

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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FEDERATED GOVT.?

A federated form of Government in which the individual units will enjoy as much power as the states of India but not as much power as the states in the American Union appears to be the maximum that President Jayewardene's Government is ready to grant as a way out of the ethnic impasse.

All the details have been worked out and the proposals have reportedly been placed before the delegates attending the Thimpu conference.

That everything is not "plain sailing" at the talks, as reported in the Colombo-based newspapers, is evident from the fact that Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has thought it necessary to send his trouble-shooter, Foreign Secretary Romesh Bhandari to Thimpu.

The Sri Lanka Government has met some of the preconditions set by the militant groups before any meaningful negotiations could take place, such as the release of youths under detention, lifting of the curfew, the relaxation of the surveillance and prohibited zones regulations and the confinement

of the Security Forces to the barracks.

Still, there is a sense of unease in the North because the talks so far have not yielded any worthwhile results, judging by reports in the newspapers.

President Jayewardene's Government was represented by a team led by Mr. H. W. Jayewardene, Q.C.

The Tamil United Liberation Front was represented by Mr. A. Amirthalingam, Mr. M. Sivasithamparam and Mr. R. Sampanthan.

The militant groups were represented by — Mr. Thilakar and Mr. Sivakumar (LTTE), Mr. Siddharthan and Mr. Vasudeva (PLOTE), Mr. Mohan and Mr. Charles (TELO), Mr. Ratnasabapathy and Mr. Shanker (EROS) and Mr. Varatharajah Perumal and Mr. Ketheeswaran (EPRLF).

The Thimpu talks were heralded in the North with noisy demonstrations — and a few bomb explosions.

"Down with the cease-fire."
"We don't want negotiations."
"We want Eelam."

These were some of the slogans shouted by the demonstrators in Jaffna.

This is some indication of the mood in Jaffna against any settlement imposed from above.

No one can grouse that the top leaders of the militant groups kept away from the talks. Why should they attend when the Government was also represented at a comparative low-key?

The top leaders will be there—if President Jayewardene is also there—and a meaningful devolution of power can be worked out.

The President appears to be thinking in terms of granting full powers almost immediately to the existing district development councils, to make them more viable units than hitherto.

This should satisfy the yearning of the Tamil people — up to a point—for internal self-rule.

The second stage would be the amalgamation of the councils to form larger units. What form they would be and what name they would be called is open for negotiation.

There is supposed to have been an assassination attempt on President Jayewardene by the EROS on 11th. July (see State-controlled Daily News of 12th July).

EROS has since denied any involvement in the supposed incident.

The leader of one militant group is thinking in terms of Swiss cantons. (See report alongside).

Whatever it is, shall we have a settlement? Or civil war?

SHAREHOLDERS TO DECIDE

The shareholders of the Jaffna Co-operative Stores Ltd., will decide on the future of this institution at a meeting to be held today (13th July).

The Jaffna Co-operative Stores building was burnt down in April 1984. Recently it has been the target of burglars.

The shareholders, numbering over a thousand, will decide at the crucial meeting to be held on July 13 whether the Institution should continue in business or go into voluntary liquidation. The meeting will be chaired by the President, Dr. V. Yoganathan.

UMA SPEAKS HIS MIND

Mr. Uma Maheswaran the leader of the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamileelam (PLOTE), in an interview published in the pro-Moscow "PATRIOT" newspaper on 9th July, when asked what was the attitude of PLOTE to the Thimpu talks, said:

"This is the first step for us to get international recognition as a political force. At the same time, we are also interested in a cease-

fire so that we could concentrate on people to build up our network specially among the working class. During our struggle we have been unable to do so."

When asked what he expected from the talks, the PLOTE leader said, "We do not expect very much. Actually, under the present Government we cannot expect anything."

He said the Tamil Language should get the status as an official

language along with Sinhala, while the Sinhala Government should accept the Northern and Eastern Provinces as Tamil provinces.

He said, "We want a system of cantons based on the Swiss pattern. We also want the basic right to protect ourselves". The Tamils should be allowed the freedom to practice their culture and language in these cantons. The North and East should be one province.

"We want the North and East to be contiguous areas because otherwise the Government will change the demographic reality by settling large number of Sinhala people in the area."

"We want the police areas to be manned by Tamils and we want representation in the Sri Lanka Army in proportion to our population".

When asked why he did not go to Thimpu, he said "We have sent adequate representation, including a representative of the Eastern Province in our delegation."

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The Media Scene

All quiet on the Northern Front, but not so quiet in the Eastern front—it seems.

Yet the ceasefire or "cessation of hostilities", whatever term one uses, is on. No more landmines, ambushes, killing of innocent civilians, no rattling of machine guns; at least for twelve weeks.

We have seen enough of 'enoughs'—massacres, blood-spattered clothes, frozen eyes, spent words and unspent bullets.

Journalists from the South have started exploring and investigating the North, hitherto a "Prohibited Zone" for them!

One of the "Senior journalists" from Colombo had been a 'guest' of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF). He spent 30 hours with the EPRLF militants and filed a report to the State-controlled "Daily News", without using the word "terrorist" which they had been fond of!

NONE SO BLIND...

He has reported in the "Daily News" of 2nd July that the militants want the right of self-determination for the Tamil-speaking people which would really mean a separate State and the struggle was not against the Sinhalese people. It was against the "Chauvinist government".

Another journalist from "The Island", said to be an expert in reporting the "facts" about Jaffna, has published some information obtained from the government and military circles only—information hitherto unknown to the public of Jaffna!

An excerpt from his write-up about post-ceasefire Jaffna is enough to show his (mis)understanding of the situation.

"Along the road we cruised, we saw a Cinema Hall completely burnt and the remains of many wrecked buildings. We later understood that most of them were Government buildings attacked by terrorists".

Foreign journalists who somehow managed to visit Jaffna reported the facts more correctly but, unfortunately, our colleagues from the South have again proved themselves to be merely the mouthpieces of the Government.

S. R. Refugee Relief Fund

While we once again thank the Readers in Sri Lanka and abroad who responded readily and magnanimously to our appeal for assistance in cash and kind to help people in the North who had been unsettled by the operation of inhuman Emergency Regulations, we wish to put on record the first list of disbursements from our Relief Fund.

There was considerable delay in the realisation of cheques, especially those sent from abroad, both because the banks in Jaffna were—and still are—not functioning at optimum level and the communications systems were disrupted.

At the early stages there was also the problem of reaching the people in need: there was hardly any transport available and the hazards on the way were many.

We also wanted to avoid the duplication of aid efforts. After the refugee problem was highlighted, mercifully funds from voluntary organisations, local and foreign, began to arrive, though first in a very small trickle.

The need now is for a long-term programme of rehabilitation, by the provision of employment and housing to the affected. This is something the SR cannot participate in though we will release for this purpose whatever funds become available to us.

Incidentally, ours is one of the few organisations in Sri Lanka engaged in relief work which makes a public record of the funds received and their disbursement.

Here is the first list of disbursements:

Rehabilitation work in Mullaitivu Rs. 1,000 each to 33 families (as requested by the donors — Rs. 33,000.00)

Health and Human Services Committee of Mathagal for purchase of medical supplies. Rs. 10,000.00

Emergency purchase of medical supplies for Jaffna General Hospital (after Kurikadduvan boat tragedy) Rs. 5,400.00

Temporary sheds for Hartley College and Methodist College. Rs. 10,000-00

Mr. S. Ratnarajah, Uduppiddy. Rs. 2,500.00

Medical supplies for refugees at Trincomalee and Muthur Rs. 10,350-05

A gift of 22 packets of drugs from Mr. Maxi Ravindran of Colombo, a parcel of clothes from Mr. and Mrs. Balasubramaniam of Dubai, and a cheque for Rs. 742-50 were handed over to the Medical Superintendent, Jaffna.

A further list of disbursements will appear in due course.

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

A volunteer organisation called the Mannar Association for Relief and Rehabilitation is to be formed by the citizens of Mannar to help people affected by man-made and natural disasters.

Those interested are requested to contact the Vicar-General, Bishop's House, Mannar.

HIDING IN FORESTS!

Sri Lanka has proved to be one country to have its citizens running not only to other countries as refugees but also taking refuge in make-shift camps, mostly schools and religious institutions and even forests, directly as a result of ethnic violence.

Here is a list of refugees we have received, involving people in the Trincomalee District:

Kuchchaveli A.G.A.'s Division

No. of Refugees

Thiriyai Maha Vidyalayam 2,557
Nilaveli .. 3,500

Mutur A.G.A.'s Division

Mutur M. V.	892
Thoppur M. V.	397
Thoppur G.T.M.S.	2,205
Sampur M. V.	6,245
Chenaiyoor	185
Kattaiarichan	367
Illakaddai	325
Raalkuli	162
Alainagar	390
Nallur	6,000
Alangkerni	23,225
Eachantheevu	
Koonitheevu	

The numbers include persons who are in temporary dwellings in the forest.

17TH ANNIVERSARY

The 17th anniversary of the 17th July Revolution of the Republic of Iraq will be commemorated with a function at the Hotel Lanka Oberoi, Colombo, at 7 p.m. on that day.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

RATNASAMY

and

NITHIYASELVI

Sincerely thank all relations and friends who attended their wedding, sent congratulatory messages and gifts. They regret their inability to thank them individually.

—SENTHAMARAI,
ATCHUVELY.

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STATE TERRORISM

ON A GLOBAL SCALE: THE ROLE OF ISRAEL — 6

(Continued from last issue)

Zionism was the reaction of Jewish communities to the oppression perpetrated against Jews throughout the centuries of European history, particularly in contemporary Eastern and Central Europe. In this sense, the movement belongs to the somber chapters of European history and in no way to the East.

Third World peoples who had no history or knowledge of a "Jewish problem" observed how Israel stood with Europe and the U. S. in the widening North-South rift. An instance of European colonization in the era of decolonization, Israel is in the Third World but not of the Third World. Located on the fault line between Western imperialism and Third World nationalism, Israel behaves as a fifth column empire.

Erik Hooglund asked, "Why is it wrong for the United States to provide military assistance to countries which violate human rights, but not so for Israel? It is wrong for Israel also, but in the U. S. and Europe, Israel continued and still continues to evoke sympathy and support, a support based not least on cultural affinities and affinity with Zionism as the historical counterpart of anti-Semitism, as the "solution" to the Jewish problem. While the Holocaust ranks high in European-American historical consciousness, a central part of their own historical drama, the historical traumas of peoples "on the other side of the river" are not as near.

No Longer a bridge between Christianity and Islam, Israelis have become the allies of Christianity. In African Israeli finds political niches on the side of Christian groups resisting Islamic inroads and certain Asian countries call on Israel as a counterweight against Islamic influence. Zionism also finds itself in league with fundamentalist Christianity—Christian Zionists who share Zionist fundamentalism in terms of their claims to Eretz Israel and who likewise take the word after the letter and not after the spirit. Under the Likud governments these ties became closer—Rev. Jerry Falwell, founder of the "Moral Majority" was presented Israel's Jabotinsky award by Begin. Ties have become closer at a time when fundamentalist Christianity is also being mobilized in Latin America, Africa and parts of Europe, in the battle for hearts and minds against communism, but, in effect, as an antidote against the spread of liberation theology and the people's church.

In adopting the American foreign policy perspective of a "resource war." Israel is adopting an instrumentalist attitude to the world, a realpolitik perspective according to which only "resources", matter, disregarding people and social relations. It is precisely this kind of outlook with which the U. S. government has been looking at Israel all along—from the 1949 National Security Council memorandum noting the strategic location of Israel, to Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger who called Israel an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" close to strategic Mideast oil fields. "An *unsinkable aircraft carrier* is a peculiar way to describe a country; it invokes the image of a country that does not exist except as the launching pad of some project of power. This appears to be the political reality of what Begin insisted on calling the "Holy Land. "This military simile follows U. S. influence like a shadow. Witness the terminology of Prime Minister Nakasone in 1982; "I want the Japanese archipelago to be like an unsinkable aircraft carrier."

Israel's global role is paralleled by its domestic class realities, where Sephardim are second-class citizens, Arabs third class, and people in the occupied territories count only as obstacles when it comes to creating "facts on the ground." If it should occasion surprise that Israel maintains connections with right-wing and ultra-right-wing circles throughout the world, it may help to recall that this is in line with the record of the Zionist movement, which cooperated with imperialists, fascists, and Nazis alike. Israel's ties with the Somoza family date back to 1947, with Guatemala to 1948, with South Africa to the role of Jewish capitalists in the South African economy before the turn of the century. This is another reason why Israel's role in the Third World should not be simply reduced to clientship of the USA; Zionism has developed in this direction also by virtue of the logic of its own historical path. Several influences have combined to create this logic.

In the first place, there was the influence of an upper stratum

By

Jan Pieterse

There are no Soviets in Guatemala, and there are no Soviet-supplied arms either for that matter; nor are there Soviets in Sri Lanka. But there are resources in Guatemala, and Sri Lanka may well be understood to be another of those "unsinkable aircraft carriers," strategically located off the Indian subcontinent and on sea lanes between U. S. bases in the Philippines, Guam and Diego Garcia. If there are no Soviets in Guatemala, there are Indians, descendants of the Mayan culture who have come travelling a long way. Presently they recognize their spiritual debt to Judaism, in that they recognize Christianity and the scriptures as a major inspiration of the Central American revolution. There is one question, however, that bothers them profoundly; How can it be that we find a people who inspired us so much to take up the fight against injustice now arraigned against us as the enemies of our people?

In Fact, it is not the Jewish people that are assisting the Guatemalan juntas in massacring the Indians, but the Israeli ruling circles. Israeli ruling circles, who have adopted the cheap imperial worldview, are taking sides in a class struggle on a global scale.

of Jews, a financial elite who assisted in the expansion of European imperialism. Rothschild, for example, provided the credit that enabled the British to buy shares in the Suez Canal concession. The political anti-Semitism of the late 19th century was orchestrated in part to divert anticapitalist sentiments into ethnic, anti-Jewish channels. Ostensibly aimed at Jewish finance capitalists, in effect it hit the Jewish working class, the majority of whom were socialists. This was the scheme, to redirect energies from class struggle, to fan the flames of nationalism, chauvinism, and racism, and to destroy the socialist movements, in which Jews played an important part.

If anti-Semitism was one of the orchestrated alternatives to class struggle, Zionism took no interest in social revaluation either. A conservative movement, not only did not have the support of most Jews in Eastern and Central Europe, it was actively opposed by the majority as a betrayal of the universalist commitments of Jewish people, which found expression in their allegiance to the Bund and other socialist organizations. Zionism, operating in the orbit of the

imperialist and reactionary powers was in no manner a revolutionary movement, but was rather a diplomatic effort. While ignored and rejected by the majority of Jews, it found support among the upper stratum of Jews who were part and parcel of the imperialist ambience. The option of settlement in Palestine only began to draw majority support when anti-Jewish measures intensified and the Holocaust machine came into operation, at a time when other countries, including the U.S., closed their borders to Jewish refugees. Israel, as Isaac Deutscher said, was created as an "act of despair."

Since then another dynamic came into operation. Paolo Freire warned that the greatest danger for the oppressed is to become like the oppressor. The Holocaust unveiled a malice of such magnitude, an abyss so wide, that normal psychological and political patterns were broken through. An existential perplexity about the human condition permitted a collective role reversal—from victims to perpetrators. It is in this direction that the record of Israel, vis a vis the Palestinian people and in relation to Third World countries, points. If Israelis say they "did not know," it is true that Israeli media are censored. What may be underlying this process of role reversal is the logic of fear, and finding protection from fear in conforming with the aggressor. This was the pattern Zionism, as anti-Semitism was not resisted but accommodated. Israel has not broken with the logic of fear. Rather, the logic of fear has been converted into the logic of power; the essential mechanism of this process is mimicry, for in a world that continues to be dominated by the same type of forces that unleashed the Holocaust. Israel seeks protection in behaving in the same way. The Psychological meaning of Zionism is that Jews have chosen to side with the perpetrators rather than the victims. When Begin says "Never Again," it means in effect "Never Us Again" consequently, it means others Palestinians, Guatemalans, Indians and so forth.

Israel's connection with Third World fascism stems from the same root as Zionism's connection with fascism. It is a consequence of the alliance with imperialism—an alliance that came naturally to an upper stratum of Jews, but that

(Continued on page 4)

JAFFNA : One of the Oldest Habitation Sites

(Continued from last issue)

Before the end of the thirteenth century there were more invasions from outside and the reins of power in the Jaffna kingdom passed into the hands of the Aryachakravarttis who belonged to a feudatory dynasty of the Pandya of Tamilnadu. The rulers of the new dynasty brought many new settlers to the district from Tamilnadu. The Tamil chronicles of Jaffna supply details of the various communities settled by the Aryachakravarttis. Some of these references may also relate to the time of Magha. As these rulers encouraged the trade with the Muslims, there must have been Muslim settlements in the main port town.

Early History

While we know that there were human settlements in the Jaffna District from three thousand or so years ago, very little is known about the early history of the region. Whether the early settlers called themselves Nagas or not, it is clear from the archaeological evidence we have that, by about the third century B.C., they had a culture characterised by the use of Black-and-red ware and iron tools. They wore ornaments made of fish-bones, chank-shells, carnelian beads and bronze. They no doubt ate plenty of sea-food and possibly hunted small game. They believed in a life after death and buried articles of food, weapons and ornaments along with their dead. They also adopted the use of the Brahmi script and before that probably used a system of character-writing, derived from or akin to the Indus writing. As mentioned earlier, these settlements grew in course of time into a chieftaincy or kingship before the Christian era, but nothing is known about its history. Jambukola was its chief port and Kantarodai appears to have been one of the central places that developed in the region. There is evidence that Buddhism gained much influence in the region and there were important centres of pilgrimage for Buddhists, one of which has survived to this day in the island of Nainativu.

In the early centuries of the Christian era there were commercial and cultural contacts with South India, especially Andhra and with the Graeco-Romans. Buddhism continued to be a major religion up to about the tenth century, and Buddhist institutions in the district occasionally received the patronage of the rulers of Anuradhapura. With the triumph of the Saiva-Maisnava movement among the Tamils and the establishment of Cola rule in the district early in the eleventh century, Saivism must have received sufficient political

In Lower South Asia—2

patronage, helping it to become the religion of the vast majority of the people.

The Jaffna Kingdom

In the thirteenth century we see the emergence of the Kingdom of Jaffna. As mentioned earlier, Magha the Kalinga invader was probably the founder of the kingdom and the Javaka invaders succeeded him. At the end of thirteenth century, the Pandya feudatories, Aryachakravarttis, gained control of the kingdom and began a career of conquest along the western coast of the Island. Under them, the kingdom with capital at a place called Cinkainakar (Skt. Simha-nagara) emerged as the most powerful one in the island in the fourteenth century. Foreign trade was the basis of its power and we find that merchant vessels from this kingdom played an important part in the Indian Ocean trade. The Aryachakravarttis controlled the chank and pearl fisheries off the western coast and enjoyed a share of the island's cinnamon trade. Under them there must have been a significant growth of Muslim settlements on the western coast.

The kingdom had closer political, economic and cultural ties with South India than with the southern part of Sri Lanka. At this time there were minor chieftains called the Vannis controlling the southern parts of the present Jaffna District and most of the Mannar, Vavuniya, Mullaitivu and Trincomalee districts.

These chieftains usually paid tribute to the Jaffna rulers and their territories served as an effective buffer between the Tamil kingdom in the North and the Sinhala kingdom in the South. Only on one occasion did the armies of the south succeed in penetrating through this buffer and holding the kingdom briefly on behalf of the southern ruler. That was in the middle of the fifteenth century when Sapumal Kumaraya (Senpaka Perumal), the prince of Kerala origin brought up by Parakramabahu VI in the court at Jayawardhanapura Kotte, led an invasion of Jaffna and occupied the kingdom for seventeen years. He later returned to Kotte on the death of Parakramabahu to ascend the throne there and Jaffna again came under the rule of the Tamil dynasty.

The Aryachakravarttis were patrons of Saiva Siddhanta, Siddha medicine and Tamil literature, and under them notable contributions were made in Jaffna in these fields.

The influence of the Vijayanagara empire of South India was strongly felt at this time, and it is possible that Dravidian architecture, Bharata Natya and Tamil music received royal patronage. None of the architectural monuments of this period has survived and we are in no position to say anything about the state of architecture or sculpture under these Tamil rulers.

The period of the Aryachakravarttis may be said to mark the final stage in the development of the distinctive social structure and cultural traditions of the district. The varied influences that the region was receiving over the centuries from outside finally crystallized into a single system in this period. The customary law of the region codified later under the name of Thesawalamai by the Dutch, and still applying to the people born in the

district, clearly shows how and to what extent the Tamils of Jaffna had developed a separate identity.

With the appearance of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean at the close of the fifteenth century, the kingdoms of Sri Lanka and South India had a common enemy to deal with. In their struggle with the European power, the rulers of Jaffna were on occasions in alliance with those of the Kotte and Kandyan kingdoms in the south as well as with the Nayakkars of Tanjore and the Zamorin of Calicut in South India. With the support that they were able to muster from their allies, the Jaffna rulers managed to prevent the annexation of their kingdom by the westerner till the first quarter of the seventeenth century. By that time they were too weak to resist the foreign intrusions any longer. Portuguese influence was on the increase, and they soon exercised much authority in the kingdom, installing princess of their choice on the throne.

(Continued in next issue)

STATE TERRORISM.....

(Continued from page 3)

came to the majority of Jews only at a time when there was practically no other choice. The alternative was social revolution, the road the majority of Jews did follow, at a time when all the fury of Western power structures was unleashed against the forces of socialism, which threatened to overturn their global chessboard. Fascism and Nazism—power unbound—were promoted by Western power structures as gambits against socialism and communism. Third World fascism partakes of the same logic of power—without makeup. It is the face of imperialism as it appears without a mask, nourished and supported by the same type of forces that nourished and supported Hitler.

Revocation of the experience of the Holocaust seems to be fruitless if it is not combined with a commitment to uncover the historical truth of who supported and financed Hitler, and who benefited and continues to benefit from fascism, and with compassion for the victims of holocausts that are being perpetrated now. The Jewish people have become an existentially inward looking people drawn into a closed circle of fear. That Israeli repression stems from a different historical consciousness than that of its imperial patron, a logic of power informed by fear rather than by arrogance and greed, is small comfort to the victims, to whom the net product is identical.

What an irony of history that the words of the prophets, recited but not resonating in the synagogues of Israel, would be taken to heart in

the mountains of Central America. Christian liberation theology has been inspired more than anything by the Jewish experience (exodus, exile), but there has been no development of a Judaic liberation theology. Zionism is the substitute for Judaic liberation theology; but it is concerned with the liberation of Jews as Jews, not with the liberation of Jews as humanity. Zionism has ethnicized, nationalized Jewishness. A "Zionization" of Jewish communities in the galut has taken place, and Israel has become a focal point of Jews identity.

But in the final analysis the Jewish question poses not the question of Jewishness, but of humanity. The Jewish question poses the question of power, and specifically fascism. The Holocaust remains a riddle of the 20th century; in the history of Europe, Nazism remains a puzzle, even as now fascism rear its head again. To date, there has been a failure to come to terms with this question, either in the sense of a historical examination of who needed and nourished fascism or in the sense of an existential understanding, translating these findings into political sagacity. The problem of Israel as a ghetto-state, as an extension of the Jewish question must be laid at the door whence it came—with the power structures that created the Jewish question when it suited them. As long as the Western world is incapable or unwilling to examine and face itself, Israel is likely to continue to adhere to the logic of fear, manifested in the logic of power, moderately or without moderation.

(Concluded)

CENSORSHIP—AT THE DROP OF A HAT!

Sri Lanka perhaps is one of the few democracies in the world where press censorship is inflicted on the people for dubious reasons and at the drop of a hat. It is perhaps not understood that a free and unfettered press is extremely vital to a democracy without which a democracy cannot effectively function. In fact a free press and democracy are so synonymous with each other that one cannot be visualised without the other.

News is the raw material which shapes a country's policies and determines its public opinion. Governments of the different countries that call themselves democratic, must allow newsmen to operate freely and give them all the assistance that is necessary for doing so.

Censorship, whether soft or hard, is not a desirable thing to impose except in exceptional circumstances where the security of the State is threatened. But this too should be done after studious thought. There is a trite saying, that truth will prevail at the end. Censorship therefore cannot effectively stifle or suppress the truth.

In a free society the press has a duty to inform the public of current happenings. At times it is an unpleasant job but it has to be performed because a free society is founded on free information. If the press were to publish only government hand-outs or official statements, who will point out the lapses, deficiencies or mistakes?

Even a free press must operate under the restraint of the law. But the law should be required to take better account of public right to information. Healthy public presses conducting their affairs above board, constitute the bulwark of the State.

The freedom of the press is the essence of liberty and this is the essence of all other liberties. If this freedom is suppressed, restrained or controlled, then the foundation for autocracy is laid.

DISTINGUISHING MARK

It was Samuel Coleridge who said that, "In an enslaved State the rulers form and supply the opinions of the people. This is the mark by which despotism is distinguished, for it is the power by which despotism is begun and continued."

Walter Lippman, perhaps the most distinguished American journalist of the 20th century, wrote, "The theory of a free press is that the truth will emerge from free reporting and discussion—not that such information will be perfectly and instantly in any one account." In another context Lippman stated

"Without criticism and reliable and intelligent reporting the government cannot govern. For there is no adequate way in which it can keep itself informed about what the people of the country are thinking and doing and wanting."

It was Gilbert Murray who said, "the chief safety valve which preserves a country from violent revolutionary upheaval is a free, vigorous and independent press."

by **Augustine Saverimuttu**

The freedom of the press is the conditioning or enabling freedom—the freedom through which the other liberties of man express themselves and by which they are protected. But freedom of expression in a country is not completely unrestricted. Public opinion accepts a number of limitations on freedom of information.

It was Benjamin Disraeli, the Victorian Prime Minister of Great Britain of Jewish extract, who once said, "The press is not only free, it is powerful. It was not granted to us by monarchies. It was not granted to us by aristocracies. It sprang from the people. It has always worked for the people." Not only the government and the people, but journalists too must remember this fact.

Thomas Jefferson, a former President of the United States said "Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter." This is proof enough, if proof is necessary, of the importance of newspapers and the role they play especially in a democracy.

Way back in 1950 the late Pundit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, said at the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference, "I have no doubt that even if the government dislikes the liberties taken by the press and considered them dangerous. It is wrong to interfere with the freedom of the press. By imposing restrictions you do not change anything. You merely suppress the manifestations of certain things, thereby causing the idea and the thought underlying them to spread further. Therefore, I would have a completely free press with all the dangers involved in the wrong use of that freedom than a suppressed or regulated press."

A very eminent judge once said, "A newspaper reporter is the watchdog of the nation. The

press plays a vital part in the administration of the nation. The press is itself liable to make mistakes. The watchdog is some times liable to break loose and has to be punished for misbehaviour. But taken by and large we could not do without him. Too much freedom may have its evils; but on the other hand too much control leads to service press which tells the people only what the

and lead public opinion and wherever necessary to furnish a check upon government.

Government in the last analysis is organised opinion. And where there is little or no public opinion there is likely to be bad government which sooner or later may become autocratic. Let not the government be a hindrance to the expression of public opinion in a free country through the medium of a free press.

In this connection it will be both pertinent and relevant to quote Article (19) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which says, "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference, and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

A similar Article, also No. 19, in the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights, was acceded to by our government on Vesak Day on 27th May 1980.

It is improper in a country that boasts very much of its adherence to the highest principles of democracy to subject all news to be published in a newspaper to complete censorship for the obvious reason that the news it publishes even though it is unquestionably truthful, is something often unpalatable or embarrassing to the State.

There are some who hold the view that the word NEWS is derived from the fact that it comes from all four corners of the earth, the North East, West and South. Yes, news is obtained from all corners of the globe and from all dependable sources. The readers are intelligent enough to discern what is true and what is false. They cannot be fooled all the time because truth will triumph at the end.

party in power wants them to know. It is better to have too much freedom than too much control; but it is better still to strike the happy mean."

When an apparently democratic government displays signs and symptoms of autocratic rule, then a free press which is the watchdog of a free country has to be doubly vigilant however distasteful that might be to the ruling party. For there are many instances of the abridgement of the freedom of the people by silent and gradual encroachment, which the press must be wary of.

READER'S RIGHT TO KNOW

The freedom of the press is not the right of the journalist but the right of the newspaper reader. The Journalist must inform the people by means of the people.

Wickham Steed, a former Editor of the London Times once wrote, "Of all liberties, the freedom to know, to speak and to criticise, stands first; and this freedom is the bane and bug-bear of dictators."

A newspaper is an institution developed by modern civilisation not merely to present the news of the day, but to also inform

Publications Received

SRI LANKA HUMAN RIGHTS BULLETIN
P. O. Box 56, St. Paul's, N. S. W. 2031, Australia.
No. 1, May 1985

WORKERS MARXIST REVIEW,
the journal of the Workers' Marxist League,
75, Koralawella, Moratuwa
Vol. 1, July, 1985

VINIVIDA,
monthly journal of the Humanist Bhikku Organisation,
No. 560, Sri Maha Bodhi Vihara,
Elvitigala Mawatha, Colombo - 5
July—August, 1985

CHRISTIAN WORKER,
the English quarterly of the Christian Workers Fellowship,
Colombo.

THE FUTURE IS NOT BLEAK

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

It is apparent that there is some disquiet among those who have sacrificed their careers for a cause, as to what the future holds for them, once a solution is found — though God knows when!

It is felt among a large section of the population that it is perhaps appropriate at this juncture to discuss the many avenues open to them, if only substantial measure of autonomy is given, as in a federal set-up.

Many of them will then hold important positions and it will be possible to initiate several projects, in which they could be usefully employed. In the selection of personnel, priority could be given to them, after determining the level of education, skill, aptitude, etc. Anyone who wishes to continue their education should be accommodated in schools, universities and other institutions.

The projects, at least for the start, should be designed to provide basic essentials to the people. Though this is a matter for economists and experts in planning, a few that come to mind may be suggested here with the hope that this will initiate pooling of ideas, suggestions and discussion, through your columns.

1. Establishment of a cooperative youth farming authority — allocation of 'state' lands to youths.
2. The Jaffna lagoon project and provision of chlorinated drinking water at least to rural areas first.
3. Establishment of large-scale plantations to include: (a) cotton (b) palmyrah (c) cocount (d) soya bean and other pulses (e) papaw (f) teak (g) satin (h) medicinal herbs—but all in different areas of the North and the East.
4. Establishment of "heavy" industries to include the following: (a) textile factories (b) glass factory (c) match factory (d) soap factory (e) plastics (f) soya bean milk and cheese factory (g) boat building (h) ice manufacturing (i) fish processing and canning (j) compost manufacturing centres (k) bio-gas manufacturing or solar cell manufacturing (l) timber factories (m) dairy farming (n) milk processing and milk products factories and (o) poultry farming.
5. Primary health care and health education projects.

6. Palmyrah products and cottage industries.
7. Repair of tanks and canals.
8. Water seal latrines projects (self-help groups with materials provided).

M. Velupillai

Nallur

NO IDLE FEAR

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

The escalation of the ethnic conflict in the country to its present level is primarily due to a woeful lack of a will to even try to understand the political, cultural, linguistic and religious aspirations of the Tamil people by the Sinhalese politicians from the time of the Donoughmore Constitution.

I am afraid that President Jayewardene, whom Mr. Thondaman sees as the only Sinhalese Politician who can solve the ethnic conflict, is no exception. On the

theme of his speech was that his Party would ensure the personal security of the Tamils, if elected to power. At question time, I asked him, "Sir, what is the use of your offering us personal security when our cultural security is at stake?" He replied, after looking at the prominent Tamils seated on either side of him, "Well, there are Tamils here who are more concerned about their personal security than about their cultural security."

The agitation for a homeland for the Tamils in this country who had a separate kingdom of their own at least from the 12th century till it was subjugated by Western Imperial Powers, as acknowledged by even Sinhalese historians, is nothing illogical. After all, their highly civilised ancestors were living in this country long before the legendary arrival of Vijaya and his followers. For, even the Mahawamsa says that one of the supposed visits of the Buddha to this country was to settle a dispute between the Naga

LETTERS

eve of the All Party Conference he is reported to have said at a public meeting held at Anuradhapura on 18-12-83 that "If the Tamils follow Buddhism, there will be no room for problems. They will live as Tamil Buddhists and we will live as Sinhalese Buddhists. No problem will raise its head." (Virakesari of 21-12-83).

To a people agitating for political freedom to ensure their continued existence as Tamils, His excellency suggests that they should, as a solution to the conflict, give up their Dear Religion, a religion, which, according to Sir John Marshall, "is the most ancient living faith in the world" and, according to Dr. G. U. Pope, "is the most elaborate, influential and undoubtedly the most intrinsically valuable of all religions of India."

I wish to refer to another event that occurred on the eve of the 1960 General Election, just to show that even then he was showing the same attitude of mind. At one of the many mini-meetings he held in Wellawatte the

Princes over a Gem-studded Throne. It is ironical for a Government that votes millions of rupees in its Annual Budget for the maintenance of sanctuaries for Birds and Animals to deny the right of 'sanctuary' for the Tamil people in a HOMELAND OF THEIRS to prevent the gradual extinction of their Ethnic identity, which is no idle fear.

According to the first census conducted by the British Government in 1824 in this country, Ceylon Tamils formed about 23% of the total population. Today, this has dwindled to a mere 12%. What fate could have overtaken the balance 10½%? Obviously, they had been absorbed into the Sinhalese race. No wonder, the Tamils to a man are opposed to the proposed settlement of 30,000 Sinhalese families in the Wannai area. Why does the Hon. Minister for National Security ignore the historical fact that it is the outcome of such a "mad" policy adopted by Imperial Great Britain in Northern Ireland that is plaguing Mrs. That-

chers Government even today — after centuries.

I can understand the Sinhalese People's anxiety to maintain a UNITED Sri Lanka. But, what is so sacrosanct about a UNITARY state? After all, Sri Lanka can still be a UNITED country under a NON-UNITARY Constitution. It is well for the Buddha's followers to follow the Christian Teaching: "DO UNTO OTHERS AS YOU WOULD HAVE OTHERS DO UNTO YOU" in trying to seek a political solution to the ethnic conflict.

K. Sivanandasundaram

Pt. Pedro.

PLIGHT OF JULY '80 STRIKERS

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

The July 1980, including the teachers, complete five years without employment.

Throughout the history of the working class movement, workers have organised themselves under trade unions to fight their employers. Some of them have even sacrificed their lives.

The present government has refused to take back everyone of the strikers including the teachers who struck work in July, 1980, demanding a higher wage, as it was impossible to exist in the face of the ever-rising cost of living.

In the face of every crisis, the President and the Prime Minister make utterances to the effect that they are prepared to solve any problem democratically and peacefully and that they are even prepared for a dialogue with the Tamil militants. The Minister of Education, however, has refused throughout to meet the Teachers' Trade Union officials on the July 1980 strike.

The strike as a weapon has always been a legitimate right of the working class throughout history not only in Sri Lanka but everywhere in the world. Yet the five-star democracy of these leaders, has refused to take back the remaining batch of workers including the teachers.

Therefore, we appeal to the working class to launch an agitation campaign to win their jobs back.

H. N. Fernando
General Secretary
Ceylon Teachers' Union

Colombo

(Continued on page 7)

UNFAIR AND UNJUST

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

"Bishops under fire" on page 2 of S. R. of 1st June, 1985 is most unfair and unjust. From the beginning the Bishops condemned violence of every form and by every group in the North, South, East or West of our beloved land. We (Catholic Students' Union of the University of Jaffna and the Tamil and Sinhala Catholics) do realise that it is a duty on our part to console and sympathise with our neighbour of other faiths in situations like this, and condemn violence which is the cause of it.



The Statement of the C. S. U. U. J. will speak for itself, to show who is one-sided and racist. Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh. I make reference also to my letter in the S. R. of 17th November, 1984 (Page 6). Let wiser counsels prevail.

Fr. Mathew G. E. Silva
Boragas

A DIFFERENT BRAND

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Mr. Potter Stewart, a former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States of America, visited Sri Lanka in the early 1970s and delivered a talk in Colombo where he referred to Majority support for Minority rights. In the course of his address he said that the First Amendment to the American Constitution has the following provision:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people to peaceably assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

He also added, "We in the United States have made the judiciary the final arbiter of the constitutionality of the acts of the Executive and Legislative Branches. The limit of the State's power is set by the State itself through its Constitution and its laws. Even the final power of the State must stop where the law stops it."

That is democracy in the United States. But alas, democracy in Sri

Lanka appears to be of a different brand. The State seems to be supreme!

Jaffna

Augustine Saverimuttu

DEBARRED ?

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

The results of the Efficiency Bar Examination held on 10-09-1983 for the Officers in Class II-Segment 'A' of the Local Government Clerical Service were out in the Government Gazette Part IV of 13-07-1984. It was shocking to note that 44 Sinhala Officers passed in the subject LAW and one Officer has passed in LAW and ACCOUNTS and out of this 29 officers complete this examination.

It is a curious coincidence that it is in these sad days of ethnic problems that 'None of the non-Sinhala officers has passed this examination' leaving room to ponder where the faults lie.

Batticaloa

L. Kandiah

"AS A MAN SOWETH..."

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Thanks to the statesmanship of the Indian Prime Minister, we have now a golden opportunity to end the current cancerous communal confrontation. It is gratifying that those at the helm of affairs are now evincing due concern to solve this sad problem. Had they only shown even a miniscule of this concern at the onset of the conflict some years ago, all the unnecessary shedding of blood might have been averted.

It would be unfair not to refer to the statesmanlike action of our Government, too, in grasping the hand it had earlier rejected, an action many would have been averse to take, out of a false sense of pride. Such praiseworthy actions on the part of both Governments raise high and healthy hopes.

But the fulfilment of such optimism is posing problems. The attainment of unanimity first within the Sinhala fold and the subsequent agreement with the Tamils seems rather remote.

But I believe that their opposition will peter out if the Government will take immediate measures to undo damage caused by the poisoning of the minds of innocent and ignorant sections of the Sinhala people that the Tamils are a race of unreasonable extortioners with aims and aspi-

rations that are inimical to Sinhala hegemony.

It appears that the propaganda machinery which has been used for maligning the Tamils is required now to be re-channelled to rectify matters. Culture and refinement depend on understanding and respecting another's values. Knowing the Sinhala people as I do, having had the opportunity for it by having lived in Sinhala areas from my 14th year (I am now nearly 76), first as a student at Trinity College and later as a Railway employee working and associating with Sinhala people of all levels and strata right from the unsophisticated labourer and villager to the Sinhala elite, I unhesitatingly assert that their hospitality and innate generosity overshadows the best of such qualities among Tamils.

The point is how we can retrieve ourselves from the mess we have got into. I offer a clue which has a spiritual base. The unambiguous utterance of sages and saints who are mouthpieces of God or the Supreme power have lucidly laid down that every experience in life, whether bitter or sweet, pleasurable or miserable, is a sort of crucible into which nature throws man to teach him, to push him a little forward, to mould him a little and make him blossom into higher consciousness.

They have also unflinchingly pointed out that the penalty for failure to learn the lessons is that the same experience is given again and again and again until the lesson is learnt.

This is based on the law of cause and effect and known in spiritual language as Karma. Though the Christians and Muslims do not accept Karma dogmatically, in practice they do so because they believe that "as a man soweth he reapeth."

In order to escape the adverse effects of this law, let us introspectively examine where we have acted wrongly, and make amends.

J. K. Retnanandam
Chunnakam

ALTERATION

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

I find that my name is printed in the SATURDAY REVIEW Refugee Relief Fund List of 25th May 1985.

This money that was collected from my classmates, was sent by me. So the name should be altered as 'Fana Gymnas Tamil Students.

A. P. Benjamin Raja
Norway

CRICKET

The following are the results of three under 17 cricket encounters in Jaffna.

JAFFNA CENTRAL VS. JAFFNA COLLEGE played at Jaffna College grounds.

Jaffna Central beat Jaffna College by 64 runs.

Jaffna College - 152 runs all out. Huxly - 41 runs, Jeyaranjan - 28 runs, Nithiyarajan 22 runs.

BOWLING Terry Mohan 6 for 28 runs, Nagathas 2 for 49 runs, Sritharan 1 for 11 runs, Vivekanandan 1 for 17 runs.

JAFFNA CENTRAL COLLEGE - 216 runs all out. Terry Mohan 97 runs, Vigneswaran 28 runs, Nagathas 21 runs, Mathew 18 not out.

BOWLING Nithiyarajah - 5 for 62 runs, Jeyaseelan - 2 for 34.

JAFFNA CENTRAL VS. ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE played at St. John's College grounds.

St. John's College beat Jaffna Central by 100 runs.

St. John's College - 1st innings 252 for 6. Vaheesan - 135 not out. Ruban - 32, Bavan - 28.

BOWLING Sritharan - 3 for 42 runs, Terry Mohan - 2 for 49 runs. Jaffna Central 152 all out, Terry Mohan - 47 runs, Kalavannan - 27 runs, Vivekanandan - 15 runs.

BOWLING Nihal - 4 for 39 runs, Jeyanthan - 2 for 33 runs, Raviraj - 2 for 24 runs.

JAFFNA CENTRAL VS. KOKUVIL HINDU COLLEGE played at Kokuvil Hindu College grounds.

Jaffna Central beat Kokuvil Hindu by 121 runs.

Kokuvil Hindu College - 206 all out. Mohan - 50 runs, Perinpanathan - 32 not out, Vimalrajah - 24 runs, Kuharajah - 19 runs.

BOWLING Nagathas - 4 for 51 runs, Sritharan - 2 for 29 runs, Terry Mohan - 2 for 44 runs.

JAFFNA CENTRAL - 327 for 4. Terry Mohan - 128 runs, Kalavannan - 56 not out, Sivachandran - 52 runs, Vivekanandan - 50 runs, Nagathas - 20 not out.

Terry Mohan and Sivachandran got 157 runs in 104 minutes.

BOWLING Vimalrajah - 1 for 25, Kuharajah - 1 for 40, Kirupananthan - 1 for 57 Perinpanathan - 1 for 75.

SOFT BALL CRICKET

Centralites won the Softball Cricket tournament by beating Mallakam Sports Club by an innings, thus winning the Centralites Cup in the final.

Centralites 1st innings - 92.

Mallakam - 47 and 35.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Kaput to Israeli Connection?

The Sri Lankan Government may ease out the Israeli connection, according to a front-page report by B. C. Perera in *The Island* (Monday 8th July).

The report runs: "The Government of Sri Lanka may ease out the Israeli connection shortly, a top Government source said. The apparent reason given is that unsettled situation that prevailed when Israeli help was called for has eased and that an 'appreciable section' of Sri Lankans have been trained in military intelligence gathering and therefore their purpose has been served.

"But a Government insider said that the real reason was the back-out by Saudi Arabia from giving aid amounting to approximately Rs. 1,350 million (US \$ 50 million) to a massive project involving the further development of the Mahaweli River Development Project".

The report adds: "The present spate of unexplained dismissals of many Sri Lankans working in Saudi Arabia and sending them back before their contracts are over is also attributed to Saudi dislike of the Israeli connection."

ROAD REPAIRS ACCELERATED

Rupees fifteen million has been allocated this year for the repair and maintenance of roads in the Jaffna District.

This was disclosed by the Government Agent, Jaffna, Mr. V. M. Panchalingam, at a Press Conference held on 9th July.

Mr. Panchalingam told the press that since the money allocated had to be spent this year, road repair and maintenance work

would be expedited and completed within the next four months.

Priority, he said, would be given to the bridges which had been damaged at Kaithady, Mulli, Chavakacheheri and other places.

The Government Agent also stated that about Rupees five million had been allocated this year for the extension of electricity supplies. This work would be handled by the Ceylon Electricity Board.

A'pura Hindu Images

Hindu images dating back to the tenth century A. D. have been unearthed at Anuradhapura.

The DAILY NEWS (9th July) carries the following report from its special group correspondent in Anuradhapura, on page 1:

"Nine important bronze images of the 10th-12th centuries A. D. (end of the Anuradhapura period) have been discovered at the excavations conducted by the Jethavana Project of the Cultural Triangle, at Anuradhapura. The images are Hindu and one of them bears an inscription in Grantha characters which mentions a mercantile corporation called Nandeshi which flourished at that time."

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THE CIRCULATION MANAGER,
SATURDAY REVIEW,
P.O. BOX 122,
JAFNA.

Government's Dilemma

The Government seems to be facing a bit of a dilemma.

Now that it is on talking terms with the Tamil militant groups, how does it refer to them?

Minister of State Anandatissa de Alwis thinks that Tamil youths should no longer be dubbed 'terrorists'. "We'll have to think of a new name for them" he told a press conference last week.

Taking the ministerial cue, the state-controlled Daily News now talks in its headlines about rebels and dissidents. But, ironically, in the body of the stories the Tamil militants are still wrapped up in the blanket term 'terrorists'.

Careless subbing or is it that bad habits die hard?

J. R. Indisposed

President J. R. Jayewardene is slightly indisposed and has cancelled all his public engagements for the next few days, the Presidential Secretariat announced on 9th July.

Hartal Shuts Down Jaffna

A week-long series of massive protest marches against the Thimpu talks climaxed in a hartal throughout the Jaffna District on Monday 8th July, to coincide with the start of the peace talks at Thimpu.

The hartal was a complete success. Shops were closed and the transport services completely paralysed. Schools too were deserted.

The breakdown in transport services hit government offices and public institutions as employees were unable to turn up for work.

In the run-up to the hartal, youths, students, members of the public, both men and women, and victims - directly or indirectly - of reprisals took part in

protest marches in virtually every electorate in Jaffna.

Apart from the opposition to the Thimpu negotiations, the protest marchers demanded the withdrawal of the armed forces from the Tamil areas, the release of Tamil youths still held in detention and uniting together of the Tamil militant groups.

Though shops and offices were open on Tuesday and transport services came back to normal, students, including Jaffna University undergraduates, boycotted classes and instead marched in their thousands throughout the streets of Jaffna voicing their opposition to the ongoing peace negotiations.

There were no incidents, either during the marches or on hartal day though helicopters buzzed overhead.

Workers, Tamils Must Link up Struggles

— Workers' Marxist League

"The only basis of a political solution with regard to the problem of the Tamil people should be and could be the recognition of the equal status of Sinhala people and Tamil people. This recognition could be confirmed only if the right of self-determination for the Tamil people, that is their right to decide their future including the right to establish a separate State, is recognised in fact constitutionally" states the Workers' Marxist Review, the Journal of the Workers' Marxist League.

The Journal goes on to say "Experience amply confirms that the Sixth Amendment was only a step in the direction of further repressing the Tamil people and has not helped in any way in solving the national question in Sri Lanka. The Marxists recognise the right to form a separate state by Tamil people not because it is their programme to scatter the existing nations. On the contrary the Marxist programme is to unite the most number of nations as possible, for it widens the field of class struggle. However Marxists reject the crude chauvinism of the J. V. P. type which declares war on the oppressed Tamil people who struggle for the realization of their right to self-determination, while paying lip service to the very same right. The unification of nations should be accomplished only on the basis of the wish of the oppressed nation and of course not on the basis of further oppression of the oppressed nation by the oppressing nation. The right of

a nation for self-determination should be exercised by that nation only and not by another nation which forcibly appropriates that right for itself....The working class could succeed in their struggle against the bourgeois order only if it recognises the right of the Tamil people for self-determination and combined the struggle of the Tamil people with their own struggle and of course not by succumbing to Sinhala chauvinism. If they rally round the Sinhala bourgeois leaders in the name of 'Saving the Nation' the time would not be far off when the bourgeois leaders would unleash the very same forces of 'Saving the Nation' against the working class itself."

HALLEY'S COMET

Halley's Comet, expected to make its appearance between November 1985 and April 1986, will be hardly visible from here, if at all from closest to Earth in the Northern Hemisphere or India, South Africa, South America and perhaps, Australia will be in for trouble.

"Fall of kings and those in commanding positions". Edward VII in England died in the same year of its last appearance.

(Send by Ramage Swami,
The Ashram, Pillayar Temple,
Chankanai)

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