

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 3 No. 32

22nd September 1984

GOVT. MISFIRES BLUNDERBUSS

As we went to the Press last week, the news came that President Jayewardene's United National Party Government had decided to suspend or postpone all development work in the Northern and Eastern Provinces and channel the money allocated for the purpose for the defence of the country.

We could not believe our eyes (the printed word, as it appeared in the Colombo-based newspapers) or our ears (this news as put across by the state radio and television).

We did some checking and found the news to be true. It

was a Cabinet decision, no less.

Suspend development and direct the money for Defence of whom?

The People? The People of the North and the East included?

WE SAY, WITH ALL THE STRENGTH AT OUR COMMAND, THAT THE GOVERNMENT COULD NOT HAVE MADE A BIGGER BLUNDER; THAT, IN FACT, THIS PERVERSE DECISION IS THE BIGGEST BLUNDER IN ITS SEVEN-YEAR EXISTENCE

If the Government is to contain this situation particularly in the North, it needs the good will of the people.

We are willing to write off the July, 1977 riots as a national aberration, election enthusiasm running riot, as it were.

J. R. had just taken over and he needed time to take control of the law and order situation. But what has taken place thereafter — especially the attack on Jaffna town itself by khaki-clad goons from the South on the eve of the elections to the District Development Council in June 1981 while two senior Ministers of J. R.'s Government were in town; outlawing of the main Tamil political party the Tamil United Liberation Front, through the infamous Sixth Amendment to the Con-

stitution; and the repeated reprisals on innocent Tamil civilian population each time there was an attack on the Security Forces has only served to buttress those very tendencies towards separation that the Government wants to undermine.

You can threaten individuals and cow them down. But you cannot threaten a nation, particularly a proud nation like the Tamils who have a history and culture as ancient or even more ancient, than the Sinhalese, and still expect the Tamil people to acquiesce in the Government scheme of things.

We would like to tell the Sinhalese nation that the way J. R.'s Government has handled the National Question in the past few years can only be described as "mishandling"

WE WOULD VENTURE TO SAY THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS EXPLOITING THE SITUATION IN THE NORTH TO DIVERT THE ATTENTION OF THE SINHALESE FROM MORE AND PRESSING PROBLEMS THAT ARE OF IMMEDIATE CONCERN TO THEM, LIKE THE PROBLEM OF HOW TO EXIST IN THE CONTEXT OF THE EVER-MOUNTING BURDENS, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL

AND POLITICAL, PLACED ON THEM.

In the "good old days" when kings and emperors

were in vogue, one of the favourite ploys was to start a war with another country so that the people were perforce made to forget about their internal problems and unite against the "common enemy".

Is not J. R., the still uncrowned King of Sri Lanka, using the same Machiavellian technique?

We wonder and wonder and wonder yet again.

Whither Sri Lanka?

People's Action Committee

We wish to thank all those individuals and organisations who have responded to our proposal to form a People's Action Committee to defend the interests of the Tamil People.

The proposed Committee is to be established to supplement and buttress, not undermine, existing organisations which are engaged in the welfare of the Tamil People.

Please see the next issue of the SATURDAY REVIEW for further details about the proposed organisation.

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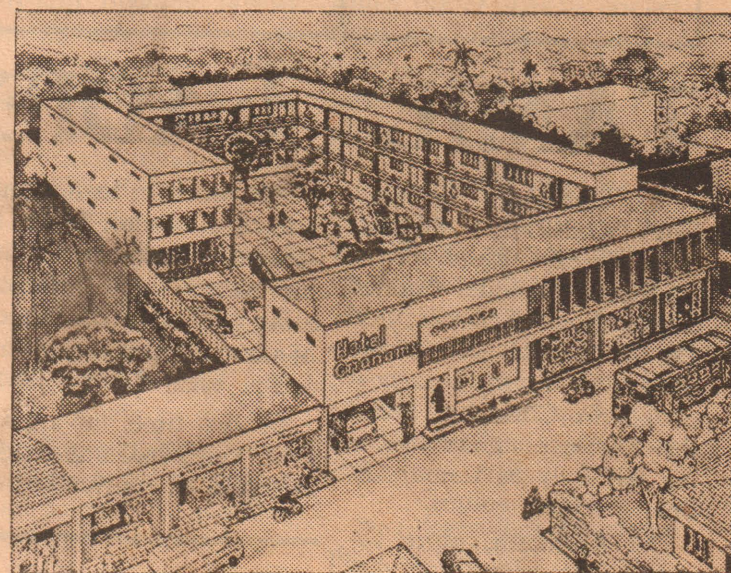
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A Deep Dent

The Library of Hartley College, Point Pedro, was burnt, together with the new Pooranampillai bloc of class-rooms and a portion of the Physics laboratory on 1st September, 1984. It is said to be an act of reprisal by a section of the security forces following a bomb blast somewhere else, which killed some security men and injured some more. In passing, I may quote here what Professor J.A. Lauwerys says in a book on *International Understanding*: It is a cruel sin when French children still blame the English for burning Joan of ARC or Christians blame Jews today because some Jews of twenty centuries ago were responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus. The plea that Lauwerys makes is much needed in Sri Lanka today—where history books, the mass media and the utterances of men in high places—deepen race prejudice instead of helping the young and old to have perspectives, feel their collective human heritage and look for the truth.

When three years and three months before, on 1st June, 1981, some men, who were by their calling custodians of law and order, burnt the Jaffna Public Library, I said that the loss was not just to the North and to learning among the Tamils; it was a deep dent in the country's intellectual system. But, putting a big school like Hartley College out of action may have even graver consequences. Founded in 1838 by an English scholar missionary, Peter Percival, Hartley may well be describ-

camp by the side of the school is withdrawn and to mark their solidarity with the Hartley boys and their concern about the random arrests and assaults without any charge of youth students all over, tens of thousands of school students are keeping away from their schools this week. It is a loss of thousands of learning days which this country can ill afford.

The loss is even deeper than losing learning days. Did not the Harvard report

by

K. Nesiah

ed as the Pole star of the North, both because of its location on the northernmost point on Sri Lanka's coast and because of the many mathematics - science luminaries it has sent forth, even beyond our country's shores. Now, 2500 Hartley boys are unable to attend school for sometime—till the damaged buildings are restored and the police

say that any society rests on shared ideas and ideals? It is schools like Hartley which have made it possible for their pupils to derive these from the great books of this and other lands, from their noble teachers, and from the democratic processes which are the hall mark of the activities within and without the school walls.

To the extent we can be a nation, our nationhood must rest four square on such an enduring foundation and not on force, nor yet on an imposed constitutional scaffolding. So, to undermine the hidden values behind our education is to unbuild the society of Sri Lanka. Would that the men who perpetrate such deeds as the burning of a school, or a library, realize that they are trying to extinguish the country's great assets?

The country has therefore an obligation to take quick remedial measures. Apart

from the removal of the police post from the Hartley college neighbourhood, there must be a high level judicial inquiry and bringing of the offenders to book. It would serve as a deterrent to others in uniform too. For long, for too long, have extra judicial crimes like these gone uninquied into and unpunished in this fair Isle. Compensation for the destroyed library must come from central funds, not by diverting funds from any local development programme.

It behoves the schools authority, the parents and old boys, and the local community to endeavour to turn this great disaster into a greater triumph. They may add to the funds provided as compensation to build a larger and better library. Here they may take a leaf from the planning and institutional services of the Jaffna Public Library under restoration. It may be sometime before we are able to think in terms of a network of libraries, public and school, in every district. But Hartley can set the pace by making the Reading Room open to the local community in the evenings and week-ends. And think too of seminars, talks and film and TV shows open to those around the school.

What Sri Lanka is yearning for, whatever the political settlement, is reconciliation between North and South at the level of the people. I would invite the big schools in the South and the bigger libraries there, which can spare good books from their surplus stocks, books in Tamil, Sinhala or English, to donate them to the renovated Hartley Library. Perhaps some may send even donations towards books or equipment. The regional autonomy proposed at the political level need not mean a wall of separation, but a channel of reconciliation.

TAMIL LADIES !

An Oxbridge group—Prof. Kodikara, Political Scientist, Prof. Ralph Peiris, Chairman National Council for the Social Sciences, and Dr. R. H. de Silva—were in confabulation like most people in Colombo, about the Northern upheavals being felt only as tremors in their drawing rooms.

Dr. Kodikara, more assertive in discussion, dismissed the insurgents as "boys".

Dr. R. H. de Silva, who is now busy compiling an index to the Mahavamsa, did not speak quite to the point. He was too preoccupied with the disturbing discovery that the greater majority of our female royalty at least were Tamil, and therefore their offspring could not be very much different, e.g., Parakrama Bahu, the Sinhalese Great, not only was the grandson of Tamils on both sides but also was married to the grand-daughter of a Tamil.

Sapumal Kumaraya, Lion of Sri Jayewardenepura Kotte, was as Tamils as they come.

The third in this donnish trio, Prof. Ralph Peiris, the famous sociologist, was more interested in investigating the caste connections of the company present and Jaffna seemed far away.

In his time, it appears Prof. Peiris had unorthodox methods of investigation.

Sri Lankans who went to Bangkok had been intrigued to see him at night spots playing carrom, and nothing else at all, with night ladies.

That is clearly intellectual collocation in Colombo for you.

Words of Wisdom

1. "Laws are the product of selfishness, deception and party prejudice. True justice is not in them and cannot be in them".

—Leo Tolstoy—

2. "Respect for the supreme value of the human personality should be the basis for all law".

—T.S. Fernando—

3. "Bad laws are the worst form of tyranny".

—Edmund Burke—

4. "Where law ends, there tyranny begins".

—William Pitt—

5. "Laws too gentle are seldom obeyed, too severe, seldom executed".

—Franklin—

6. "The execution of law is more important than the making of it".

—Thomes Jefferson—

7. "Laws grind the poor, and rich-men rule the law."

—Oliver Goldsmith—

(Compiled by Jupiter)

KURAL GEMS

THIRUKKURAL No.551
(Kolaimet....)

"The unrighteous king who oppresses his subjects is more cruel than the one who leads the life of a murderer.

Translated by V. R. Ramachandra Theedchithar

THIRUKKURAL No.552
(Velodu....)

"The wielder of the sceptre asking for gifts, is like the spearman asking the wayfarer 'give'.

Translated by V. R. Ramachandra Theedchithar

THIRUKKURAL No.553
(Naadorum....)

"The country of the king who does not daily examine

into and punish (crimes), will daily fall to ruin."

Translated by Rev Drew-John Lazarus

THIRUKKURAL No.554
(Koolum....)

"The king who wields his rod awry and takes no counsel will lose at once both his wealth and subjects."

Translated by M. S. Poornalingampillai.

THIRUKKURAL No.555
(Allatpadda....)

"Verily it is the tears of those groaning under oppression that wear away the prosperity of the prince."

Translated by V. V. Subramania Iyer.
(Compiled by V. T. K)

Editor Angers Fellow Sinhalese

in Sri Lanka

JAFFNA, SRI LANKA: A story about Gamini Navaratne going the rounds of this capital of the Tamil-dominated Northern Province goes like this:

An army officer, a member of the country's Sinhalese majority telephoned Mr. Navaratne, also a Sinhalese, and asked, "Are you a Tamil or a Sinhalese?"

Mr. Navaratne, a spare, wiry man who edits the city's only English-language newspaper, THE SATURDAY REVIEW, replied, "I am a Sri Lankan." The army officer is said to have angrily slammed down the phone.

His anger was apparently touched off by the fact that the editor had taken a rare stand, unpopular among Sinhalese, by reporting on what have been described as assaults by Sri Lankan troops on Tamil civilians and property. He also criticized the Government of President J. R. Jayewardene and strongly defended the movement for Tamil rights in the region.

"I am fighting for a cause," the 52-year-old editor said. "I am for press freedom and human rights." He said he had to submit every report that he wanted to publish to an official censor in Jaffna. Often there are severe cuts, he said.

Mr. Navaratne is among a handful of Sinhalese who live in Jaffna, a city situated on a sand spit between two stretches of sea. More than 750,000 Tamils live in the Northern Province, which is drier and harsher than the lushly forested other regions of Sri Lanka.

THE SATURDAY REVIEW is owned by a Tamil, and Mr. Navaratne took over as editor soon after its founding in 1982. Originally, he said in an interview in his high-ceilinged office, he often travelled between here and Colombo, the capital, where his family

lives. But he has remained in Jaffna for nearly three weeks, through the spasm of violence that has rocked the area.

"I have been called a traitor by my own people," he said. "But I am here to build bridges, to bring understanding."

He added that he was not concerned about any threats to his safety, saying, "The danger will come from the police and the army and not the Tamils."

He accused the Government of driving the Tamils towards armed extremists, who are known variously as "the tigers" and "the boys," by its policies of racial discrimination and violence.

He added that neither the local commander of the

security forces, Brig. Nalin Seneviratne, nor President Jayewardene could control their troops. "I have no hopes of a solution to this problem", he said. The more civilians they harass and kill, the more tigers they create."

What Tamils and their supporters describe as army atrocities have sharpened the ethnic and other differences between Tamils and Sinhalese.

guage to acquire an economic status that far outweighed their numbers. Relations soured further, in the Tamil view, after independence in 1948 as successive governments led by Sinhalese sought to undercut their powerful role.

They made Sinhala the national language and cast English aside. Then Buddhism was made the state religion—most Sinhalese are Buddhists, most Tamils Hindu—and the Government ruled that Tamil students must score higher qualifying marks than Sinhalese to qualify for universi-

by **Sanjoy Hazarika**

The differences go back nearly 1,000 years to the time when Tamil kings of southern India first invaded the islands. The traditional rivalry was fuelled when the British brought in thousands of Tamil labourers from India to work their sprawling tea and rubber plantations, work disdained by the Sinhalese.

Higher Economic Status

The Tamils also made good use of the English lan-

ties.

During rioting last year, Sinhalese mobs rampaged through Tamil areas of Colombo, burning, beating and killing. Today many of the Tamil shops there have reopened but the fear remains. Most Tamils live in mixed areas of the capital, but thousands are concentrated in one neighbourhood and do not speak Sinhala.

(The New York Times, Thursday, August 30, 1984.)

Baby Elephant From Sri Lanka dies at Zoo

A 20-month-old elephant, presented to President Reagan at the White House in June by the President of Sri Lanka as a state gift, died yesterday at the National Zoo, provoking expressions of dejection and disappointment from Pennsylvania Avenue to Embassy Row.

Despite what were described as vigorous and determined efforts to save her, the animal named Jayathu, which means Victory, died in the elephant house 73 days after Reagan formally received her on the lawn of the Executive Mansion from Sri Lankan President Junius R. Jayewardene.

The precise nature of the ailment that caused the young Asiatic elephant to shed almost all of the 120 pounds she had added to her 300-pound frame since she arrived here, was not immediately known. An autopsy was under way last night at the zoo

For the past two weeks, they said, the elephant—an orphan that had been found in a deep pit in her native land—had been ill with symptoms that included diarrhoea and a depressed appetite for the milk-based formula on which she was being reared. Other formulas were tried, but to no avail.

by **Martin Weil**
(Washington Post Staff Writer)

"President and Mrs. Reagan have heard the news" about the elephant, "and of course were very sorry" a White House spokesman said last night.

Ernest Corea, ambassador of Sri Lanka, noted that while "all animals are special" to the residents of his Asian island nation, elephants are "very special". He described himself as "very saddened"

He said one embassy staff member wept and all others reacted with "quite great sorrow" on learning of the fate of the 3-foot-tall elephant which had been presented June 18 during a state visit by Sri Lankan President Jayewardene.

The elephant—a symbol of the political parties of both Reagan and the Asian leader—is the only animal privileged to carry the casket of holy relics of Lord Buddha on sacred holidays in Sri Lanka.

Ambassador Corea said he was "somewhat puzzled" by the death, asserting that the mortality rate among captive elephants in Sri Lanka is extremely low.

Zoo director Michael Robinson, who described himself as "personally grieved" to lose Jayathu, said the zoo's veterinarians and keepers had worked around the clock with "extraordinary dedication skill and love" to save "this

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JAFFNA.
(SRI LANKA)

THE ISRAELI HAND

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW.

I read with great interest Mr. Anandakumar's letter in the SATURDAY REVIEW of 8th September. There is no doubt at all that there is an "Israeli influence" in the action of our Security Forces.

Mr. Rodney Taslor, an expert on Middle-East affairs, has stated in the latest issue of the Far Eastern Economic Review that burning civilian homes is a policy which Israelis adopt in the Middle East when dealing with Palestinian guerillas.

Also, it is well known that Jewish terrorism against Palestinians has the fullest backing of the Government of Israel. The Guardian, in a despatch from Bethlehem says 'If the full story of Jewish terrorism is made public, leading members of the political and military establishment will be implicated'. Also the "inhuman tactics" of the Israelis, such as "suffocating" a third of the population in occupied Lebanon by diverting water, were lately heard in a UN Security Council Meeting.

We agree wholeheartedly with the Sinhalese that terrorism is "b d" but we also appeal to the innocent Sinhalese masses to ponder awhile as to why a "minute minority" of the Tamils took to weapons to get their legitimate rights. Is not it because successive

Governments since Independence have created situations such that the Tamils feel that they are not wanted?

The Tamils and the Sinhalese are not against each other. It is power-hungry politicians who are responsible for the present ethnic conflict. Of course, terrorism must be eradicated. But not by eliminating the Tamils. The grievances of the Tamils must be looked into.

P. D. Devendra

Colombo - 6

NO WAR PACT

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW.

An Indo-Sri Lanka non-aggression pact is essential for better understanding between our two countries and the settlement of the Tamil ethnic problem.

The military strength of Sri Lanka may make such a pact sound a joke but our involvement as well as India's involvement with certain power blocs in the region makes such a pact vital for our domestic peace, growth and happiness.

Why should we sacrifice the present in anticipation of a Third World War which is sure to destroy not only our two countries but the entire world? Let us concern ourselves for the present with our domestic peace and growth and decide on our loyalty to big power Blocs later when the time or occasion demands it.

Under the suggested pact, India and Sri Lanka should not permit their territory to be used for any foul purpose against the other.

Our Government has maintained that the lease of Trincomalee to an American firm is for peaceful purposes only. Let us maintain it is so till a Third World War swallows Trincomalee, Sri Lanka and the whole globe in destruction from which there can be no escape for any single race or community!

Why should our people and our economy suffer because of the Cold War of two Big Powers in the region?

Let us remain neutral for the present and cast our lot in at the final whistle, if we want to take sides.

D. J. Thamotheram

Colombo - 6

TAMILARAM

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW.

I refer to Tamilaram, containing tributes to Father Xavier Thaninayagam who, after a short interval after Gnanapiragasam, echoed Tamil culture all over the world.

Our 20th century's greatest Tamil poet Bharathy requested all learned Tamils to trumpet the Tamil language in all streets. But the Father trumpeted Tamil culture not only on the streets but also in all lands.

I am sure any person, whether a Hindu, Mohomedan or Christian or of any other faith, will be enriched in his faith if he keep a copy of Tamilaram.

K. Muththukkumar

Chavakachcheri.

tent to be an old fool believing the myths of religion and being reasonably happy instead of being a young fool believing the so-called truths of science and of development economics and being miserable because I cannot have all the things that others have.

Since it is easier to see the mote in others eyes, we are all agreed I think that in England Mrs. Thatcher and Mr. Scargill will not give up till England is finished and the real trouble is that there are too many Thatchers and too few Mother Theresas or even Senanayakes about.

Let's hope that if and when elections come both you and we will remember this. Otherwise, we can only expect an Irish future and fortunately I shall not be there.

H. E. Peries

Colombo - 5.

Please publish this letter in your esteemed Weekly.

Thanking you.

Yours sincerely,
B. Deogupillai
Bishop of Jaffna-

Bishop's House,
Jaffna.

N. Y. TIMES

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW.

I note from an article in the 30th August 1984 issue of the New York Times (page 5) that you have been harassed for your reportage on Sri Lankan Government policies toward the Tamil minority in your country. I commend you for your honest reports about attacks on these people. I do not have strong feelings on the underlying Tamil - Sinhalese conflict but, as an American, I do feel strongly about freedom of the Press and human rights. Keep up your good work. You are performing the greatest service to your country that is possible.

Thomas A. Robertson
San Francisco,
California.

ART OF LIVING

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW.

Give yourself to the art of living; do not be afraid of being hurt, or of what people will say or think, learn to rejoice at the success of others, without envy or jealousy; try, to understand the motive behind every failure, and give love encouragement at every opportunity. Do these things and live.

Fr. Matthiu G.E. Silva
Boragas.

SWEET JAFFNA

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW.

(Before July '83)

The dream of my mind is, a house of my own I'll make it some day My own sweet home. Joining my friends who'll help to be lent-my earning today will bring me some day a home.

(After July '83)

There'll soon be one day my brothers of the South and set my home ablaze my own sweet home Joining my relatives with bags packed a refugee I'll sail towards the North our own sweet Jaffna,

Manouri Cook

Badulla.

LETTERS

REPRISALS

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW.

There is an undeclared war going on between the militant Tamil youth and the Security Forces. Both are armed and believe in violence. They know that danger lurks at every corner. An armed convoy that sets out to search and destroy the militants succumb to an ambush deployed by the other. Why on earth such an incident should unleash untold violence on law abiding citizens somewhere else? This baffles many of us. It leads to serious thinking. Is it because we are smaller in number or are we made to suffer for the political views we uphold?

This point could be stressed by you in your columns. Could you please do it?

E. S. Theyagarajah

Kilinochchi.

IRISH FUTURE

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW.

I have been recently introduced to your journal and read it with interest.

I am an old man, possibly in my dotage and quite con-

LALITH "SHELLS" BISHOP

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW.

I wish to thank you for the NOTE you published in the SATURDAY REVIEW of 18th August putting the record straight with regard to the distortion given by the Minister of National Security to a letter of mine published in the TAMIL TIMES of May 1984.

With regard to the REUTER REPORT REFERRED TO BY THE MINISTER, I wish to state that IT WAS A DISTORTION of what I had told some Foreign Journalists who had met me on Sunday 12th August. I HAD ONLY REFUSED TO CALL THE TAMIL MILITANT YOUTH 'TERRORISTS' AS THE GOVERNMENT DOES, BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT DEFINED 'TERRORISM'. The militant youth call themselves 'Freedom Fighters', because they are fighting for an independent Tamil Eelam. I had told the Journalists also that WE, THE BISHOPS OF SRI LANKA, HAVE REPEATEDLY CONDEMNED VIOLENCE FROM WHATEVER QUARTER IT CAME.



HEALTH IS WEALTH



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Swami Sivananda
Milk White Soap Works
P. O. Box 77,
Jaffna.

While the so-called All-Party Conference is grappling with the problem of how to devolve political power in a manner to satisfy both the Sinhalese and the Tamils communities, it would be pertinent to ponder on the past thinking of the key figure behind the conference - President J. R. Jayewardene.

Here is a speech made by him in the State Council on 24th May 1944.

Sir, the motion standing in my name reads as follows:-

(a) That Sinhalese should be made the medium of instruction in all schools;

(b) That Sinhalese should be made a compulsory subject in all public examinations;

(c) That legislation should be introduced to permit the business of the State Council to be conducted in Sinhala also;

(d) That a Commission should be appointed to choose for translation and to translate important books of other languages into Sinhalese;

(e) That a Commission should be appointed to report on all steps that need be taken to effect the transition from English into Sinhalese.

My motion seeks to displace English from the position which it has held for over 125 years as the official language of this country.

The tragedy that is enacted everyday in our courts, in our public departments and in the very lives of our people is very vividly described in that famous book "The Village in the Jungle" which I would advise Honourable Members of this Council to read. There Sir, a villager from a hamlet in the Hambantota District is brought up for trial in the Courts before an English Magistrate, and after a number of days of trial, during which he did not understand a single word of what passed between the Judge, counsel and other officials, he is sentenced to the long term of imprisonment, and even at that stage does it know what had happened. That tragedy is occurring even today.

It is argued by those who know only English, who have been educated only in English, that if we displace English and make Sinhalese and Tamil the official languages, we will be shutting out a large world of literature, and culture from our people. They little understand that the world of literature is already a closed book

to 90 percent of our people. We can today after so many years of English as the official language, measure its achievements in this country. It is true that we have produced a number of famous lawyers, doctors and judges and possibly legislators, but in the field of literature, of science of culture, we have been entirely barren of achievement.

It was not so when the native language was the language of the Government. I think history records that wise men both from the East and the West came to the shores of Lanka to read the books that were preserved in the sanctuaries of the Buddhist Sangha. If one reads the travels of Hsien Tsang, Marco Polo and Fa Hien and the lives of great Western philosophers such as Dr. Dhalke and Rhys Davies and others, we would find the contribution that this country made to world literature when we had our own language as the official language.

English, and that is why this country is always in danger of being governed by a small coterie who go through these English schools whereas the vast majority who go through the Sinhalese and Tamil schools must always be in the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water.

We have not only defects in our own system of education, as an example and an argument for accepting this motion, but the example of other countries which have been for many centuries under foreign domination, and once they have become free or almost free they have dropped the foreign language and adopted their own language. I will take an example, first, the Irish Free State. After centuries of Anglicization, the native language of the people of Ireland, Gaelic, was forgotten; hardly 10 per cent spoke the language of the people. Thanks to the efforts of Dr. Hyde, who later became President of the Irish Free State, the Gaelic language

was elected in 1931 had taken the necessary steps with a vision that should have been theirs, to put into effect a proposal such as this it may be that today we would be able to speak in the languages of the people in this council, and in our other legislative assemblies. It is not too late even at this stage to make a start to see that Sinhalese and Tamil are made the official language of this country.

It becomes all the more important that we should adopt this motion at this stage, because the Minister of Education is introducing very far-reaching proposals next week in this Council, one of which is to make English education free. Before you create an educational system in which you teach English as a free and compulsory language, you must have clear before your eyes what is going to be the official language of this country. Are you going to educate the people of this country 80 per cent,

community, who speak Tamil, wish that Tamil also should be included on equal terms with Sinhalese. The great fear I had was that Sinhalese being a language spoken by only 3 million people in the whole world suffer or may be entirely lost in time to come, if Tamil is also placed on an equal footing with it in this country. The influence of Tamil literature, a literature used in India by over 40 million and the influence of films and Tamil culture in this country, I thought might be detrimental to the future of the Sinhalese language; but if it is the desire of the Tamils, that Tamil also should be given an equal status with Sinhalese, I do not think we should bar it from attaining that position.

I do not think there will be any difficulty in this House which is composed of representatives chosen on a universal franchise, in securing the end we have in view. It is the universal franchise that has brought the English-educated and the masses together, and it is the impulse created by the use of the universal franchise, by the ideals realized by the grant of the universal franchise, which enabled the people to choose their rulers, which will ultimately make Sinhalese and Tamil official languages of this country. I would therefore suggest to this House that we anticipate that event and give it the sanction of our vote and decision.

Language, Sir, is one of the most important characteristics of nationality. Without language a nation stands chance of being absorbed or of losing its identity. With language, it has a chance of living for centuries. It is because of our language that the Sinhalese race has existed for 2,400 years and I think that composed as we are in this House, on the eve of freedom as a free country we should prepare for a national official language. This House, I am sure, will vote with me that English should be deposed from its position as the official language of the country and Sinhalese and Tamil, the ancient languages of our people, spoken by 60 to 90 percent of our people should be made the official languages of Lanka.

Thus Spake J. R.

It is said that many of the mysteries of Indian history were unravelled by the translation of the Mahavansa into English, but today our youth, after so many years of British rule, are more interested in the love affairs of Henry VIII than in the historical events pictured in the Mahavansa; they are more aware of the materialism preached by Western pundits, than in the truths which are embodied in the Abhidhamma. It is with a view to changing this situation, a situation which can only be changed by substituting the national languages, as the official languages, that I have thought it wise to introduce this motion.

If we look again at our educational structure, which will come up for examination on the motion to be moved by the Minister of Education, we will find that we are spending over Rs. 20 million a year for maintaining a system of education which creates two classes. Over 80 per cent of our schools educate our children in Sinhalese and Tamil, while only about 6 or 7 per cent of our children are given an English education. But the official language is

was started and Gaelic was again made popular among the people. When Mr. De Valera began his great fight for freedom, and succeeded, he insisted that the native language of the people of Ireland, though it was spoken only by 10 percent, unlike in Ceylon where only 10 percent speak English, should be made the official language. He set aside all objection - he is a man who does not care for objections - and he made that language the official language of Ireland.

We also have the example of India where the Indian National Congress and insisted that English should be supplanted from its position as the official language, that linguistic provinces should be created and that Hindi should be the official language. We see that in Hyderabad and in the other States of India the official language is the language of the people. No difficulty, I think, can be visualised once the spirit of the motion is accepted and the methods which I have outlined are put into effect.

If only the Board of Ministers elected in 1931 and the Minister of Education who

of whom do not at present get an education, in English while the official languages of the country are to be Sinhalese and Tamil. Or are we in the future going to have English as the official language? I think that is the most important decision which should be taken by the educational authorities before they decide whether the medium of instruction should be the mother tongue or English. The educational structure should be suited to the official language. One might as well teach Dutch and not English if English is not going to be official language.

Therefore, I would place this motion before the House; and I wish to speak a word of explanation with regard to my desire to include Tamil also. I had always the intention that Tamil should be spoken in the Tamil-speaking provinces, and the Tamil should be the official language in the Tamil-speaking provinces. But as two-thirds of the people of this country speak Sinhalese. I had the intention of proposing that only Sinhalese should be the official language of the island; but it seems to me that the Tamil

(Continued from last issue)

The relative geographical separation of these two areas along with the discernible differences in traditional social organization, economic pursuits and, more important, varied historical background and the pattern of population distribution have clearly marked them out as two distinct spheres of interests resulting quite often in the sounding of a double note in the political orchestration of the Sri Lankan Tamils.

The Eastern region has two main units - Trincomalee and Batticaloa and it is the latter that deserves closer analysis. The Trincomalee district in terms of social composition, seems to be a half way house between Batticaloa and Jaffna and because of the strategic importance of the natural harbour, has outstripped the other in importance and has significantly enough seen an increase of 40,192 Sinhala residents between 1953 (15,296) and 1971 (55,308). The significant difference between the Batticaloa and the Jaffna Tamils

vince has been the preponderant number of Muslims in that region. The following table illustrates the position:

	Batticaloa District	Trincomalee District	Amparai District
Sri Lankan Tamils	177,275	65,905	60,519
Sri Lanka Moors	60,889	60,219	126,225

(Census and Statistics figures for 1971)

This has determined the character of the political demands. In fact it is the presence of a sizeable number of Muslims in Batticaloa that was responsible for the formulation of the concept of the Tamil speaking peoples instead of a direct use of the term Tamils.

The educational backwardness of the district had prevented the inhabitants of Batticaloa from enjoying their due share in the public service and professional occupations. The Jaffna man has been dominating officialdom and the administrative machinery. There has been a sharp reaction to this among the Tamils of Batticaloa and quite often anti-Jaffna politicians of Bat-

among the Tamils, the Catholics are in a dominant position and they have had a history of conflict with

the Hindus. In fact the bulk of the Hindus of Mannar are Jaffna-oriented. The Hindu-Catholic conflicts over the re-discovery and the development of the historic Tiruketheeswaram temple are too well-known.

Among the Tamil areas, the Vanni region had been the least developed. Though in terms of traditional social organization one does not notice any great difference from Jaffna, economic underdevelopment has left an indelible mark on the society. Vanni has been largely a closed social system until recently and the main agents of socio-economic change had been the Jaffna migrants, both traders and agriculturists.

sensitive area in terms of Sinhala-Tamil hostility. With the opening up of several agricultural development schemes in the Vavuniya district and the migration of the Jaffna peasantry into those areas, the Tamilian character of the population is being consolidated. Vavuniya district has the largest number of Indian Tamil labourers outside the Central highlands. Even this is contributing towards the further strengthening of the Tamilian identity. The pressure of Indian Tamil population the over-flow from the estates is very important for it is at this level that one sees a tendency towards an Indian-Sri Lankan Tamil merger through marriages. Being the border area, "communal" consciousness is markedly obvious. And there has been, of late, a revival of historical memories. The Vanni chieftains were the last of the Tamils to surrender their authority to the British and Pandara Vanniyan, the last Vanni chieftain killed at Katsilaimadu in 1803, is now

adventurous had also established himself in like manner. But in spite of their island wide distribution they have had a sense of exclusiveness which prevented them from being one with those among whom they worked. The one distinguishing characteristic of the Jaffna man is that he has always been Jaffna-centric.

It is important to understand these traits of the Jaffna man in terms of his socio-economic base. Clearly these characteristics of the Jaffna man mark him out as a distinct group within Sri Lanka and this is well expressed in the operation of the legal system, based not on the legislative enactment of any single man or power but evolved out of the traditions of the country. A literal translation of the term Tesavalamai, the law that governs property rights in Jaffna, would be 'traditions (usages) of the country'. The manner of its operation is very symbolic. A Jaffna man living outside would be subject to

Varied Histories:

could be seen in the traditional laws and customs in operation in each of these areas.

Even a cursory glance at the types of social organization that exist in Batticaloa and Jaffna would indicate how different one is from the other.

This type of social organization is so different from the one that obtains in Jaffna, that the average Jaffna man has never comprehended the system and considers the Batticaloa man somewhat alien to his own social system.

The other major factor is that Batticaloa is largely agricultural and therefore the interests of the Batticaloa Tamil has not been the same as that of the Jaffna Tamil. In fact when immediately after the implementation of the Donoughmore Commission report there was a boycott of the elections in Jaffna, organized by the Jaffna Youth Congress inspired by the movement for swaraj in India, the Batticaloa Tamils did not participate in the boycott and E. R. Tambimuttu was elected to the State Council.

Perhaps the decisive factor in the character of political activities of the Eastern Pro-

vincial have raised the "Yalpani domination" cry.

In spite of these socio-economic differences, Batticaloa has played a significant role in the cultural revival of the Tamils since 1956.

Batticaloa, a seat of the cultural heritage of the Tamils, in spite of the fact that its socio-economic needs were very different from those of Jaffna, was brought into the movement of ethnic solidarity by the colonisation policy of successive governments, especially, in the Amparai district. The militant youth movement that started in Jaffna seems to have encompassed Batticaloa too.

Within the Northern Province one could mark out three different areas in terms of socio-economic bases—the Mannar region, the Vanni region consisting of Vavuniya and Mullaitivu districts and the peninsular region i. e. Jaffna district proper. The socio-economic situation in Mannar is somewhat similar to that of the Eastern province. But the social organisation of the Tamils of the Mannar district does not differ very much from that of the Tamils of the Jaffna district. Here,

The traditional Vanni inhabitants had thereby developed a hostility towards the immigrants from Jaffna to the extent of forming a secret organization the Yarl Akatti Sangam. (The Society for Removal of the Jaffna Man). In terms of economic demands the Vanni peasant is one with the Sinhala peasants of the Rajarata region. In fact during the period of S.L.F.P. rule there was some understanding for-

presented as a great hero of the Tamils and the name of Kakkai Vanniyan who betrayed Pandara Vanniyan to the British regiment, has become synonymous with treachery and betrayal. Anyone who goes against Tamilian solidarity is now referred to as a Kakkai Vanniyan. Pandara Vanniyan has become the Puran Appu of the Sri Lankan Tamils.

The Jaffna Tamils form politically the most articulate group among the Sri Lankan

the norms of that area but within Jaffna the tradition of the place dominates and continues to dominate.

Tesavalamai law also reveals the basic social organization of the Tamils of Jaffna. It is based on the caste system. Here again the ranking is quite different from that of the other Tamils, either in India or Sri Lanka. A closer analysis of the Tesavalamai law and the character of the

by

Prof. K. Sivathamby

ged with the Tamil politicians of the Tamil Vanni districts. But the action of successive governments in settling Sinhala peasant colonists in and around the Vavuniya district and the corresponding increase of Sinhala residents of the area has always given rise to Sinhala-Tamil conflict and confrontation in this district. Vavuniya has always been considered the Southern Tamil homeland and the increasing Sinhala settlements have made this the most

Tamils and the Sri Lankan Tamil problem has often been presented as one of deciding the role and the status of the Jaffna man within the island. Jaffna, besides Colombo, was the earliest region to receive the benefits of modernization especially in relation to English education and the people from Jaffna have been enjoying a disproportionate quota of jobs as state officers, teachers and professionals: they are thus found in all parts of the island. The Jaffna trader, quite

caste-continuity would reveal it as Vellala-based; with even the Brahmin, though he occupies a position of ritual supremacy, coming below him in social power and authority. The caste system as it operates in Jaffna is a form of social control exercised by the highest group.

The rather 'monolithic' view that Jaffna is all-Tamil would be not correct. Time and again it has been proved that it is the dominant Vellala caste (having for itself certain class characteristics) that

has expressed its own needs and demands as the demands of the Tamils.

An analysis of the social background of the leaders of Jaffna up to time of the formation of the TULF would show that they have all been from the Vellala caste and it could also be seen that some of them were Janus-faced on this problem. The classic instance is that of Sir. Ponnambalam Ramanathan.

A closer look at the way educational opportunities were provided by Hindu English schools would reveal that the depressed castes were largely left out. Even the Christian schools had to take cognizance of the caste system. It was the coming of the free-education scheme and the introduction of the Swabasha medium that radically changed the socio-educational set-up in Jaffna.

In terms of intra-political divisions among the Tamils of Jaffna, the caste system has played an important role and continues to do so. But here again politicization on

One factor, seen very clearly within recent history is that whenever the government in power adopts a Left oriented economic policy, like nationalisation of estates or interventions into the private sector, the tendency for Sinhala-Tamil polarisation – and the intensification of communal feelings have been very high.

But a class analysis of the Tamils of Sri Lanka should not go along the lines of a rural-urban dichotomy. The position is definitely a complicated one. Any such analysis should first take into account the possibilities and the realities of the caste-class continuum. For, if it is true that a "traditional" social organization is able to influence the political behaviour of a group, as we have already seen, then such a social organization is not only "traditional" but also very "contemporary" in its effectiveness.

The Marxist theory of classes as defined by Lenin provides a clue to the understanding

exercised in a feudal society needs to be looked into;

"The main trend of social development (in the feudal society) was for a certain social organisation, having assumed an exclusive right of discharging social functions in the sphere of legislation, administration of justice, education, religion and military affairs, to seek to obtain the largest possible share of the social product using the social institutions it had usurped to coerce the labour force" (Martin Siderov-What is Historical Materialism? Moscow-1975-42)

Understood in terms of the feudal conditions obtaining in Jaffna and Batticaloa, this clearly shows that the depressed castes in the traditional Tamil hierarchy are also the oppressed classes:

Euto-centric studies on the breakdown of feudalism show that the new class of bourgeoisie grew within it and led the struggle of the peasants to revolutionise it. The historical experience of this transition in the Asian countries

with an almost peer status in the traditional hierarchy, had also the benefit of the services St. Patrick's College, Jaffna, but this again was confined largely to the Catholic Karayars) and thereby also employment with the government.

Thus up to the first three decades of this country caste and class went hand in hand. Social mobility, cutting across caste barriers, comes in only when the cumulative impact of the free-education system and the swabasha – medium education began to assert themselves and this happened around 1956. But 1956 also marks the awakening of the consciousness of the peasantry and the awakening of the national bourgeoisie on ethnic lines. This led to an interesting amalgamation of forces among the Tamils, i.e. the depressed castes and higher castes now closed ranks as Tamils. It was at a time when the depressed castes were getting organised on class lines, (not only through entrepreneurial undertakings) that the ethnic

such groups support the demand for a 'separate existence'.

The class position in the other Tamil areas cannot be taken as having come up to any substantial level of consciousness. In Batticaloa the consciousness is rather low, except at urban centres, because neither "westernization" nor "modernization" have affected society sufficiently deeply as yet. Conversely, the pattern of settlements in the newly opened up agricultural areas in the Eastern districts is helping to increase communal consciousness and tension. In Vavuniya, the overflow from the plantations is creating an agrarian proletariat.

The presence of a substantial number of Tamils in Colombo, especially within the city, is an important factor to be considered in this discussion. Although the bulk of them are from the working classes and the lower middle-class, there is an articulate group of industrialists and professionals, whose class associations have determined their attitude from time to time. They have also acted as a pressure group on the political advocates of the Tamil demands.

It is clear from the above discussion that the Sri Lankan Tamil problem arises from the very economic basis of the social composition of the Tamils. Both the uniting forces and the divisive factors arise from it. A cursory glance at the social formation reveals it as basically a problem of uneven (or irregular) development, sharpened by the mode of decolonization.

Decolonization in a country that has had almost four hundred years of colonial rule should not be based on the ideological assumptions received through the superstructures of colonialism; decolonization should take the form of an intense, inward search for the common social and economic bonds hitherto unrecognized and undiscovered. The process of decolonization will determine the character of the "genuine" independence that the country seeks and it should therefore be as democratic and morally justifiable as the anti-colonial movement had been, and by democracy is meant, political economic and social democracy.

(Courtesy Ethnicity and Social Change)

Double Note

ethnic lines has enabled the election for the first time of an M. P. from the depressed castes.

Even the traditional Hindu-Christian hostility seems to have lessened in recent times. Of late the Catholic Church has produced clergymen who have identified themselves fully with the Tamil cause.

The main economic source of the political problems of the Jaffna Tamil has been the public services. The post 1930 Sinhala-Tamil relations were almost centred round this main problem of recruitment to the public services.

Public service-oriented education had been an economic necessity in Jaffna and when efforts were made to solve the problem at the 'lower stage' of the provision of education (so that there would be no problem for the state at a later stage in providing the jobs), the character of political agitation in Jaffna changed, for the system of standardisation affected only the youth. With the departure from the island of those who had the education but not adequate opportunities, the Sri Lankan problem has been given an international standing.

of the problem of the caste-class continuum.

"Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in social organization of Labour and consequently by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of requiring it." (A Great Beginning).

The social organization of economic production and the ensuing social relationships that are seen in the organization of feudalism in Jaffna (as 'fixed and formulated' in the Tesavalamai system) and in Batticaloa (as seen in the relationship between the podiyar or the feudal lord, the mullaikkaran, the lessee cultivator who pays fixed rent and the vayalkaran, the agricultural serf and in the constitution of the Ciraikkudis bonded class), examined in the light of this definition, would unambiguously reveal the class-basis of the caste organisation.

A further explanation of the method of social control

has been different. Here in most cases defeudalisation took place under the impact of colonialism.

The feudal structure was made to conform to the exploitative demands of colonial capitalism. In the case of the Sri Lankan Tamils too, it is true, a bourgeois class arose within it: but the first groups that arose within it, historically speaking, did not destroy that system; in fact they strengthened it.

This is well demonstrated in the history of 'modernization' in Jaffna. The "revivalist" movement in Jaffna headed by Arumuga Navalar was really an attempt "to contain the socio-cultural changes flowing from the very character of British administration, within the well-entrenched social frame work of the Jaffna Hindu society and that the beneficiaries of these activities, by aim and choice, were the upper caste Hindus" (Social Science Review Vol. I No. I)

Up to the end of the Second World War, English education was virtually a monopoly in the hands of the high caste Hindu Tamils (except in the case of the non-fishing Karayars who along

factor was brought into educational and employment matters. And when that tendency grew, the Tamils began voting for the FP or the TULF. It is significant that P. Kandiah of the C. P. was elected in 1956 and since then the Tamil districts have not voted for any Leftist.

It would be interesting to note that this had affected the fortunes of the Left movement in Jaffna which really grew on an anti-caste basis. When there was inter-caste class collaboration, the strength of the Left movement declined considerably. The surviving base for the Left movement now in Jaffna is the intelligentsia.

A major consideration that has determined the character of the Tamil demands on the nationality issue has been the necessity for the middle-class Tamils to stay outside the Tamil areas because of their employment, trade or profession. The decreasing opportunities for such gainful occupation coupled with the realization of the economic potential of the Tamil areas, especially after the boost the cultivation of subsidiary crops received in the seventies, are tending to make even

The Second Chamber Proposal

In the given context of the breakdown of dialogue among the ethnic communities as well as the political parties, the setting up of a Second Chamber can be a helpful stage in re-establishing inter communal understanding, provided such a body is adequately representative and has meaningful powers to be a genuine forum of dialogue and means of sharing power at the Centre.

A Second Chamber was introduced to the legislature of Ceylon by the Soulbury Constitution. It was part of a package of proposals which was accepted by the majority and minority communities at the eve of Independence. This included

1. The limitations of the legislative power of the Ceylon Parliament by Sec. 29 against any discrimination against minorities.
2. An appeal to the British Privy Council concerning such legislation.
3. A weightage in representation in Parliament in favour of the rural areas and for the minorities.
4. A public services commission for appointments to, transfers and dismissals from the public service.
5. the Senate.

bills prior to their second reading or main debate in Parliament. Even then "there should be a definite exclusion of powers in relation to constitutional amendments, money bills, public security, foreign relations and any other 'sensitive areas'".

This leaves it little scope of any major significance even in ethnic relations. Further when any issue becomes "sensitive" the Second Chamber would be powerless concerning it.

Further, discussions may be "without media publicity". This may ensure confidentiality, but not the impact of and on public opinion.

The intention seems for it to be "in some way a continuing All Party Conference". The working of the so called A.P.C. during the past 8-9 months is not so encouraging as to make the country happy with such similarity.

The Second chamber as proposed, will have no control over the Executive. On the contrary the Executive President with Parliament which he presently controls, will be able to nominate 1/3 of the members of the Senate. Since the ruling party controls most of the district Councils in the country, most of the 50 mem-

In this proposed second chamber the ethnic minorities will not only continue to be a minority—of about 16 out of 50 members elected by the District Councils; further the balance minority representatives will be "nominated by the President and Parliament" and hence may not be adequately represent different political persuasions. The minorities will continue to be ineffectively represented in this Chamber too.

They will have no power to influence legislation on issues concerning their rights, if these are "sensitive issues". They will only be somewhat effective in consultative com-

mittees away from media publicity.

If this Second Chamber is an alternative to devolution of power, from the centre to the periphery, it is not a satisfactory way to the solution to the ethnic problem. If it is alongside a proposal for devolution of powers, then we should see what such a proposal is, in order to evaluate the significance of this second chamber. As presently proposed, it is more a debating and consultative body than a partner in legislation and exercise of power.

One important member of the Tamil community has called it a "trojan horse."

There has been a little public support, if any, for this specific proposal as such, even though many welcome the concept of a second chamber. The Government however seems determined to go ahead with it. We must await its more specific proposals to see what its actual powers, functions and composition would be. The gravity of the country's problems demand an early and just solution to the main problem of the sharing of power in the Centre and at the periphery. Without this a second chamber as proposed can not only be disappointing but also add frustration to a hopeless situation.

"DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES HALTED"

"It is reported in the Press that you intend to hold these by-elections in the following Parliamentary constituencies:

1. Kundasale
2. Minneriya
3. Padiruppu
4. Trincomalee

Whatever be the reason why you have decided to hold these by-elections, it is essential that the conditions necessary for making them genuinely free and fair be ensured if they are indeed to serve the cause of democracy.

The prevailing Emergency and the Emergency regulations have brought all democratic processes in the country to a virtual halt. This will be particularly felt in respect of all election activity.

This is the text of an appeal addressed to President Jayewardene by the LSSP, the CP of Sri Lanka, the MEP and the SLMP.

Even the very act of campaigning against the government at an election can come under the prohibition in regulation 26 of the Emergency regulations. This regulation refers, among other matters, to speech, writing and conduct as would bring the President or the Government into hatred or contempt, or excites or incites or attempts to excite or incite

feelings of disaffection, hatred or contempt of the President and of the Government, as an offence. And under such regulations it is a Police Officer that decides as to whether such offence has been committed and on such decision a person is liable to arrest and detention without the Courts having the right to determine bail.

Under these regulations it is a Government-appointed Competent Authority that decides as to what can be permitted to be published even on matters that will be in issue at an election. Presses can be closed and sealed at the behest of such Authority. Even the distribution of a leaflet or the exhibition of a

(Continued on page 9)

by **Fr. Tissa Balasuriya**

This compromise followed the experience of the minorities being excluded from the exercise of ministerial power between 1936-1942 by the Pan Sinhala Board of Ministers following the General Elections of 1936. Between the period 1948 and 1972 these safeguards were given up or so modified as to be ineffective in checking discrimination in legislation.

The present proposal of a second chamber purports to bridge the gap between what are considered the positions of the majority and minority communities. It is said to be a bridge between the demand for Regional Councils by the Tamil minority and an unwillingness to get beyond District Councils, by some of the majority community spokesmen.

The proposed second chamber will have little or no effective power concerning legislation. It can only debate

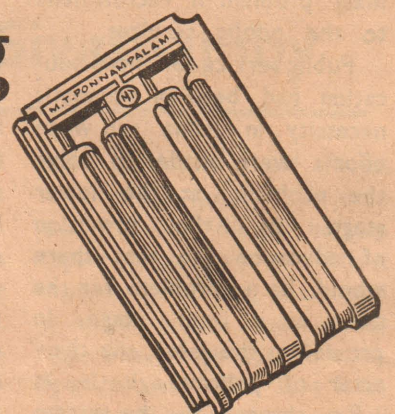
members elected by the district Councils (other than from the North and East) will be supporters of the ruling party and of the Executive President. The President will therefore have an absolute majority in the Senate, at least till the next General Elections which are not due till 1989. The representation in the Second Chamber may therefore not necessarily be representative of public opinion in the country.

Since "the President may choose Cabinet Ministers and non-Cabinet from the Second Chamber", this proposal will give the President power to appoint Cabinet Ministers from outside of parliament. He can thus bypass even the presently devalued parliament which too has several nominated M. P.s. This Second Chamber will thus result in increase of the powers of the Executive Presidency rather than of the Legislature or of the people.

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Tamils living in Toronto were protesting and remembering the violence unleashed against the Tamil population of Sri Lanka, especially the mass killings that began on 25th July 1983.

A blood donation campaign was organised by the Tamil youths of Toronto. Over 100 Tamils donated blood at the Red Cross Society at the blood donation centre in the Manu Life Building in Toronto on 4th August.

Mr. Aravinden, the coordinator of the blood donation campaign, in explaining the rationale behind the campaign stated that "so much concern was shown for the Tamils by all cross-sections of the Canadian people, that my friends and I are thankful. Human beings are the same all over the world whether, black, white, yellow or brown. God made them all equal. Human life is too precious to be destroyed for political expediency. In the July 1983 pogrom, many Tamils were killed. Tamil blood will not go to waste. As a goodwill gesture we thought of donating blood so that it can be useful to save the lives of needy human beings".

Tamils in Toronto

Remember

July 1983

Mr. Parameswaran, one of the organisers of the blood donation campaign, quoting President Thomas Jefferson stated, "the care of human life and happiness and not their destruction is the first and only legitimate object of good government". The Jayewardene Government has failed in its duty in July 1983 and we are remembering these darkest hours of the history of the Tamils, by donating our blood to be used to save the lives of Canadians". He further stated that the blood donation campaign will be repeated every year.

A remembrance service was held for the repose of the

souls of those who lost their lives during the holocaust of July 1983 in Sri Lanka, and for those who suffered physically and mentally. The services which took place at St. Timothy's Anglican Church in Agincourt was organized by Mr. Viji Edwards, Mr. Sathi Chellia and Mr. Mano Cunnananayagam.

A special pooja to remember the July 1983 pogrom of Tamils was held at the Hindu Temple, Richmond Hill. Mr. Sivalingam coordinated the activities of this event with the assistance of the Hindu Temple Society of Canada. Mr. Sivalingam, recalling the memories of the

incidence of "Bloody July," said that Tamils living all over the world should remember the blood-stained days of July 1983. He also appealed to the Tamils to help their brothers and sisters in Tamil Nadu who have gone to India as refugees, stating that there are about 40,000 Tamil re-

fugees in Tamil Nadu. Many Tamils remembered 25th July by fasting the entire day.

According to Mr. Jegan Mohan, a Toronto lawyer, and member of the Tamil community, as Tamils of Canada remembered the "Bloody July '83", the government of Sri Lanka has embarked on a mission of killing the Tamils in their traditional homelands. Mr. Mohan commented that the security forces were killing innocent Tamils in Northern and Eastern Provinces under the pretext of curbing terrorism. Due to censorship, the extent of the killing is uncertain, said Mr. Mohan. It is reported that thousands of Tamils are fleeing to Tamil Nadu in India as refugees.

(From The Globe and Mail Toronto of 15th August 1984)

Democratic Processes Halted

(Continued from page 8)

poster has to have the prior sanction of the Police.

Regulations also prohibit meetings. These can be held only with the permission of the Police. It is for the Police to decide whether or not a gathering of persons is or is not a meeting within the meaning of the regulations.

One has only to specify these regulations to be struck by the fact that they permit no legitimate election activity.

The normal law too has such shortcomings as did permit the government party to resort to serious malpractices during the last round of by-elections. The voting card, introduced as an aid to the voter, was intercepted in the post or taken over and was used to intimidate the voter so as to prevent him from casting his vote. Public meeting places were withheld from Opposition parties. The Government party supporters violators with impunity the election laws in regard to the display of symbols, posters and flags. Polling agents of Opposition parties

polling stations by polling officers, and where they were allowed or where they braved the threats and went in to perform their duties, they were driven away by thugs thereby enabling unchallenged impersonation on a massive scale. Thuggery sponsored and actively engaged in by Ministers and Deputy Ministers prevailed unchecked outside polling stations. These practices denied to the voter the right to freely exercise his vote. They denied to the Opposition political parties the right to conduct freely their election activity.

We note that the amendment to the election law passed by Parliament a few days back has failed to address itself a rectification of these shortcomings. That amendment contains provisions which are intended to further exploit these shortcomings at the level of district based elections as happened in the D. D. C. elections in the North.

We also wish to draw your attention to the facts that (1) two recognised po-

proscribed for over a year and are therefore not in a position, if they so desire, to nominate candidates for the proposed by-elections, and (2) there has been no change in the election law to ensure that the President of the country, when participating in an election or by-election, is subject to the same legal obligations and penalties that apply to other citizens.

It is your bounden duty as President of this country to see to it that these tremendous obstacles in the way of free and fair elections are removed before the accounted by elections are held, so that anti-government candidates can conduct their campaigns unfettered by the positively oppressive conditions outlined by us and the electors can cast votes in conditions of freedom and fairness.

Permit us, Your Excellency, to point out that the power to take the necessary steps is in your hands. If you have the will to do so,

2 Metro rallies

protest violence

in Sri Lanka

Rival factions protesting violence in Sri Lanka held separate demonstrations in downtown Toronto recently.

Amid tight police security, about 250 people picketed an Asian dance festival at Harbourfront to protest the Sri Lankan military crackdown on Tamil separatists in recent weeks.

The protestors, many of them recent Tamil refugees, carried placards calling for Tamil independence and an end to Canadian government aid for Sri Lanka, an island republic off India's southeast coast.

Mr. Vireh Fernando, assistant co-ordinator for the Canada-Sri Lanka Association, accused the Tamil group of forcing a children's dance troupe to withdraw from the festival, which had been planned for months.

But lawyer Mr. Jegan Mohan of the Tamil Eelam Society of Canada denied that his group threatened the dancers. He said they voluntarily withdrew because "any self-respecting Tamil would pull out of such a program".

Many of the Tamil demonstrators do not know whether their relatives in Sri Lanka are alive or not because

phone lines to Jaffna, the capital city of Sri Lanka's northern province, have been cut for weeks.

About 50 Sinhalese demonstrated at the offices of the Indian Consulate on Bloor St. to protest the support southern Indian provinces have given the Tamil guerrillas.

by
Paul Bilodeau

Mr. John Wickramasinghe, president of the Sri Lanka United National Association, said there is a danger the Indian Government will intervene militarily on behalf of the Tamils.

He says Tamils are alleging political persecution so they can enter other countries as refugees.

About 1,500 Tamil refugees, most of them under 35, have arrived in Canada over the past three years. Tamils number about half of the approximately 8,000 Sri Lankans now living in Metro.

(Toronto Star)

WHY WORRY OVER 'DISAPPEARANCE' OF YOUTHS?

As our politicians often say, inflation and unemployment are worldwide problems. So, it appears, the "disappearance" of youths, whether it be in Jaffna or elsewhere. So why worry.

Here is an Amnesty International file on "disappearances" in Peru:

Hundreds of people are reported to have been victims of "disappearances" and extrajudicial executions in Peru since a state of emergency was imposed and a regional military government set up in highland Ayacucho Department on 26th December 1982. Many of the victims have been children and young people.

Reports of such violations of human rights by army, marine and Civil Guard forces in the Ayacucho emergency zone have come in the context of a counter-insurgency program against the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) guerrilla group, which has itself carried out scores of execution-style killings. (AI has condemned such killings by Sendero Luminoso members and has expressed its condemnation publicly and in messages to the Peruvian authorities.)

AI has received many reports of indiscriminate arrests, "disappearances" and killings in the cities of Huanta and Ayacucho alone.

Two detention centres have been identified as the last place many "disappeared" prisoners were seen alive:

* Los Cabitos Barracks, the army's regional headquarters in the city of Ayacucho; and the

* Huanta Stadium, a former sports stadium now serving as the marine's headquarters in Ayacucho's Huanta province.

Huanta Stadium

In February and March this year AI appealed to the Peruvian authorities for information on the status of 16 minors reportedly detained in the emergency zone. No replies were received and the 16 remain "disappeared". Four of those last seen in the navy's detention centre at Huanta Stadium were student at the Huanta Gonzalez Vigil school.

* Yuri Simbron Simbron, 14, and his brother, Abdon Wilber Mansilla Simbron, 17 were reportedly seized at home at 11.00 p.m. on 19th October by uniformed Civil Guardsmen. The brothers were blindfolded and dragged barefoot into the street, Yuri wearing only an orange T-shirt and underpants. They were taken in an official car first to Civil Guard headquarters and then to the stadium.

Relatives who later made inquiries there are said to have been told by navy officials that the brothers had not been detained—but that the parents should "pray to God that their sons were alive, as perhaps they were terrorists".

Released prisoners have since said that on 3rd November the brothers were still alive and in the stadium. The authorities have refused to acknowledge that they are being detained.

The elder brother, Abdon Wilber, had reportedly been active in the Roman Catholic youth organization Juventud Catolica.

* Dina Sinchitullo Rojas, 17, is reported to have been seized when a 10-man uniformed marine patrol raided her home just before midnight on 28th November 1983.

Relatives say she was dressed only in her underwear when she and two of her sisters were taken away to be detained in the stadium. The sisters were later freed, but

she has not been seen since; her detention has never been acknowledged by the authorities.

* Antonio Yuncacallo, a 14-year-old polio victim, was reportedly detained by marines on 27 October 1983 and has since "disappeared". He is said to have been detained the previous June and to have been severely ill-treated during interrogation and then released without charge.

Los Cabitos Barracks

A number of the minors on whose behalf AI appealed earlier this year are reported to have "disappeared" after detention in Los Cabitos Barracks.

* Norma Cordero Martinelli, a 12-year-old primary school pupil was reportedly taken from her home by plainclothes detectives at midnight on 10 January 1984 after being held at detective headquarters she was said to have been taken to the barracks.

* Luis Flores Galindo, 16, a schoolboy who also worked as a street shoeblack, was reported to have been arrested in Ayacucho by detectives on the night of 28th November 1983 and taken first to their headquarters and then to the barracks.

He had been detained three times before that year. On one occasion he was arrested while waiting for a bus on his way to see a doctor—he suffers from tuberculosis.

* Jaime Gutierrez Gammarra, aged 16, was reportedly arrested with three other teenagers at his home on the night of 5th October 1983—the army unit making the arrests is said to have been supported by an anti-riot tank.

The three teenagers were apparently blindfolded and taken to the barracks.

Jaime's companions were eventually released but he remained in detention. Messages from him reached his parents via released prisoners, the most recent coming on 24th January this year. Since then, there has been no word of him and his fate

The Media Scene

THE TRIALS OF SATURDAY REVIEW:

The new bimonthly journal FORUM is the only Colombo based publication so far to acknowledge and publicise the fact that the SATURDAY REVIEW is subjected to a special kind of censorship not applicable to any other publication in Sri Lanka.

Even news items and pictures published in the other Jaffna-based newspaper, EELANADU, have sometimes been disallowed for publication in the SATURDAY REVIEW.

Why the special treatment?

As the FORUM remarks, the objective appears to be to prevent the English-educated Sinhalese from knowing the truth of what is happening in the North.

Who are the ultimate losers? President Jayewardene's Government and the country as a whole.

TRIBUNE

The weekly news magazine TRIBUNE, founded in 1954 by Mr. S. R. Amarasingam, which ceased to appear at the news-stand after the July 1983 Holocaust, has been resurrected. Vol. 28, No. 29 dated 1st September is now on sale.

remains unknown—the authorities have never acknowledged his detention.

The cases of all the minors named above have been brought to the attention of the Peruvian authorities by AI, by human rights organizations in Peru, by the Ayacucho Bar Association or by relatives.

Neither the courts nor representatives of Peru's Attorney General, who is responsible under the country's constitution for monitoring human rights, have taken effective action to locate these "disappeared" young people and ensure their safety.

Army and navy authorities are reported to have obstructed efforts by Ayacucho civil officials to investigate the "disappearances."

A DAILY NOW

The new Jaffna-based Tamil newspaper Elamurasu, which started off as a bi-weekly (Wednesdays and Sundays) is coming out as a daily from 10th September. The SATURDAY REVIEW wishes to it all success.

Baby Elephant...

(Continued from page 3)

charming animal to which I and many zoogoers had become so attached."

Jayathu was sent here from a Sri Lankan elephant orphanage, where she had lived since being rescued from a deep pit into which she had fallen. She arrived before the formal presentation and was on exhibition from June 15 through Tuesday.

At that time, zoo officials said, after two weeks of treatment for what appeared to be an allergic reaction to her infant formula, she was refusing all food and drink. The elephant house was closed, and a tube was inserted into her stomach so she could receive nourishment directly.

Through the tube, Jayathu was given glucose, vitamins, electrolytes and fluids, Robinson said.

Wednesday morning, he said, there were signs that the efforts of veterinarians and keepers were meeting with success.

"We thought.... she was looking very much better", Robinson said. But he added, Jayathu's condition then appeared to "spiral down" and at 4.45 p.m. yesterday, despite efforts to save her that were "above and beyond the call of duty," she died.

The zoo has two other Asiatic elephants and one African elephant. African elephants are larger, with noticeably larger ears.

In Sri Lanka, an island off the southeast coast of India, orphan elephants are fed with formula until they reach an age of between three and five years, Robinson said. The animals normally have a life span approximating that of humans, and may weigh as much as five and a half tons.

(Washington Post, 31st August.)

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Book Review

Crippling a Nation

— by **Aziza Seedat**

Because of the high standard of medical care for its white citizens, South Africa is often regarded as a country with a good health service. But the truth is quite different. Health under apartheid for the majority of the population is a story of suffering, illness and death. Because of apartheid policies health care provision for blacks is grossly inadequate.

Two different patterns of disease are consistently revealed throughout this book. For whites in South Africa the health pattern is similar to that found in developed countries: low infant mortality, long life expectancy, and diseases which are a product of affluence. For blacks, especially africans, the health pattern follows that experienced in the underdeveloped countries: High infant mortality, low life expectancy, and diseases which are a direct result of poverty, deprivation and harsh living conditions.

The book makes clear that this division is the product of the economic, political and social structures which operate under apartheid. To attempt to discuss health in South Africa without taking this into consideration is valueless. For example, while malnutrition results directly from the workings of apartheid policies and South African paediatricians have developed an expertise in the understanding and treatment of it and its complications, this has done nothing to change the system that gives rise to the disease in the first place. After expert treatment children are returned to an environment where they will, in all probability, relapse and where at least one half will die before their fifth birthday.

It has been said that South Africa does not have a health service but a disease service. South Africa is a highly industrialised and wealthy country, but the ill-health of its black population serves as a damning indictment of the apartheid regime.

The author concludes that for the health of all South Africans to improve the present apartheid system needs to be completely dismantled, and a new social order created that will provide, amongst other things, a free and readily available health service to all the people of South Africa.

Aziza Seedat is a South African doctor now living in exile.

"Crippling a Nation" is published by International Defence and Aid Fund for South Africa, London.

This is Apartheid ILL-HEALTH

WHITE SOUTH AFRICA prides itself on having pioneered the heart transplant, and on being in the forefront of medical research and technology.

But for black South Africans, life under apartheid brings the diseases of poverty, hardship and neglect, with treatment in overcrowded, under-resourced hospitals and clinics or on treatment at all.

Apartheid means racism, and apartheid kills. Did you know that.

- ★ South Africa's overall infant mortality rate (black and white) of 90 deaths per 1,000 (UNICEF figure) is one of the highest rates in the world in relation to national wealth. Yet this conceals the real picture of black malnutrition and ill-health: in some rural areas of South Africa, half of all black children die before they reach the age of five.
- ★ Tuberculosis, a disease associated with poor living conditions, is the single most important cause of death among the black African majority.
- ★ The estimated doctor: patient ratio in South Africa is 1 : 330 for white people, 1 : 730 for Indian, 1:12,000 for Coloured, and 1 : 91,000 for African.
- ★ Hospitals are segregated. Those for white patients are underused, while in black hospitals women in labour and after giving birth may have to lie two to a bed.
- ★ The freedom Charter envisages a non-racial South Africa in which a preventive health scheme shall be run by the state and free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all.

Anti-Apartheid News July-August 1984

SPORTS

Cricket Behind the Cadjan Curtain

by **VICTOR KIRUPARAJ**

Cricket — particularly school cricket—played behind the CADJAN CURTAIN has had its ups and downs during the past four decades or so. It was in the early and middle sixties, however, that Jaffna school cricket rose to an all-time high. It was during this pristine period the Jaffna school-boys led by Donald Ganeshakumar humbled the might of Colombo South schools captained by Anura Tennekoon in an inter-zonal cricket encounter to enter the final of the zonal tournament conducted by the Ceylon Schools' Cricket Association.

To cut a long story short, though Jaffna went down to the Colombo North schools, they were nevertheless not disgraced, for they fared exceedingly well in the second essay with skipper Donald Ganeshakumar delighting

the crowd with an unbeaten, swashbuckling 91.

Among the talented school-boy cricketers over the years, Johnian Dr. C. Balakrishnan, (the only Northerner to have donned the Ceylon cap) C. Sooriakumar, Donald Ganeshakumar, Jeya Kanaganayagam, Dr. M. Deivendra, M. Surendra, M. Nadarajasundaram, Dr. P. Balendra, S. Sivasothy, S. Benedict, S. Nagulendran, R. Satchithanandan, M. S. Rameez and of late, Rajaratnam Naguleswaran are those, whom the writer could remember who have at one time or other played first class Sara Trophy cricket.

Among this chequered lot, the one who should have found a place in the Sri Lankan team in 1982 was R. Naguleswaran. In the above context, it must be borne in mind that Naguleswaran's entry into first class cricket in the metropolis needs a little elaboration here.

He represented the Maharajah Organisation Cricket Team from 1977-1983. As a left-arm opening bowler of the team, he had a fairly rich haul of wickets every season. Naguleswaran takes pride in having represented the Maharajah Organisation when it "lifted" the Mercantile Trophy in 1981 and 1983. Naguleswaran also represented the prestigious Colombo Cricket Club in the Sara Trophy Tournament from 1977-1983. It was during this period that young Naguleswaran came under the expert guidance of the former Sri Lankan skipper and the knowledgeable veteran Michael Tissera. It may interest the reader to note that it was under the judicious leadership of Tissera that the C.C.C made certain of the coveted Sara Trophy in 1981.

As an intelligent opening bowler, Naguleswaran did remarkably well with the ball that season when the C.C.C became champions. In fact he bowled 229 overs of which 70 were maidens, capturing 52 wickets at an overall cost of 633 runs. He averaged a good 12.17 runs per wicket. His best effort that season in an innings was 6 wickets for 61 runs.

It was in the 1982-1983 Sara Trophy season, how-

ever, that Naguleswaran was at his brilliant best topping the bowling average. In 233 overs, 74 of which were maidens, he claimed 42 wickets giving away 605 runs at an average of 14.4 runs per wicket. It was during this memorable season that Naguleswaran claimed 5 scalps in an innings on 5 different occasions. His best effort was a handsome match bag of 10 wickets.

The other accomplishments of this young cricketer are as follows: from May to October 1980, he played for the Smethwick Cricket and Athletic Club (members of the Birmingham and District Cricket League). In October 1980, Naguleswaran was a member of the Maharajah Cricket team that toured South India. In January 1981, he was a member of the Sri Lanka under-25 Cricket Team that toured North and South India. In 1982, he was afforded the rare privilege of captaining the under-25 Eleven of the Colombo Cricket Club. In 1983, he had the distinction of having been a member of the National Pool from which the Sri Lanka cricket team was selected to participate in the I. C. C Tournament for the Prudential Trophy.

Incidentally, Ravi Ratnayake who too did service for the C.C.C as an opening bowler along with Naguleswaran, had just returned with the Sri Lankan team that toured England recently. He has been a "regular" in the Sri Lankan side since 1982.

Naguleswaran is frustrated that he has been thrown by the wayside—perhaps due to the reason that he had learnt the rudiments of the game in a not too sophisticated institution which happens to lie behind the CADJAN CURTAIN.

Under the existing present circumstances, it is feared that the Jaffna school boy cricketing talent may dissipate at the school level itself. The talented cricketers may feel reluctant to test their skill and prowess with those in the capital in the future. It is also feared whether cricket behind the CADJAN CURTAIN in the future will flourish under the trying prevalent conditions.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

WHO KILLED COCK ROBIN?

What exactly happened off Vavuniya on 11th September and who was responsible?

So many theories have been propounded that most of us have got utterly confused.

Only one fact has been established: 16 innocent Tamils travelling in a Jaffna-bound bus were butchered but by whom?

Who said that soldiers were involved?

But the way the Government is going about to prove that soldiers were not involved

is creating more suspicion about actual culprits.

Why waste time and money by sending a special C.I.D. team to Vavuniya to make a full investigation (as reported in the Government-controlled Daily News of 15th September)?

The various statements made by persons in high position can be described as being hilarious, if not for the fact that we are referring to a very tragic situation. The whole scenario reminds us of the Sinhalese saying about trying to swallow without the knowledge of the throat.

HOW COME?—A REPLY

The Secretary of the College of Higher Studies of Jaffna has sent the following communication in regard to the news item in the SATURDAY REVIEW of 8th September about the Private Medical College in Jaffna:

The College of Higher Studies is not a tertiary, but it was approved under the Education Ordinance as a senior secondary school by the Ministry of Education in 1954.

At the request of the students, parents and the public we decided to start a Private Medical College to help our students to qualify and to be useful for our future generation because our students find it difficult to enter the University or other Government higher educational institutes.

We are faced with many difficulties and obstructions

in starting up the Private Medical College but we are determined to go ahead.

Certain sections of the public appear to be more keen on criticising this venture rather than giving advice or suggestions.

Note by Editor: For the record, we reproduce here an advertisement which appeared on 16th September in a Jaffna daily:

The U.S.A. has sanctioned the setting-up of a resident campus of the Columbia University in Jaffna. B.Sc., Engineering, Computer Science Courses will commence in September.

Those with 3 passes in the GCE (AL) or working people should contact: The Secretary, College of Higher Studies, Anaipanthi, Jaffna, directly or by post, on or before 30th September.

The University of Jaffna has yet to set up an Engineering Faculty.

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CANADIAN AID IN THE BALANCE

This is the fourth editorial comment by the Globe and Mail of Toronto, the leading newspaper in Canada, within the last one and half years, on the situation in Sri Lanka:

When Canada provides aid to have-not countries, it attaches economic strings ("Buy Canadian") but not political ones. The Canadian International Development Agency has rarely tied its aid to the human rights record of the recipient. Since few Third World countries are beyond reproach, an aid donor which insisted on absolute observance of civil liberties would soon have few clients.

There are, however occasions when Ottawa should reconsider its bilateral aid to a particular country in order to make a point about human rights. When for instance, a Government orders or permits the repeated massacre of many of its own citizens, it clearly forfeits any moral claim to Canada's help.

Such massacres were a factor when CIDA scrapped aid to Uganda during the Idi Amin era and more recently, to Guatemala, El Salvador and Suriname. But CIDA preferred to justify these cut-offs on the grounds that internal conditions made progress in development impossible. It declined to suspend aid expressly as a penalty for human rights abuses.

Lately, however, Ottawa has shown a welcome readiness to rethink this approach. External Affairs under-secretary Marcel Masse, a former CIDA president, commissioned a consultant's study on the pros and cons of explicitly tying aid to human rights. We hope the report, which supports such linkage in carefully defined circumstances, will inspire more boldness in External Affairs and CIDA.

Of course, there are situations where an aid cut-off is inappropriate because it would harm other aspects of our foreign policy. Canada, for example, has humanitarian and strategic interests in supporting the Afghan refugees sheltered in Pakistan. They would

be the first to suffer if CIDA cut aid to Pakistan as punishment for its rights abuses. In some situations, an aid cut-off would be ineffective or even counter-productive. While CIDA's disapproval is unlikely, for example, to cut much ice with a psychopathic tyrant, the withdrawal of Canadian assistance may intensify the misery of his people.

Yet there are times, and places, where Canada might help innocent victims if it were to press on the aid lever. Sri Lanka is a current example. It receives more aid, on a per capita basis, than any other CIDA beneficiary. Canada in the past three years has spent \$ 100 million on the Mahaweli dam project. This contribution alone earns Canada a hearing in Colombo.

President Junius Jayewardene is pro-Western and confronts PLO-trained Marxist Tamils trying to carve

out a separate state. he would normally, deserve some sympathy. But his Government has done little to ease Tamil alienation. It encourages Sinhalese settlement in the traditionally Tamil-dominated Eastern Province, and Tamils fear an influx of Sinhalese will colonize the drylands being transformed with Canadian aid.

Moreover, the Government has tolerated indiscriminate violence by the armed forces against innocent Tamil civilians. (If this is a counter-insurgency tactic, it backfires by winning more recruits for the Tamil Tigers.) The Government did at least own up to last week's military rampage in Mannar. It promised to compensate the innocent victims and discipline the troops. But, since Colombo has yet to punish the Sinhalese mobs that ran amok last July, how credible are these promises? Ottawa should tie continued aid to their fulfilment.

JAFFNA TODAY-4

— by GAMINI NAVARATNE

I arrived in Jaffna in a K.S.B. company day bus on Wednesday afternoon to find a people in deep mourning over the victims of the previous night's butchery by we all know who—but whose identity most are unwilling to acknowledge, because it is so unpleasant.

If the killing had taken place in Mannar, the reaction of the Government would have been both swift and different.

But the people involved are Tamils—and they do not

count, as far as the Government is concerned, it appears.

Why do the people of Jaffna not mourn the death of Sinhalese soldiers? many people in the South might ask.

Why should they? To most of them, the Security Forces in the North are in fact and deed an "Army of Occupation".

For lack of both space and time, I would hold back elaboration of this theme for a later occasion.

CTU PROTESTS

The Ceylon Teachers' Union of Colombo has drawn attention to the following resolution adopted by its branch at the Jaffna Hindu College:

We unanimously resolve that conditions should be immediately created for the students of Jaffna schools to travel freely and without fear to and from their schools. The recent incident in which a student of our

school was taken by the Army on his way to school, taken to the Palaly Camp, severely assaulted and then left on the road has shocked and grieved us. As a result of this, the students of all schools in Jaffna are boycotting classes. We unanimously request that the authorities concerned should take appropriate remedial action and also request our parent body to go into this matter and take necessary action immediately.