

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

Vol. 4 No. 1

26th January 1985

A BIG  
THANK YOU  
TO OUR DEAR  
READERS,  
ADVERTISERS  
& WELL-  
WISHERS

# HOLD YOUR FIRE!

On the occasion of the third birthday of the SATURDAY REVIEW, we appeal that an end be put to the senseless carnage and suffering that is going on in the North.

It must be apparent by now to the Government and the people in the South that the Security Forces are fighting a "no-win" war.

Despite the declaration of "Surveillance", "Prohibited" and "Security" zones, despite the beefing up of the members of the Security Forces, despite the massive influx of sophisticated military hardware and despite the claims and boasts of the Minister of National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, the attacks continue, followed by the usual reprisals.

What the Security Forces are up against is a dedicated band of youths who are ready to die for the cause they hold dear.

As is the case with guerilla warfare elsewhere, they choose the place and time of attack, often taking their opponents by complete surprise.

And each time one youth is killed, innocent or otherwise, ten militants are born from among his family and friends.

Senseless reprisals—burning, looting, raping and killing—are serving to further alienate the Tamil people from the Government and strengthen the very forces that it is endeavouring to control.

We have repeatedly said that the "military approach" will never succeed. We say it again. This is only stressing the determination of the Tamil people to fight on, regardless of the suffering they are undergoing.

**A DIRECT DIALOGUE WITH THE LEADERS OF THE MILITANT GROUPS, AFTER THE DECLARATION OF A MUTUAL CEASEFIRE, HOLDS THE ONLY HOPE FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE NATIONAL QUESTION.**

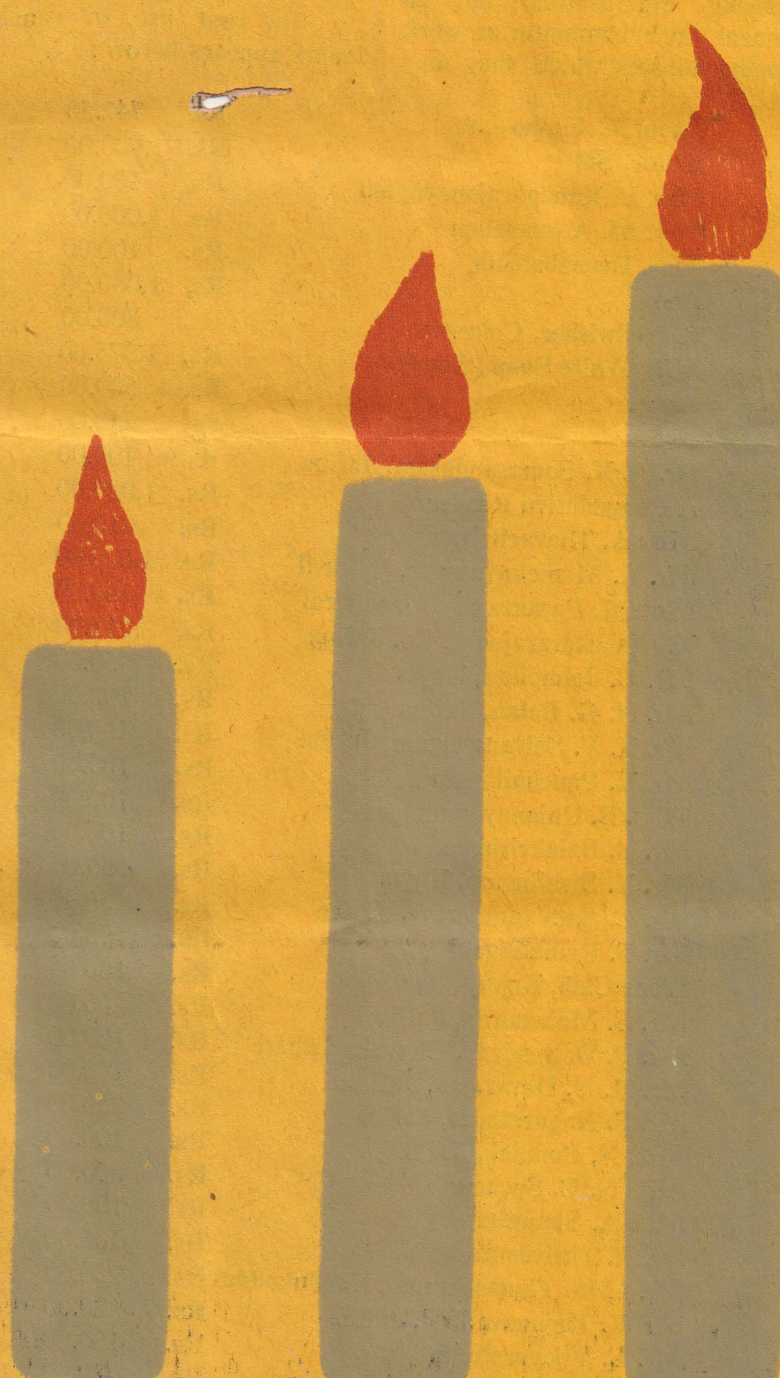
What the militant groups want to ensure is that the Tamil people could live in peace and with self-respect

and dignity in at least those areas where they have traditionally lived.

They are, in fact, fighting for a "place in the sun" for the Tamil people. Can they be blamed?

**IF THE GOVERNMENT WANTS TO AVERT CIVIL WAR,**

**IF THE SINHALESE PEOPLE WANT TO AVERT CIVIL WAR, THEN THE ORIGINAL SATURDAY REVIEW SUGGESTION—"INVITE THE TIGERS TO THE TABLE" SHOULD BE FOLLOWED—UP IMMEDIATELY.**



So, we are three years old!  
So what?

It means many things.

That we have survived for three years is itself a tremendous achievement in the context of developments in Sri Lanka, particularly in its northern sector.

The only English newspaper to be published from outside Colombo, we have had to face more difficulties and challenges than any other newspaper in Sri Lanka since 1802, when the newspaper industry in the island had its birth.

Besides financial and technical limitations, we have had to bear the brunt of Government opprobrium which would have been enough for many other publishers to have given up.

The SATURDAY REVIEW was banned from July 1983 to January 1984 under Emergency Regulations.

But we fought on, going up to the Supreme Court to demand our right to "freedom of expression, including publication" promised under Article 14 of the Constitution.

That the Supreme Court disagreed with us is another matter. That is its privilege.

Our privilege is that we have been able to offer a forum for dissident opinion which cannot find expression in any other media in Sri Lanka. In this respect, we are unique.

In fact, ours is the only newspaper that fought boldly for the rights of Supreme Court judges themselves when their very independence was threatened! Remember the article "Has the Government gone mad?" in our issue of 13th October 1984.

We are in a boasting mood—because we have enough to boast about.

Ours is the only newspaper in the world which has an Editor who is always on the run—200 miles between Colombo and Jaffna almost every week! (Please see page 8).

Among the other hurdles and challenges we have had to face in our three-year existence are two periods of continuous curfews of 42 hours and 61 hours and virtually permanent night curfew since late last year, the growls and threats of "Lions" in South Sri Lanka, the possibility of "reprisals" by "men in khaki" and the disunity among the Tamil people themselves.

The Tamils of Sri Lanka have an ancient history, a rich cultural heritage and a proud record of service to the country.

So why be afraid to unite and raise your heads in defiance against injustice—as the SATURDAY REVIEW has been doing since its inception on 30th January 1982?

We appeal to the Tamil people: Do not run away (to foreign countries). Stay back and fight on. Ultimate victory will be yours because Justice is on your side.

The SATURDAY REVIEW also will always be on your side.

The SATURDAY REVIEW will continue to be the SATURDAY REVIEW.

**The Only Government-Censored Newspaper in Sri Lanka**



## Saturday Review SRI LANKA

No. 118, 4th Cross Street,  
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EDITOR  
GAMINI NAVARATNE

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## 1st SALARY CHEQUE

I, too, am unable to wish you a Happy New Year due to the prevailing circumstances.

I shall introduce myself before proceeding further. I have been a regular reader of SATURDAY REVIEW from its inception, and presently it is the only newspaper I read.

Congratulating you on your untiring efforts to secure justice and equal rights to all Sri Lankans had been a long outstanding urge within me. I delayed it for it to become my initial communication in 1985.

I am yet a student, having secured some part-time employment in November 1984 to satisfy my educational training purposes.

I wish my first salary for Rs. 742.50 to be utilised for some worthy cause and I sincerely think SATURDAY REVIEW deserves it in the present context.

I am quite certain, living in the "Prohibited Zone", you will be in contact with many needy families personally. If you could accept the responsibility of making my fund reach the needy, I shall be very happy of having operated through an independent and impartial mediator.

# SR FUND -- FIRST FROM LIST OF DONORS SCHOOL KIDS

The SATURDAY REVIEW wishes to announce that it has no connection with the activities of The Refugees Rehabilitation Organisation Ltd., though publicity was given to its appeal for funds to help the large number of people displaced by the implementation of the Emergency Regulations.

Similar publicity was given to the appeals by the Mothers' Front of Jaffna and the Jaffna Branch of the Red Cross.

The S. R. Refugee Relief Fund was not started as a rival to other fund-raising organisations but to supplement their humanitarian work by tapping sources which they may

not be able to reach. It is regretted that some individuals have misunderstood our motives.

Members of the public are free to make their contributions in cash and kind to any organisation they wish: after all, the common objective is the relief of human suffering.

The S. R. will acknowledge—and be responsible for the disbursement only of contributions made directly to us.

Annouimite will be respected, if requested by the donors.

The first list of names of donors appears below :

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Anon.	Rs. 500.00
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Mr. R. S. Surendran, Jaffna	Rs. 100.00
Mas. G. Grishan (1fys.)	Rs. 25.00

(Continued on page 12)

A contribution of Rs. 2,000 was handed over at the SR office yesterday by Mr. N. Ratnasingam of Vaddukoddai, being a collection made by schoolchildren. The following is the list of names of contributors:

N. Ratnasingam	250.00
R. Velliampalam	250.00
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## FAIRY TALES!

Master V. T. S. Deenabandan of Jaffna:

Dear Uncle Gamini,

I am only seven years old. My Ammama used to tell me about you and I have really developed a love towards you. Ammama, in her style of grandmotherly narration of fairy tales, has told me stories of all the good contributions you have been doing towards the cause of the wellbeing of all of us.

I have now become more fond of you, because you have started the Relief Fund for the poor people who have been made of homeless.

Although it is the duty of the Government to help them, it has failed to do so. So we are really grateful to you for having started this Fund. As an expression of my appreciation, I am sending a token contribution of Rs. 100.

P.S. This is what I told my Grandma and she wrote this letter.

Anon.  
Colombo-6.



# Three Cheers for SR

**RT. REV. B. DEOGUPILLAI**

*Bishop of Jaffna*

THE SATURDAY REVIEW has given a new dimension and dynamism to journalism in Sri Lanka, from its very inception.

We appreciate the bold stand it has taken on many issues concerning the people of this country.

The Tamil people in particular owe a debt of gratitude to the S. R. for exposing their problems. I wish to offer my congratulations to the Editor, Staff and Directors for the great service that is being rendered to all. I wish S. R. a long life.

**SWAMI CHIDRAPANANDA** of Sri Ramakrishna Sarada Sevashrama, Point Pedro:

It is high time for the Government to solve the Tamil issue. I read with a happy heart the headline in the 5th January issue of the SR. All suggestions and opinion brought to light in the report is praiseworthy.

This year is proclaimed the "Year of the Youth" It is fitting that the Government come to terms with the youths. The aspirations of the majority community cannot be realised in full by crushing the aspirations of the minority community.

It is very proper to quote here what the illustrious patriot saint of India, Swami Vivekananda had said: "It is our own mental attitude which makes the world what it is for us. Our thoughts make things beautiful, our thoughts make things ugly. The whole world is in our own minds. Learn to see things in the proper light."

**HIS HOLINESS SRILASRI-SOMASUNDARA THESIGA GNANASAMPANDA**, Paramacharya Swamigal of Nallai Thirugnanasampandar Aatheenam:

We are pleased that the SATURDAY REVIEW has successfully completed three years of publication and is entering the fourth year.

I beg His Holiness Nallaik Kurumani to confer more strength and, courage on the Editor, Staff and Publishers of SATURDAY REVIEW to serve many more years of fruitful service to a wider reading public, abiding by the highest ethics of journalism.

★

**MOULAVI OMA RAZAAK** of Osmania College, Jaffna:

I have great pleasure in sending my sincere greetings and best wishes to the SATURDAY REVIEW on its Third Anniversary.

Since its first publication three years ago, the paper had experien-

ced more than just teething trouble. Yet, it has managed not merely to survive but to grow steadily and win the respect of a wide reading public in Sri Lanka and abroad.

Once again, I take this opportunity to congratulate you and wish the "SATURDAY REVIEW" all the best in its growth.

With ALLAH'S blessings for many more happy anniversaries.

★

**MR. N. SABARATNAM**, Managing Editor, Eelanadu:

"One crowded hour of glorious life is worth an age without a name". Nothing is more striking than the thought embodied in this line of the poet on this occasion when SATURDAY REVIEW completes three years of toil during these troubled times for the country and for the Tamils in particular.

(Continued on page 6)

## Our Heartiest Congratulations

On your 3rd Anniversary we wish you all  
success in your dedicated  
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# NO WIN WAR

Whether, as is widely believed, the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW, Gamini Navaratne, had the blessing of President Jayewardene and / or other Government high-ups for the talks which he had in Madras from 11th to 19th December 1984 with the representatives of the main Tamil youth groups conducting an armed struggle is not known and may probably never be known.

In the sensational article in his newspaper of 5th January 1985, Mr. Navaratne describes himself as a "special emissary" although he does not say whose emissary he was. His mission, he says, was to establish contact with the various militant Tamil groups. The mission was "successful" and he had "several rounds of talks" with representatives of LTTE, PLOT, EPRLF, EROS, TELO and TELA. He does not disclose the names of those with whom he talked.

Mr. Navaratne says: "I found that none of the groups was averse to a direct dialogue with President Jayewardene's government to seek a political settlement - provided one could be found and provided the proper atmosphere could be created for such a meeting".

"The views expressed by the representatives of the various groups", he adds, "have been conveyed by me to the relevant authority." Mr. Navaratne's careful choice of words has also been taken to be a reference to the highest in the land.

Some of the representatives told Mr. Navaratne that they "would like to have discussions with Sinhalese and Tamil leaders of all shades of opinion before meeting the President."

Mr. Navaratne's article also sets out the pre-conditions that these groups would like to see established before talks take place.

They are (1) a cease fire on both sides; (2) release of all arrested and detained Tamil youth; (3) stopping of the harassment of civilian populations in the north and east; and (4) withdrawal of the special emergency regulations promulgated on 30th November 1984.

## OPPORTUNITY

If the facts are as Mr. Navaratne describes them, the government should waste no time in following up the opportunity presented.

Apart from the gung-ho racist diehards, who get their kicks from gloating over the body count of dead dishd out by the security services to the media every day,

most Sri Lankans are appalled at the extent and senselessness of the escalated killing that has taken place on both sides during the past weeks.

They cannot forget that, whether combatants or uninvolved civilians, those killed are all citizens of our country, often the cream of our youth, who should be working together in amity for their mutual benefit rather than destroying each other. Moreover, the fact that both sides are engaged in a "no win" war, which can only bring more and more killing and destruction, has become increasingly obvious.

We are thankful to the newly-launched Independent Sinhalese weekly Janahanda for giving publicity to our report of 5th January headed "Editor meets Tiger leaders in Madras".

It is essential, if the National Question is to be ever resolved, for the Sinhalese people to be made aware of thinking of the Tamil people and the causes that spanned

It is therefore not surprising that the demand for a mutual "cease fire" as a prelude to talks is gaining ground daily and finding more and more open expression. It has become even more intense after the Government allowed the Round Table talks to collapse, and opted in toto for an attempt at a military solution. Realisation is also growing that any negotiated settlement cannot be confined to the TULF or the ACTC but must also include at least the mainstream organisations of the militant Tamil youth.

President Jayewardene himself has earlier spoken about (but not acted on) declaring an amnesty and starting a dialogue with the militant youth. It remains to be seen whether, in this instance as in so many others, his words will be just words in the wind.

## BREAKDOWN

The situation since the breakdown of the R.T.C. has been extremely complicated and fluid.

While the government presses ahead with its military operations and state terrorism, which have turned three districts in the north into a virtual battlefield, the situation regarding any new attempt at a political solution remains unclear.

The fact that the R.T.C. was getting nowhere had become clear by mid-1984. The sharp divisions within the government and the U.N.P. were the main reason for this President Jayewardene added to the confusion by robbing the conference of its earlier all-party character, refusing to invite two recognised parties, and, after the SLFP and MEP left, bringing in a motley collection of special interest groups which he had personally-selected and whose representative character was extremely doubtful.

The proposals that he put forward after a year to the R.T.C. did not satisfy anyone.

the separatist movement and Continue to sustain it.

More publicity in the Sinhalese media to news and views published in the SATURDAY REVIEW could be a help in this direction.

Earlier, the Sinhalese daily Aththa also published our report of 5th January, while the Forward of 15th January used extracts from it with a commentary, which we reproduce here :-

They were designed more to solve his political problems, especially his desire for a "national" government of different sections of the bourgeoisie, rather than the ethnic problem. They also showed no serious intention to devolve power in any meaningful way.

Although the TULF stood ready to continue discussions—as Mr. Amirthalingam has made clear—the Cabinet decided not to proceed with the President's proposals, incidentally dubbing them as "RTC proposals," although no other participant was given a chance to express a view on them at the final session of the conference.

## UNSURE

After this, no one in the Government, including apparently President Jayewardene, seems clear about what to do next in the pursuit of a political solution.

There have been heavy hints about a fresh approach to India's re-elected Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, who appears to hold many decisive trump cards in his hand. But the latter has categorically said that the ethnic problem is an internal affair of Sri Lanka, which it must settle itself. Prime Minister Premadasa has also precluded any such attempt by telling Parliament on 11th January that "our negotiations are with our own people and not with any outsider."

President Jayewardene has tried to make some political capital for himself from the present impasse and thus solve his fundamental problem of how to stay in power.

He has sought to improve his besmirched international image by sacking Cyril Mathew and by taking up the position that he has produced a "political solution", as demanded abroad, but that it is the TULF that refuses such a solution.

Domestically, he seeks to justify his capitulation to the racist hawks by saying he is a "democrat" who respects public opinion. But he knows fundamentally that he cannot receive either the funds or guns he needs from his Western friends (especially the U.S.) unless, to use Reagan's phrase (as transmitted by General Walters) "he helps them to help him" by producing something more positive by way of a "political solution."

To judge from what he told the Jaffna Citizens' Committee and from other recent statements, his thinking at the moment seems to be along the lines of working out an agreement or understanding with the militant Tamil youth along the lines of his agreement with the J.V.P. in 1977. Hence, maybe, Mr. Navaratne's mission and the feelers now put out via the well-heeled Chandrasana-Satyendra group, based on New York, which allegedly bankrolls an important section of the "Tiger movement".

## NOBODY IS SAFE

Most Tamil people living in the South, busy with their professional, business and social activities, appear unmoved by the present flight of the people in the North, especially of the thousands of men, women and children displaced as a result of the operation of Emergency Regulations which have created "Emergency Zones" and "Prohibited Zones".

They seem to believe that there cannot be a repetition of July 1983, that they are safe among the Sinhalese and that the "Jaffna Tamils" could go to hell!

Hell it is now, in the north. It could be Hell in the south before long, too, if this situation is allowed to deteriorate. For there is a limit to human endurance.

At least to satisfy their conscience, before themselves getting brutally killed or suffering loss of property by fire or looting, more Tamils in the South should come forward to help the displaced by making donations to the various organisations engaged in relief work.

They could do it anonymously—if they so wish.



# WHAT FEDERALISM IS NOT

The following is a statement issued under the signature of the late Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam in Jaffna in 1961.

1. Federalism is not a division of the country into separate states.
2. It is not disintegration.
3. It is not isolation or segregation of linguistic groups.
4. It is not a step towards separation.
5. It is NOT anti-Sinhalese as suggested in certain quarters.
6. It is NOT, as alleged, "Minority Domination," "Betrayal of the majority part of the community," "Foreign Invasion" etc.

Those who say that federation is division or separation are either not aware of what it means or are deliberately seeking to distort its true meaning for political purposes.

## WHAT FEDERATION IS

1. Federation is a device to reconcile national unity with local sentiment.

2. It ensures genuine union among people having distinctive community of interests.
3. It is unity in diversity.
4. Matters relating to the whole country are dealt with by the Central Government while matters relating to the area are dealt with locally.

## WHAT FEDERAL PARTY DOES NOT ASK FOR.

1. The Federal Party does not ask for a separate Tamil State.
2. The Federal Party does not ask for control over subjects which concern the nation as a whole like the control of the armed forces, the conduct of foreign affairs, currency, communications, trade, post, railway etc.

Statements to the contrary are malicious and perverse propaganda to align and misrepresent the party and its policy.

## WHAT THE FEDERAL PARTY ASKS FOR

1. The Federal Party asks for a reasonable share of the Governmental power for the Tamil

speaking people in their traditional homeland and even here only in respect of subjects relating to the area, which are of local importance, like education, health, local government, land development, irrigation etc.

2. It seeks a Federal Union of Ceylon and, therefore, the fullest co-operation, amity and unity between the Sinhalese and Tamil speaking peoples.
3. It asks for freedom and justice for all and full development of Ceylon.

Its message to Sinhalese people is "LIVE AND LET LIVE."

## IS FEDERALISM A NEW IDEA

Federalism is no new concept or diabolical innovation but one which has proved to be a successful solution to much more complicated racial, linguistic and economic conflicts in other heterogeneously populated countries.

## WHAT NATIONS ARE FEDERAL STATES.

The United States of America, Canada, Russia, Yugoslavia, Switzerland, Australia, India and Malaya are all federal states.

Nobody thinks of these as divided or disunited. On the other hand their federative structure is the vital factor in their unity.

## ARE THERE SMALL FEDERAL STATES

Switzerland (15,950 square miles) which is much smaller than Ceylon (25,000 square miles) with about half our population (5 millions as against our 9 1/2 millions) is a federal state of not two but FOUR language groups.

## WILL FEDERALISM IMPLY UNION WITH SOUTH INDIA

1. Federalism does not imply union with South India at any time.
2. Such a union is not possible because:
  - (a) under federalism the control of foreign relations and the armed forces will be in the hands of the Sinhalese controlled Central Government.
  - (b) South India is only one-fifteenth part of the Indian Federation and has no

(Continued on page 12)

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## ALL GOOD WISHES

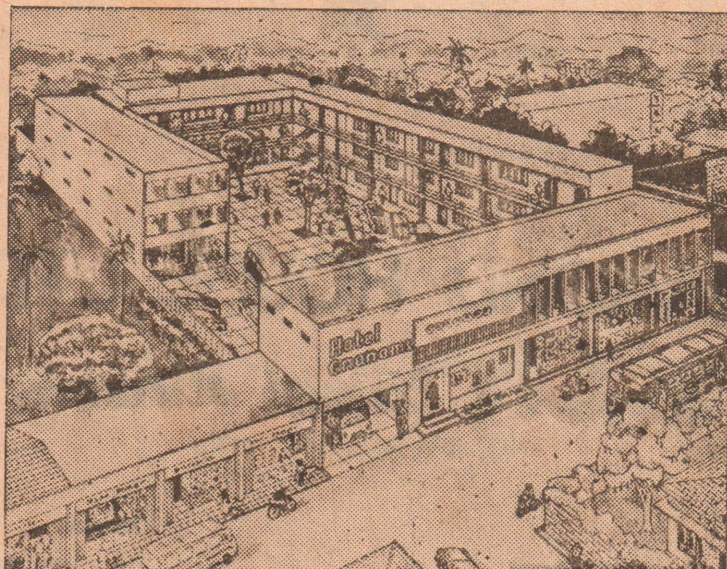
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## HOTEL GNANAMS

ON THE

Saturday Review's

THIRD BIRTHDAY



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# Three Cheers...

(Continued from page 3)

It is significant that this English weekly, which started its first issue on the Gandhi Remembrance Day in 1982, went through three very eventful years, culminating in the assassination of Indra Gandhi on the last day of October last year.

Who in his right mind will deny the relevance of these two national catastrophies of India to the malady that affects Sri Lanka?

It had fallen to the lot of the SATURDAY REVIEW to cover a critical period during the life of the nation when political chauvinism has scarred its soul with riots, arson, murder and every manner of brutality.

SATURDAY REVIEW was born of the felt need to disseminate information at a time when there was much misunderstanding between the people of the North and the South. That many sober-minded citizens in both the communities have responded to the call of this journal is testimony to the great

need that exists for a journal of this kind, even for a daily English newspaper.

We congratulate the paper that has been able to survive the shocks and setbacks and come out unscathed to continue its consistent stand during the crisis against all extremism and opportunism everywhere—North or South.

"Et el multos annos" is our wish.



**MR. S. THIRUCHELVAM**  
Editor, Eelamurasu:

No one these days need be told that newspapers are regular, highly useful and indeed indispensable, regular purveyors of current news, both local and worldwide, in the written form.

In playing these roles, particularly fulfilling its locally-oriented duty, the SATURDAY REVIEW is truly a "Mirror of the Times", more especially of the times and trials of the Tamil-speaking people.

The moment the SATURDAY REVIEW comes to mind, we become aware that it is the only English newspaper of national stature that

is published from a regional centre of Sri Lanka that is raising its voice on behalf of the people of the region from which it is published.

The SATURDAY REVIEW stands apart as a pre-eminent English newspaper in that it does not belong to the three categories, under which all other newspapers of Sri Lanka fall, in general, viz., the state-controlled, the state-inclined and the state owned.

This is the prime cause of its emergence and growth as a popular journal within the brief span of just three years.

As the Editor of a Sister Journal, I wish the SATURDAY REVIEW and its staff every success in their progressive venture.



**MR. N. SHANMUGATHASAN**

It is with great pleasure that I greet the third anniversary of the publication of SATURDAY REVIEW. I not only congratulate you on your excellent performance during these years but also sincerely hope that you will continue your magnificent task with even greater acceptance in the more difficult days to come.

Sri Lanka is going through one of the worst political crisis in its history. At a time when our press is neither free nor fair, when the entire mass media under the direction of the United National Party Government is fuelling to gigantic proportions a vicious anti-Tamil communal mass hysteria, when it has become virtually impossible to get in even a word against the current Sinhala chauvinist trend, the SATURDAY REVIEW has been a beacon in this darkness.

By upholding the right to publish the truth about what is happening in the Northern and the Eastern Provinces and in recording the point of view of the Tamil people who are battling for their just rights as a linguistic minority in this country, you have earned the respect of every single decent Sri Lankan. You have done this in the face of Government persecution and the continuing pin-pricks of an irritating special censorship.

At a time when the Sinhalese intelligentsia, with rare exceptions, has failed in its duty to support the just struggle of the Tamils or to condemn the atrocities that the Armed Forces have committed in the North and the East, the fact that the SATURDAY REVIEW

has a Sinhalese as its Editor is one of the finest things that has happened in recent times!

May you continue with your good work.



**MR. AUGUSTINE SAVERIMUTTU of Jaffna:**

Let me hasten to congratulate your newspaper on the successful completion of three years of distinguished and valuable service to the reading public not only in Jaffna, not only in Sri Lanka but the world over.

As one who has been in the field of journalism for long years and also been associated closely with your paper from the beginning during the time Mr. S. Sivanayagam was Editor and now under your worthy editorship, I am well aware of the many trials and tribulations that your paper had suffered from time to time not only from Government quarters but from other sources as well.

News can sometimes be tasteful and sometimes distasteful to certain people, or to sections of the community, or to the Government itself.

It is said that newspapers can make a Government or break a Government. This is proof that the newspapers wield tremendous power, especially in a democracy. But this power certainly is not meant to be abused and your newspaper has never done so during the short period it has functioned. Your newspaper has throughout maintained the highest standard of journalistic ethics.

It is said that a community needs news for the same reason that a man needs eyes. It has to see where it is going. Man does not live by bread alone. And the printed word written or read in freedom nourishes the spirit. That spiritual nourishment your paper has provided in ample measure to its readers.

Walter Lippman, the doyen of American journalism, once wrote: "Without criticism and reliable and intelligent reporting a Government cannot govern. For there is no adequate way in which it can keep itself informed about what the people of the country are thinking and doing and wanting".



**MR. P. KANDIAH of Jaffna.**

It is indeed a creditable achievement for SATURDAY REVIEW to have reached the commemoration of the 3rd Anniversary and I take this opportunity to convey my greetings, hoping it will continue to serve the people of Sri Lanka for the years to come.

(Continued on page 15)

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# FROM THE EDITOR

When it was proposed to launch the SATURDAY REVIEW on 30th January 1982, I told Mr. S. Sivanayagam, its first Editor—my colleague in the Daily Mirror in 1964 and good friend ever since—that I would give him all the help I could from Colombo.

I wrote to him: "Just because you are there, solely because you are there, I shall do everything possible to keep the SATURDAY REVIEW going....."—because I respected him as a journalist, intrepid, innovative and indefatigable.

I added that any time he wanted my physical presence in Jaffna—after all journalists are also human beings who cannot be expected to be at their desks 365 days in the year—I would come over and assist.

But I did not bargain for a prolonged stay in Jaffna, which has been my predicament.

I last met Mr. Sivanayagam IN SRI LANKA on 1st July 1983. As I took his leave under the temple tree in front of the office, after enjoying his hospitality for a week, I said I feared that the days of

the SATURDAY REVIEW were numbered. There were plenty of persons in the Government who wanted the paper banned: it was becoming a damn nuisance to them.

I had just reached my hotel and begun packing my bags when he telephoned to say that my worst fears have been proved correct.

By Emergency Regulation, the SATURDAY REVIEW office was sealed on the afternoon of 1st July 1983.

Mr. Sivanayagam's "crime": espousing the cause of his oppressed community!

A few days later, he left Sri Lanka, leaving his beloved wife and two daughters (with whom he was reunited several months later)

The Emergency Regulation was repeatedly challenged in the Supreme Court, as it was renewed each month, in the belief that the fundamental rights provision of the Constitution relating to freedom of expression, including publication, were sacrosanct and not mere decorations on a political pandal.

Mr. S. Nadesan, Q.C., put up a valiant fight in the Supreme Court in defence of the freedom of the Press.

But the newspapers in Sri Lanka, except for one or two exceptions, did not even bother to publish the Supreme Court proceedings—though we were fighting for their freedom of expression as well.

One newspaper, Sun, in fact, published a cartoon indicating glee at our closure—such is the level that our journalistic fraternity has descended to in recent times.

On 14th June 1984, the Supreme Court finally held against us. (Its judgment was published in the SR on 16th June 1984.)

WE BOW TO THE SUPERIOR WISDOM OF THE SUPREME COURT. BUT I PERSONALLY DISAGREE WITH ITS JUDGMENT. I BELIEVE IT WAS NOT IN ACCORD WITH THE PRINCIPLE ENUNCIATED BY PRESIDENT JAYEWARDENE, AND ENDORSED BY MANY EMINENT JURISTS AND POLITICAL LEADERS IN SRI LANKA AND ABROAD, BEFORE AND SINCE, THAT "THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IS THE ESSENCE OF LIBERTY AND THIS IS THE SOURCE OF ALL OTHER LIBERTIES. IF THIS FREEDOM IS SUPPRESSED, RESTRAINED OR CONTROLLED, THEN THE FOUNDATION FOR AUTOCRACY IS LAID....."

While the Supreme Court case was pending, the Government allowed the Emergency Regulation to lapse and we were free to resume publication—but under stiff rules of censorship (which are reproduced on this page for the information of Readers who missed our first few issues.)

The Directors of the New Era Publications Ltd. invited me to take over the Editorship because the services of Mr. Sivanayagam were not immediately available.

It was a formidable challenge: I live and work in Colombo and the SATURDAY REVIEW office is at the other end of the island, 250 miles away to be exact.

I accepted the challenge in the awareness that there is the need for an independent journal in Sri Lanka to take up issues and espouse causes, especially in the sphere of the fundamental and human rights of the people, that get little or no exposure in the Colombo based

media. We resumed publication on 18th February 1984.

I thought it was a temporary assignment, say, three months the most. But it is twelve months now and I find that I cannot get away easily.

During this period, I have endeavoured to build a team of journalists just as I had done first at the Daily Mirror and later at the Sun, who could take over.

This task is not complete yet because I find that in the present circumstances in the North there are few persons willing to shoulder responsibility in any sphere, least of all in journalism.

I am not holding this against the Tamil community: I fully understand their plight.

But it is physically impossible for me to continue to shuttle between Colombo and Jaffna almost every week. I visited Jaffna 33 times in 1984, which must be some sort of record!

Someone permanently resident in Jaffna should come forward to keep the SATURDAY REVIEW alive because I plan to leave Sri Lanka at the end of February, probably for South Africa where I believe life is not so uncertain as in Sri Lanka under a "Dharmista Government".

I thank the Directors of New Era Publications Ltd. for the trust they have reposed in me, our Readers for their encouragement which has sustained me through difficult times and the Staff in the SR office and the printing establishments for their splendid co-operation.

Finally, I wish to salute my "gurus", Mr. Tori de Souza, who was Editor-in-Chief of the Times of Ceylon, and Mr. Francis Ashborn who was Deputy Editor—both now living in quiet retirement—who guided me in my formative years as a journalist.

— GAMINI NAVARATNE

## CENSOR'S PINCERS

These guidelines to the censors issued by the Ministry of State on 2nd August 1983, in the aftermath of the July 1983 Holocaust which were applicable to all media in Sri Lanka during that period, are still applicable to the SATURDAY REVIEW.

These were - originally published in the SATURDAY REVIEW of 25th February 1984.

1. No reference will be permitted to the current security situation, including assessment of damage or casualties, except through the daily press briefing.

2. No reference will be permitted to matters relating to internal security.

3. No reference will be permitted to the situation at care and welfare centres, including the number of such centres and the number of occupants at such centres.

4. However, appeals for assistance from the Government or voluntary organisations will be per-

mitted. No reference will be permitted to the movement of displaced persons or modes of transportation.

5. No statements will be permitted on any subject by political parties or political personalities other than statement arranged for broadcast through state media.

6. No comment will be permitted by any person on the present security or political situation.

7. No direct reference will be permitted to any foreign country even by implication—as being responsible for the current situation.

Competent Authority,  
Minister of State.

In addition to the constraints imposed by the censorship, the 16th Amendment to the Constitution, approved by Parliament on 6th August 1983, States under Article 157 A (1): "No person shall, directly or indirectly, in or outside Sri Lanka, support, espouse, promote, finance, encourage or advocate the establishment of a Separate State within the territory of Sri Lanka".



# SALT OF THE EARTH

We are reproducing in full the Editorial by Mr. S. Sivanayagam in the inaugural issue of the SATURDAY REVIEW on 30th January, 1982.

We believe it is most appropriate in the circumstances prevailing in the North now.

There is the story of an editor of a small newspaper in the "Wild West" in America who was one day sitting in his swivel chair sucking his pipe and musing pleasantly of life. Suddenly, a bullet crashed through the window and embedded itself in the wall in the

back of his head. A happy smile lit up the editor's face. "Ah", he said complacently, "I knew that column of ours yesterday was going to be a success".

We would have preferred to bow to tradition and not bring in a tone of seeming levity into the editorial comments of the inaugural issue of SATURDAY REVIEW in what should probably be a ponderous, pompous, unilateral declaration of the paper's intentions. But levity or no levity, we have also to bow to a certain popular view from Colombo that does not exclude such "Wild West" scenarios happening in the "wild North" of Jaffna. That is a pity, because the issue is not one of violence; violence is not a pleasant happening anywhere, nor is it anyone's exclusive preoccupations. Violence takes various forms—violence to truth, violence by speech, violence by political design, violence by the gun, the knife and the sword. The issue is really one of mental approaches and one's individual preferences or mental images. We often believe what we choose to believe.

One of the saddest facts of contemporary Sri Lankan life is that the habit of rational logical thinking on public issues, particularly in relation to Sinhala-Tamil relations, had almost ceased to exist; except in the case of a minority of men, who are prepared to carry the cross, say it and be damned, branded as eccentrics or anti-nationals, or both.

The Tamils in Sri Lanka had over the past twenty six years gone through the gory experience of being at the receiving end of spasms of mob violence, with more than two generations carrying the scars with them yet. But yet mob

violence recedes into comparative insignificance when looked at against the mob thinking of the human mind; the trait surprisingly present among men who are otherwise descent, respectable, educated, holding high positions in life, professionals, journalists, academics,... What had gone wrong with them? Some of them show surprising clarity of thought, a great liberalism of outlook, sound common sense, clean values on all matters EXCEPT on the question of Sinhala-Tamil relations!

How does one explain this phenomenon? How did the mental block occur? Successive politicians both in and out of power, have certainly laid the foundations for it, and continued to build on them. But the more damaging development was the crumbling of the mass media, which along with the independent and fearless judiciary constitute the bulwarks against the erosion of free thinking in any democratic society. This is where the SATURDAY REVIEW comes in.

As far back as 1796, Coleridge wrote: "In an enslaved state the rulers form and supply the opinions of the people. This is the mark by which despotism is distinguished for it is the power by which despotism is begun and continued..." The SATURDAY REVIEW'S primary function will be to encourage its readers to think straight, form their own opinions; not to shy away from truth even when it is unpleasant; to be steadfast in their convictions and be proud of them, even if they find themselves in a small minority. Such men are the salt of the earth and in them lies the hope of preserving the sanity of the nation, the decencies of life, and the character of the people.

## Shades of North Sri Lanka!

More than 1,000 men, women and children have "disappeared" after being seized by troops or police since a remote area of Peru was placed under military rule two years ago, Amnesty International announced on 23rd January.

Hundreds of others are known to have been killed in custody, often after torture, the worldwide human rights movement said in a new report.

The true scale of the abuses by government forces in the mountainous southern area is not yet known, said the report.

The massive atrocities started after the launch of a military campaign against the Sendero Luminoso ("Shining Path") guerrilla movement, itself responsible for scores of execution style killings and torture of civilians.

Since then, killings of captives by government forces have become so established that relatives of the "disappeared" have learned to search roadside dumping grounds where bodies regularly turn up, often mutilated beyond recognition. The victims found in these dumps and in mass graves are usually naked, marked by torture, and with single gunshot wounds to the head, said the report.

Human rights violations on this scale are unprecedented in modern Peru, Amnesty International said. They have been inflicted mainly on peasants, local leaders and young people in the Ayacucho Emergency Zone, established at the end of 1982. The zone comprised 13 of Peru's more than 140 provinces at the time the report went to press.

Peru's Attorney-General, the Public Ministry he heads, and some judges have tried to protect the rights of the local people and have uncovered some of the abuses but have been unable to halt them, the report said. Government prosecutors in the area have protested publicly against the armed forces' obstruction of their investigations.

AI has told the Government that it condemns killing or torture of prisoners by the guerrillas, and recognizes the need to prevent and punish such crimes, but that Government action must be within internationally accepted human rights standards.

The report includes basic information

on 1,005 reported "disappearances" known to AI. It notes that the movement also knows of more than 400 cases of individuals named as having been detained and later found dead. All these are from the emergency zone; they have no parallel elsewhere in Peru.

Despite the remoteness of the area, AI, as well as local human rights groups and Peruvian officials have amassed abundant evidence of the abuses and of the existence of unmarked mass graves and of dumping grounds in areas under military control.

Local people provided the evidence, often by travelling to the capital of the emergency zone, Ayacucho, or the national capital Lima. Documents and testimonies have come directly from families and community representatives, from church, professional trade union and human rights organisations and from lawyers. Hundreds of victims' relatives have filled out questionnaires based on a form prepared by the United Nations Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances.

In February 1984, Dr. Zegarra Dongo, outgoing Ayacucho chief prosecutor, told the press that his staff had received 1,500 formal complaints of prisoners' "disappearances" in the previous 14 months.

The Interior Ministry has said that in the 18 months up to the middle of 1984, 2,000 alleged guerrillas were killed and more than 1,600 civilians were alleged to have been killed by guerrillas. There is evidence that both categories include many civilians detained and killed by government forces, AI said.

Security patrols have raided schools as well as villages and homes to take away victims, the report said. All young people appear to be suspect—and so liable to "disappearance"—in areas where the guerrillas are active, it said. AI has documentation on 76 children and teenagers under 18 who have "disappeared".

Relatives of the "disappeared" report being threatened with death by soldiers when they look for their loved ones at known dumping grounds, which are always near main roads, regularly patrolled by troops or police. Many of the bodies are blindfolded and bound

## An Elegy of an Unknown Brother

Deep down in the  
Bowels of earth

In the tides

Of the Ocean

In the eternal breeze

Thy precious dust is laid

Thy soul was pure

Thy clay was fine

Thy innerself was blossoming

But betrayed by Sinners

When thy mom bore thee

She took thee for

Honey of her generation

Struggles, shrieks, the depth of

Pain meant nothing, when

She felt thy soft lips

Death news of thee

Meant blow to her womb

Thee dead! the blood

Is still warm and thick

Is'nt it barbarism

To kill the innocent lambs

Fresh from womb

Far away from tomb

The protectors of law

Became a blow to humanity.

In the height it pleads

With the God above

In depth it did move

Knowledge and attitude

And spread in breadth

To all human experiences

Desperately we do nothing

But wait for—

The Day of Judgment.

— Renuka T.



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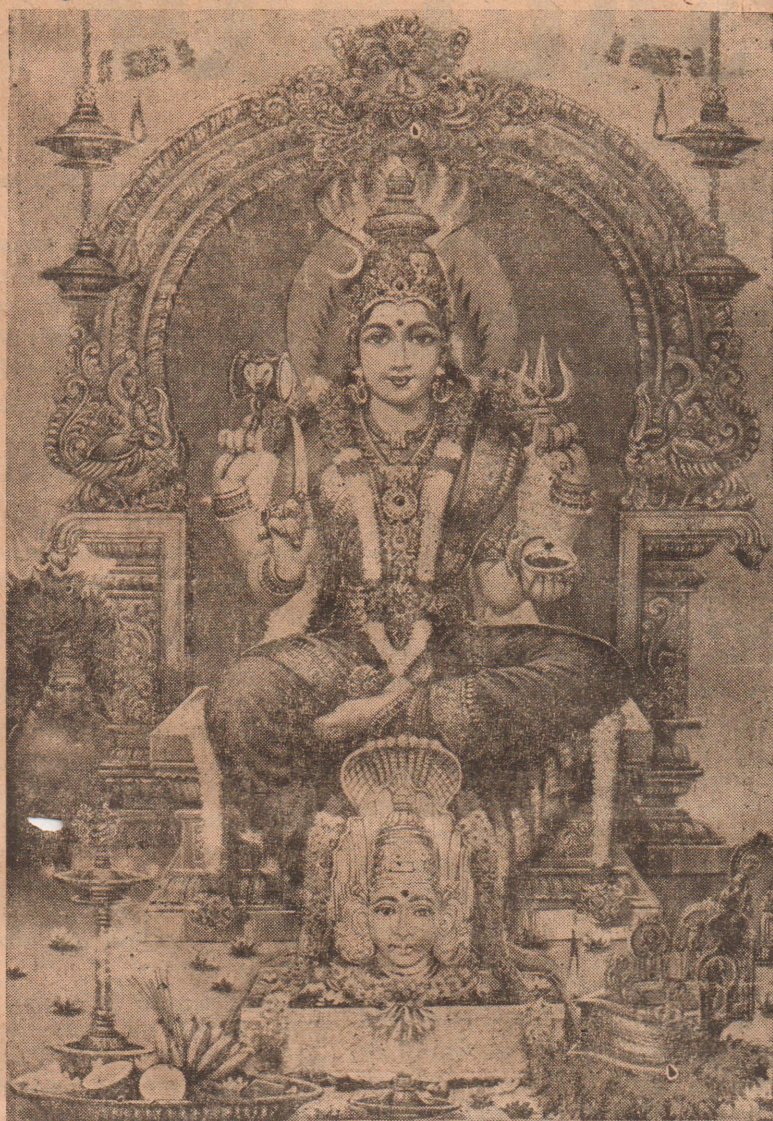
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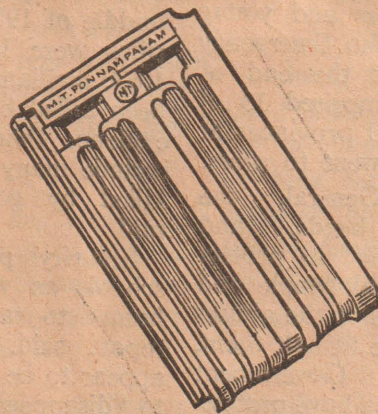
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# LETTERS OF A SOLDIER

Dearest Nanda

We reached here this morning  
No troubles;  
Hugging the rifle tight,  
Nightmares  
Shook my cat-nap,  
Suddenly, I jerked awake.

I, too, feared  
At the Railway Station  
When you and mum did weep  
All of us had lot's of stories  
But, North, it seems  
Is not so frightening.  
As seen everywhere  
Crowded, crowding vehicles  
But,  
the people never stored at us.  
If it happened, accidentally  
Their eyes have something  
An unknown feeling  
I can't understand  
What could it be?

Do you know that?  
We don't risk ourselves  
Going one by one  
Armoured cars and jeeps and trucks  
We load them;  
At least hundred  
For a single patrol  
It was a march, indeed  
You may have seen  
In an Independence day  
it was a march  
with a single difference.  
At the Independence day march  
But  
They never gave us bullets  
For our rifles.  
We felt free  
But here, alas,  
We've enough bullets  
But no freedom.

## II

Today,  
We patrolled and patrolled  
got tired  
patrolling curved and curving streets  
Through palmyrah groves  
Armoured car was jerking  
All the way!  
My pelvis ached  
So much later.  
(Very bad, indeed)  
For our lunch,  
We shot three fleshy goats  
In a village, in the fields;  
No youths;  
Women vanished into the bushes.  
Half way, returning to the camp,  
One of us reminded us  
We forgot to  
buy cigarettes for the Major.  
What then?  
Again our convoy,  
Again to the town.

## III

Today  
Ediriweera and Chandrasri  
Shot and killed three Tamils.  
In the ever-crowded street  
They suddenly began running  
I got panicky and shot them"  
Chandra told me later.  
Without any inquest  
Both were sent to Colombo  
A transfer it seems (lucky fellows)!

If you shoot somebody,  
Or random by attack passers-by  
Or burn houses  
A transfer's offered immediately (?)  
Yesterday, too,  
Four of our soldiers  
Got their transfers.  
Altogether fifty of them  
Have gone back so far  
I don't know when my turn  
Will come.

## IV

Today,  
A hundred new soldiers;  
Little boys  
With moustache-sprouts,  
No machine gunners either.  
Now a days  
Even after daytime's  
Heavy stroll, we spend  
Sleepless nights  
Dearest Nanda,  
How many days have passed  
Since I met you last?  
Ah! a Holiday!  
But can I think of that?

## V

Last night,  
"They" killed thirteen soldiers  
In our platoon.

Non-missing mines  
Followed by machine guns  
None of us had expected.

Communication with the  
Central Camp  
Was still in existence,  
But our soldiers failed  
To overcome  
"Yama" in Darkness.

This morning  
All the streets are deserted  
Neither a shop,  
Nor a single person  
A meaningless silence  
What kind of land is this?

All these days  
The nights are cruel  
In the moon-lit dark  
The shadows move  
And the unknown birds  
At night scream,  
Until the dawn  
A hell indeed!

## VI

Later, our division,  
Took to the streets  
And villages.  
I don't know the exact number  
Of people shot;  
Jewels they got.  
My dearest Nanda,  
At last, the story is over  
I got my transfer  
Thank God!

I went to the town,  
My last visit here  
Not so horrible  
Now it seems.

Shops and streets  
And crowding vehicles  
But the people  
They never stared at us  
As usual!

RUDHRA CHERAN.

Translated from Tamil by the Author,  
from his Anthology "YAMAN".

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(Continued from page 2)

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### Greetings from 144 Year-Old

Mr. C. Rajasingam,  
Editor, Morning Star:

We send our greetings to SATURDAY REVIEW on the third anniversary of its publication.

No journal during its short span has attempted so much in Sri Lanka to sensitise the People and the ruling party on the urgent necessity, in the contemporary political climate, TO CONQUER THE LIE, even though in this mission, the S R may have stepped on many toes.

It needs courage to be true. We wish the S R all success in its venture.

Note by Editor; The MORNING STAR is one of the oldest newspapers in Sri Lanka. It was founded in 1841.

### Gifts in Kind

A consignment of clothes and dry rations intended for the SATURDAY REVIEW REFUGEE RELIEF FUND, collected by Mrs. M. Arunasalam and Mrs. M. Shanmugalingam, has been delivered at the Refugees Rehabilitation Organisation (TRRO) Office. We thank the donors.

### More Clothes

Two consignments of clothes we are received at the SATURDAY REVIEW Office from the Lions Club of Kopay and Miss P. Selvanayagam. We sincerely thank the donors,

## What Federalism is not

(Continued from page 5)

control over external affairs which is in the hands of the Central Government in New Delhi.

### WHAT IS PARITY

1. Parity is merely equality of status between Sinhala and Tamil, i.e., On the governmental level, Tamil should be to the Tamil people what Sinhala is to the Sinhalese people.
2. Equality is spoken of in the qualitative sense and NOT in the quantitative sense.
3. It does not imply, as often erroneously assumed, that all Sinhalese people should study or even know Tamil. The Federal Party supports the development of Sinhala. It only opposes the suppression of the Tamil language.

### WHAT IS THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

Our party's aim on the language issue is parity of status between Sinhala and Tamil, but in the troubled state of the country over the language problem, we have suggested, as a first step towards its solution, the granting of a regional status to Tamil and other rights as set out here:

1. The Tamil language signifies to those to whom Tamil is their mother tongue what the Sinhala language does to the Sinhalese people.
2. Therefore:
  - (a) it should be recognized statutorially and administratively as the national language of the Tamil speaking peoples in Ceylon.
  - (b) it should be made the language of administration and of the Courts of Law in the Northern and Eastern Provinces; necessary provision, however should be made for the

non-Tamil speaking minorities in these areas.

- (c) Tamil speaking people throughout Ceylon should have statutorially the right,
  - (i) to be educated in the Tamil language in all stages up to and including the University,
  - (ii) to entry into the Public Service by competitive examinations conducted in Tamil,
  - (iii) to transact business and correspondence with Government in all parts of Ceylon in Tamil
- (d) All legislation, gazette notifications, governmental publications, notices and forms should be in Tamil also.

### UNITED CEYLON

The Tamil speaking people have a community of interests which is distinct from that of the Sinhalese by reason of historical, racial, cultural and linguistic differences.

These substantial differences can never be solved by ignoring them, much less by suppressing the people concerned through the denial of their language and other rights.

Political science has devised the federal principle to meet this very difficulty.

Federalism creates the most appropriate governmental machinery to help the people to realize the best of which they are capable.

It will ensure political stability and clear the atmosphere of feelings of bitterness, suspicion and distrust and pave the way for constructive effort and progress.

A CEYLON THUS UNITED CAN MAKE REAL PROGRESS IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE, MAXIMISE OUTPUT AND PROMOTE ECONOMIC WELFARE.

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# SINHALA MONKS!

The Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

Sir P. Ramanathan said in the Ceylon Legislative Council that "accepting the Donoughmore Constitution will be suicidal to the minorities."

Mr. Wilmot Perera, in one of his public utterances, said: "If the Tamils are not given their legitimate rights, They will one day play the part of a 5th Column and help a foreign power to invade our country."

Mr. Pieter Keuneman said in the State Council: "Forcing the Tamils to accept Sinhala as the only official language, is like asking one to give up one's mother and adopt another's mother as one's mother."

Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, while endeavouring to bring about unity in diversity by establishing a federal constitution, said more than once: "our enemies are not the Sinhala people; our enemies are the constitution and the colonisation schemes of the Government."

But Mr. Cyril Mathew and the Buddhist monks are treating all the Tamils as their enemies.

If about 26 States in India (750 million population), having different races, speaking different languages, progressing different faiths can live happily under one central government and regional governments, why cannot we in Sri Lanka (only 15 millions), who have lived together for 2500 years, professing almost the same faith, live as brothers under a Central and Regional Governments?

The Buddhist monks are neglecting their duties by the people and their temples by indulging in politics, only to suppress and oppress the Tamils. In this they rejoice! Hundreds of innocent Tamils have been shot like dogs. Not a single Buddhist monk cried "Halt" to that. They are not "Buddhist monks" but "Sinhala monks."

A. B. C.

Jaffna.

## NATIONAL FLAG

The Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

The present piece of cloth that flutters from the flagstaffs does not appear to be a National Flag that can be respected by any of the people whom it is supposed to be representing. The National Flag that was said to be represent-

ing the Sinhalese is mutilated. A Mutilated flag cannot get any respect as it has lost its "face—value".

The perpendicular lines supposed to be representing the minorities are tied to the staff or post on which the flag is hoisted. That part representing the majority flutters freely with the sworded lion facing the minorities and the majority people are a threat to the minorities. The recent history of the country has forced us to believe this freak interpretation.

If the Government wants a real "National Flag" that would be respected by the people of Sri Lanka without any exception, I suggest that "Sri Pada" depicting be designed because "Sri Pada" is held holy by the Buddhists, Hindus, Christians and Muslims of this country.

K. C. Kanapathipillai

Jaffna.

## A SINHALESE SPEAKS

The Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

You all people who are concerned, of both races, please stop this death and destruction in Sri Lanka.

The people and the buildings and all other establishments that were destroyed belonged to all Sri Lanka.

Some people talk of patriotism from the platforms and go and destroy the wealth of the country. Is this patriotism?

Who wants the division of the country? None wants it. But successive Governments gradually have brought about the circumstances for the division of this country.

The present ruling party has divided the country not into two but into six divisions—the North, Mannar District, Vavuniya District, Mullaitivu District, Kilinochchi District, the Eastern District and the Sinhala areas. To travel from one of these areas to another one has to obtain a "passport" from the Assistant Government Agent of the area. Stop all this nonsense. Withdraw the armed Forces from the North and the East and do a way with the "Prohibited" and "Security zones. Peace will return automatically.

# LETTERS

The United States of America found peace through a federal government. Russia, Switzerland and India have federal systems. Why cannot Sri Lanka also have the same progressive form, establishing three regional autonomous states under a central government? Let there be one for the North and the East, one for the Kandyans and one for the Low Country. Let the Central Government be responsible for foreign affairs and defence and other international matters and allow the regional governments to look after their own affairs. Through such a system we will have peace and national unity in our country.

Jaffna

R. M. Seneviratne.

## NEW LEADERSHIP

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW

The suppression of the Tamil people is gaining momentum day by day.

The innocent people are compelled to bow down to slave laws which have no connection with the eradication of "Terrorism".

When the Government promulgates some impractical laws, the Security Forces go even further and indulge in random killing, robbery, rape and the destruction of property.

The Tamil community, once considered well educated and able, has so far not taken any steps to resist the injustices.

The so-called leaders of the Tamil community, only to prove that they are still on the scene, issue some comments once in a way.

The time has come for new leadership.

Maviddapuram

V. Chandrabalan.

## WRONG NAME

The Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

In the SATURDAY REVIEW of 15th December in the news item "Tamil Doctor to the Rescue" there is an error in the name of the Tamil doctor.

The doctor is Dr. T. Gananathan, who was attached to the Castle Street Hospital for Women and was on relief duty at Chilaw on that day, and not Dr. Y. C. Gunanathan.

N. Sivagnanam

Vaddukoddai.

## NO OFFENCE MEANT

The Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

The letter from the Chairman of the Palmyrah Development Board appearing under the heading "P.D.B. clarifies" in the SR of 5th January refers to my article on "Palmyrah for Wealth".

I wish to state that this article was specially written at your request made to me a few months ago to do something for the palmyrah industry in the North.

It was not meant to hurt anyone but only to inspire others to plant more.

I visited the office of the P.D.B. on four occasions but unfortunately missed the Chairman who was not available. However, I shall try to meet him by appointment.

I had so far had only one leaflet from his office. It would be useful if further facts from the Chairman are published in SR, either in an article prepared by the Chairman or from data gathered from his office.

S. K. V. Achary

Mallakam

Note by Editor: We have received a 20-page progress report of the P.D.B. from August 1978 to October 1984. We hope to publish extracts from it shortly.



# THREE CHEERS...

(Continued from page 6)

## A STUDENT of Pandeteruppu:

I am very much impressed with your efforts towards solving the National Question. I am sure your meeting with "Tiger" leaders will have some impact.

The Government and the Tamil politicians have already failed in their attempt to find a solution through the so-called All Party Conference. The responsibility of solving this problem has now been bestowed on the citizens of goodwill and upon India.

There is unlikely to be a solution without the participation of the Indian Government and as well as the youths.

Prior to any negotiations, the Government should withdraw all the draconian laws it had promulgated and release the youths held as "hostages".

This should be accompanied by a complete stoppage of military patrols in the North, an appeal to the international community to urge India to sign an extradition treaty and an international anti-separation propaganda campaign.

In the second stage, all news and views affecting communal harmony must be censored and negotiations started at different levels—political level, citizens level and students level.

## Because I am a Journalist

*I write the way I write  
Because I am a Journalist  
I do not owe an explanation  
But I do wish to get the record straight  
For there appears to be much misunderstanding  
Among a small coterie:  
They can't distinguish between a concubine  
(Member of the kept media)  
And a porcupine (the kind that stings when necessary!)  
In the "Dark Days" of 1970-77  
There arose a great leader  
Who fired the People's imagination  
With visions of a brave New Lanka  
A land flowing with milk and honey  
Where people can lead a life of peace  
Where Liberty and Justice shall prevail*

*In the true democratic spirit.  
After 34 years, in the wings  
He got his chance in Seventy-seven  
To do the wonderful things he always said*

*He would do for his Motherland.  
After six years at the helm  
How far are we from the Promised Land!*

*Of course, there has been Development:*

*"The results are patent  
In every part of the country,"  
As the propaganda-wallahs repeated-ly say,*

*But the Development has been lopsided,*

*As the critics continue to insist:  
The main problems remain unsolved  
Many not knowing how to subsist!*

*On the other hand,  
What were promised to be banished  
Bribery, Corruption, Waste and Nepotism.....*

*Thrive as never before!  
More ominous, the authoritarian trend persists*

*As People's rights are whittled away  
We are inside, not outside, Dictatorship's door  
Say many opponents,  
Who compare Sri Lanka to Hitler's Germany!  
Yes, "free and fair" elections are held,  
But what is the use? they ask,  
State power remains entrenched  
In a single hand!*

*Down the ages,  
Dissent has been the progenitor  
Of much reform and progress  
In religion, science, technology and the arts.  
The Buddha was the greatest dissenter,  
Noble hero and reformer,  
Who pointed the way to Nirvana  
To countless millions.  
But in "Buddhist Lanka", it is now a "crime"  
To say "No" or ask "Why"  
Even venerable heads get bashed  
For refusing to comply!*

*From vantage positions,  
From privileged positions,  
Politicians may indulge in whims and fancies  
May even victimise opponents,  
Assassinate reputations;*

*The hapless victims may have none to appeal to!*

*But a wrong is a wrong, whoever does it,*

*And the journalist's job is to expose it.*

*If necessary, even tell the world.  
Why the world?*

*At times and in certain situations,  
International public opinion*

*Is a great redeemer.*

*For instance, in Seventy-one,  
It forced the authorities  
To curb Police and Army excesses*

(Continued on page 15)

Indian representatives should be given only spectator participation and it should be ensured that they do not influence either side.

At the political level, Mr. Amirthalingam, General Secretary of the Tamil United Liberation Front, and Mr. S. Thondaman, President of the Ceylon Workers Congress and Minister of Rural Industrial Development, should be on equal level.

Representatives from these three groups should then go to India to negotiate with the militant youth.

In a divided Sri Lanka, neither the Tamils nor the Sinhalese will have peace of mind.

**DR. PATRICK ANTHONY PILLAI**  
Of Kandar Madam :

The month of January is of great significance to Tamils. Thai Pongal, the harvest festival falls on 14th January. Thiru Valluvar, the foremost of Tamil sages, was born on Thai Pongal day. It is not without significance that the SATURDAY REVIEW, which espouses the cause of the Tamils, too, began publication in January.

Two thousand years ago, Thiru Valluvar dealt with every aspect of human life, in his world renown work "Thirukkural".

Thirukkural is a compendium of maxims which are universally acceptable to all people irrespective of clime, colour, caste or creed. There are 80 translations of the Kural in 26 languages, including two in Sinhalese.

Either by accident or by design, the righteous views fearlessly expressed by the SR seems to echo the practical wisdom of Thiru Valluvar.

"The might of arms, do not victory bring,

But the upright stance of the king" - Kural 540.

"Would not the tears of those who suffer tyranny, cede the wealth of the king almighty", Kural 555.

"The absence of sectarian politics, internal strife, murderous anarchists and of disturbance of governance is the hall mark of a kingdom" - Kural 735.

**JAY WHITE of Colombo:**

I admire your courage. You are a lone voice in the wilderness. Even the liberals are scared of a scheming vicious Government hiding behind a sanctimonious facade. Our dreams of a tranquil future have turned into a madman's reverie: Bedlam

and the Tower of Babel plus Apocalypse.

The mothers and girls in the Northern Peninsula are in a worse plight than Antigone or Niobe those tragic heroines of ancient Greece. Their sons, brothers and husbands are hounded, tortured and killed without trace. Where are the noble leaders of the poor suffering Tamils?

Only jackals and hyenas remain in high places, leering and mouth-ing cliches at the world Press.

Even Oliver Cromwell was not so vicious as these upstarts who loudly proclaim to be the nation's leaders and saviours. Cromwell never lied so glibly. Only Goebbels, that notorious Nazi, was a pathological monster who must have imbibed falsehoods and fibs with his mother's milk.

Vultures are gathering in the North where the barren land was cultivated by its industrious and austere people. Now the soil is being soaked and fertilised by the blood, bones and flesh of young men, women, children and even the old.

Island of assassins is a more appropriate name than Paradise Island nowadays.

Who is the Ruler?

Who are the ruled?

Who is the Fooler?

Who are the fooled?

Young rebels bravely fight

The brutal power of military might

O God in heaven, art thou blind?

O human beings have you lost your mind?

While mothers weep their tears of blood,

Their children are trampled in the mud,

and thrown to feasting Hyenas.

(Continued on page 15)

### FREE BOOK

Handbook on Agriculture by P. Manickavasagar, Agricultural Officer, is a boon to home gardeners and agriculturalists. Deals with every aspect of Agriculture. Please call or write with Rs. 5 to cover postage to:

Milk White Soap Works, 525/2. K K S Road, Jaffna, for a copy.



# 3 Cheers...

(Continued from page 6)

Political leaders have created a colossal fraud in dealing with the simple humanitarian issue—the National Question. They have made a mountain out of a molehill and the whole atmosphere is charged with the impending danger of a national calamity.

It is the height of ridicule to consider a Sri Lankan Tamil as a potential terrorist and that is the result of the present witchhunt carried out by our heroic Army.

I only wish that sanity will prevail in considering the National Question as a humanitarian issue rather than a matter of confrontation leading to conflict where the entire nation has been dragged into by some diabolical designs and a "state of war" has been declared to deal with the sporadic attacks by Tamil militants.

As a member of the Tamil community residing in Jaffna peninsula, I live in a state of insecurity. I have applied for a pass for my push bicycle on two roads mentioned in the regulations. Perhaps, I may have to apply for a pass to go walking in the streets of Jaffna too! The whole atmosphere is reeking with a sense of lunacy!!

★

**MR. S. S. BALASUNDARAM of Jaffna:**

The most important point that I wish to stress here is that your paper should be microfilmed and carefully preserved as no other books of history in the future could provide such frank and unimpeachable reporting of the inexplicable miseries and torture that the Tamils are exposed to today.

No doubt, the practicability of this suggestion of mine may immediately look like an impossible luxury for a paper like yours at a time when you find it extremely difficult to accomplish the routine weekly printing itself.

But, perhaps, let this letter of mine be an open request to readers both in Sri Lanka and abroad, who could contribute considerably towards installation of microfilming facilities for SATURDAY REVIEW.

I am pleased to extend my sincere greetings to your 3rd anniversary issue and my heartiest wishes to SATURDAY REVIEW.

**DR. (Mrs.) SRITHARAN of Jaffna**

Thanks to the S.R., we have been privileged to know what intellectuals like Mr. Jehan Perera and Dr. Nihal Jayawickreme feel about the ethnic problem.

To be harassed and to raise our voice is one thing, but to be among the privileged majority and to raise their voice against injustice and to have accurately analysed the problem and forwarded a just solution which sounds sensible in all respects need appreciation.

The SWRD and Senanayakes may only be remembered by their monuments but people like the C.T.B. bus conductor at Mannar like Kuda Devage Jayasena and his like need no monuments to be cherished in our memories. How that brave soul stood by his passengers devotedly like Casablanca and lost his life and to think how the soldiers had the mind to extinguish such a brave soul is beyond imagination. Is Sri Lanka no longer fit to be trod by such souls?

Why do not the right-thinking people of Sri Lanka raise their voices against all this injustice and cowardism committed by the politicians and in turn are causing similar acts to be committed by the frustrated youths. Why not take action to remove the deep-rooted cause of Tamil militancy instead of axing down the youths?

Where are the professionals, the intellectuals, the learned, the doctors, and the engineers and the teachers whom we held in high esteem? Are they blind or deaf or have their hearts lost all courage to speak up? Can they say there is no discrimination against their Tamil brethren? Do they rush to join hands with those mad with power for some petty reasons?

Are we not mostly Buddhists and Hindus who believe in rebirth, and why all the fuss for a life which lasts a maximum of 40,000 days or much less?

Come on, those who have a brain and a heart and raise your voices high and loud to waken up the dead souls of our politicians.

Let the good in everyone waken up and act and act quickly to save our Island without any more bloodshed. We all know the answer. Only, let us proclaim it loud and clear.

## Because I am a Journalist

(Continued from page 14)

Remember, it was the foreign Press That exposed the Manamperi case? At a time when in "Dharmista Lanka"

Life is tending to become "nasty, brutish and short"; Jaffna's situation could have been worse

If not for international concern. Politicians when in the opposition Crave foreign publicity for the rulers' misdeeds;

But once in power, they always say "You are tarnishing Sri Lanka's image"!

In other countries, journalists take the lead

In the fight for Human Rights. In our country, they take a back seat. Many by compulsion, others by inclination,

And sing the hosannas of the rulers While they remain silent Even as their own rights get eroded!

They forget that, between 1970-77 Opposition politicians shouted from the rooftops,

"Press Freedom is the essence of Liberty,

The source of all other Liberties; Suppress, restrain or control it, Then autocracy rears its head"

Citing US and Indian precedents, They said "it is a prized privilege To speak one's mind,

Although not always with perfect good taste,

On all public institutions." They were for the "unfettered interchange

Of ideas for bringing change, Political and social, Desired by the People."

Debate on Public issues, they said "Should be uninhibited, robust and wide-open,

That it may well include vehemently caustic,

And sometimes unpleasantly sharp, Attacks on government and public officials"

For they recognised "the occasional tyrannies;

Of governing majorities....."

Now it must be perfectly clear To all those who have asked, Or wondered,

Why I write the way I write, Neither pelf nor position Can ever make me change; Nor threats of any kind.....

— G. N.

(Reproduced from the SR of 4th June, 1983)

## THANK YOU

You came into my life suddenly; and departed as suddenly. It all began with five sweet kisses given unwillingly. Om! Om!

Age, not race, barred our way. Yet..... Intimacy and separation, pleasure and pang. Oh hell. But that's the stuff of life.

That birthday card chosen with loving hands. It said: "Dear Sir, There are some special people we meet along life's way who make our journey brighter by the things they do and say... And, because you're that kind of person, may your day and life be blessed..."

But the ending was shocking; your are not my "Ever Loving Daughter", nor am I your Father.

Nevertheless, your were someone "special" —to me: you eased my task in Jaffna. In a land of blood and thunder we found a quiet haven —for a time. Thank you. Thank you.

And now you are gone. Oh real hell it is

In Samsara's karmic cycle may we meet again —to be ONE.

—Ed.

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# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## SR FUND TOPS RS. 50,000

As we were going to press, a handsome contribution of Rs. 11,150 from Mr. Rajan Hoole was received at the SR Office for the Refugee Fund. The Fund has now topped Rs. 50,000.

## GM FIRED

This is to inform the general public that the Editor of SATURDAY REVIEW no longer recognises Mr. K. Visuvalingam, J. P. as the General Manager of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

## THE RAMPAGE OF THE ROGUE



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JAFFNA.

## JVP'S DENIAL

The Janatha Vimukthi Perumuna, proscribed since the July 1983 Holocaust on the ground that it was "behind the scene", has denied that it has any connection with anyone advocating the establishment of a separate state.

In a widely-circulated leaflet, printed in Sinhala the JVP has

said that its leader, Mr. Rohana Wijeweera had no discussions or dealings with Mr. Uma Maheswaran or any other "Tiger" leaders, as propagandised by the Government.

The JVP accuses the Government of using its name as part of the effort to suppress the leftist movement in Sri Lanka and establish a fascist state.

**"Free expression is the sign of a civilized society"**

Continue your service to  
liberate the Press and thereby  
"Civilize" our Society.

## GOOD LUCK

P. O. Box 2

Jaffna Tel: 021/22300

St. Joseph's Catholic Press

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