters. Manhood suffrage has been granted although many Members of this House who now endorse it did not ask for it. So that the mere fact that the Commissioners have granted more than that asked for by many Members is not an argument

against our accepting recommendations of this kind. of manhood suffrage as follows:—

My position as regards women is this. If they desire it, if the customs of the country demand that they should not leave their homes, by all means let them not. I will not be a party to any movement that will force women to the polls. The women of this country, especially of the upper classes do not go to the polls or to public places, except to the temple and church, and it is not desirable that they should be forced to go to the polls. But there are other women who make it their business to go about on the roads to work daily and earn their livelihood, and I do not see any reason why that class of women who are not secluded, should not exercise that right.

He sums up the arguments usually urged by supporters,

“Has not the untutored instinct of the masses been frequently vindicated by the event against the pretensions of the class which thinks itself superior? Take English history during the nineteenth century, and mark in how many cases the working men gave their sympathy to causes which society frowned upon and which subsequent events proved to have deserved that sympathy. What outworn prejudices, what foolish prophecies, what wild counsels may be heard from the lips of the rich! What narrow views have been expressed even by brilliant writers and accomplished teachers and divines! High attainments in some branch of science or learning are compatible with class ignorance and

obstinate perversity where practical issues are involved. Have not associations of working men been more often right in their political judgment of measures than college common rooms and military clubs? The instincts of the multitude are as likely to be right as the theories of the learned”. That is how he summarises the arguments urged in favour of manhood suffrage even when there is a lot of illiteracy in the country. I think it is not possible to-day — with the world as it is constituted — to get that measure of self-Government which we all ask for without conceding manhood suffrage. This is not a fad of to-day as suggested by one of the previous speakers. The world has not thought of manhood suffrage only in recent years. Look at the ancient republic of Greece. Every free man had a vote even in the decision

of the affairs of State. Of course at that time there were slaves in Greece who had no vote; but now we are all free. It must be conceded that the whole theory of democratic Government is not based on fact but on fiction because all men are not equal. But what else, I ask, can be introduced in place of the theory of equality? What is the measure of the difference between man and man? And that difficulty has been the ground for conceding equality to everybody.

The next point that has been considered by us is the extension of the franchise to women between the ages of twenty-one and thirty. I feel there has been a great deal of unanimity on this point too and everybody concedes that there is no reason to exclude those between twenty-one and thirty from the exercise of the franchise.

(Continued in the next issue)

Mercantile Credit Limited

Even higher returns on Rs. 200,000 & over...

Rs. 200,000 will grow to Rs. 320,000 in two years.

27% p.a. on 2 year deposits Interest and Bonus paid Monthly/Quarterly/Half Yearly	26% p.a. on 1 year deposits Interest and Bonus paid at Maturity.	24% p.a. on 1 year deposits Interest and Bonus paid Monthly/Quarterly/Half yearly.
---	--	--

FOR SECURITY AND DEPENDABILITY FIGURES SPEAK

INTEREST AND BONUS PAID MONTHLY/QUARTERLY/HALF YEARLY.	1978/79	1979/80	1980/81
	Rs	Rs	Rs
2 YEARS -			
27% p.a. on deposits of Rs. 100,000/- and over.	Capital 2,250,000	2,250,000	5,000,000
26% p.a. on deposits of Rs. 50,000/- and less than 100,000/-	Reserves 7,628,000	15,668,000	20,450,000
24% p.a. on deposits of Rs. 2,500/- and less than 50,000/-	Deposits 72,513,000	125,835,000	174,094,000
1 YEAR -	Borrowings 32,589,000	29,623,000	74,723,000
27% p.a. on deposits of Rs. 2,500/- and over.	Gross Assets 135,977,000	201,311,000	329,154,000
	Profit before Tax 4,764,000	3,821,000	8,170,000
	Profit after Tax 2,614,000	3,821,000	8,170,000
	Dividend declared 375,000	925,000	925,000
	(At year end)		

Mercantile Credit Limited THE LARGEST AND STRONGEST FINANCE COMPANY IN SRI LANKA - The Company enjoying the greatest public confidence-with over 6,500 depositors.

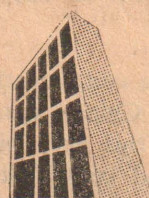
BOARD OF DIRECTORS

- N.U. Jayawardena
Chairman
- A.N.U. Jayawardena
Deputy Chairman & Managing Director
- K. Viknarah
Consultant Director
- Mrs. Y.N. Perera
Executive Director
- S.M. Hussain
- S. Pathmanathan
- K. Selvanathan
(Alternate: M. Selvanathan)
- R. Senathi Rajah
- M.D.H. Jayawardena.

PRINCIPAL LINES OF BUSINESS

Hire purchase finance, Loan finance, Leasing finance, Guarantee facilities, Promotion facilities, Negotiation of bank facilities, merchandising.
Principal Agent for National Insurance Corporation transacting all classes of Insurance.

For further information and service call at:



Mercantile Credit Limited

(Approved under the Finance Act Incorporated 4th July 1956)

51,55 Janadhipathi Mawatha, Colombo 1. Telephone 26611-8; International: 547932

Or at our Branch Office nearest to you:

ANURADHAPURA:

2 Harischandra Mawatha Telephone: 534

JAFFNA:

11/8, Stanley Road, Telephone: 321

MATARA:

27, 1/1 Dharmapala Mawatha, Telephone: 041 - 2466

KANDY:

115, (1st Floor) Kotugodella Veediya, Telephone: 08-4196

Agents in all other important towns.

STRENGTH BUILT ON PUBLIC CONFIDENCE.

After virtually scuttling the trade pact with China, in a devious manoeuvre to satisfy some politicians in Sri Lanka and the United States Government, Sri Lanka has now been compelled to turn to Peking to save its rubber industry and to procure urgent supplies of rice!

The trade with China, since it was formalised in 1952 and until 1977, was one of the few stabilising factors in Sri Lanka's economy, which had been subjected to crippling pressures originating abroad, mainly in the industrial countries in the West.

Soon after the United National Party came into power in mid-1977, the first move began to be made to restrict the trade with China.

The Minister of Trade, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, at a press conference in Colombo, announced that it was planned to switch from bilateralism to multilateralism in the trade with China as well. Also, Sri Lanka was going to insist on payment in hard currency for the rubber supplied to China.

'LOSS OF HARD CURRENCY'

The basic feature of the China pact had been the barter of goods on a bilateral basis. But the Government argued (as had previous UNP administrations) that the diversion of exports from the traditional markets (i.e. from US and other Western markets) to other (mainly socialist) countries with which Sri Lanka had payment agreements resulted in a loss of hard currency that could otherwise be used for the import of essential commodities. On the other hand, the freedom to buy and sell at the best prices was restricted under bilateralism.

It was conveniently ignored that in China's case at least it was this very bilateralism that had contributed to the success of the trade in the past, enabling the exchanges to be balanced at higher levels than would normally have been possible. Further Sri Lanka's imports from China were financed partly by loans extended by it on very favourable terms.

The prices paid by China for rubber had, except in 1960, been higher than those by the rest of the world. China, in return, had supplied rice at world prices or slightly lower. This meant that Sri Lanka had been able to make a substantial saving in foreign exchange on its purchases of rice and earned additional exchange on the sale of rubber.

The scuttling of our Trade Pact with China

For instance, the gain in 1952, the first year of the operation of the pact, was estimated at Rs. 29 million; in 1955, this gain was estimated to be as high as Rs. 95 million.

If not for the trade with China—which had been in the nature of aid—Sri Lanka's economic position would have been considerably weaker.

Then, with the increase in local rice production, some members in the Government began to question the need for the very continuance of the barter trade arrangement. It was suggested that when Sri Lanka attained self-sufficiency in the commodity, the rubber pledged to China in the barter deal could be sold wherever it fetched the highest price and the proceeds used to import capital goods required for the development of the country's resources.

This question had been fully discussed during the negotiations leading to the signing of the fifth five-year trade and payments agreement in Colombo in December 1972, the 20th anniversary of the original pact. The delegations of China and Sri Lanka agreed that there was no reason why the volume of trade between the two countries should shrink after Sri Lanka began to grow all the rice it needed because there was scope for trade in other commodities.

WORLD BANK AND I. M. F.

Self-sufficiency in the staple food, it was agreed, could indeed add a new dimension and perspective to the trade in that, instead of importing rice, Sri Lanka could import machinery and equipment from China's fast-growing industrial sector to transform the present agrarian-based economy to an agro-industrial one. China, in turn, could import other commodities from Sri Lanka, besides rubber.

Items mentioned included copra, coconut oil, coir products, cocoa, scad cardamoms and other spices, herbs, tobacco, precious and semiprecious stones, ilmenite, rutile, hides and handicrafts.

However, instead of a diversification and expansion

of trade in this manner, what we have witnessed is a contraction after the liberalisation of imports in 1978, with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund insisting on a switch to multilateral trade.

One after another the trade and payments agreements with socialist countries began to give way to payment for transactions in a convertible currency.

In China's case, this system came into operation partially in 1981. While payments

Also, every time the UNP had been in office between 1952 and 1970, attempts had been made to abrogate the pact on one ground or another. The classic illustration was in 1967, when Mr. Dudley Senanayake was again Prime Minister. (See Gamini Navaratne's work, "The Chinese Connexion" which takes over the story from where S. P. Amarasingam left off).

What have been the repercussions of the policy followed by the present UNP Government?

by 1980, the exports were down to 30,000; in 1981, it dropped further to 20,000 tons; this is the volume that China has agreed to take in 1982 as well. Also, no rice supplies were contracted for this year.

Not that China needs less rubber now; it has turned to other suppliers, like Malaysia and Indonesia.

Sri Lanka has been the loser because the fond hope of those who plug the multilateral line has not worked. The industrial countries, where we hoped to find markets for the rubber diverted from China, are not buying as much as the Government expected mainly due to the recession which

by our Economic Correspondent

for rice and rubber continued to be effected through the clearing accounts, payment for transactions in other commodities had to be made in hard currency.

In the protocol signed last November, effective during the current year, no provision was made for any barter transactions in any commodity and there was not going to be any imports of rice.

This development marked the virtual dismantling of the pact with China which had been in operation for 30 years.

This was what some people in the UNP and the US had always wanted to achieve—but failed owing to strong public pressure—ever since the pact was signed in 1952.

In fact, some UNPers boast that it was a government formed by their party that signed the original agreement. True, but it came into existence not as the result of a deliberate policy change by Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake in regard to trade with socialist countries but was forced on his Government by sheer economic necessity. As his successor, Sir John Kotelawala once said, "It (the entry into the pact) was a matter of life and death for Sri Lanka." (See S.P. Amarasingam's book "Rice and Rubber" published in 1953 for the full story of the manoeuvres that immediately preceded and followed the signing of the pact).

China has always believed in a balance between the value of its imports from and exports to Sri Lanka. When we reduced the intake of rice—and failed to increase the intake of other commodities available in China—China, too, cut down its procurements of rubber.

In the 25 years leading up to 1977, rubber exports to China had averaged above 40,000 tons a year. In 1975, exports touched the record level of 89,285 tons. But

has hit their rubber-based industries. This position is unlikely to change in the near future.

About 60 per cent of the local rubber producers are smallholders and they have been hit very hard by the ill-advised politically-motivated policy followed by the Government.

At least now, it should adopt a more pragmatic approach to trade with China. What we have followed since 1978 has in fact been a policy of economic "nihilism"!

Your Stay in Jaffna

Made Luxuriously Comfortable

HOTEL ASHOK

Jaffna's Newest Star Class Luxury Hotel with 32 fully Air-Conditioned Rooms, and all Modern Comforts

Hot & Cold Water Air Conditioned Restaurant
Piped Music Air Conditioned Bar

Just 5 minutes from the Railway Station and 20 minutes to Jaffna Airport

HOTEL ASHOK—Discover the Charm of Jaffna in Comfort

RESERVATIONS

OR

MANAGER

STARLINE HOTELS LTD.
39, Chatham Street,
Colombo 1.

HOTEL ASHOK
3, Clock Tower Road,
Jaffna.

Telephone: 25959; 29445
Telex No. 21524 Stalit Ce
Telegram: STALT

Telephone: 8246; 8336;
8337
Telegram: STAHOTEL

More than one way to kill a race

According to international law, war should be conducted between sovereign states and their armies and should not be directed against civilians. Nuclear weaponry has made such niceties obsolete. In future, major wars will be genocidal—existing peoples will be destroyed in their entirety. But those engaged professionally in the arms race and its military command do not intend to commit genocide. This is most convenient because if they did, the whole thing would be 'illegal'; nuclear genocide is merely 'in the air'. Meanwhile, in East Timor, a manageable, compact variety of genocide is proceeding at the moment.

Thus given the actuality, the magnitude and the moral significance of the subject, Leo Kuper's *Genocide* should be important. The subject matter has instead overwhelmed the author. If the result is significant, it is as a failure saved by one major insight.

SURGICAL PRECISION

Kuper strives for the pretentiously academic. Penguins puff the book as 'detached and scientific'. It is hardly that. To his credit, Kuper finds the UN discussion of 1948—which led to the international Convention against genocide—'very depressing'. When there were UN proceedings after the death of at least a million people in Bangladesh, he says, 'I found it unbearable to read the discussion'. In general, he writes, 'from a humanistic point of view, it is quite repugnant to weigh the number of deaths which would accord significance in terms of the UN Convention.'

Unless one does weigh such numbers, however, it is impossible to write a book about genocide with due responsibility. The subject matter is atrocity; it has to be approached with surgical precision, or the result will be a mess.

The word 'genocide' was created by Ralph Lemkin. He used it as a conscious neologism in his *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, published in the US in 1944. He proposed that genocide was something 'directed against the national group as an entity' (my emphasis); it meant the death of a people rather than people being killed. Lemkin defined as genocidal a 1939 promulgation in German-occupied Poland which stated that all Jewish males had to do two years forced labour. They had to surrender any tools or equipments they possessed, and, the order added, 'Those subject to forced labour shall be put to work in labour

camps'. Lemkin argued that policies such as these meant the over-all destruction of a national life. Thus he also regarded the forced Germanification of Luxembourg as a form of genocide. By his cogent definition biological deaths were associated with but not the sole measure of the terrible crime.

It follows that some genocides involve fewer deaths than contemporary mass murders. The transportation of an Amazon tribe as a by-product of development is genocide. The 1965 massacre of perhaps half-a-million legal Communist supporters which took place in Indonesia was not. Why should this lessen our condemnation of that slaughter?

Lemkin lobbied the UN, at its foundation, to have genocide banned. But the proceedings which followed emasculated his definition. The 1948 UN Convention defines genocide as the destruction of a group 'in whole or in part' (my emphasis). How much of a part is enough? The notion of genocide is here watered down to virtually any crime against humanity. Its terrible distinctiveness—that it is directed against a social totality—is lost. This was not sufficient for the UN; its Convention also stipulated that genocide is an act committed with 'intent'. The idea that intent must somehow be shown for genocide to take place is nonsense, as in the case of nuclear weapons; or in East Timor, where a people with hundreds of years of separate existence is now being forcibly incorporated into Indonesia. They have been forbidden their political language (Portuguese) and have suffered through imposed famine at least 200,000 deaths in a population of 700,000. Yet any Indonesian general could deny 'intent'—'we meant to save them from Communism'—and might even be sincere. The UN Convention formulated a definition to mean everything and nothing.

Reluctantly, Leo Kuper has recognised this. From his meandering argument there suddenly emerges a sharp and scandalous insight. For all practical purposes, he concludes the UN defends the right of its member states to commit genocide. Though

never explicitly, all states claim this as a right of their own internal sovereignty (p. 161). In his introduction he puts it rather quaintly: 'United Nations *de facto* condonation... serves as a screen for genocide'.

number of atrocities that would include, Kuper concocts the term 'genocidal massacre' to apply to events for which words like 'massacre' itself or 'bloodbath' or 'war-crime' already exist and are apt enough.

Kuper's discussion of Ireland is a salutary demonstration of what happens when a term like genocide is reduced to one of banal outrage. Looking mainly at the North

Presumably to ensure 'balance' he adds the Protestant bombing of McGurk's Bar. It is a wonderful instance of failing to see the wood for the trees. Had Kuper kept his focus on the fate of entire peoples rather than on McGurk's he would have seen that Ireland itself was the site of a path-breaking modern state genocide. Namely, the British attempt forcibly to incorporate the country by union, symbolised in the great famine of 1845. The demographic collapse, from which Ireland never recovered, and the loss of spoken Gaelic, both followed London's attempt to destroy the independent status of the Irish nation in the 19th century.

By diluting the notion of genocide Kuper weakens the

Anthony Barnett

discusses the importance of a proper definition of 'Genocide'

— *New Statesman, London*



effectiveness of the term. Instead of extending humanitarian concern his 'generous' definition becomes unmanageable in its detail and evasive in its over-all claims. He provides some well described examples from Africa, makes no mention of such politically sensitive topics as Palestine and, as for East Timor, he writes, 'I have also not mentioned... East Timor'.

Muddling on in this fashion helps to normalise the idea of genocide. It is widely recognised that officials, especially in the Pentagon, use jargon and acronyms to allow deadly activities to be discussed in a manner which cocoons the speaker from the human consequences of what is being said. A related kind of mental deadening can also be generated by the over-use of terms. 'Genocide' has an absolute, precise connotation. The UN diluted it. It should be safeguarded from such official manipulation which seeks to emasculate all concepts that encourage the independent judgment of state power. In order to help counter this overwhelming power, our language must be preserved from diplomats as well as from generals and in this case also from Leo Kuper.

Nonetheless, Kuper accepts the terms of the UN definition rather than Lemkin's and thus loses his bearings. For genocide to take place he 'assumes' there would have to be a 'substantial' or 'appreciable' number of victims. To encompass the

and going back to the early 19th century, Kuper concludes that there have been no 'large-scale genocidal massacres'. In case anyone might consider that to be callous, he describes as 'genocidal murder' (sic) the attack on the Mountbatten family.

SONY

THE ONE AND ONLY

CHOOSE YOUR BLACK & WHITE AND COLOUR SONY T. V. SETS

FROM

THE NEW JAFFNA BRANCH OF THE SOLE AGENTS

ADDRESS: **SIEDLES CINERADIO**

363, KASTURIAR ROAD,
JAFFNA.

(NEAR KANNATHIDY JUNCTION)

Text of a paper read at the World Hindu Conference organised by the Visva Hindu Parishad and held at Allahabad, India on the 25th, 26th and 27th January 1979.

(Continued from last issue)

In 1967 All Ceylon Buddhist Congress started 5 schools in Jaffna illegally, contrary to law, for Harijans, on their undertaking to become Buddhists. Accordingly they became Buddhists and jobs as teachers in those schools were provided. Establishing schools without government permission is illegal but the government took no action as they were Buddhists. In 1969, U.N.P. Government took over the schools which was also illegal. After 1970, S.L.F.P. Government changed the medium suddenly from Tamil to Sinhala for all classes using translators to help the Sinhala teachers who were brought in. The present government realised the total failure of trying to make Sinhalese out of the Tamil Hindus. In the meantime for 10 years education suffered.

The Tamil United Liberation Front also had to start an illegal school at Puttur, after giving notice to the Government, as an act of Civil disobedience and Satyagraha to educate those students who could not follow the Sinhala medium and who were not provided with the Tamil medium schools.

But Tamils in general and the Tamil Hindus in particular are facing a bigger problem—that is the denationalisation of Tamil. The Government had refused to concede the right of the Tamils to educate them in the mother tongue which is Tamil. They the Tamil Hindus in the predominantly Sinhala areas are de facto denied the right to educate their children in Tamil by the simple device of not providing schools in the mother tongue, thus forcing Tamil Hindus to be educated in Sinhala and possibly embrace Buddhism. Further the Government has deprived the Tamil Hindu Students their opportunity for higher and university education and in their place the Buddhist state controlled universities are admitting Sinhala Buddhist students who have obtained lower grades at the entrance examination.

HISTORY RE-WRITTEN FOR POLITICAL CONVENIENCE:

Added to all what has been said earlier there is a calculated move by the Sinhala Buddhist fanatical elements to re-write history and interpret

Voice of Hinduism in Sri Lanka on the decline

philosophy and religion to suit their political convenience. Intellectuals and University dons too have fallen a prey to this fanaticism. In the recent past many things that have been uttered and written in the name of history have become a matter of ridicule among pure intellectuals.

In the recent past, attempts were made to prove that Buddhism had been in existence in Ceylon even before Hinduism. How a religion or a philosophy which is considered an offshoot of Hinduism by some and by others as a revolt against Hinduism could be prevalent in this country before Hinduism is beyond one's understanding!

by M. K. Eelaventhan

I assume that the Delegates who are assembled here are acquainted with another famous temple in Ceylon. This temple is the Kathirgaman temple that has attracted World attention. Annually devotees from the different parts of the world meet and congregate. In this famous temple Lord Muruga resides. To quote the famous words of the late Sir P. Arunachalam "Wherever Tamil influence prevails he is held in pre-eminent honour and dignity. The Tamils regard him (Lord Muruga) as the guardian of their race, language and literature and are bound to him by specialities". This very same Lord Muruga has been in the recent past converted into a Sinhala Buddhist Deity and is being referred to as 'Kataragama Deiyyo'. This conduct may be pardonable but what is unforgivable is this his Divine status has

been brought down and Gautama Buddha who didn't believe in Divinity has been given a bigger divine status. The Kiri Vihara which was recently built is given more prominence and the ancient temple of Muruga has receded into the background. It is interpreted by the modern Sinhala Buddhist fanatics, that the super needs of man will be attended to by the Buddha and Lord Muruga only attends to the ordinary mundane things of life. What worst interpretation to philosophy can we envisage than these foolish attempts of these fanatical elements to satisfy their political vanity?

The Ramakrishna Pilgrims Rest that was built by the

Ramakrishna Mission in this Kathirgaman temple premises to serve the pilgrims who visit the temple and which served the devotees that thronged the temple without any discrimination was taken over by the Sinhala Buddhist Govt. This take-over, has been effected in the name of declaring the Kathirgaman temple premises "a sacred area". It is being interpreted by the Sinhala Buddhist chauvinists that the Ramakrishna Pilgrims Rest is not sacred enough to be housed in the sacred area of the temple. The sinister move behind this action is to deprive the Hindus who were traditional devotees of this temple to have a hold on this temple. And the successive Sinhala governments have succeeded in virtually converting this famous Hindu Temple into a Buddhist Temple. The number of Hindu

Tamils who visit this temple have dwindled in the recent past to a very small number, for the simple reason, the Hindus are made to believe that they are unwanted strangers in the area. We are moved to tears when we recall the shabby way we are treated in this temple premises....

In conclusion, let me tell you that we the Hindu delegates from Ceylon, all belong to the Tamilian Race which follows the Saiva Siddantha School of Hinduism. In the words of Dr. G. U. Pope "Saiva Siddanda philosophy is the choicest product of the Dravidian intellect". Our religious literature which consists of philosophy and devotional songs are all written in the Tamil language. The devotional songs in the Tamil language are really heart-melting ruby utterances. Because of the copious devotional literature available in Tamil Literature, the Tamil language has been aptly classified as a language of devotion. In other words all our feelings and aspirations are expressed in Tamil.

PLANNED COLONISATION

This language which has an ancient heritage and also considered one of the greatest living languages enjoys no political status in our country. As an eminent political authority has said "if you want to destroy a nation first destroy its language" and another political philosopher has added, "language is the soul of the nation and if you remove it the nation is dead". In keeping with these maxims there is a coldly calculated move by the successful Sinhala Buddhist governments to make us lose our soul by depriving us of our language.

More than the issue of depriving of our language there is a determined move by the Sinhala governments to deprive us of our homeland by planned colonisation

of Sinhala Buddhists. This move has shaken the very base of preserving our culture, language, religion and our way of life.

As has been rightly pointed out by Radha Kumud Mukerjee in his book Hindu Civilization "The 1st condition of the progress of a people in political life and civilisation is the possession of fixed and definite territory which it can call and serve as its mother country. A people that has not found a home for itself but lives in unstable and unsettled conditions, in unrest and uncertainty lacks the condition in which religion, language, culture and civilization can take their rise. The country is to the Nation what the Body is to the individual. It is necessary for its self expression".

POLITICAL AND SPIRITUAL

Unless we regain our lost kingdom, we will not be able to reassert our position to safeguard our language, culture, religion and our way of life. My colleagues join me in my appeal to you to give your moral and other forms of support to religious, spiritual and political freedom. All of you will agree that political freedom is indispensable to enjoy spiritual freedom. That is why all of us are crying and clamouring for 'Tamil Eelam' which has become a mantra with us; we seek Divine guidance and the support of all the Hindu devotees of the world to achieve this noble end. "Arise, Awake, Await not till the goal is achieved". That is what Swami Vivekananda, the giant of Vedantha proclaimed years ago. We are determined to strictly adhere to this inspiring self assertive utterance and achieve the twin purpose of our life; our political and spiritual freedom.

Thank you!

PIONEERS

in the manufacture of Synthetic Textiles in the North

Specialists in

Nylon & Polyester fabrics

CEYMA

Silk Industries Ltd.

Thirunelvely
Jaffna

Telephone: 7170

T'grams: "Ceyma Silk"

LETTERS

IN DEFENCE OF G. G. PONNAMBALAM

Registrar Walawu,
Maniagar's Lane,
Kokuvil East,
Kokuvil, 19-4-1982.

The Editor,
Saturday Review,
303, K.K.S. Road,
Jaffna.

Dear Sir,

With reference to the note written by you regarding the letter sent to you by the Secretary of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress and appearing in the Saturday Review of 17-4-1982 and further to your Editorial dated 27-3-82, I wish to state some pertinent facts for your elucidation.

The All-Ceylon Tamil Congress fought the 1947 General Elections before Ceylon got its independence and it made it clear in the Election Manifesto that it would extend responsive cooperation to whichever government that may be formed after the general election that would support the fundamental policies of the A.C.T.C. U.N.P. did not get an absolute majority to form the government after the election and there was every possibility of all the forces opposed to the U.N.P. capturing power and a conference was held at the Colombo residence of late Mr. Nissanka to explore the possibilities of all the parties opposed to the U.N.P., getting together and forming the Government. This was known as the Yamuna Conference and it was presided over by late Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam. Nothing could come out of this conference as there was disunity among the leftist parties. This will go to show that Mr. Ponnambalam was not that anxious and ambitious to get a Ministership from Mr. D. S. Senanayake as made out to be by your comment and what is alleged to have been stated by a half baked political correspondent, Mr. Fernando, in his book. His comments do not deserve a reply and his book which contains these comments only deserves a rightful place in the wastepaper basket.

Later, negotiations between the U.N.P. leaders and the A.C.T.C. took place at the instance of the U.N.P. leaders at which Messrs Ponnambalam, Chelvanayagam and Vanniasingam took part. In this connection I would like to refer you to the speech made by Mr. Chelvanayagam at the mass meeting held by the A.C.T.C. at the Jaffna esplanade on 22-8-1948, to get the approval of the voters to the decision taken by the A.C.T.C. to cooperate with

the U.N.P. government. His speech as reported in the Times of Ceylon of 23-8-1948 is reproduced below.

"The presence of such vast numbers at the meeting was an indication of the keenness of the Tamil man in political matters. Political situations change rapidly and sometimes within a very short time. There is a great deal of difference between the situation that existed at the time we were returned to Parliament and today. Every changing situation has to be considered afresh. Your representatives arrived at a united decision. Even on the question of cooperation with the government you can rest assured that your representatives will decide only in the best interests of the community"

I think this explains the decision taken by the A.C.T.C. to cooperate with the Government and during the period of cooperation extended to the U.N.P. by the A.C.T.C. the Tamil Community stood to gain and the decision was taken in the interests of Minority community and not in the interests of A.C.T.C. or its leader. In this connection I also wish to draw your kind attention to what late Dr. Naganathan had to say about G.G. several years after he left the T.C.

"I was closest to Mr Ponnambalam in T.C. days and must state in justice to him that certainly it was not the lure of a Ministership but a genuine desire to quickly solve the problem that led him to the trap". (Ceylon Daily News 17-7-1962.)

Mr. Chelvanayagam and his caucus carried on a persistent campaign of vilification and character assassination against Mr. Ponnambalam just to destroy his image and to gain cheap popularity. No doubt they achieved this objective but it was done at the expense of the Tamil Community. They perpetrated a fraud on the Tamil Community which lost every right it had, during the leadership of Mr. Chelvanayagam and was subject to harassment and humiliation. He advocated a futile and a barren policy of Federalism and deceived the Tamil Community for a period of 25 years only to give up the Federal cry in the end. He later regretted and even went to the house of G.G. to patch up after a lapse of 25 years.

The modus operandi that is being adopted by the present T.U.L.F. leadership to win the rights of Tamils in the North and East and the method adopted by Hon. Mr. Thondaman to deliver the goods to the Indian Tamils only justify the steps taken by late Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam and show how farsighted he was in 1948. An unbiased observer of the Minority politics in Ceylon from 1947 will have no difficulty in accepting the correctness of the stand taken by the A.C.T.C. at various times from 1947 onwards. The present T.U.L.F. leadership says it wants to develop the North and East economically and that was what G.G. did.

I do admit that you are entitled and you have got the freedom to say whatever you want. But when you take the mantle of the Editor of a Journal it is nothing but fair and reasonable for me to expect you to exercise

some restraints when you give vent to your personal feelings particularly when you have to comment about political personalities.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
Appathuray Vinayagamoorthy

MEDIA MISREPORTING

Arasady Road
Jaffna.

Dear Sir,

Mr. Gamini Navaratne is undoubtedly a "nigger-lover". By "nigger", of course, I mean the Dravidian settlers of Sri Lanka.

In his recollections of the former MP for Kopay, he refers to the North-South bridge building during Mr. Lionel Fernando's time. I don't think that Mr. Navaratne can deny the fact that after this journalistic Pow-Wow there was more misreporting

in the media than before. For instance, the SUN published the photo of a statue in Urumpirai and reported that angry crowds pulled it down. Was this information given at the conference by Mr. Lionel Fernando?

Sir Pon. Arunachalam is reported to have said during his time, "Various wants we have. A press that may not degenerate into a hireling is a great want for the country. Shall we not aim at a press for the Tamils, if only to combat calumny and vile misrepresentation? For days, weeks, months and years, we have suffered at the hands of an unscrupulous press."

Apart from one or two journals like the Lanka Guardian, I don't think the rest did any thing but burn whatever bridges that existed!

Yours faithfully,
N. Deva Rajan

NTN

BALL AND ROLLER BEARINGS



SOLE AGENTS AND DISTRIBUTORS:

Consolidated Bearings And Supply Ltd.

23 Bristol Street Colombo 1
548 65 Cable: JMPOBEAR

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

5000 Conference posters 'spiked' in Jaffna

A Minister's inordinate desire to have his picture published in a poster publicising a religious Conference has, the *Saturday Review* reliably learns, led to nearly five thousand posters being "spiked" in Jaffna.

The Ministry of Regional Development and Hindu Affairs had sent large posters publicising the World Hindu Conference, which ends tomorrow (25 April), to Jaffna on 15 April.

Those in charge of Conference publicity in Jaffna had decided against displaying these posters, as they felt the posters might draw adverse criticisms.

The *Saturday Review* understands some of them had been sharply critical of the posters because, contrary to convention, it carried the picture of Hindu Affairs Minister Cheliah Rajadurai. They had pointed out the picture was out of place in a poster ostensibly publicising a religious Conference, though they conceded the Minister was highly photogenic.

These critics had also suggested the Minister was still under the DMK hang-over and was more interested in an "ego trip" than in Hinduism. Their insistence that a religious Conference should not be exploited to build up "personality cults" finally led to these posters being shelved.

ACADEMICS ARE IN A HURRY TO GET OUT!

A massive brain-drain is about to strike a high-powered institution which decides the fate of those seeking higher education, according to reports trickling down the grapevine.

The kingpin of the institution, who now feels that it is better to lie abroad for the good of his motherland, is seeking an ambassador's post, insiders say.

According to these sources, a top-notch member who has been making history recently has set his sights on Hawaii where east and west meet. An academic footman whose minority complex impels him to bask in reflected glory has, it is learnt, discreetly decided to leave the country on sabbatical leave. The bureaucratic linchpin is rumoured to be seeking refuge in a commonwealth institution connected with university education.

Knowledgeable observers have an interesting explanation for this sudden thirst for greener—and safer—pastures. They draw an analogy with a phenomenon observed by scientists in China: just before an earthquake, animals in the region are able to sense tremors thousands of miles away, stampede and start on a headlong flight.

This well-timed exodus, they sardonically remark, perhaps portends a political earthquake in Ceylon.

C. M. U. May Day rally

The Ceylon Mercantile Union, the Ceylon Estates Staffs Union and the Ceylon Plantation Services Union in association with the Provisional National Committee for a Mass Workers' Party will celebrate May Day jointly this year with a Rally in Colombo at the C. M. U. Hall, on the theme "For a Mass Workers' Party".

Printed at St. Joseph's Catholic Press, 360, Main Street, Jaffna, and published by Kala Nilayam Ltd., 303, K.K.S. Road, Jaffna, on 24th April 1982. Registered as a newspaper at the General Post Office, Sri Lanka, under Q J / 101/82.

Hartal against going to Kotte

The Tamil Eelam Liberation Front, in association with the following groups, General Union of Eelam Students, Thamil Illaignar Peravai

(Liberation Front), Communist Party, (Revolutionary wing), Tamil Congress and Tamil Self Rule Party, has organised a full day Hartal in the North

and East as a protest against TULF participation in the opening ceremony of the new parliament at Kotte, on the same day.

World Hindu Conference muddles through!

ings; and this is the only Department of Hindu Civilisation in the whole country.

Some delegates in Jaffna did not receive an invitation at all, while an eleventh hour invitation was sent to some others; one of them, a Hindu religious dignitary, was invited over the phone! Some research scholars, who were billed to present papers at the Conference, also seem to have been completely ignored by the invitation committee.

The lack of proper planning and overall co-ordination led to the morning sessions on the opening day being nearly one hour behind schedule.

Conference chairman gets rapped

An Indian delegate to the World Hindu Conference had occasion to rap Ceylon's Lakshmana Iyer, Chairman of the Conference's Implementation Committee, rather sharply on his knuckles, on the opening day (21 April).

Lakshmana Iyer, in the course of his address of thanks, rather incautiously remarked that no Indian University could boast of a Dept. of Hindu Civilization whereas the University of Jaffna had a full-fledged Dept. of Hindu Civilization.

The Indian delegate promptly pointed out that there is a Hindu University at Benares.

Apologising for his faux pas, a shame-faced Lakshmana Iyer replied 'I really did not think of this'.

For the record: Lakshmana Iyer is an alumnus of the Hindu University of Benares.

A snarl-up in reception arrangements led to some foreign delegates and observers to the World Hindu Conference, including ladies, being forced to stand outside the office of the Ministry of Regional Development and Hindu Affairs, suitcases in hand, till someone took charge of them.

These delegates arrived in Ceylon on the 20th morning, the day before the Conference convened by the Ministry of Regional Development and Hindu Affairs.

Finding no one to receive and direct them, they were forced to besiege the Ministry's Office at Bambalapitiya.

Foreigners were not the only victims of the Ministry's haphazard arrangements; the *Saturday Review* learns.

The head of the Department of Hindu Civilisation, University of Jaffna, Kailasathana Kurukkal, a widely-respected Hindu and Sanskrit scholar, was not even considered for a place of honour in the Conference proceed-

Batticaloa Campus To Take More Sinhala Students

The 1982-'83 academic year which begins next October will see more Sinhalese than Tamil students admitted to the Batticaloa Campus, where English is the medium of instruction.

The *Saturday Review* understands that the authorities in charge of university admission

policy have tentatively decided on this.

They are also, it is learnt, considering admitting more Sinhalese than Tamil students to the Swami Vipulananda College of Fine Arts which is due to function shortly in Batticaloa.

Remembering Chelvanayakam

The Tamil Eelam Liberation Front will hold a public Meeting on Saturday (24-4-82) (today) at 5-30 p. m. at the Veerasingham Hall, Jaffna, to commemorate the death anniversaries of Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam and Mr. S. Kathiravelupillai, the late M. P. for Kopay. Dr. S. A. Tharmalingam will preside.

May Day procession disallowed

The Jaffna Police have banned a May Day Procession the Sri Lanka Communist Party (Left) planned to hold.

The Party's May Day Procession was scheduled to start from the University of Jaffna Junction, Thirunelvely, and end up at Trimmer Hall, Jaffna, where the Party holds its May Day Meeting.