

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 4 No. 16

6th July 1985

ALL EYES ON BHUTAN

The next week is bound to be decisive in the relations between the Sinhalese and the Tamil people of Sri Lanka.

For the first time in the ten-year-old undeclared war between the two peoples, representatives of the Sinhalese-dominated United National Party led by President Jayewardene will sit together with representatives of 'The Tigers'.

Not only to talk but also to dine together! "Invite the Tigers to the Table" we said in the SATURDAY REVIEW of 29th Sept. 1984.

At last they have been invited - thanks to the good offices of India.

Now that the two parties have come together, what next?

The talks in the Bhutan capital of Thimpu are said to be "exploratory".

Explorations are necessary in unexplored territory.

But the ethnic problem has been explored to the core by so many people for so long that little remains to be discovered.

Except the naked truth.

And the naked truth?

We would have wished that the Thimpu talks were at a higher level of representation.

But that is a detail, compared to the issues at stake. What matters is that a dialogue has begun.

The next stage is for a "ministerial level" meeting, followed by the coming together of the President and The Tiger leaders.

There is no time for procrastination and delay - because enough time has been lost already.

Now it is time for both sides to lay their cards on the table.

The Boys must state the maximum they expect and the minimum they are willing to settle for.

There are no excuses for either side to let this opportunity—a golden opportunity—go by.

For millions of lives are at stake, from both sides.

The basic question is this: Are we going back to the Middle Ages when the Sinhalese people pushed the Tamil people to the northernmost extremity of Sri Lanka when they were powerful and united or get pushed back to the southernmost extremity as during King Vasabha's time when the Tamil people held the whip-hand?

Or, are we going to march and march together, shoulder to shoulder — into the 21st century?

The leaders on both sides have to decide. Let it be a wise decision.

We salute The Boys who have made so many sacrifices on behalf of their community.

We hope their leaders will be able to meet their adversaries in equal fervour and combativeness in hammering out a settlement.

We hope, we hope.....

MR. CENSOR

We are waiting — and still waiting — for you to finish the cutting and chopping of material intended for this issue of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

The most we will say is that you are very unkind.

Please have a heart and co-operate with us to ensure that we do not let down our dear Readers.

S.R. Noticed By PRESS COUNCIL

Why are the authorities so afraid of a small newspaper like the SATURDAY REVIEW published from a regional centre?

If they are not afraid, then why try to stifle the publication under cover of Emergency Regulations?

Since April, we are required to send all material intended for publication in the S.R. to Colombo for censorship.

We are not aware of any newspaper in the world which had been subjected to censorship from 250 miles away from its base of operation. Not even under conditions of war.

For us, the last few weeks have been frustrating because our efforts to get into print what is actually happening in Jaffna have been thwarted by the rigid censorship imposed on us from Colombo.

For instance, we were required to send a printed copy of the 1st June 1985 issue all the way to Colombo for re-censorship before release. It had already been approved by the Government Agent of Jaffna but this was apparently not good enough for the Competent Authority. The issue finally came out seven days later, upsetting our printing schedules and forcing us to skip one issue.

The special censorship imposed on us is a clear case of discrimination because no other newspaper in Sri Lanka is subject to this condition.

There is a Press Council one of whose functions is to ensure the freedom of the Press, enshrined in Article 14 of the Constitution of Sri Lanka. But as far as we are aware, it has not bothered to find out how the S.R. continues to survive.

On the contrary, the Council has now decided to take us to task for publishing the line "The only Government-censored newspaper in Sri Lanka" in our issue of 4th May 1985, according to a notice served on the Editor, Publisher, Printer and Proprietor of the S.R.

The original notice, summoning the four parties concerned to be present in Colombo for an inquiry on 28th June 1985, was in Sinhala Only. We returned it asking for a Tamil or English translation.

Now the notice has been re-issued in Sinhala with an English translation. Again no Tamil.

We shall be there on 26th July 1985 to answer the charge—provided the transport services remain normal.

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— Thiruvalluvar



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TRINCO OIL DEAL FIZZLES OUT

The contract for the 'oil tank farm' at Trincomalee fizzled out yesterday (30th June) when the dummy firms fronting for the U.S. Navy did not complete the required legal formalities by June 30.

This was the second occasion that the contract, awarded by the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation, for this project fell through as a result of strong protest, both at home and abroad, that the deal was not a genuine commercial one but a cover for providing the U.S. Sixth Fleet with re-fuelling and storage facilities at Trincomalee.

The first contract, awarded to the U.S. firm COASTAL CORPORATION, fell through when the firm's connections with the U.S. Navy were exposed. The second deal, in which the two main promoters of the original COASTAL tender formed separate new companies to join a tripartite consortium and tender under a new guise, was also exposed.

It collapsed when the third party refused to go along with the questionable deal and the dummy companies fought each other.

FORWARD was one of the first newspapers to expose these dirty tricks, which received the blessing of the U.N.P. Cabinet. The government hoped that it could persuade the Reagan administration to increase its economic assistance to Sri Lanka in return.

President Jayewardene admitted this in an interview with a foreign journal. President Reagan and several of his aides publicly thanked the UNP government for the help given.

Later the U. S. cooled on the deal, when it obtained re-fuelling facilities for its navy in other Sri Lanka ports.

The shift in US tactics towards India which had opposed this Trincomalee exercise vigorously, after Rajiv Gandhi became Prime Minister also contributed to this loss of interest.

The fizzling out of the Trincomalee deal will remove a major cause of friction between India and Sri Lanka, which the former correctly saw as a direct threat to her security.

If the government, as it now claims, wants to mend fences with India, whose co-operation in bringing about the ethnic ceasefire is highly praised, it should follow up by cancelling the lease given to VOA to set up its biggest radio transmitter station outside the USA.

Apart from being a powerful vehicle for subversion and ideological aggression against India and other countries of the region that follow an independent policy in foreign and local affairs, India's official and unofficial spokesmen have said that the new VOA transmitter station can jam and otherwise interfere with its entire system of telecommunication and signals.

Patriotic forces in Sri Lanka and those who want to see Indo-Sri Lanka relations normalised and strengthened are intensifying their campaign to have the new VOA project stopped. Acquired for VOA by the SLBC, the 1,000 acres for the project have also run into legal snarls that are still not sorted out.

(Courtesy: FORWARD, 1st July 1985)

FROM INDIA—WITH LOVE

Over 7,800 books on subjects ranging from Tamil classics, modern literature, culture, Indian Philosophy and music to economic history, social and physical sciences, management, agriculture and industry in Tamil and English languages were presented by the High Commissioner of India, Mr. J. N. Dixit to the Municipal Commissioner of Jaffna, Mr. C. V. K. Sivagnanam on 25th June at the Indian High Commission in Colombo. These books worth nearly Rs. 3 lakhs, have been gifted by the Tamil Nadu Government through the Government of India for the Jaffna Public Library, which was partially destroyed by fire in June 1981 and has not been renovated.

The books which were received in 1983, could not be presented earlier due to disturbed conditions in the area.

This collection of books is the first instalment for the Jaffna Public Library out of the Rs. 1.125 million worth of books earmarked by the Tamil Nadu Government.

At the presentation ceremony, the High Commissioner identified the background against which the presentation of books to the Jaffna Public Library had been possible at this juncture. He said

that the presentation symbolised the "new beginning" that had been made in the quest for peace in Sri Lanka as also return to normalcy which was the aim of the process.

He hoped that the process would continue and be successful. There was a cessation of hostile acts or cease-fire — whatever name be given to it — and the fact remained that there has been a defusion of violence. The restoration and renovation of the Jaffna Public Library and the installation of those books there would, he hoped, enable young people whether Tamil, Sinhala, Muslim or Christian to read, think and act with understanding, good-will and harmony.

Mr. Sivagnanam in his reply expressed his deep gratitude on behalf of the Municipal Council and people of Jaffna, who, he said, was deeply indebted and thankful to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and the Government of India, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran and the Government of Tamil Nadu, as well as the late Srimathi Indira Gandhi for the gift of these books, which, he said, would assist in the restoration of normalcy which was under way in Jaffna.

COORDINATING COMMITTEE URGES RELIEF MEASURES

The Co-ordinating Committee of Displaced Employees, Jaffna, has appealed to President Jayewardene to consider the payment of compensation to the dependents of those who died whilst on duty at Anuradhapura.

The Committee has also urged the following relief measures for those affected by the recent incidents in Anuradhapura: Payment of compensation to the dependents of those killed; equitable compensation to all those affected; special leave to all the personnel who were unable to report for work in the Anuradhapura District; security and accommodation for those who had lost everything and have no accommodation in Anuradhapura, or in the alternative transfers to home areas; assistance to the self-employed to rehabilitate themselves afresh; expediting the issue of death certificates to the next of kin of those killed.

FINAL TOMORROW

Centralites Sports Club and Mallakam Sports Club will play the final match of the Soft Ball Cricket Tournament tomorrow (7th July) at the Jaffna Central College Grounds.

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STATE TERRORISM

ON A GLOBAL SCALE: THE ROLE OF ISRAEL — 5

(Continued from last issue)

The official reasons given for Israel's role in Third World countries are just that—official explanations. Economic reasons do not explain Israel's activities—counter insurgency advice and training, a dimension of considerable importance in Israel's role in many countries, falls outside of the scope of "arms business." It is political in nature. Political reasons, breaking through the isolation imposed by Arab countries, fall short because the pattern of Israel's relations confirms rather than breaks through this isolation. In addition, the governments that receive Israeli security assistance are almost invariably of the right-wing Western bloc variety (with Ethiopia, the People's Republic of China, and Iran as exceptions). Clearly, the most pertinent explanation of Israel's role in the Third World is that of Israel as a client serving U.S. imperial interests. Yet this is too simplistic if the complexities of the relationship between Israel and the U.S. are taken into account. Israel's strategy in relation to Third World countries must be considered, then both in the light of the relationship between Israel and the United States, and of the regional dynamics of the Middle East.

Israel's strategy appears to be to maximize its regional gains, in exchange for participation in the U.S. collective security system. On the part of the U.S. this requires recognition of Israel's legitimate security interests. However, what Israel's legitimate security interests consist of is ambiguous and subject to continual renegotiation amidst shifting constellations of forces. It may include part of the West Bank. It might refer to "Eretz Israel," including the West Bank and Golan Heights. It might include southern Lebanon, or it might range "from the Euphrates to the Nile." On the other hand, Eretz Israel may be a concept for domestic consumption, a platform for a regional "strategy of tension." A "Greater Israel" need not necessarily carry a strictly territorial meaning, especially in view of the implications of bringing 1.3 million Palestinians into a Jewish state, a dilemma that Labor politicians are well aware of. Presently Likud is more identified with a territorial definition of Israeli objectives, and Labor more with a political definition. A "Greater Israel" may also mean Israel as a "great power," on the basis of regional strength.

The mainstay of Israel's aspirations to power is its military industry.

According to Professor Aharon Klevman of the Tel Aviv University Center for Strategic Studies, "The arms industry of Israel is based on the interests of a powerful lobby of the heads of the defense and industrial establishment, including the Histadrut (trade union) industry. They identify their specific interests with the interests of the state. A common military history strengthens their tendency to judge policy according to immediate results; they are pragmatic and tend to be cynical at what seem to them to be false moral norms. Among them is Shimon Peres, leader of Labor, a driving force in building Israel's arms industry, founder of Israel Aircraft Industry and Tadiran, and an architect of Israel's nuclear capability.

technology, and finance, although on other hand, South Africa has been known to get by.

With the theme of the "Soviet threat" coming to the foreground and the "Arab threat" fading into the back ground, Israel's strategic planning loses its "pragmatic" character and even its character of "national defense", and becomes strongly ideologized instead. This ideological commitment comes out, for instance, in the offer of captured PLO weapons to Central American armies free of charge, a gesture that falls outside the purview of military business as well as national defense. It comes out when Sharon talks about Israel as a middle military power that must play a role in the global conflict between the free

By

Jan Pieterse

Israel's arms exports represent 40% of export revenues (in 1980), and the military industry occupies 14%, and according to a more recent estimate, 20% of Israel's labor force, i.e., one out of every five workers. Thus formidable economic stakes are also tied up with the military business. For the country with by far the world's highest per capita foreign debt, 4 million people owing \$25 billion abroad, a 400% inflation rate and a stagnant GNP, the economic dimension is by no means unimportant.

Israel's military-industrial complex is linked, on the one hand, to the U.S. military-industrial complex, and on the other, to South Africa and Taiwan. Decades of dependence on the U.S. have now put Israel in a position where, it has a limited degree of autonomy. Israel has also developed a global network of right-wing connections that might give Israel, if not some autonomy, then leverage, in case of a shift in U.S. foreign policy. It is here that the alliance with South Africa and Taiwan comes in—both are countries with considerable industrial capacity, and whose elites are covering themselves against the same contingency for reasons of their own. Israel, as part of a league of "parish nations," and the vanguard of a transnational ultra-right-wing pressure group—with a grip on strategically sensitive areas and with nuclear capabilities—is thus one possible scenario. A related scenario is that of Israel as a "wild card" (as in Sharon's idea that Israel should behave as an unpredictable, "crazy country") Such a "pariah league" would be vulnerable notably in terms of oil supplies, foreign trade,

capitalist West and the communist world. Israeli military planning has thus entered the twilight zone of superpower ideology.

Given the overwhelming and increasing importance of the military in government and industry in Israel and the United States, leading circles in the U.S. and Israel have begun to live off the "Soviet threat". In the United States, it is the royal road towards re-establishing U.S. hegemony through leadership of the collective security system. In Israel, it is the only justification for the sustained militarization of the society in the absence of a military threat coming from the PLO or Arab nations. It is a reorientation of strategy that is the logical sequel to Lebanon, the only way out of a "Lebanon syndrome." As in the case of the U.S., it serves as a justification for activities in Third World countries that are repugnant from any other point of view. If the outcomes of all conflicts throughout the world, domestic and regional are translated into "loss" or "gain" from a superpower point of view, then dirty work may pass for noble calling. In such an ideologized comic book version of global relations, simple concerns such as social justice dwindle to insignificance because reality itself is no longer an issue in a perspective that is concerned only with power. The Israeli interest in serving as an offshore affiliate of the American New Right is that it diverts attention from the Palestinian question, and because, under the umbrella of "collective security" Israel can elaborate its own aspirations to power.

Strategies followed in Central America, the Middle East, and southern Africa are so many carbon copies of one another that it is difficult to identify the original, U.S., Israeli and South African strategies resemble each other so closely in objectives, tactics, and material, that they may be considered as constituting one pool of imperialist and counterinsurgency expertise and technology. With Israelis active in Southern Africa, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and the borders of Nicaragua, South Africans in Israel, Taiwanese in Guatemala, and so forth, it's a small world. Part of this imperial pool one might call the "portable West Bank. If British strategies in Northern Ireland are taken into account, one may include Britain in this pool as part of the expertise that is percolating within the system. This imperial pool is a dimension of the collective security system led by the United States. Hence it includes Western Europe through NATO, Japan and allied Southeast Asian countries, ANZUS and the OAS. In other words, Israel's activities in Third World countries, on the fringes of the U.S. collective security system, are in fact being undertaken as an intermediary on behalf of the "Western World."

QUESTIONS

After all this we wonder, "Why are we not loved?" and blame "anti-Semitism" or "Arab money" instead of asking ourselves what are we doing to the world.

— Israel Shahak

You shall not oppress a stranger, you know the heart of a stranger, for you were strangers in Egypt.

— Exodus 23:9

Up to the 15th century, Jews in Spain and Portugal formed a bridge between Islam and Christianity in a creative confluence of cultures. After all, Judaism is at the root of both. At the end of the 19th century, however, Theodor Herzl described the "Jewish state" as "a portion of the rampart of Europe against Asia an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism." During the *galut* or exile, Jews an Oriental people by origin, had become a European people by acculturation. While in the 11th century nearly 96% of world Jewry was Sephardic by 1930 the trend had completely reversed and 92% of world Jewry was Ashkenazic. Thus they returned from the Diaspora a different people than when they had left. They returned to the Orient with European ignorance and contempt, with a Crusader outlook, with European traumas.

(To be continued)

It is my pleasurable task to express on behalf of the International Commission of Jurists our joy and profound gratitude for the award of this distinguished prize.

Our work, as a lawyer's organisation, has concentrated on the promotion of the Rule of law and the legal protection of human rights. The recognition by this award of the link between peace and human rights under the Rule of Law is, therefore, particularly gratifying to us.

I would like to share with you some reflections upon the link between human rights and peace. This is a somewhat neglected subject. Let us hope that next year, 1986, dedicated by the United Nations to peace, will see some evolution of thought and action in this field.

Forgive me if I now speak undiplomatic directness. It is a habit and perhaps the role of non-governmental organisations to do so.

There are several dimensions to the relationship between peace and human rights.

First, and most obviously, every act or threat of military aggression is a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, is a crime against humanity, and is a gross violation of the most fundamental of all human rights, the right to life.

In the United Nations, as well as in regional inter-governmental organisations, there exist international procedures for enquiry into gross violations of human rights, but no one has yet thought fit to present complaints, or as they are usually called, 'communications', relating to acts of aggression. We are still a long, long way from the Rule of Law in international affairs. The International Court of Justice is now seized of a complaint by Nicaragua against the United States for the mining of its principal port but no one has brought before the World Court the invasion of Iran by Iraq, of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union, of Israel's bombing of the nuclear plant in Iraq or its invasion of the Lebanon, of the invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnam, of Uganda by Tanzania or of Grenada by the United States, to quote only some examples.

AGONISING QUESTION

These last three pose an agonising question-how can the international community come legitimately to the assistance of a people whose basic human rights and fundamental freedom are being grossly violated by a tyrannical government which has seized power by force and has itself

HUMAN RIGHTS AND PEACE: A NEGLECTED SUBJECT

little, if any, legitimacy. The fact that we have no answer to this question illustrates the anarchic nature of the world of sovereign nation states in which we live. The solution must surely lie in some form of legitimate international action rather than in self-appointed unilateral intervention.

Another variant of this type of intervention is the assistant given to dissident forces operating from a neighbouring country and seeking to overthrow the regime in their own country. In the view of some international lawyers such support is legitimate only when given to liberation forces recognised as such by the United Nations, such as those seeking to liberate Southern Africa from its racist apartheid regimes.

At times rebel forces do have recourse to terrorist methods, striking not at the forces or representatives of the government they wish to overthrow, but striking indiscriminately at civilians, seeking to sow terror in the hearts and minds of the population at large. Terrorism is a particularly heinous and gross violation of human rights, and terrorists have done untold damage to the cause of human rights. They have often led to reactionary governments, frequently military governments, which suppress all human rights in their efforts to overcome the terrorism. This is of little concern to the terrorists, who tend to regard human rights as a bourgeois facade to a regime they seek to overthrow. They seldom succeed in overthrowing the regime by these methods, but they often succeed in destroying what they consider to be its bourgeois facade.

The International Commission of Jurists was awarded the Wateler Peace Prize on 16th January 1985.

The prize is awarded to a person or institution having "rendered valuable service to the cause of peace" or contributing to the means of combating war.

The following is an extract from the speech made by Niall Mac Dermot, ICJ Secretary-General, on the occasion.

Another dimension of the relationship between human rights and peace appears when violations of human rights provoke internal armed conflicts, or conflicts which begin as internal and later spill over to become international, as in Central America. Such conflicts frequently, if not usually, result from gross violations of human rights. Examples are conflicts resulting from brutal and intolerable repression, denial of the right to self-determination, an unjust social order which enables a ruling elite to exploit impoverished masses, religious minorities. Where such violations occur without any legitimate means of redress, either before the courts or by democratic processes, recourse to force is almost inevitable, and in some cases legitimate. As the oft quoted paragraph in the preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights puts it: 'It is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and repression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law.'

It is customary now for governments that have provoked rebellion in one of these ways to denounce all such uprisings as terrorism.

EMERGENCY—USES AND ABUSES

This leads me to a third dimension of the relationship between peace and human rights, namely the use and abuse of declarations of emergency. The existence or the threat of armed conflict almost always results in a declaration of an emergency, sometimes called a state of exception, or a state of siege. With these emergency powers the government claims the right to suspend the greater part of the human rights inscribed in the constitution or laws of the country. A detailed study we have made of these declarations shows that under their cover many of the worst violations of human rights occur, including in particular those rights that are supposed to be non-derogable even in times of emergency, such as freedom from torture or from extra-judicial killings, the current euphemism for murder by security forces. Moreover, the emergency regime tends to continue in force long after the rebellion or threat of rebellion has been overcome, thus converting what was supposed to be a temporary measure into a continuing or permanent dictatorship.

What conclusions can be drawn from all this? In what I have to say now, I shall be expressing personal opinions with which the members of our Commission may

or may not agree. As a lawyer, I would say it is true that if we are to achieve peace we must achieve an effective system for protecting universal human rights under the rule of law. In my personal view this is hardly possible as the world is structured at present. For the great violators of human rights are sovereign governments, and although we have an impressive body of international law, including human rights law, which should govern our governors, the reality is that when they choose to be a law unto themselves, there is no effective power to stop them. The lawyers did not serve mankind well when they formulated the concept, or should I say the fiction, of the sovereign nation state. The great obstacle to peace in the immense concentration of power in the nation state, especially when fed by fanatical nationalism.

The task before us is to find the way to diffuse that power. It needs to be dispersed in two directions. Firstly, downwards to the provinces, to the communities and ultimately to the individuals who constitute our nations, so that our democracies are based on the sharing of power, on a real participation of the people in the ordering of their affairs. And secondly, upwards to the continents or regions, and ultimately to Tennyson's dream of 'the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World'. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights begins with the assertion that 'recognition of the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world'.

"When we humans feel an attachment and a loyalty towards the human family as intense as that we have for our parental families, for our communities and regions, and for the countries of our birth, we will begin to see the dawn of a peaceful world."

ONLY ABSOLUTES

"The positive aspects of nationalism enormously enrich our human family. The glory of mankind is its rich diversity of races, nations, cultures and languages. Heaven forbid that we should seek to merge them all in one cosmopolitan mix. But great as our nations are, they are not sufficient ends in themselves. Rather, they are different members, different organs if you will, of the human family. Essentially, they are partial and instrumental. The only absolutes are the single individual everywhere, and the total human community, the 'Grand Etre' of Auguste Comte. A person whose horizons are limited by his national frontiers is not fully human. I was told once by a Chinese friend that there is a saying which all Chinese children are taught to repeat as soon as they can speak. It says that all people within the four seas (by that is meant all people on earth) are brothers and sisters. This should be the beginning of our education."

— ICJ NEWSLETTER No 24

JAFFNA : One of the Oldest Habitation Sites

This article originally appeared in the handbook on Jaffna published by the Department of Information in 1983.

The handbook was edited by Prof. K. Indrapala of the University of Jaffna.

The Peopling of the Region

The Jaffna District, the northernmost region of the Island of Sri Lanka, is one of the oldest habitation sites in Lower South Asia. The name Jaffna, by which both the district and its capital are known, is an abbreviated form of Jaffnapatam, a Europeanised form of the Tamil *Yalppana-pattinam*. The earliest form of this name occurs as *Yalppmayan - pattinam* in the fifteenth century sources. Later it was abbreviated as *Yalppana - pattinam* (also *pattanam*) and finally *Yalppanam*, by which name it is still known locally. In the Sinhala literary sources it is referred to as *Yapapatuna*. The Portuguese, who came to this region in the sixteenth century, rendered the Tamil name as Jaffnapatao, while the Dutch in the seventeenth century adopted the form Jaffnapatam. This was used by the English, too, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but soon the present form of Jaffna came into vogue.

But this was not the name by which the region was known in the earliest period of its history. In the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era and in the early centuries after Christ, the Jaffna peninsula was known as the "Island of the Nagas." The Tamil form was *Nakanadu* (Land of the Nagas) with its variant *Nakativu* (Island of the Nagas, Skt. Nagadvipa, Pali Nagadipa, Sinhala - Prakrit Naka-diva). It is interesting to note that in the well-known map of Ptolemy (second century A.D.), it is marked as *Nagadibi*.

The story of man in this region is closely linked with South India. Separated from South India by only a few miles of sea, Sri Lanka in general and the Jaffna District in particular have always been within easy reach of various influences from the sub-continent. It is with the aid of archaeological evidence that the spread of human settlements in the district could be traced but unfortunately not much of archaeological work has been done so far. Consequently our knowledge of the early settlements is relatively meagre.

Archaeological work in peninsular India has revealed that the story

In Lower South Asia

of man in Lower South Asia dates from half a million or so years ago. The distribution of the earliest stone tools in this area shows a north-to-south diffusion pattern, chiefly along the western littoral. This pattern is seen from pre-historic times right through the historical period and Sri Lanka, along with the Maldiv Islands to some extent, has been at the southern receiving end of influences from the peninsular part of the sub-continent. The Jaffna District no doubt shared this experience with the rest of the island.

Devoid of tropical forest or grasslands, the Jaffna peninsula and the nearby islands did not afford opportunities for hunting big game and could not, therefore, have been a favourable habitat for men of the stone age. The mainland part of the Jaffna district, however, might have been more attractive to them, but we have no positive evidence yet about stone age settlements there. It is with the development of trade in South Asia, so it appears for the present, that the Jaffna peninsula and the islands began to attract settlers.

The pearls and chank-shells found in abundance in the Indo - Sri Lankan straits have been among the chief attractions to traders from the civilized world since ancient times. The coasts of the Jaffna peninsula and the islands are not famed for pearls but they abound in chank-shells that are classed among the finest in the world. Till as late as the nineteenth century traders from afar have been calling at the ports of Jaffna for these chank-shells. In that century, we are told, Arab pearl divers "settled in the coast near Jaffna, married Tamil women and took fishing chanks and bechedemer". These chanks were undoubtedly the chief attraction in ancient times.

Archaeological excavations conducted by a team from the University of Pennsylvania in 1970 at Kantarodai (near Chunnakam) have revealed proto-historic settlements in the first millennium B. C. Radio-carbon samples from this site have yielded dates ranging from c. 1200 B.C. to the first century B.C. The origin of the settlement may therefore date from the end of the second millennium B. C. Surface collections of Rouletted and other associated fire wares and the South Indian Iron Age Black-and-red ware types from Kantarodai indicate a substantial settlement there in the proto-historic period. The 1970 excavations have shown that the "chronological sequence is analogous to that of South India during the Iron age

and Early Historic Period" (V. Begley). It has been concluded that the "close parallels in ceramic traditions and other artifacts indicate common origins and continued active trade and communication" with South India (V. Begley).

The excavation carried out at Anaikoddai in 1980 by the University of Jaffna and the subsequent archaeological explorations in the peninsula conducted by P. Raghupathy and by S. K. Sitrapalam of the same University in 1981 and 1982 have brought to light similar evidence pointing to extensive proto-historic settlements in several parts of the peninsula and the islands.

The meagre literary evidence that we have indicate the existence of trade links with South India and beyond in the second half of the first millennium B. C. The *Akitti Jataka* has a reference to a voyage along the eastern coast of India to Karadipa (Karaitivu, now Karainagar, one of the islands adjoining the Jaffna peninsula) via Kaveripattinam in Tamil Nadu. The Sri Lankan Pali chronicle *Mahavamsa* (sixth century A. D.) and other literary sources refer to Jambukela (possibly modern Sambiturai, near Keerimalai) as the port of embarkation to the east Indian port of Tamralipti in the third century B.C.

The early history of the Jaffna District is enveloped in darkness. The settlements of the first millennium B. C. appear to have led in course of time to the emergence of a chieftaincy or a petty kingdom some time before the third century B. C. The legends about the Naga rulers of Nagadipa preserved in the Pali chronicles and in the Tamil epic *Manimekalai* as well as the story in the Pali *Sammohavinodani* of a one-eyed prince who ruled over Nagadipa seem to preserve some memory of this early kingship.

While these early Buddhist sources refer to the occupation of Jaffna by Nagas and to their kingdom of Nagadipa, we find in the late Tamil chronicles of the district a colourful legend about a blind minstrel (Tamil - *Yalpati*) who received the arid peninsula as a gift from a ruler of Sri Lanka and established a kingdom there after settling the region with people from Tamilnadu. This legend clearly has no historical foundation and is an instance of folk - etymology, a legend intended to explain the place - name Yalppanam (Jaffna). The Buddhist tradition on the other hand seems to have a kernel of truth. While we have to discount the supernatural status given to the Nagas in this tradition, it appears that the people

of Jaffna, at the time Buddhism spread here, were known as Nagas and that they had a kingdom of their own called Nagadipa. They have to be treated as identical with the proto - historic settlers of the region about whom the recent archaeological excavations have begun provide evidence. No doubt they have to be classed among the ancestors of the present occupants of the district.

Throughout the first millennium A. D. farther waves of settlers undoubtedly crossed over from South India. Early in the eleventh century the district came under the rule of the Imperial Colas of Tamil Nadu and this probably led to further settlement of Tamils and other South Indians. It was at this time that Uratturai (now known as Urkavatturai in Tamil and Kayts in other languages, though in colloquial usage it still goes as Uratturai) emerged as the chief port for foreign trade in the north. We find that in the twelfth century elephants and horses were among the imports at the place. With the development of the horse trade the first Muslim Arab settlers must have come to this region.

Early in the thirteenth century, when the Polonnaruwa kingdom broke up, a powerful kingdom emerged in the Jaffna District under the leadership, it appears of Magha, the foreign invader from Kalinga in eastern India. He is said to have brought large numbers of mercenaries from Kerala and settle them in the territories conquered by him in Sri Lanka. A strong Kerala elements was probably introduced into the population of the district at this time and many of the traces of Kerala culture that we find in this region may date back to the thirteenth century.

At the heels of the Kerala settlers came another group of foreigners, this time from South-east Asia. Chandrabhanu, a Malay prince, brought with him a Javaka (Malay) army and having suffered defeat in the south, found refuge in the north. He probably ruled as one of the successors of Magha and settled his men in some villages in the district. There are at least three place-names in the district with the element Cavaka (Javaka), namely Cavaka-ceri (Javaka settlement) Cavankottai (Cavakan-kottai, Javaka fort), and Cavakan-cima (Javaka's Boundary). These seem to preserve the memory of these Malay settlements. Chandrabhanu also brought armies raised in South India and these too must have been absorbed into the local population.

(Continued in next issue)

A SLUR ON THE MENTALLY ILL

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

I take strong exception to the recent accusation by the Government that the Corporal who suddenly opened fire on those who had surrendered to the army for protection, killing 6 and injuring 20 was mentally deranged or mentally ill. The mentally ill as a whole are a docile and non-aggressive lot. Most of their aggression is turned inwards. The majority of homicidal aggression are by 'normal' people. It is similar to describing such behaviour as 'animal' when in actual fact, if the animals could speak, they would protest vigorously saying that as a rule they do not kill or torture their own species like humans.

Karl Jaspers, the famous German philosopher and psychiatrist has said, "Since time immemorial, delusion has been taken as the basic characteristic of madness." If we are to take the teachings of the major religions of Sri Lanka seriously, then in a way we are all deluded. Despite seeing death so commonly (in addition to sickness and old age) and the impermanence and the ephemeral nature of life here, we continue to delude ourselves with material goods, comforts, status and other worthless trivia including ideas of freedom and democracy that have been imported for mass consumption but which hardly anyone understands. We are at each others throats for these transitory things and blind ourselves to the real truth. We are all deluded and need urgent treatment.

Another hallmark of psychotic illness is lack of insight on the part of the patient into their illness. To an impartial observer outside Sri Lanka, we would all look mad—to be fighting and killing ourselves over such insignificant details when we have been given such a beautiful island and such a short time to live on it.

It would be a good idea to convert the whole island to a lunatic asylum. One of the first principles of a mental hospital is to make sure that a patient does not do any harm to himself or to others. Thus, all dangerous weapons have to be removed, or, in Sri Lanka the first step would be to dump all the dangerous weapons into the sea, and preventing any more coming in. If this can be done, it would indicate a partial insight and understanding of our plight. This itself will be therapeutic if not curative. After all, the goal of psychoanalytic treatment is to provide

the insight so that the patient will recover by himself. The prognosis appears to be very poor if not outright gloomy in this case, considering the strong feelings of indignation, self-righteousness, misguided patriotism, and chauvinism which are running high and blocking true insight into the situation.

If we are not to lose hope at least this first step of laying down of arms as has been suggested by many recently, has to be done before we destroy ourselves and this island. Afterwards, if there are still those with aggressive impulses left, they can have a go at each other with their bare hands. Better still, we could persuade Lalith Athulathmudali and Prabhakaran to square off in the ring on our behalf in true Dutugemunu-Elara style!

Soma
Jaffna.

as 1931 by the Kandyan Chiefs according to the Report of the Special Commission, chaired by the Rt. Hon. Earl of Donoughmore, Privy Councillor K. B., on the Constitution at page 78 of the report that states as follows:

"As a solution of these difficulties, the Kandyan Chiefs put forward a scheme for dividing the Island into three self-governing areas -

(1) The Northern and Eastern Provinces in which the Tamils predominate.

(2) The Kandyan Provinces

(3) The Southern and Western Provinces peopled mainly by low-country Sinhalese

for their lives, so they will only increase their bizarre activities. The more we resort to their way of reprisals with arms, their resolutions also strengthen that the best way to talk is through the barrel of a gun. We keep it up and they will also keep it up. The end result will be that more and more youth will resort to this type of violence to try to get what they want. The instinct of the male is to war as the instinct of the female is to child-bear, but both must have their limits. Our military-minded Elders consider themselves strong and invincible. They have reckoned without GOD. THE POWER OF LOVE.

Are we ever surprised when preachers of compassion and love give the clarion call to the masses to support armed combat as the solution to eradicate terrorism? We are also never surprised when news of this sort is proudly broadcast and displayed while news of murder, rape, arson, looting carried out almost daily in Tamil areas is swept under the carpet. We are never surprised when our peace preaching Elders, who quite loud and visibly take part in religious ceremonies here and abroad (devils at home and saints abroad) keep a silent tongue at the alleged killings of seventy Tamils as the cause of the present catastrophe in the Holy City. Are we surprised that forty Tamils have been mowed down by 'unknown' (obviously no friends of the Tamils) men, with knives and other weapons, more brutal and more horrendous than the use of guns. And this becomes frightfully sinister as the State Authorities deny knowledge of these assailants. The light at the end of the tunnel recedes! Now we know that there are Maithrie preaching but Gun supporting patriots in our country. But, that is okay, because we have to defend our sovereignty, yes, the Sovereignty of the SINHALESE. To protect the sovereignty of the Sinhalese do we have to destroy the Sovereignty of the Tamils? Why can't we live amicably? When we have prisoners we ourselves are deprived of our freedom. The right to worship at Anuradhapura has now been deprived to the Buddhists during Poson. The right to enter the Maligawa has also been denied to the Buddhists. This is of our own making. "Free your prisoner to be a free man yourself!"

The V.I.P. who considers himself 'nasty' and 'tough' should not be surprised that he is considered too 'crafty' to be nasty and too 'soft' in the head to be tough anywhere else. We Sri Lankans are all so very surprised with the boot on the wrong foot.

MS. L. Crossette Thambiah
(nee Fernando.)

Chilaw.

LETTERS

OFF WITH 6th AMENDMENT

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

The Sixth Amendment to the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka is redundant and an unwise step to put asunder the cordial relationship that should be expected of the communities in Sri Lanka.

Section 2 of the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka states as follows:—

"The Republic is a Unitary State."

Many of the clauses appearing in the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution should only find a place in the Penal Code as almost all of them are penal clauses. They should have appeared as amendments under the Heading of "Offences against the State". Chapter Six of the Penal Code Cap. 19 of the Legislative Enactments Revised Edition 1956 Volume I - Sections 114 - 127 deal with offences against the State.

A Federal form of Government had been suggested as far back

as 1931 by the Kandyan Chiefs according to the Report of the Special Commission, chaired by the Rt. Hon. Earl of Donoughmore, Privy Councillor K. B., on the Constitution at page 78 of the report that states as follows:

Therefore a repeal of the Sixth Amendment is essential in the interest of Democracy.

Point Pedro. R. Ruthiran.

NOT BORN BUT MADE

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Has anyone heard of MAITHRIE preaching, PEACE loving TERRORISTS? No, then why are we so surprised at the brutal, horrendous deeds that they commit? No peace-loving individual condones violence but what do we expect of these terrorists anyway? Love and compassion? Maithrie? To return Good for the Evil they have received? We have isolated them, and branded them now we are expecting brotherly love from them, when they themselves were denied this. (Terrorists are not born they ARE MADE.) Is this logical? Then is this illogical approach to vindicate justice conducive to a peaceful negotiation? We have labelled them TERRORISTS and they are only living up to it, by terrorising us. They are brazen and care naught

HIGHLY AMUSED

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Apropos Mr. A. B. de Silva's letter appearing in your issue of 22-6-85 under the above caption, as the First President of the Arasanka Eluthuvinaignar Sankam, the First Tamil "communal" Trade Union, I wish to state the following facts, just to put the record right.

LETTERS

- (1) The first "communal Trade Union" was formed by the Sinhalese and not by the Tamils. It was the Rajaya Lipakaru Sangamaya, formed in 1956 just because the G. C. S. U. then controlled by the Communist Party (I was Vice President then) would not forsake its Tamil members whose interests were threatened by the Sinhala Only Act.
- (2) After the failure of the 1958 strike, the L. S. S. P. gained control of the G. C. S. U. and the Union's policy gradually underwent a change as a result of which the Tamil members felt abandoned. We therefore, forwarded a Requisition to the G. C. S. U. to summon a Special General Meeting to consider the situation, but this was totally ignored by the G. C. S. U.
- (3) The Tamil Government Servants had therefore no option but to organise themselves under "communal" Trade Unions.

I have never regretted this decision. In fact, I have felt that the Federal Party, which was inaugurated on the principle of self-determination for the Tamils, should have taken the initiative in this matter. But, sad to say, even after we started organising Tamil Trade Unions, a section of the leadership was either lukewarm or even hostile to the movement.

It is incorrect for Mr. Silva to say that the Tamil Trade Unions wedged the Sinhalese in all their struggles and held a brief to successive governments in power. I can recall the Hartal organised by the Leftist Parties and their Trade Union against the Public Security Act a few months after the formation of the Arasanka Eluthuvinaignar Sankam in 1961. The organisers of the Hartal decided that we were a communal Trade Union and did not invite us to participate in the Hartal. Our Union therefore decided not to join the Hartal. The

organisers realising our strength in the Clerical Service were forced to reverse their decision and extend an invitation to our Union to join the Hartal, which we did with great success.

It is to the credit of the Tamil Trade Union Movement that they withstood the pressure of the Federal Party Leadership to join the UNP sponsored National Trade Union Federation during the time the F.P. was partner in the "National Government" formed in 1965.

As for the last para of Mr. Silva's letter, I wish that our present day boys realised the truth we learnt by bitter experience, namely that "A Sinhalese Marxist is first a Sinhalese and then only a Marxist". But may be, things are changing in the South, as would be seen by the emergence of a Trade Union Movement under the leadership of the NSSP that accepts the principle of self-determination for the Tamils. I am only wondering whether this change has been late in coming.

K. Sivanandasundaram
Point Pedro.

SANCTIMONIOUS CAT

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Roving Prime Minister Rana-singhe Premadasa, wherever he goes, Jamaica, Japan or anywhere, expresses sympathy and concern for the homeless and appeals to all countries to divert the monies now being spent on the production of armaments, to the building of houses.

Charity begins at home. The cat closes its eyes and drinks the milk thinking that nobody is seeing her.

Jaffna. "Homeless"

NOT CRICKET!

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

The National Selectors have picked a pool of 43 cricketers in preparation for the forthcoming Test series against India and Pakistan.

In this cricket pool out of these 43 cricketers, 28 of them belong to three clubs viz. SSC, NCC and CCC. 14 other cricketers have been selected from the remaining 15 clubs which took part in the Lakspray Tournament for 1984/85. One member of the pool is a schoolboy. The

During the recently concluded major cricket tourney in Sri Lanka (Lakspray Trophy), several talented players from clubs other than the 3 clubs mentioned above, performed extremely well. They have, however, been ignored by the National Selectors. Panadura S. C. who finished third in the Lakspray Trophy Tournament has only one player in the pool. There isn't a single player from the following clubs :- BRC, Saracens, Nomads, Kurunegala, Kandy, Police, Sebastianites. Clubs like Moratuwa, Galle, Air Force have one player each.

Did the selectors go into the performances of all the players who participated in the Lakspray Cricket Tourney for 1984/85 before naming the pool? Then how did they totally forget several players who have performed excellently during this season?

The Lakspray Cricket Tournament which was earlier known as the Saravanamuttu Trophy Cricket Tournament has in the past helped a lot of brilliant cricketers in this country to reach the top. But it is very unfortunate that the selectors have not given due consideration to other talented players who performed creditably in various tournaments throughout this season. Isn't this very unfair by those cricketers who have sacrificed a lot of their time and energy for the game?

We appeal to the National Selectors to study further the performances of the other players during this cricket season and give them a fair deal.

H. N. Fernando,
General Secretary,
Ceylon Teachers Union.
Colombo 2.

A FAR CRY!

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

The other day I had occasion to witness an Inter Collegiate Cricket Match. The hosts batting first had chalked up a good total but the Visitors batting later were not able to match the total.

Inquiries revealed that these lads were from a prominent school of yester-year and had come to the venue on their own without even transport being provided for their appearance at the scheduled venue. What if under the present conditions they had been confronted by the Security forces? Who will be responsible to the parents of these lads? The Principal or the Coach? They had apparently been left to their own devices. No Coach, No Principal to lead, guide or direct them!

What a far cry it was then! This was a College which was riding on the crest of success for consecutive years in Sports as well as studies and discipline so much so that they became an 'eye sore' for Colleges in the North.

In the 'good old days' the Coach or Prefect of Games was personally present with his 'proteges' to give inspiration, advice, and direction.

It is time that the College authorities did some re-thinking in the Sports arena and enlist the services of a competent coach to give the young lads advice and direction. It is not enough to pay lip-service to Sport. The former Principals and Coaches must surely be turning in their graves on the present performances of the College!

Interested Spectator
Jaffna

MOULDING OF THE FUTURE SOCIETY

Marx and Engels showed that the future society would be moulded by the dictatorship of the proletariat and that Socialism, with its motto of "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work", would be the introductory phase of a still higher social structure, Communism, with the principle, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

This basic Marxist analysis has been completely sustained by one-third of the human race, now definitely on the march to socialism and communism.

For a knowledge of this basic Marxist analysis, read the book "LENIN AND ASIA" by Attorney-at-Law T. Duraisingam, a pioneer of the revolutionary movement of our country.

Sinhala, Tamil and English editions of the book are available at bookshops.

Price : Rs. 10/-

COUNCIL FOR SOCIALIST STUDIES
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Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Netherlands Offers Asylum-seekers Dutch Comfort

The report of the Dutch fact-finding mission, which was in Sri Lanka from 21st to 28th April 1985, and the communication — based on this report — sent by the Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Chairman of the Dutch Second Chamber of Parliament make it clear why the Netherlands Govt. recently refused political asylum to 3,500 Sri Lankan Tamils who had sought 'refugee status' there.

"There is no evidence that the Sri Lanka Government is persecuting Tamils as an ethnic group" the Foreign Affairs Minister states categorically in his communication, echoing the report.

Though this is the first premise, the very next paragraph runs "The situation in the north and east of Sri Lanka is such that Tamils have good reason to feel threatened there".

Asylum-seekers in the Netherlands can be pardoned if they

think this is a case of double Dutch!

The Netherlands Govt. has come to the conclusion, based on the report of the fact-finding mission, that "it is not on the whole true to say that Tamils cannot return to Sri Lanka".

Applications for asylum by Tamils will be "treated in accordance with existing policy on applications for asylum in general. This means that it will depend on the merits of each individual case.....", the communication adds.

In a bid perhaps to salve the conscience, the Foreign Affairs Minister states that "Sri Lankan non-governmental organisations can provide assistance to Tamils returning to Sri Lanka". He adds "The Netherlands is in principle prepared to continue providing assistance to displaced persons in Sri Lanka". Cold comfort, indeed, for the rejected asylum-seekers.

THE MYSTERY OF THE UNPUBLISHED HANDBOOK

What has happened to the handbook on JAFFNA printed as far back as 1983? It's not on sale anywhere.

The handbook was the brainchild of Mr. Devanesan Nesiah, the then District Secretary and Government Agent, Jaffna.

It was edited by Dr. K. Indrapala, Professor of History, University of Jaffna, assisted by an Editorial Committee of University dons.

SATURDAY REVIEW understands the printing of the handbook was entrusted to the Department of Government Printing by the Jaffna Kachcheri. The Government Printers had got the cover and the blocks printed at the State Printing Corporation—for which the Jaffna Kachcheri duly paid. The rest of the printing was done by the Government Printing Press.

Though the Jaffna Kachcheri commissioned the handbook, according to the title-page it is a publication of the Department of Information, Colombo.

And that's where the snag arises. As the publisher, the Department of Information has so far not released the handbook for sale to the public.

The official reason? It's yet unable to fix the price!

The real reason, informed sources say, is the "Mahawamsa mentality" of certain bigwigs who have been upset by some of the contents, especially the chapter on History which begins: "The Jaffna District, the northernmost region of the Island of Sri Lanka, is one of the oldest habitation sites in Lower South Asia" and goes on to say "The story of man in this region is closely linked with South India".

FACTS ARE STUBBORN

Just before the unofficial ceasefire, Government media claimed that Security Forces had smashed up a base of the Tamil militants at Athimodai in Mannar and "118 terrorists" had been killed. Later the figure was reduced to 18!

Here's our report of what actually took place.

Mahalingam Murugiah	—	60 years	married
Kathiravel Tharmalingam	—	56	" "
Murugappa	—	44	" "
Arumugam Rasu	—	35	" "
Murugiah Kanesh	—	37	" "

The bodies of four others were found only on 15th June as they had been taken separately to other areas. They were:

Mookan Navasivayam	—	23 years	married.
S. Ponnusamy	—	23	" not married.
S. Thankarasa	—	17	" " "
K. Ramasamy	—	20	" " "

Three more people were shot dead and burnt on 14th June at Adampanthalvu, near Vattakandal.

They were:			
S. Alexander	—	father of 9 children	
S. Arokiam	—	" " 2	"
S. Anthony	—	" " 6	"

'Left Government Only Solution'

The new Central Committee of the Nava Sama Samaja Party (NSSP)—elected recently at its fifth conference—has affirmed that the Tamil National Question can only be solved by a Revolutionary Left Government.

A Press Release issued by the NSSP's General Secretary Vickramabahu Karunaratne states: "The NSSP completed its four-day conference with great success. There was full democratic discussion on Sri Lankan perspectives and the General World Revolutionary perspective. Particular emphasis was placed on the colonial revolution. The conference endorsed the view put forward by the outgoing Central Committee where emphasis was given to the general breakdown of the Sri Lankan society. The Bonapartist Rule of J. R. Jeyewardene will go from crisis to crisis and we must expect this to lead either through an election or a semi-parliamentary coup to a period of more open conflict between left and right forces. At that stage the most important question within the working class will be between popular frontism and the United Front tactics".

The new Central Committee has appealed for unity between the left and the working class to mobilise the Sinhala and Tamil masses to throw out J. R.'s group.

MEMORIAL FOR ALLEN ABRAHAM

A suitable memorial is to be put up in honor of the late Allen Abraham alias Ambalavaner of Karainagar, the first Sri Lankan to be made a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society for his research on Halley's Comet when it appeared in 1912. (The comet will re-appear in the latter part of this year and will be visible till February, 1986).

An informal meeting to consider putting up a fitting memorial to him was held recently in Karainagar and it was agreed that either a statue or a decorative pillar be erected at the top of Allen Veethi where he lived.

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