

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 4 No. 14

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OFF WITH THE CENSORSHIP!

One of the biggest tragedies of modern-day Sri Lanka is that the people in the South are kept in the dark about events in the North.

This is as much the fault of the Government as of the Tamil people.

The Government has been using its draconian emergency powers to censor news of "terrorist activities", a term which covers most events in the North.

So, up to 14th May, the Sinhalese, fed on official news releases, remained smug in the fond belief that the situation in the North, in the words of National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali, was well under control and that the Security Forces

were winning the war against the "terrorists".

It required the Anuradhapura blood-bath of 14th May to shock most Sinhalese into the realisation that for long they had been fed on lies, damn lies.

At least now, the Sinhalese people should be told the truth about why the "terrorist movement" came into existence and why it continues to flourish.

This could be the starting point for a new and meaningful dialogue to bring about national reconciliation, peace and harmony—an opportunity opened up after the New Delhi summit, an opportunity which, if missed, is unlikely to be repeated.

Off with the censorship, we say; off with it because it is standing in the way of communal understanding and harmony. Let the truth be told at all times, however unpalatable it may be. For, in the end, truth cannot be hidden.

As Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike also used the censorship injudiciously, with the assistance of arrogant and sycophant bureaucrats—and learnt the bitter truth in July 1977.

To the Tamil people, we say: do not depend on the Colombo-based media, especially the Sinhalese newspapers, to do justice to you.

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Collect one large size Milk White Washing Powder Box and obtain one "Milk White News".

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Jaffna

How many millions of rupees have gone up in smoke since 1958!

Less than a million of it would have been enough to start a newspaper in Sinhala—to tell the people in the South the true facts of the North.

This idea was put to the late Mr. S. Kathiravelupillai nearly 25 years ago. He fully agreed, but was not able to convince his Federal Party colleagues.

Some Federal Party (later Tamil United Liberation Front) members used to make pompous speeches in Parliament in Tamil, which went duly into Hansard—and oblivion. What a difference it would have made if the message was conveyed to a wider audience.

Even now, it is not too late for some rich Tamil people to make arrangements to communicate with the Sinhalese masses, by-passing their political leadership.

The SATURDAY REVIEW is there to help with technical advice and journalistic services.

Not A Ceasefire, says Lalith

All the major Tamil militant groups, including Prabhakaran's Tigers, have agreed to "a cessation of hostile activities as a pre-condition to a political solution", National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali announced at a Press Conference held on Tuesday, 18th June.

The Daily News (19th June) quotes the Minister as saying: "It appears that we have reached a point where we can look confidently forward to a cessation of hostile activity as from today. But I am a little diffident on one score...there are many minor groups of terrorists who may not get the message. The government will be reluctantly compelled

to take action against these groups if they commit any hostile acts. All the major groups of terrorists including Prabhakaran's LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) have agreed to the cessation of hostile activity as a means of creating a suitable atmosphere for dialogue. Please note that I have not used the words 'cease-fire'. The term is 'cessation of hostile activity'."

After stating that the security forces will not be withdrawn from the north and east, the Minister went on to say "What the government is most interested in at this stage is an adherence to the cessation of hostile activity. It is also most keen to take steps to restore normalcy in all the areas, particularly in Jaffna, where citizens have been undergoing severe hardship. We intend watching the response to the call for a cessation of hostilities, after which other steps will follow".

IDIOTS ALL!

Our policy throughout has been to reflect a true picture of events in the North to the world—despite the strict censorship.

Our reports of the recent events at Valvettiturai, Kurikadduvan and Anuradhapura appear to have upset some people in powerful positions and direct and indirect pressures have been applied on us to "toe the line", like the Colombo-based media.

The idiocy is that we have sometimes been prevented from publishing items which have already appeared in Colombo-based newspapers!

Censors, world-wide, can sometimes be idiots!

Now, Fully Censored in Colombo, Published From Jaffna. HA! HA!!

Saturday Review

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Only Inspiration: Compassionate One

"We live unworthy lives, we fight in the name of religion, in the name of language, in the name of caste and so on. We do everything except heeding the tender, loving, compassionate pleadings of the Great Master who came 2,500 years ago and cried his heart out. His words have fallen on deaf ears often. Let us pray to that Compassionate Buddha to inspire our minds. He alone can do it - not politicians, not the statesmen, not the United Nations. They cannot think rationally because their minds are agitated - convulsed in their own shells, their own prejudices and predilections, their own ideas, ambitions etc. They do not want to see even their friends' point of view. Each is holding to his own and the common man suffers".

— Swami Shantanand

(in "Spiritual Blossoming" - page 76, 1979)
(sent by reader K. Padmanathan,
Chunnakam)

POLITICS' LOSS, SCHOLARSHIP'S GAIN

James Thevathasan Rutnam turned eighty on 13th June. The four score years of his life so far spans an important period in the history of modern Sri Lanka—an epoch beset by changes more radical, more rapid and, towards the end, more painful, than in any preceding age in recent centuries. He was born at a time when Pax Britannica was reigning supreme and British rule in this tropical island seemed unshakable. The background against which he grew up could hardly have been more stable. Then came the changes. And today, as he begins his ninth decade, the land he loved is in turmoil and slipping inexorably towards the abyss of civil strife. Having raised his voice against the British as a mere lad and later associated himself with political organisations and leaders with a desire to lead the country out of bondage, he must indeed be a sad man today.

James failed to make a name in politics. From the beginning he was torn between politics and scholarship and gradually opted for a career in politics. When he finally gave it up, the loss to politics was scholarship's gain. Looking back, one wishes he had devoted more time and energy for scholarship. He perhaps has no regrets.

Whatever one's chosen area of interest is, one eventually gravitates to history is a favourite maxim that James always publicises. His own enduring interests in history were not a late development but were first formed while he was at the Ceylon University College and the Law College. It was in the latter institution that his inclination for historical research first won recognition, when he was awarded the Walter Pereira Memorial Prize for Legal Research for his monograph on the introduction of trial by jury in Sri Lanka. It was his first important piece of historical research and,

I believe, it was from that time that he became interested in the life and work of Alexander Johnston, the papers relating to whom are among the most valuable collections that James had acquired over many years from different parts of the world.

In the early years James had a passion for genealogical studies and soon became a specialist in the field and was sought after by many to trace their family trees.

by

cluded him for a long time. When he reached the age of seventy, he had written himself off as a 'successful failure'. Little did he realise that he was entering a new stage in his life - that of a guru figure. Recognition followed. He was elected President of the Jaffna Archaeological Society, a Member of the Governing Council of the Royal Asiatic Society (S.L.B.), a Faculty Member of the University campus

Prof. K. Indrapala

Genealogy naturally led him to biography. He regularly wrote biographical sketches of leading political personalities and colonial administrators to the local press and became an authority on the lives of national leaders. Among his best contributions in this field is undoubtedly the well-written biography of his political mentor, Sir Ponnampalam Arunachalam, on the occasion of the latter's birth centenary celebrations in 1953. It was published in English, Sinhalese and Tamil by the Government. His researches into the life of Arunachalam led him to unravel the work of William Digby, Arunachalam's mentor, and to the acquisition of the valuable Digby Papers.

Modern history has been his forte. But he is not one who favours narrow specialisation and has shown as much zeal for the medieval and ancient history of Sri Lanka as for the modern. His writings on Fraser of Trinity College, the Polonnaruwa Colossus and the Tomb of Elara clearly reveal that he is equally at home in all the periods of the Island's history.

He worked in isolation and never knew his real worth. Recognition

in Jaffna, and later a Member of the Council of the University of Jaffna and that new university honoured him with a D. Litt. degree at its first convocation.

But when all this came, James was not going to rest on his laurels. He busied himself with the establishment of the Evelyn Rutnam Institute for Intercultural Studies in Jaffna, a dream that was his ever since the sudden death of his beloved wife, and began his long-awaited work on the Alexander Johnston Papers. He felt that time was running out and ploughed through the papers with the eagerness of a Ph. D. student.

Thorough in his investigation, critical in his approach and dedicated to his research, James is a master of words which he puts together very elegantly. A scholar of true universality, his intellectual personality is perfectly imaged in his fluent style. On this day of remarkable achievement, James Rutnam deserves to be saluted in Shakespearian phrase: **Thou art a scholar.**

SHADES OF LANKA!

The Ugandan Army unlawfully arrests and systematically tortures large numbers of civilians, Amnesty International said in a report backed by detailed medical evidence published recently.

The report, including the findings of two doctors who examined former prisoners, quoted eye witness accounts of civilians being beaten or burned to death. Many have "disappeared" while held in army barracks and are feared dead, the worldwide human rights movement said.

The doctors, a surgeon and a forensic pathologist, found signs and symptoms consistent with the tortures described in 15 Ugandans who had fled the country.

Some people arrested by Ugandan police are tortured—but almost all of those seized by troops are routinely tortured, held in filthy, overcrowded conditions, underfed and abused, the report said.

Former prisoners described regular beatings with hammers, rifle butts, iron bars, and pieces of wood with nails protruding. In a recurrent torture described by a number of ex-prisoners, soldiers suspended a car tyre above a bound victim and set it alight, so that the molten rubber dripped onto the prisoner. In some cases, this was said to have been repeated for hours or days until the victim died.

Rape and sexual abuse are frequent, according to testimony gathered by Amnesty International.

People arrested by the army are often accused by soldiers of being or knowing about anti-government guerrillas, though they are not legally charged and many seem to have no connection with guerrillas. They include supporters of legal opposition parties, villagers in areas where the army is conducting counter-insurgency operations, and people seized for ransom or because of personal disputes with officials.

The Obote Government has repeatedly denied that any civilians are held by the military.

STATE TERRORISM

ON A GLOBAL SCALE: THE ROLE OF ISRAEL — 3

(Continued from 1st June issue)

In 1977, Israeli technicians built an electrified "wall" at the Namibia—Angola border to keep SWAPO forces from entering Namibia. A similar system of electronic border surveillance (*valla electronica*) has been under construction since 1982 in Costa Rica on the border with Nicaragua. It is precisely this item that brought a delegation of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) of Northern Ireland to Israel in January 1984. They believed a solution for the Irish problem could be found by erecting a £ 14 million electric fence on the border with Ireland, touch-sensitive, monitored with computers, and permanently manned with security posts at every five miles. The DUP is the largest Unionist party in Northern Ireland and is led by Rev. Ian Paisly. Apparently, the world's "demographic problems" may not be quite confined to the so-called Third World.

A newcomer to the Israeli sphere of interest is Sri Lanka. The situation of the Tamils in Sri Lanka has been described as a "classic minority problem". Virtually since independence, the discriminatory practices on the part of the majority Sinhala government, its efforts at colonization in Tamil areas, and the outbreaks of anti-Tamil mob violence in 1956, 1958, 1977 and 1983 have gradually transformed the cry for Tamil autonomy to a cry for Tamil Eelam separation. After years of nonviolent resistance, the Tamil struggle has transformed into an armed struggle. During the "Black July" of 1983, Sinhala massacres of Tamils and destruction of Tamil businesses and property went on with soldiers and policemen standing idly by. Under the guise of combating "terrorism" by the Tamil Tigers, the military have moved into the predominantly Tamil areas in the North, assuming broad authorities under the 1979 Prevention of Terrorism Act. Acts of state terrorism in the North, particularly during March and April 1984, have taken on the form of "collective punishment".

Since early 1984, Israeli security advisers have been called in to train Lankan security personnel. Already, the structural similarities between the Tamils of Sri Lanka and the Palestinians are notable—again policies centered on land, control, demography, and terror combine in order to consolidate a configuration of Sinhala hegemony. Right-wing Buddhists, who view the Sinhalese as chosen guardians of Buddhism

have already prepared the way: "To some extent the Tamils are cast in the role of the Philistines, 'good' kings being those who, like Dutthagamani, smote the Tamils hip and thigh, and did so, partly at least, with religious motives". In order to break up areas of contiguous Tamil habitation, inroads into predominantly Tamil areas in the eastern and northern provinces have been made by Sinhalese settlers, supported by the government and police and encouraged by right-wing Buddhist clergy, acting like the local equivalent of Gush Emunim. Over the past year, this scheme to create "checkered patterns of settlements" has been supplemented by the establishment of army camps in the North. The Jaffna peninsula is gradually being turned into a Lankan West Bank. Sinhala chauvinism, used as an instrument of state power, again calls to mind the psychological climate of Israel. On the basis of an analysis of Israeli policies on the West Bank, one could almost predict the forms Israeli security advice is taking in Sri Lanka.

Situations such as the above — only a sample of Israel's global security operations — suggest other dimensions beyond Israel's role as one of the major arms exporters: Israel as a party or accessory to state-organized terrorism and holocaust. This is certainly the case in Guatemala and South Africa, and perhaps in other countries as well. South African invasions in Angola — planned with Israeli advice — have resulted in cold-blooded massacres, such as the attack on innocent men, women and children in the refugee camp of Cassinga on May 4, 1978. A sinister pattern suggests itself — the export of West Bank expertise. Thus in the shadows cast by Deir Yassin, Kibye, Beirut, Shabra and Chatila, other silhouettes emerge — Cassinga, Panzos, Chiapas. Among the questions that present themselves is this: why is Israel doing what it is doing?

ISRAEL'S STRATEGY

We will say to the Americans: Don't compete with us in Taiwan; don't compete with us in South Africa; compete with us in the Caribbean or in other places where we cannot sell arms directly ... Let us do it. You will sell the ammunition and equipment through an intermediary. Israel will be your intermediary.

Ya'acov Meridor, *Ha'aretz*,
August 25, 1981

Official or semiofficial statements concerning Israel's involvement in Third World countries usually say

that Israel is interested in furthering its arms sales and technological exports, as well as improving its diplomatic ties with Third World countries. According to a recent report published by Tel Aviv University's Jaffa Institute for Strategic Studies, the arms business helps overcome the diplomatic isolation imposed on it by Arab countries. Israel's involvement in Honduras / Nicaragua and El Salvador is said to be related to reports of links between the PLO and Central American movements. Sometimes the defense of Jewish communities in some of the importing states is also mentioned as a consideration. Underlying these considerations there is more involved strategic thinking.

Key elements in understanding Israel's strategy in relation to Third World countries are Israel's notion of self-reliance and the relationship between Israel and the United States. Israeli self-reliance dates back to the Zionist idea of self-emancipation of the 1880s. Reformulated by David Ben-Gurion as "orientation on ourselves," it has since become a part of Israel's national security doctrine, at least according to Dan Horowitz. This has taken shape in, among other things, Israel's arms industry. However, the fact that Israel's military industry has been developed with massive U. S. assistance and participation — financial, technical and corporate — is a reminder that Israel's "self-reliance" has flourished under U. S. tutelage. Similarly, Zionist "self-emancipation" took place largely under British tutelage.

Israel was first identified as squarely in the Western camp when it took the U.S. lead vis-a-vis Korea and in its withholding of recognition from the People's Republic of China. This led to exclusion from the Bandung conference of non-aligned nations in 1955. It was the beginning of Israel's isolation among Third World countries. Nevertheless, as a "pioneer" nation, giving pragmatic, "nonideological" forms of development assistance, Israel retained access to many countries, particularly in Africa. The army plays a central role in Israeli society institutionally and in its "integrative" functions. This trait — the centrality of the military — has, moreover, been a basis of affinity with many Latin American regimes. Israeli army veterans occupy important positions in Israel's foreign aid system in Africa and Latin America. Israel sided with France in the Algerian conflict and provided training to the OAS; a common antagonism to Arab national liberation

was the basis of French arms supplies to Israel.

Strategic cooperation between governing circles of the United States and Israel dates back to the time when Israel began to be viewed as a buffer against radical Nasserism. In the 1960s, Israel assisted U. S. penetration of African countries. The regimes of Mobutu in Zaire and Bokassa in the Central African Republic are among the fruits of this cooperation. In 1971–72, Israel and Britain cooperated in bringing Idi Amin to power in Uganda.

The first strategic agreement between the U. S. and Israel dates from 1962, during the Kennedy administration, with an agreement reportedly entitled: "Strategic Cooperation Between the United States and Israel in Relation to Latin America and Counter-Insurgency." One year later, the Kennedy administration approved the sale of Hawk anti-aircraft missiles to Israel and in 1965, the Johnson administration allowed a sale of A-4 Skyhawk jet fighters. Still France remained, from 1953, Israel's main arms supplier until, at the end of the Algerian war, France reviewed its Middle East policies and sold Mirages to Lebanon in 1967 and to Libya in 1969. This prompted the expansion of Israel's arms industry from its small beginnings in the 1950s.

Israel's victory in the 1967 war changed the balance of forces in the region and in a major development, the U.S. provided Israel with 50 Phantom fighters in 1968. U. S. Israeli collaboration during the Jordanian crisis of 1970 strengthened mutual relations. But above all, the onset of the "Vietnam syndrome" in the U. S., detente and the Nixon-Kissinger doctrine of "subimperialism" inspired the momentous, almost tenfold increase in U. S. military assistance to Israel in the 1971–73 period. Moreover, "in November 1971 the U. S. quietly signed an agreement to provide technical information and assistance that would allow Israel to produce advanced weapons components itself. This had important immediate economic advantages for Israel, allowing it to further develop its military industrial base and become an important arms manufacturer and exporter in its own right."

(To be continued)

SRI LANKA TAMILS

For most refugees, tomorrow never comes. But there are exceptions. The Sri Lankan Tamils have decided to never say die and in fact they already see some light at the end of the tunnel. Official figures say more than a lakh of Tamils have sought refuge in Tamil Nadu since July 1983. As many as 4,946 families, consisting of 20,396 persons, are being cared for by the Tamil Nadu Government in 72 refugee camps and cyclone relief centres in 13 districts throughout the State.

A family unit of up to five members is given monthly financial assistance of Rs. 357.50. Subsidized foodgrains and firewood are also supplied. The 60,000 refugees not under Government care live in remittances from relatives abroad. They belong to every walk of life.

I joined a group of three persons from the Organization for Eelam Refugees Rehabilitation (OFERR) based in Madras on a tour of some key camps. These groups belonged to what was known earlier in Sri Lanka as the "Gandhian Movement", inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's ideas.

Apart from making an on-the-spot study, the mission involved the distribution of much needed toilet and detergent soap to families on the basis of their ration card holdings.

Starting at the very beginning, there is the Rameshwaram reception camp located in a dharmashala sporting the legend "For Saurashtrians Only". Rameshwaram, incidentally, has a number of such exclusive havens built by philanthropists for the use of pilgrims from different areas of India visiting the renowned temple.

Most of the refugees—men, women and children—had just arrived by fibreglass boats. Some of them lamented that they were deprived of whatever little belongings they had brought out.

CENSORED

Their next port of call is the township-sized Mandapam transit camp which used to be the quarantine centre for indentured labour in British times. Though the refugees huddle together in barracks like accommodation

CENSORED

To make room for new arrivals, refugees in batches are moved out of Mandapam to other camps in southern India. Some of the refugees opt for areas depending on nearness of friends and long lost relatives. Others have no choice and

have to move to places decreed at random. The bulk of the refugees include fishermen, garage mechanics, workshop employees, stall keepers and farmers,

CENSORED

Rag-tag groups consist of the old and the young, the sick and the healthy.

CENSORED

The Tamil Nadu Government runs a full-fledged preventive medicine clinic operated by doctors on rotation. But for evidence of some malaria there is no disease of a contagious or infective nature that has so far shown up.

Education is the biggest problem. The head of the Ramakrishna Mission who runs a school said that the educational system being different here, it was an uphill task for children from Sri Lanka to cope with the syllabus in Tamil Nadu schools.

On the way to Madurai I questioned S. Kugadasen, Secretary of OFERR on the Gandhian Movement. Did they subscribe to the violent means of overthrow advocated by the Tamils Tigers? Kugadasen replied: "We tried the method of non-violence."

CENSORED

A word about the Gandhian Movement which was founded in 1976 in seven districts of Sri Lanka. The

By

Ja boy Joseph

organization ran Tolstoy and Gandhiji-type self-contained farms with a view to rehabilitating the Tamils

CENSORED

Refugees from the south and the hill countries, who fled their homesteads in

CENSORED

riots in 1977, 1979 and 1981

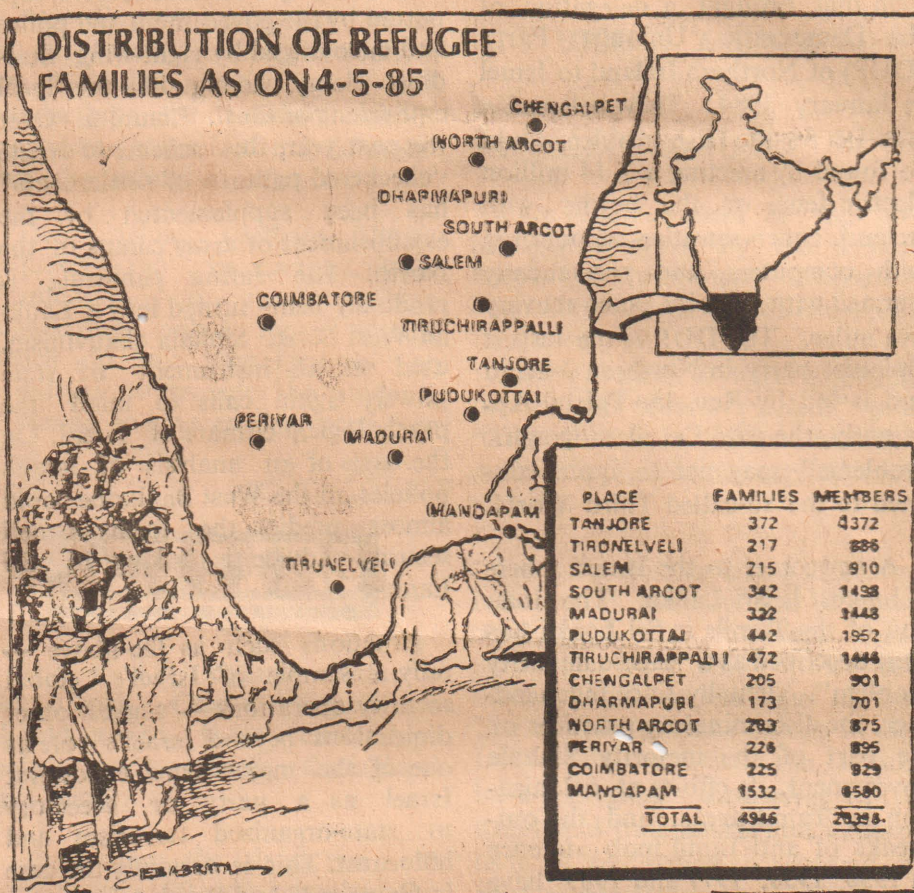
CENSORED

were settled on farms acquired on the lines of Bhoodan. The farms were run on contributions received from Tamil expatriates abroad, and also charitable organizations based in Germany, U. K. and Holland.

CENSORED

tage of drinking water. When told that they are perhaps much better off than many of the Indian inhabitants of the area, they hastily expressed their gratitude to the hosts for these small mercies.

At the Ammamadam camp outside Madurai there are fifteen families in a tumble-down ancient



is now the General Secretary of the Eelam Refugee Rehabilitation Organization. S.A. David who started the Gandhian organization also managed to fly across.

As a person particularly averse to violence I suggested to my travel-

temple-like structure. As elsewhere those belonging to the middle class seemed to have difficulty mixing with the rest of groups, but they do not grumble or complain

CENSORED

In two of the camps there was no electricity at all. At one of the camps I met a highly educated woman, the wife of a government official, who could not make it by air to India and thus had to rough it out by boat. Her husband is in a Sri Lankan jail. Her discomfiture is noticeable as she and her sister and baby have to live with those they normally would have nothing to do with. It is a railway waiting-room kind of situation with those caring for privacy seeking the best corners.

Being refugees on dole they cannot seek employment in the town, and because they are folk who are no threat in the employment

Depressed by the tales of woe, though also uplifted by the hopeful disposition of many, we proceeded to Madurai. A visit to four of the camps in the Madurai districts revealed that most camps are situated in dilapidated Government buildings or disused Harijan colonies. Some of these camps are open and airy, others cramped and dingy. Most refugees complained about the shor-

NEVER SAY DIE

market, the local populace does not resent their presence. However, in the Rameshwaram area there have been occasions for heart-burning since some refugees not in the care of the Government and outside the camps have set up small businesses that cut into local markets. However, some questioning revealed they have quietly blended into the mosaic of life in the small town.

What seems to have been the root of the trouble was the hasty expulsion of the English language in the mid fifties by those in the vanguard of the "Sinhala First" movement. Thereafter Sinhala became the official language though Tamil was given equal accord as a language of education. As a consequence Sinhala learnt only Sinhalese and Tamilians with the exception of the scholarly type, confined themselves to Tamil with no link language such as the alien English to forge unity.

Thereafter the lines of demarcation deepened and the battlelines were drawn.

Religion was less of a problem. Buddhism, promulgated by Sinhalas was something the Tamilians who were largely Hindus could accept as the State religion without too much conflict because they consider Buddha an avatar of Vishnu.

CENSORED

Mr. Eelaventhana adds, "Incidentally, in India there is a tendency to compare the Punjab problem with that of the Sri Lankan Tamil problem."

CENSORED

On the language problem it is interesting to note that neighbouring Burma apprehending trouble, declared English to be the national link language. It seems an outlandish move, yet it is realistic. Mr. Jayewardene realizing Sri Lanka's earlier mistake attempted to reintroduce English after the conflict broke out

CENSORED

Next we visited Tiruchirapalli, the biggest settlement after Mandapam. At the Kottapettu camp here there are 225 families some of them staying since 1983 receiving a monthly dole from the Tamil Nadu Government. The Tiruchi camp like the Mandapam camp, was earlier meant for settling repatriates under the Srimavo-Shastri agreement, but now it is meant for refugees. There is a marked difference in the attitude

of refugees in this camp. While at Mandapam, there was an air of uncertainty, and in the smaller settlements a feeling of frustration, in Tiruchirapalli everybody seemed to have a resigned and even complacent attitude. As someone explained, "This is not surprising because they have been here in this place for long doing absolutely no work. The Government dole and recreation facilities have made them smug and almost non-enterprising. All in all, it is a disturbing though not hopeless situation."

Feelings of frustration and cynicism notwithstanding, most of the refugees are hoping against hope that the day will dawn they will be able to return and live in safety in Sri Lanka. One Tiruchirapalli refugee volunteered the opinion that, "There is much to complain. The quality of rice supplied leaves much to be desired, and the rations are sometimes postponed." He, however, quoted in Tamil a proverb the equivalent of which is that you cannot bite the hand that feeds you.

CENSORED

MISSING PEOPLE

Wanted, the whereabouts of the people listed below who went aboard the launch "Kumuthini" at Delft on 15th May and have been missing since then. Any information about them could be communicated to The Editor, SATURDAY REVIEW.

1. Gnanapragasam Devesagayampillai, Male, 41 years, attached to Highways Department, driver of boat of the Highways Department, Kurikkaduwan.
2. Sinnathamby Thillainathan, Male, 36 years, boat labourer, attached to Highways Department, Kurikkaduwan.
3. Kumaravelu Kanagalingam, Male, 36 years, boat labourer, attached to Highways Department, Kurikkaduwan.
4. A. Anthonipillai, Male 43 years, boat labourer, attached to Highway Department, Kurikkaduwan.
5. Namasivayagam Kandiah, Male, 47 years, C. T. B. driver, attached to C. T. B. Depot, Kondavil.
6. Sadayar Kovindar, Male, 47 years, C. T. B. Conductor, attached to C. T. B. Depot, Kondavil.
7. Thomman Nagandiram, Male, 26 years, labourer, residing at Delft Hospital, Delft.
8. Suyakin Jesudasan, Male, 52 years, Price Control Inspector, attached to Jaffna Kachcheri, residing at No.69, David Road, Jaffna.

9. Mutham Narivannan, Male, 14 years, student residing at Rajasingham Road, No. 72/42, Jaffna.
10. Sinnan Anthony, Male, 62 years, retired sanitary labourer, residing at Ward No. 12, Delft.
11. Pasupathy Nirmaladevi, Female, 18 years, student, residing at Delft.
12. Kandiah Sathasivam, Male, 58 years, retired teacher, residing at Ward No. 11, Delft.
13. Ariyanayagam Kusalakumari, Female, 24 years, housewife, residing at Vadaliaddaippu, Pandaitheruppu.
14. Ariyanayagam Anusiya, Female, 22 years, unemployed, residing at Vadaliaddaippu, Pandaitheruppu.
15. Pathinathar Mariammah, Female, 45 years, housewife, residing at Anna Road, Vasavilan, Palaly.
16. Pathinathar Nimilie, Female, 17 years, student residing at Anna Road, Vasavilan, Palaly.
17. Pathinathar Yogarajah, Male, 13 years, student, residing at Anna Road, Vasavilan, Palaly.
18. Pasupathy Sornammah, Female, 60 years, housewife, residing at Ward No. 2, Delft.
19. Velupillai Kandiah, Male, 44 years, Watcher at the Food Department, Delft, residing at Ward No. 3, Delft.
20. Gregory Paripooranam alias Elizabeth, Female, 60 years,

housewife, residing at Ward No. 8, Delft.

21. Tharmalingam Alalasundram, Male, 14 years, student, Ward No. 4, Delft.
22. Raman Murugan, Male, 57 years, labourer, residing at Ward No. 5, Delft.
23. Sebamalai Cristin, Female, 53 years, retired teacher, Ward No. 8, Delft.
24. Gnanapragasam Mariyamanikam, Female, 45 years, housewife, residing at Ward No. 10, Pungudutivu.
25. Ramanathar Kanagammah, Female, 55 years, housewife, Ward No. 3, Delft.
26. Tharmalingam Babu, Male, 14 years, student, residing at Ward No. 3, Delft.
27. Kumarasamy Vinayagammoorthy, Male 27 years, unemployed, residing at Ward No. 2, Delft.
28. Iyampillai Theivanaipillai, Female, 69 years, housewife, residing at Ward No. 4, Delft.
29. Velupillai Pusparani, Female, 61 years, retired teacher, residing at Ward No. 4, Delft.
30. Sebatheesu Rockesiyar Chandrakumar alias Ramy, Male, 20 years, student, residing at Ward No. 7, Delft.
31. Iyan Sinnaiah, Male, 28 years, labourer, residing at Delft.
32. Miss Visvalingam, Female, 8 months, residing at Ward No. 15, Delft.
33. Jesunayakam, Male 23 years, residing at St. Mariya Road, Myliddy.
34. Sasikala, Female, 2 years, of Muslim College Road, Jaffna.

Focus on Ethnic Minorities

"Ethnic minorities: recognition or suppression" is the theme that a Mexican expert will tackle, together with other international experts, at the 18th World Conference of the Society for International Development (SID), an independent non-governmental organisation.

The Mexican, Mr. Rodolfo Stavenhagen, is the world famous sociologist and a consultant to the United Nations.

Mr. Stavenhagen said in an interview with the Inter-Press Service that the cultural identity of the ethnic minorities, generally discriminated and persecuted in the world, had to be taken into consideration in the development process and programmes of countries.

"For a long time, development has been considered only as transfer of capitals, technologies and other material goods, while the cultural problem has been neglected, generating in this way strong conflicts in the religious, racial and linguistic field.

"This is a very serious problem, and above all very complex. It involves Tamils in Sri Lanka, Muslims and Sikhs in India, Kurds in Western Asia, Basques in Spain, Catholics in Northern Ireland, Eritreans in Ethiopia, Black Africans in Sudan, and about 400 ethnic indigenous groups out of 30 million in Latin America."

HAND BACK CENTRE!

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Apropos the article, "The Irrigation of the Jaffna Peninsula" by Dr. R. W. C. Thambiah in the Saturday Review of 11-5-85, I wish to add mine regarding the Vadamarachy Lagoon as one of the founder members of the Thondamanaru School Science Field-work Centre.

The above Field-work Centre was founded about sixteen years ago by a band of devoted Science teachers who felt the need for a hydro-biological survey of the Jaffna Lagoon and the urgency of initiating School children of O. L. and A. L. classes in research projects at School level and with science equipment and laboratory material that we were fortunate enough to obtain from International bodies and the Ministry of Education, Colombo. We collected funds from various quarters, supplemented with donations from science teachers and put up the present buildings complex, purchased valuable books, periodicals etc. and sophisticated science equipment.

Seminars and workshops were conducted periodically, apart from other fields of work, and reports and bulletins were issued. Work carried on in the Centre was appreciated and encouraged by University Professors, Science Institutions and Foundations beyond Sri Lanka. Flora and Fauna of the Thondamanaru Lagoon were studied, salinity of the lagoon constantly monitored, prawn and beche-de-mer breeding assiduously studied and reports published.

Unfortunately, many valuable science equipment and documents were robbed by some unknown persons and ultimately the Centre was taken over by the Government. Hence, the work of this Institution has almost ceased except conducting Science examinations for A. L. Students.

We earnestly appeal to those who were responsible for removing the valuable science equipment and data files to return them intact to the Centre and the Government to hand over the Field Work Centre buildings to the Society that is running it. Work in the Centre should continue without a break, not only to help school students in the field of research, but also to study the overall effect of making Jaffna Lagoons Systems into a freshwater lake.

P. P. Sabharatnam
Chankanai Principal

BANDUNG '55 AND SARC

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

In early April Mr. Esmond Wickremasinghe who was unofficial advisor to the late Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawela, at Bogor and Bandung wrote an article on the 30th Anniversary of the historic Bandung Conference and Sir John's role there and going by the number of the newspapers in which it was published, Mr. Wickremasinghe must have attached some importance to that document.

Mr. Esmond Wickremasinghe rates Sir John's contribution high. He says:- "Sir John as Prime Minister of Sri Lanka then, played a significant part personally at the Afro-Asian Conference of Bandung in April 1955. Bandung (1955) sounded the death-knell of western colonialism. It exists no more".

Mr. Denzil Peiris who then jointly with Mr. Tarzie Vittachi, edited the Lake House monthly 'The Jana', wrote in the South (April 1975) one of his last pieces before he passed away:-

"Although Sri Lanka was a mid-wife who assisted in the delivery of the notion of collective action by the Third World, it came close to wrecking the Bandung Conference by an irresponsible projection of domestic politics into this international forum. It was also a demonstration of the vanity of politicians".

He goes on: "An unofficial advisor to the Sri Lanka delegation regarded the Bandung Conference as a platform for Prime Minister Kotelawala for the General Elections to be held soon. He was cast as an anti-communist crusader. This would grab Kotelawala "World headlines" and build up his image as a world leader. This was the temptation which induced the Prime Minister, and against his awareness that his speech would disrupt a conference that was binding the Third World countries together, to deliver a strident speech. It required the adroit diplomacy of India's Foreign Minister D. K. Krishna Menon, to extricate the conference from deadlock after two days of procedural wrangling".

That was the Ceylon delegation's contribution to the success of the Bandung conference!

In this context the exhortation of Mr. Esmond Wickremasinghe that "if these principles of Bandung 1955 are not reaffirmed at Bandung 1985, then Bandung 1985 could well be

the funeral of Bandung 1955" sounds empty.

I am writing this note because there appears to have emerged again the spirit of Bandung as evidenced by our "doings" on a purely regional issue like the SARC. I hope I am wrong.

V. H. FERNANDO

Moratuwa

CRICKET SCHOLS

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

According to newspaper reports the Sri Lanka Cricket Foundation has decided recently to award scholarships for talented school cricketers (under 15) in Colombo and the suburbs.

The Ceylon Teachers Union requests the Sri Lanka Cricket Foundation to restrict these scholarships only to those schools which do not have facilities or privileges to provide the students a chance to have cricket practice or take to cricket.

LETTERS

The C. T. U. believes that the Sri Lanka Cricket Foundation should award these scholarships only to poor schools throughout the island.

Throughout the island there are only about 80 odd schools who play cricket in Sri Lanka. Among these schools there is a group of schools which are privileged and possess almost all facilities. But in the other remaining schools, teachers and parents are not in a position to provide even the barest minimum facilities.

Therefore we request the Sri Lanka Cricket Foundation to grant financial and materials' aid to this category of schools. These types of schools are found in every district where cricket is played.

H. N. Fernando
General Secretary, CTU

Colombo.

WHO'S THE FOOL?

Editor

SATURDAY REVIEW

Please don't send your bloody "Tiger" paper to my husband and other Sinhalese people.

My husband is still harbouring and safeguarding many Tamils. He is a real fool. Your Paper is a Pack of all lies. You say

you are only fighting the security forces and are very friendly with the Sinhalese people. The recent brutal killing of hundreds of Sinhalese people at Anuradhapura is ample evidence to show how friendly you are with the Sinhalese people.

Colombo 7. Mrs. Sunethra

Note by Editor: I think you are a bigger fool for not divorcing your husband.

HIGHLY AMUSED

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

I am highly amused by the appeal put forward by the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front in your journal of 27th April.

Firstly, before I write anything further, the words "Eelam" and "Tigers" stink to all communities in the South, whether capitalist or socialist.

I am a public servant and senior member of the General Clerical Service and have considerable experience in trade union work and other activities of the same nature. The records of trade unions in Sri Lanka will show that the Tamils have segregated themselves in a communal trade union and wedged us in all our struggles, holding a brief to successive governments in power. This is enough of a bitter lesson for the other communities and now what is this nonsensical call to other communities to fight for the cause of the Eelamists? They are asking too much from the other communities, especially the Sinhalese. Most probably they have got stuck; hence this desperate call.

Please convey this to the EPRLF and make it call off its bluff. But what I would suggest is that if the EPRLF is claiming to be a Marxist party, why not contact the other left parties in the South and have a dialogue with them and appeal to the progressives of the country for any joint action that will be appropriate for the time. This would have more effect than writing through your communal organ and conveying their cock-eyed ideas.

A. B. de Silva

Calombo. 4.

Note by Editor:

It is heartening to note that more and more people in the South are reading the S. R. despite its alleged communal overtones.

A LETTER TO THE LEFT FRONT

General Secretary,
Communist Party of Sri Lanka,
Sri Lanka Mahajana Party,
Lanka Samasamaja Party.

Dear Comrade,

I draw your attention to my letters dated 10th March and 18th May 1985 addressed to you.

President J. R. Jayewardene has threatened to unleash violent repression against all persons who would refuse to collaborate with him. He has been compelled to make such a statement undoubtedly because he has become partisan towards the rightist conspiracy. Simultaneously, on his orders, members of the proscribed JVP allegedly connected with the '71 insurrection have been arrested. Also we are aware that several members of the Communist Party as well as the SLMP, too, are under arrest.

At the same time he has announced his intention to give wide executive powers to the Members of Parliament to curb "terrorism" in their respective areas.

In the circumstances therefore, the question of facing the situation unitedly has arisen more so than ever.

Both in the South and in the North it is obvious that murderous, unscrupulous gangs have come on to the streets killing innocent civilians. We are of the view that the killing of workers and peasants in cold blood (whatever the race or creed they belong to) whether it be in the North or the South, can serve no purpose other than those of the rightist conspirators. Today the people in the North as well as in the South have lost all hopes in the administration of the Government. The majority of the people have now come to the point of realising

that they have to safeguard themselves. In facing this problem, too, united action is required.

Though the capitalist leadership of the SLFP suggested the initiation of an agitation calling to "end terrorism and build a strong Government" it is obvious that today they have moved away from confronting the Government and would soon become collaborators with the Government on the pretext of working together to eliminate "terrorism".

In the circumstances, it is the left leadership that should take upon the task of mobilising the masses, drawing together all other sections opposed to the government.

In order to face the challenge of Government repression and face the "killer gangs" bent towards human massacres it is necessary to mobilise the people in work places and in all areas all over the country.

It is proposed to set up committees to carry out the above task through trade unions in work places and through political affiliation in the areas. Further, by convening a delegates conference from such committees it will be possible to mobilise an organised working class force who would be sensitive to the existing repressive conditions.

In the areas it would be possible for left parties to set up people's committees via their youth and student leagues having similar intentions. To these people's committees we should admit area leaders who are opposed to repression and massacre of innocent civilians by "killer-gangs".

In this manner it would be possible to awaken and mobilise the masses in the work places as well as in each locality and advance forward to face up the rightist conspiracies.

Sgd. Vickramabahu Karunaratne
(General Secretary -
Nava Sama Samaja Party)

APPRECIATION

S. SIVASUBRAMANIAM

The death of Mr. S. Sivasubramaniam, Attorney-at-Law, at the ripe old age of over four score and five years has removed from the Sri Lankan scene a person of humble nature and noble quality.

By profession he was a Proctor of the Supreme Court, had enjoyed the confidence and had the respect of his Counsels, clients, the Court and also of the Counsels and Proctors on the opposite side. He was honest in all his dealings and courteous in every word and deed.

He had a wide circle of friends among all sections and communities of Sri Lanka and was loved and respected by them. He also had intimate contacts with many eminent men of India. Yet he was very humble in conduct, courteous in his speech and simple in his ways of living.

He practised his religion well but was tolerant of other religions and was always a participant and often convener of many inter-religious and inter-racial conferences.

He contributed prodigiously to the Press on social, religious and

political subjects always endeavouring to bring about understanding and tolerance among all the people and trying to elevate the thinking and actions of the people. He once told me that about 80 per cent of what he wrote to the Press went unpublished.

In 1974 when Fr. (Dr.) H. S. David, a linguist and etymologist who knew more than 30 languages, was in Colombo editing Part IV of his Lexicon, he visited Mr. Sivasubramaniam on his usual evening walks one day. I was accompanying him that day. No sooner Mr. Sivasubramaniam saw Fr. David entering his room, he got up from his seat, came forward and fell down on the ground before Fr. David, touched the earth in front of Fr. David with his palms and got up and saluted him with folded hands. It took Fr. David and me by surprise. I asked Mr. Sivasubramaniam "(Sir), why did you do that?" His reply was 'He is an ocean of knowledge'. That showed how truly he respected learning.

His two sons, twins, Ambalavaner, Attorney-at-Law and Kathiravelupillai, Attorney-at-Law and M. P., each prominent in his own sphere, predeceased him. His wife too had predeceased him. He died leaving his two daughters, Mrs. Valli Shanmuganayagam and Thaiyal in grateful remembrance of their father who had lived on this earth for over four score and five years, loved and respected by a large section of the people of this country.

— ARUL

Disarmament: Can Superpowers "Stay The Course"?

BY ANIL SINGH — MOLARES

NEW YORK:

If the Soviet Union and the United States cannot be swayed by moral arguments to end the arms race, they will have to learn the lesson the hard way through the economic pressures of military spending, says a top disarmament specialist.

Neither the U.S. nor the U.S.S.R. have the money necessary to continue the arms race on its present scale, asserted Inga Thorsson, a former Swedish Secretary of State and chairman of a U.N. group of experts on disarmament in an interview with Inter-Press Service.

She called U.S. President Ronald Reagan's recent remarks that the U.S. economy could "stay the course" in the face of rising military outlays an "absurdity".

Thorsson was at the United Nations recently for a two-day symposium entitled "Survival in the Nuclear Age", which was attended by former heads of government Willy Brandt (West Germany), Bruno Kreisky (Austria), Jorge Illueca (Panama), Carlos Andres Perez (Venezuela) and Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria).

As things stand now, the U.S. with its 220 Billion Dollar deficit, was the world's largest debtor, Thorsson said, adding that the situation in the Soviet Union was not much better.

Military expenditures will continue to weigh down the super-

powers' economies. As a result public opinion would soon swing 'quite drastically and rapidly' in favour of disarmament.

"But many other factors were involved in the disarmament process. Economic hardships, while quite important, had to be accompanied by simultaneous changes in public and government perceptions of 'development' and 'security'."

"Disarmament, development and security formed an inseparable triangular relationship, and thus had to be treated simultaneously."

The superpowers maintain an "outdated concept of security", she charged. A more adequate definition of global security would imply a fundamental recognition that militarisation efforts "detract from the welfare of citizens in all cases, whether in developed or developing nations".

'JR To Blame'

The Times, London, said editorially on 24th May that "A large share of the blame for the present near-hopeless state of communal relations in Sri Lanka must lie with the Jayewardene Government".

"If the Jayewardene Government is to escape further blame for its handling of the problem it will have to turn with the tide, against a military solution. The President already has a lot to answer for."

All's Well in TOEFL

When You Score Well!

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VICTOR S. KIRUPARAJ
23, 3rd Cross Street,
JAFFNA.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

NORTHERN PRINCIPALS PROTEST

The Northern Province Principals' Association has made representations to President Jayewardene about the "grave incidents" in the Northern, Eastern and North Central Provinces.

The following is the text of the Association's letter:—

We the members of the Northern Province Principals' Association beg to bring to your immediate notice and consideration the following:

We deplore strongly the following incidents that have taken place very recently in the country which are of much anxiety and concern to us as Principals as well as Parents and citizens in the North.

Some of the grave incidents are as follows:

CENSORED

Consequently we find it difficult to run our schools smoothly. Security of students and their movement between the Homes and the Schools is not guaranteed. As a result there is an undesirable migration of the so-called eligible students abroad. There is also a severe drop in attendance at our schools.

Needless to state all these woes add to the list of difficulties that are confronted by us in our schools.

We, therefore, appeal to Your Excellency to intervene personally with expeditious measures to halt this unforeseen and unfortunate menace and restore normalcy in our schools and their environments.

K. Arunasalam
President

STILL SINHALA ONLY!

Tamil was afforded the status of a "National Language" under the 1978 Constitution.

Thereafter, the United National Party Government was able to crow that it had granted "a major concession" to the Tamil people, something not done by any previous Government.

But how about the implementation of this constitutional provision?

Most state institutions pay scant respect to this provision, judging by the fact they still send letters and notices to residents in the North in **SINHALA ONLY**. There is not even an English translation.

Among other state institutions, the Defence Ministry, the Immigration and Emigration Department, the Pensions Department, the Employees Provident Fund and now, even the Press Council of Sri Lanka say it in **SINHALA ONLY**.

In the British colonial days, it was **ENGLISH ONLY**. Those not proficient in the alien language had to run after interpreters and translators.

Nearly 40 years after independence, the Tamil people are still forced to seek the aid of interpreters and translators—though of a different variety.

Appeal to Meg

The Council of Public Affairs, Jaffna, has appealed to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher not to make the life of the Tamils who seek entry to Britain more miserable but to help them on humanitarian grounds.

NOW—KID-GLOVE TREATMENT

Brigadier Hamilton Wanasinghe, Co-ordinating Officer(North)told a Press Conference on 18th June that some of the stringent security measures now in force in the North have been relaxed with immediate effect, thus making life a little easier for the people in Jaffna.

The relaxations he announced at the Conference held at the military headquarters in the Jaffna Fort are:

- ★ There will be no checking by the security forces at any point except the Elephant Pass Barrier.
- ★ Deep-sea fishing will be permitted up to a limit of three miles.
- ★ Security forces will not carry out any checks of the ferry and launch services in the islands.
- ★ Coastal bus services will be permitted to resume in the prohibited zones.
- ★ The movements of the security forces will be restricted. There will be no daytime patrolling.

But they may move out of their barracks to follow up vital tip-offs.

- ★ There will be no troops in the vicinity of the Nainativu Temple when the Festival is on.
- ★ The green light has been given for the repair of roads.

Questioned about the lifting of the curfew, the Brigadier said no decision has been taken yet. He also denied that there was any immediate plan to shift the present army camps and concentrate the forces at Palaly.

'For these small reliefs much thanks, Brigadier' is the general, initial reaction of the people.

Back on the Rails

Rail services to the North will be resumed tomorrow (23rd June), after a lapse of several months.

Railway Department sources said the Trincomalee and Batticaloa train services will be resumed next week.

The trains that will run between Colombo Fort and Kankesanthurai are the Yal Devi, the mail train and fuel trains. There will also be short-distance trains running between KKS and Pallai, as before.

INDO — CEYLON FERRY

The Indo-Ceylon Ferry service between Talaimannar and Rameshwaram will start plying once again from 15th July.

EXODUS HITS JAFFNA HOSPITAL

The General Hospital of Jaffna is experiencing a severe shortage of doctors and nurses as a result of the exodus to foreign countries.

The hospital has also been affected by the present fuel shortage in Jaffna so that hospital vehicles have been unable to move about even for emergencies. Recently, the Medical Superintendent had to borrow some petrol from the Army Camp for an emergency.

These matters were highlighted at the last meeting of the Hospital Committee.

'A MEANINGFUL STEP' — AMIR

The Secretary-General of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), A. Amirthalingam, has described the truce announced by the Sri Lanka Government on 18th June as "a meaningful step".

He said he believed this would definitely help a negotiated settlement of Sri Lanka's ethnic problem.

Mr. Amirthalingam emphasised that it was imperative that steps be taken to ensure the participation of militant Tamil youth leaders in these discussions.

'BYE, 'BYE POTHOLES

Road repairs in Jaffna will get under full swing from Monday 24th June, Jaffna Municipal Commissioner C.V.K. Sivagnanam, announced after a meeting with the Co-ordinating Officer, Brigadier H. Wanasinghe.

The Commissioner has appealed for the return of the 4 tractors taken away from the Jaffna Municipality some time back by unknown persons, as these are urgently needed for the repair work.

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