

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 4 No. 20

3rd August 1985

Reading Makes a Man Perfect



SUPER MILK WHITE SOAP

OLD PRICE RS. 7-00

NEW PRICE RS. 6-00

Collect 2 Super Milk White Soap Wrappers and obtain One Milk White News No. 116

Milk White Soap Works

525/2, K. K. S. Road,

P. O. Box 77,

JAFFNA.

INDIA CANNOT DICTATE

Are some elements within the United National Party Government, the Security Forces and elsewhere trying to disrupt the three-month ceasefire and, thereby, the Thimpu talks?

We are prompted to ask this question because of certain developments that have taken place since the ceasefire came into effect on 18th June.

First, there was the story about an attempt to assassinate President Jayewardene on 11th July, a tall story according to the reckoning of most people.

The Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students (EROS) was promptly accused of complicity.

Equally promptly, EROS denied the charge. But the Lankapuwath News Agency (launched as the Sri Lanka link in the Nonaligned News Pool but now a tool of the Government) reported that EROS had claimed responsibility for whatever was said to have happened!

A Government spokesman belatedly admitted that EROS had nothing to do with it.

Later, there were the two ceasefire violations at Polikandy and Karainagar.

As reported in the SATURDAY REVIEW last week, in both instances the Security Forces were to blame, although the Colombo-based media tried to make out that Tamil militants had started it all.

The Security Forces were living up to their reputation as the "most indisciplined in the world".

As for the talks, leaks from various sources have revealed that it had been tough going at Thimpu from 8th to 12th July.

The militants had called most of the shots for most of the time that at one stage—significantly the day of the alleged assassination attempt—there was serious deadlock, which

was only resolved with the intervention of Indian Foreign Secretary Romesh Bhandari.

The second round of talks are scheduled to begin on 12th August.

What will be the outcome? This is the question people in the North and the South, as well as many overseas, are pondering.

Gandhi regime among the Tamil people in general.

But the Tamil people need not despair. India cannot impose a "solution" on the ethnic problem which is unacceptable to them. The Indian Prime Minister has to contend not only with Tamil Nadu but also with the other Southern states

A high-ranking Minister should enter the stage now. We suggest the name of Minister of Finance Ronnie de Mel, who has a good grasp of political realities. "The Boys" are likely to respond better to him than to National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali or any other.

Over to you, Mr. President.



Three Holes In The Heart

Visuvalingam Subashini, the eight-month old child butchered on board the "Kumuthini" on 15th May in the Kurikkaduwan massacre. (See page eight)

India has made it known that it wishes to see a political settlement within a United Sri Lanka. It has also indicated that it does not support the demand for a linkage of the Northern and the Eastern Provinces.

This has considerably weakened the negotiating position of the militant groups—and brought on some disillusionment about the Rajiv

of India, whose sentiment is strongly in favour of the militants' position.

We do not believe that the President's brother, Mr. H. W. Jayewardene, Q. C., is the ideal negotiator at this stage. A more politically involved person should head the Government delegation because what is aimed at is a political solution.

Now, Jaffna Cows Take On Army

Cows have a habit of straying. It happens all over. But they should have the sense not to stray into "prohibited zones" like Harbour View Hotel in Kankesanthurai, now an army camp.

One night they strayed there, probably thinking that they could have a hearty dinner, including left-overs of imported cheese and other goodies.

The ever alert soldiers thought that the approaching figures were "terrorists" crouching low.

And they opened fire.

They scored a bull's eye in each case.

Finally, seven cows lay dead.

But not for long. Satisfied that the cows were not carrying grenades strapped to their udders, they ended up in the stomachs of some lucky soldiers.

A fine barbecue it was!

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

No. 118, 4th Cross Street,
P. O. Box 122
JAFFNA.

Telegrams: SATVIEW

EDITOR
GAMINI NAVARATNE

Subscription Rates inclusive
of local postage and foreign
Air Mail Rate

Sri Lanka

Annual — Rs. 170/-
Half-year—Rs. 85/-

India

Annual — Rs. 225/-
(Indian Rupees)

Singapore / Malaysia—

Annual — U. S. \$ 30

All other Countries

Annual — U. S. \$ 50

Cheques payable to
New Era Publications Ltd.

Advertising Rates

Contracts — Rs. 15/- per
col. centimetre
Casual — Rs. 20/- per
col. centimetre

More 'Missing' Persons

The following is a list of names of the 'missing' youths from Natpidimuni, who were presumably shot dead on 17th May. (See S R of 20th July).

1. Rasiah S'valinga Sarma (28)
2. Kanapathippillai Nesadurai (22)
3. Veerakkuddy Thangavel (30)
4. Kanagasooriyar Kopalapillai (28)
5. Kulanthaivel Ponnuththurai (26)
6. Elaiathamby Selvarajah (27)
7. Thuraiappah Nadesan (21)
8. Sivanathapillai Kulasegaram (24)
9. Rasamanikkam Thiyagarajah (19)
10. Arumugam Nadesamoorthy (31)
11. Varatharajan Suresh (23)
12. Thambimuthu Packiyaraj (26)
13. Kulasegeram Selvanayagam (25)
14. Thambirasa Vivekanandan (22)
15. Gunaratnam Suthakaran (24)
16. Gunaratnam Muralitharan (22)
17. Mylvaganam Parameswaran (25)
18. Sathasivam Thangathurai (22)
19. Kanagaratnam Thangavel (19)
20. Mylvaganam Sotheeswaran (45)
21. Kanthapoody Pushparasa (22)
22. Gnanapiragasam Jeevanis (27)
23. Balasundaram Uthayakumar (22)
24. Ehamparam Thamilvanan (25)
25. Samithamby Suntharalingam (23)

Another Lebanon?

Mr. H. W. Jayewardene, Q.C. on his return from Thimpu after conferring with the Tamil representatives is reported to have said that their demands are impossible. The conference has been adjourned for a month. The whole country waits with bated breath. Unless some new thinking is done the indiscriminate killing will start again.

The Indian Prime Minister has repeatedly said that Sri Lankan Tamils cannot expect anything more than what the Indian States have in way of autonomy from the Centre. Is the Sri Lanka Government offering the same degree of autonomy to the Sri Lankan Tamils?

The position of the Sri Lanka Government appears to be that the Sri Lanka Tamils are just one of many ethnic groups in Sri Lanka and cannot have as of right anything special.

Is that a correct perspective? The status of a people living in a country is defined by accepted norms. The people living in a country can claim nation hood if they meet the following four criteria.

The people must (1) live in a common territory large enough to be viable, (2) have a common economic life, (3) have a common language, (4) have a common historical—psychological make-up.

In Sri Lanka only the Sinhalese and Tamils meet these four requirements. The other ethnic groups, the Muslims and Burghers, do not. So that clearly there are two types of minorities in Sri Lanka, National Minority and Ethnic Minority and all the uproar has been due to not recognising this crucial difference.

There is a reason for refusing to recognise the Sri Lankan Tamils as a National Minority. Sinhalese have been told by their leaders that the Tamils will divide the country and form a separate State. It is very necessary to look at this objectively. It is unfair to blame the Tamil people today for wars waged between Sinhalese and Tamils Kings centuries earlier, and the alleged consequences. The Sinhalese and Tamil people have lived together in Sri Lanka peace and amity for the last 500 years or more.

When independence came the Tamils felt it could not be just a continuation of colonial times and that they be allowed, within a united Sri Lanka, to look after their internal affairs in lands they have occupied for centuries. They satisfied the criteria of being a national minority.

Unfortunately the UNP and the SLFP could not agree for nearly thirty years on the devolution of power, if any, to the Tamils. What

the SLFP proposed the UNP opposed, and later what the UNP proposed, the SLFP opposed. This antagonism continues to this day and bedevils any attempt at a solution. A recent (1975) formal resolution calling for a separate State for the Tamils has been blown sky high, making all differences. That it was only a formal resolution is clear in that no steps were taken to implement it. On the other hand the Tamil representatives have accepted, even after the 1975 resolution, offers made within the framework of a United Sri Lanka at the All Party Conference and in Annexure 'C'. Even the final offer at the APC conference was not rejected by the TULF which only said that it did not come up to their expectations. This was not rejection, only a position to be taken at the commencement of negotiations. On the other hand the SLFP and the Buddhist clergy rejected the proposal outright. The President announced that the final APC proposal failed because TULF rejected that, again conceding the rift between the UNP and the SLFP on the Tamil question.

It is time the bogey of separatism and dividing the country is laid to rest. Until this is done there is no hope of peace. Actions speak louder than words. The Sri Lankan Tamils have by their actions shown repeatedly that all that they want is to look after their own internal

Lankan Tamils cannot expect anything more than what the Indian States have. This is clearly a message to the Sri Lankan government that the Status of an Indian State would be in order for the Sri Lankan Tamils.

There is a lurking fear among the Sinhalese that if the Tamils are given autonomy, they will separate and link up with Tamil Nadu. This is another bogey which needs to be laid to rest. For centuries the Sri Lankan Tamils have lived in Lanka and have had a separate identity. Even marriage with Indian Tamils was frowned upon. It is the Sinhalese politicians who have driven the Sri Lankan Tamils into the arms of Tamil Nadu. The Sri Lankan Tamils are profoundly grateful to Tamil Nadu for the help and support given. Once a satisfactory political situation is arrived at, the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees will return to Sri Lanka, which has been their home for centuries. There is absolutely no reason why the Sri Lankan Tamils should want to become part of Tamil Nadu. They are part of Sri Lanka and have lived happily with Sinhalese for centuries and if they are not discriminated against they will continue to do so.

It is true much blood has been shed in what American magazine 'Newsweek' of June 17th 1985 calls the 'brutal civil war' in Sri Lanka.

by Dr. R. W. C. Thambiah

affairs, and develop their language, religion and culture. This can in no imaginable way be of any harm to the Sinhalese. The Sinhalese can continue to develop their agriculture and industry in their luscious land and their culture and religion to their hearts content. There is a Buddhist revival. The Sangha has a full time job of spreading the noble teachings of the Buddha. A religion which marries the system becomes a widow to the next generation.

The right of nationals living in a country is enshrined in two International Human Rights Covenants to which the present Sri Lankan Government in 1981 voluntarily subscribed and agreed to adhere. The right of nationals to self-determination and non-discrimination are enshrined in this Covenant. It is the Tamils who must determine for themselves how they should be governed and they will do so according to the way they are treated by the Sinhalese.

Even at the Thimpu conference all that the Tamil representatives asked for was for the same status as an Indian state. This cannot be refused on the plea that it will be dividing the country. India is a United Sovereign State with a number of provincial States. The P.M. of India has repeatedly said that the Sri

The leaders of both sides should work hard to heal. Till then, if necessary, an external Power like India can guarantee the preservation of demarcated boundaries so that time alone will heal the old wounds and Sinhalese and Tamils will begin to like each other.

Unfortunately the whole problem is in a mix. Any proposal put forward by the Sri Lanka government will face opposition. The Opposition want a general election or at least a referendum. In the state in which the feelings in the country are, a general election or referendum is bound to create clashes and the Tamils in the North, East, Up-country will also be attacked. There will be the usual allegations of rigging and the results disputed. It will take us no nearer a solution.

The only way out is for the President to make up his mind and act. If his fear that the Tamil militants will refuse to negotiate and will insist on Eelam, he should now be reassured. They have come unanimously and negotiated and agreed to remain within a united Sri Lanka, with the same status as an Indian state. This is what the Prime minister of India said what the Sri Lankan Tamils can expect. The President should be bold, if he does not want Sri Lanka to become another Lebanon.

TAMIL DEMANDS AT THE THIMPU TALKS

Mr H.W. Jeyewardene, Q.C., Government's chief delegate in the Thimpu Conference has according to press reports, reported to the Cabinet that the Tamil representatives at Thimpu had stated that any solution to the ethnic problem should be based on four cardinal principles, namely;

1. The recognition of the Tamils of Sri Lanka as a distinct "nationality,"
2. The recognition and guarantee of the "territorial integrity" of the identified Tamil homelands,
3. The recognition of the inalienable rights of self-determination of the "Tamil Nation."
4. The recognition of the rights of citizenship and other fundamental rights of all Tamils to look upon the Island as their home.

Mr. Jayewardene has also reported that "a political settlement of the Tamil question cannot be made either on the basis of the claim to be a separate nation or nationality distinct from other racial groups that are citizens of Sri Lanka or on the basis of a claim to be heirs to a territorially demarcated area 'the traditional homelands of the Tamils' transcending the provincial boundaries of the Northern and Eastern Provinces since both such claims were inconsistent with and contradictory to a "United Nation."

He has further reported that "if the demand that the proposal for a political settlement would recognise the right of the Tamils for self-determination extends to the point of an absolute right it can only mean the totally unacceptable claim for a separate state by whatever name it is called. If it means the granting of a reasonable degree of autonomy under the existing Constitution, according to Sri Lanka's concept of participatory democracy, the Government is prepared to grant such autonomy and has founded its proposals on those basic principles."

The nationhood of the Tamils and the consequential right of the Tamils for self-determination are indisputable and are fundamental to the issues that the Thimpu parley will face. It is very unfortunate that Mr. Jeyewardene has cautioned the Government against the recognition of Tamils as a nation with the right of self-determination contrary to historical facts and well known political concepts.

The universally accepted definition of a nation is that it is "a historically evolved stable community of people formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture." That the Sri Lankan Tamils possess all these common characteristics and constitute a nation in the present Sri Lankan state is beyond dispute.

History records that Tamils are a distinct nationality from ancient times. Mr. Senaka Bandaranayake, Lecturer in Archeology at the Peradeniya University, in his book "Sri Lanka - Island Civilisation" at page 75, says "The other ancient people who form a distinct nationality are the indigenous Tamils, also inhabitants of the Island from prehistoric times."

The Cleghorn Minute of 1797 records:- "Two different nations (the Sinhalese and the Tamil nations), from a very ancient period, have divided between them the possession of the Island."

It is a fact of history that the Jaffna Kingdom with a preponderant Tamil population ruled (except perhaps for a very brief period) by Tamil kings was consolidated between the 12th and 14th centuries AD and existed till it was overthrown in battle by the Portuguese.

The common territory of the Tamil people, from very ancient times, has been the northern and eastern regions of the Island, irrespective of the fact as to who ruled. The first ever population census of 1827 revealed that the Northern and Eastern provinces were the main homelands of the Tamil people and that only a few hundred Buddhists lived in the Trincomalee and Vavuniya districts at that time.

For a nation, particularly when it is a minority, to preserve its identity, a homeland is a *sine qua non*. The fate that overtook the ancestors of a section of the people in the Western coast, which section now claims to be Sinhalese, is still vivid in Tamil memory. Only 150 years ago they proudly claimed that they were Tamils. But living in the midst of an overwhelming Sinhalese population they could not preserve their identity and this descendants are all Sinhalese today. If the Tamil character of the Northern and Eastern pro-

vinces is destroyed then the Tamil Nation will not survive in Sri Lanka. The identity and nationhood of the Tamils are being preserved in Sri Lanka today because Tamils have a homeland in these two provinces to preserve them. The emphasis on a Tamil homeland is for the preservation of the identity of the Tamils. In this connection it may be remembered that the Federal Party in the model constitution for a Federal Republic of Ceylon it submitted to the Constituent Assembly in 1971 recommended that the Amparai District should be a muslim majority state.

To treat the Tamils as a mere racial and political minority is an insult to them. The Tamils, who are a nation, have rights of their own, whereas a minority has no rights except those given willingly or unwillingly by the majority as favours. A minority secures, as Mujibur Rahuman said "every bit of its reasonable de-

unless the ruler constantly infringes on the rights of the smaller nation.

The right of self-determination means that only the nation itself has the right to determine its destiny. The establishment of a state of its own is not necessarily the destiny of every nation. There are innumerable examples of nations who, of their own choice, live unitedly with other nations in one state to their own benefit and to the benefit of the union. The success or failure of the union depends on the success or failure of the ruler to keep the Nation together. But the act of keeping a minority nation united with the majority nation by force is in itself an action of national oppression and is bound to bring national antagonism and friction.

Minority nations know from their own everyday experience the advantages of a united state and would not risk session unless national oppression and friction made their existence in a common State intolerable. When placed under intolerable circumstances the urge of a minority nation will be to safeguard its own existence even at the cost of a union state.

In Sri Lanka, history will show the Tamils were driven to make the demand for the "restoration and reconstitution of Tamil Eelam" because no Government was willing to find a solution to their problem, the existence of which is generally accepted.

If a viable alternative where the Tamil nation will have the legal sanction "to arrange its life in the way it wishes" is worked out, the question of a Separate State will not arise even when the Right of Self Determination is recognized. This alternative may be found under a federal set-up or on basis of autonomy.

The talk of "One Nation-One Country" is pedalled by people who think that Sri Lanka is the homeland of one race belonging to one religion and speaking one language and that the others must be assimilated or remain for ever second class citizens. Responsible Sinhalese leaders and the mass media repeatedly talk of a Sri Lankan Nation, which unified nation never existed during the 2500 years of Sri Lanka's history. It is this talk of a uni-national Sri Lankan state which frightens the Tamils into demanding a separate state for themselves. The Tamils fear that in the creation of

by **V. Dharmalingam,**
Ex-MP for Manipal

mand from the majority at tremendous cost and after bitter struggle as if snatched from an unwilling foreign rulers as reluctant concessions."

Social democracies in all countries have recognised and proclaimed the inherent right of nations to self-determination. Sri Lanka is styled a "Democratic Socialist Republic" its Constitution. The basis of socialism in the socialist countries of the world is the recognition of the right of self-determination of the smaller nations. If this recognition is not given socialism will degenerate into the national socialism of the Nazi pattern.

The demand for the recognition of the right of the Tamil nation for self-determination need not be identified with the demand for a separate state. Self-determination is not another name for separate state. The right of divorce is inherent in every marriage. This does not mean that every married couple sought divorce once the marriage took place. On the contrary, freedom to divorce helps to keep both parties together without infringing on each others rights. No nation in a multi-national state, where two or more nations with the right to secede have joined together, will ever think of seceding

(Continued on page 7)

Never before has the woman's role in development and the rise, fall and rise again of her status been discussed so heatedly as in the past few months. New Delhi has been the venue of not only the non-governmental organisations (NGO's) meet to review the U.N. sponsored women's decade but also of the NAM meet of 54 countries and 10 international organisations. Both meetings are evidence of the importance India attaches to women's issues.

Women have marched ahead and no one can deny it. For almost 18 years a woman, Indira Gandhi, headed a nation of 750 million people. When she was assassinated and doubts and fears were expressed about the future of Indian women, 42 women were elected to the Indian Parliament by a massive mandate in December 1984 elections, with 22 women nominated to the Rajya Sabha, this is the largest representation of women in Parliament in 33 years. To ensure that the woman's position was not weakened in society, there was also the largest ever turnout of women voters in the elections i.e. 58.5 per cent.

The Indian woman has been more vocal than ever before in fighting for her rights and raising her voice against prejudice and discrimination. The revolution is taking place in the countryside as well as in the big cities. The only difference is that it is slow and quiet in the rural areas and more obstreperous in the big cities. But the change is clearly visible.

This is not to mean that all is well yet. As was recently pointed out at a meeting in Delhi conducted by three non-governmental organisations, the All-India Women's Conference, the YWCA and the National Federation of Indian Women, there is so much more to be done. In the rural areas a woman still cooks a meal on wood or coal fuel, thereby inhaling smoke to the equivalent of 30 packets of cigarettes a day. Another alarming fact is that the scientific knowledge of aminocentesis—prenatal tests—is being used more for female infanticide than for genetic studies. Sometimes, also, the two gains of the decade: a greater awareness of women's problems and progress made in health education and towards economic participation, are neutralised by bad management of funds.

NEW IMAGE

The Indian woman is seeking a new image, and the movement is spearheaded by a small but vocal minority of educated women. No longer is she willing to accept a role both self-sacrificing and faceless. Whether it is the air hostesses of the national carrier fighting against their compulsory retirement or getting pregnant or Delhi school

teachers moving the Supreme Court against the dishonourable assault by a principal, the urban woman refuses to be insulted, humiliated and discriminated against.

The seed for emancipation has been planted in the rural areas too, where more and more women are demanding that land given by the government to the landless should be in the name of both husband and wife. The existing laws that ensure equality for women are being fully utilised and, where necessary, efforts are being made to enforce new, effective legal protection.

THE DECADE OF WOMEN REVIEWED

by

USHA RAI

Special Correspondent "The Times of India" New Delhi.

With the revitalisation of the women's movement social attitudes and prejudices against women are marginally less today but there is no denying the increase in the crimes against women, especially in the urban areas. No one is able to explain this phenomenon of increasing crimes against women, whether it is in the garb of hooliganism at festival times, eve-teasing on the public transport system or the actual igniting of a wife who is unable to improve her husband's material status. Is it due to the fact that more such crimes are publicised by the increasing tribe of women journalists or is this a part of the urban milieu and the frustrated male's way of showing his insecurity at the changing tide of affairs?

To check the crimes against women the NGO's meeting suggested remedial steps, including changes in the laws of the country. It suggested that cells comprising of trained social workers and lawyers be attached to the police station so that they can advise and guide women who come to report complaints.

RAPE CASES

Assault on women, it has been suggested, should be made a cognisable offence. If the police refuse to register the complaints, as very often happens, the woman should be heard by a magistrate. In case of rape, if there is no government hospital or doctor within a radius

of three kilometres of the incident the report of the private doctor should be accepted by the court.

Whatever possible the crime against women should be tried in family courts and the punishment under the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women Act (SITA) for the customer a minimum of three years. For rape of a minor a minimum of 10 years imprisonment has been suggested.

Eve teasing is more an urban phenomena and in the Capital of India Delhi Administration has made it a cognisable offence.

What is glaring today is that the sharp increase in the cost of living makes it no longer possible to run a home on a single salary. Traditionally the Indian woman has always assisted her male in the rural areas, tilling, sowing and harvesting, but in the urban areas the number of working women has increased substantially only recently.

Though women are considered more conscientious and responsible workers, for skilled and technical jobs men are preferred still. After the year-long textile strike in Bombay the number of women employed in the textile industry dropped from 20 per cent to five per cent. The mill owners were reluctant to take back women.

An important recommendation for improving the employment potential of women is that they be trained in modern industries and priority be given for inservice training in textile, tobacco, coir, cashew and other industries where mechanisation is throwing women out of traditional jobs.

WORKING WIVES

In the big cities men are demanding working wives but are still not prepared to share household duties and responsibilities. The result is that most working women work a double shift: one in the home and the other in the office. They are acknowledged smarter and more outgoing but many girls have to submissively hand over their wages to their husbands or mother-in-law. The NGO's meeting has sought

recognition for women's unpaid work both in the homes and in farms. It pleaded that a method be evolved for computing women's work.

Unlike in the west, where the posts of sales girls, receptionists and typists invariably go to women, in India they must still compete for them with men. In fact there has been a steady decline in women's employment between 1961 and 1981. They have lost traditional occupations as a result of changes which have transferred productive activity from homes and cottages to factories and machines. Conscious and unconscious biases of employers operate against their recruitment in various occupations. The power structure in traditional families and communities prevents them from seeking and obtaining adequate attention or outside employment and thereby securing independent incomes and status.

The innumerable gadgets that have lessened the drudgery of household chores in Western homes have not yet reached the metropolitan cities of India, leave alone villages which continue to be in the bullock-cart age. The average village lass spends three hours a day just collecting fuel and fodder from the nearest forests and water from ponds, wells and mountain streams. This is particularly so in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh.

With the sinking of tubewells on a large scale all over the country, drinking water has been brought to doorsteps of some villages but for washing clothes and bathing women still have to walk long distances carrying earthen pots on their head.

Moreover invaluable services rendered by women to keep the home fires have so far gone uncomputed economically. Dr. M.S. Swaminathan, in a lecture in 1982, pointed out that 250,000 villages of India would have remained waterless if the onus of collecting water had been left to men.

BETTER SCOPE

To raise the status of the rural women, it is therefore vital to provide them basic necessities like fuel and water in the village itself. It is only then they can have the time to do other things. Since in rural area a lot of the women's time is spent in collecting fuel and fodder, it has been suggested that women be given access to wastelands so that they grow their requirement of fuel and fodder.

One of the fundamental rights in the Indian Constitution is that there will be discrimination on the basis of caste, creed and sex. To improve the lot of women many laws have been enacted. But the problem is mainly one of ignorance of these laws and therefore inability to use them for

The Decade...

(Continued from page 4)

seeking justice. The maternity law in India entitles women to three months leave. On returning to work, she is entitled to short breaks for nursing her child till he or she is 15 months old. The NGOs have therefore suggested the setting up for a central maternity fund for pregnant women with contributions from the government employees. In 1978 the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Children Act was amended to make it more effective. Two criminal law amendment bills were passed by Parliament just last year to amend the Indian Penal Code, the Indian Evidence Act and the Criminal Procedure Code to make them more stringent for protection of women against rape and other crimes, Cruelty to women by the husband and other relations is punishable today.

The legal age of marriage of girls and boys has been raised from 15 to 18 and 18 to 21, respectively, and offences under the Act have been made cognisable. Though the practice of child marriage is on the decline, it is still a major problem in rural India.

MANY SAFEGUARDS

It is heartening to note that in keeping with the time where a case does come before the law court, the judiciary has interpreted statutes and laws in keeping with the spirit of the constitution and social changes sought to be brought about in the country. The Delhi High Court, for example, refused to recognise any custom which obliges an earning wife to resign her job and join her husband or to abandon all her rights in favour of her husband. The court clarified that recognition of such a right of the husband would go against the Constitutional guarantee of equality before the law and equal protection of law to both husband and wife.

The Supreme Court rejected the petition of an employer who sought to reduce the maternity benefits of woman plantation workers to six days a week since Sunday were normally wageless holiday. The Supreme Court ruled that Indian Foreign Service (conduct and discipline) Rules, 1961, which required that a female employee should seek the written permission of the government before solemnisation of her marriage and stated that no married woman shall be entitled as a matter of right to be appointed to the service, were violative of the guarantee of equal rights. Similarly, the Air India Service Regulations which said that an air hostess would retire from service on her first pregnancy was declared unreasonable and arbitrary.

The Indian woman slowly but perceptibly gaining a place for herself in Society.

(Courtesy "Indian and Foreign Review" Govt. of India Publications Division.)

GUERRILLA WARFARE: REBIRTH IN THE '80s

The public support given by the Reagan administration to guerilla resistance forces in Afghanistan and Nicaragua has drawn attention to one of the more bizarre and apparently novel features of the second cold war—the promotion by the USA of guerillas in campaigns against leftwing and pro-Soviet regimes in the Third World.

From the Mujahidin in Afghanistan and the Contras of Nicaragua, to the guerilla in Cambodia, the UNITA forces in Angola, and the offers of support to the Eritrean opponents of the Ethiopian Derg, it appears that Washington, and in particular the CIA, is now trying to turn against the left the instrument of popular warfare that has proved so successful against the U. S. A. and its allies in the decades since World War II.

U. S. A. was forced into ignominious retreat, abandoning its allies in that country as abjectly as Nixon had abandoned the generals of Saigon.

But the use of guerillas against Soviet allies is above all a reflection of a deeper phenomenon, one that draws attention to the limits as well as the possibilities of guerilla warfare. Guerillas cannot operate in a vacuum—they need some base in the population. This reality was one that the counter-insurgency of the 1960s sought to obliterate.

The reality upon which the current wave of right-wing guerillas feeds is that of a series of Third World revolutions that came to power in the 1970s but which have not yet been able to consolidate their position.

by
Fred Halliday

This spate of U. S. backing for guerillas reflects a number of shifts in the relationship of the USA and its allies to the third world. First of all, it reflects a decision by the USA to hit as hard as it can at Soviet allies, what Reagan terms "proxies", in the third world.

Instruments other than guerilla harassment have been used in the same cause: economic pressure and radio campaigns to name but two, both used to heighten popular discontent in these countries. The use of guerillas is a calculated move, designed to overextend these regimes and pay the left back for the damage it inflicted by the same tactics in the 1960s and the 1970s.

U.S WEAKNESS

It reflects at the same time a U. S. weakness—the virtual inability of the U. S. A. itself to use military force directly in the Third World. Much as Reagan has tried to excoriate what he disparagingly terms "the Vietnam Syndromes" i.e. the healthy prudence that Vietnam engrained in the American people, he has not as yet been able to win support for direct intervention in Central America. He did use force in Grenada, but this was in military terms a trivial affair. After the much more serious commitment of forces to Lebanon the

It is, in effect, a testimony to the success which leftwing guerillas did score in the 1970s, coming to power in nearly a dozen countries—from Indo-China through the Portuguese colonies of Africa and Zimbabwe to Nicaragua. The purpose and the occasion for the CIA's policies is to hit these regimes when they are still weak.

BIG DANGERS

The success of left-wing guerillas in the 1970s and the rash of rightwing ones in the 1980s should, however, draw attention to the dangers of any rash generalisation about this mode of warfare.

First of all, there is nothing politically specific about the guerilla or "little war" irregular operations against the state can be used by left or right and have been ever since this practice began in the Napoleonic wars.

Nor is the encouragement of anti-communist guerillas so new, after World War II. Britain and the U. S. A. sent hundreds of guerillas on a futile mission into Albania, the CIA trained Tibetan Khampas in the 1960s, as well as tribal irregulars in Laos and Vietnam.

Historical perspective also suggests that while guerillas can triumph the conditions under which they do so are exacting ones. First they usually rely on

a secure base area, a country that will support them, as Morocco and Tunisia did the FLN in Algeria, and Mozambique did the Zimbabweans.

What we have seen in recent weeks are several cases where the host countries are beginning to show signs of strain in connection with their guerilla guests—the Sudanese with the Eritreans, the Hondurans with the contras, the Thais with the Cambodians, even the Pakistanis with the Afghans. How long these hosts will hold out depends on the inducements, which others especially the U.S.A. will offer them.

THE DILEMMA

Secondly, what is most difficult for a guerilla force to do is to make the transition from military to political activity. It is as if, like a plane, guerilla movements stall if they lose momentum. This was evident in Europe and Asia in the aftermath of World War II—left-wing guerillas in Greece, Italy, France, Malaya all lost influence in the transition to peacetime politics. The same challenge faces the southern Sudanese SPLA in aftermath of the coup in Khartoum that has offered them a political space; just as it also confronts the left-wing guerillas of El Salvador in response to the negotiation offers of President Duarte.

Most important of all, guerillas can only triumph through a combination of military and political pressure: the former on its own does not work. If the target state will not concede, then it becomes far more difficult for guerillas to prevail.

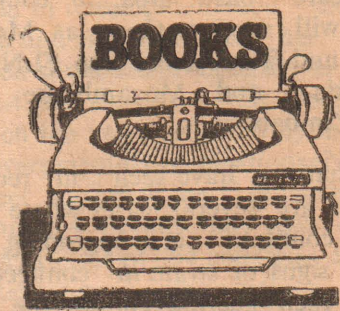
It is much easier to use guerrilla pressure against a colonial power, like Portugal, or one that has sent troops from far away, as in Vietnam. Guerilla warfare has far less chance of success in attempting to detach one part of a single country through secession as the Kurds, Eritreans, Baluchis and others have found.

By the same token, it stands little chance of success against forces that are prepared for a long-drawn war and to pay the political and military price the Afghan Mujahidin seem to be learning this lesson.

NOT EASY

The range of guerilla experiences therefore, suggest that it is not a tool that can easily be used to alter regimes; guerilla warfare can only succeed under very specific conditions.

(Courtesy, "The Times of India")



PATHINORU EEZHATTU KAVIGNARGAL: Edited by M. A. Nuhmaan and Yesuraja; pp 216; price Rs. 20; Published by Cre-A, 268, Royapettah High Road, Madras-14.

Confronted with the series of poems of consummate artistry in this anthology, one initially feels overwhelmed by the authenticity of the poetic voices and the architectonics of the poems. This is followed by an unqualified admiration for the Eelam poets. Therefore, if the intention of the editors of this anthology—Nuhmaan and Yesuraja,—two of the poets whose oeuvre is included in it, was to impress readers in Tamil Nadu by the classic content of modern Tamil poetry in Sri Lanka, they have been definitely successful.

Eleven poets. Of five generations. To the first belongs Mahakavi who started writing in 1943. To the second Murugaiyan and Neelavanan who started in the early 50s. Ponnambalam, Nuhmaan, Shanmugam Sivalingam, and Tha. Ramalingam who began writing in the 60s form the third generation; the Marxist poets Sivasekharam, Yesurajan and Jayapalan, who start functioning in the 70s, the fourth. To the fifth generation belongs Cheran. The division into generations is based on the time the poets started writing. Their period of activity may often overlap. For example, Mahakavi, who started writing in the 40s, continued to till 1971 when he died. Again, those who began writing in the 60s, and the 70s, are still at it. The anthology includes poems written after 1960. As the editors say in their introduction, a remarkable fact of the poems is the pervasive social concern, of course leavened by the artistic imagination of each of the poets. An interesting question is whether the poems written between 1940 (when the first of the poets presented in this anthology, Mahakavi, began writing), and 1960, reveal the same degree of social concern, and if not, why?

The fact that five poems of each of the 11 poets is chosen with the intention of making felt the versatility of each poet, and the fact that each of the poets is a sensitive and creative man who can freeze one moment of

experience into a poem of great and lasting impact, makes categorisation difficult, if not impossible. But each does leave the mark of his personality on his work, and this is most evident when there are really sharp differences in the style and content of the poems.

The tenor, for example, in Mahakavi's poem against caste-bigotry in *Therum Thingalum*, is different from that in Cheran's *Mayaana Kaandam* on the same subject. Mahakavi laments that Man, who has set foot on the moon, is yet wallowing in the mire of caste differences; Cheran is simply outraged at the murder of a friend by landlords. When Cheran rambles on...*Unadhu veettal avargal koluttinar...Unadhu Nilattal avargal PaRittanar...Inru, Unnai konranar, Unnai avargal Konranar...* In the repetition of *Unnai avargal konranar*, one comes face to face with the anger, rage, outrage of a deeply affected man.

This contrast, pointed out by the introduction, extends to style too. While the older poets are traditionalists as far as form is concerned, verse forms being dear to them, the younger poets are aware of the music of the spoken language, and show more concern for content. After all, if the content is not poetic, the verse form will be but a gleaming shell embodying precious little. But Mahakavi, Murugaiyan and Neelavanan have such mastery over prosody, that their verses appear to be made for whatever thought they embody. In fact Mahakavi's *agaligal* is so consummately turned out in *aruseer viruttams*, the approach to the *Indra* incident is so sophisticated, that I feel the Eelam poet scores more than a point over S. D. S. Yogiari who had himself produced a worthy poem on *Ahalya*. Mahakavi's *Agaligai* is crisp lyrical, a fine work of art, and Yogiari's poem tends to be prolix, repetitive, though inspired.

If Mahakavi is a realist who deals with the real with rare psychological insight in a manner his own, Murugaiyan tends to be introspective, analytical, philosophical. *Irandanyiram aandu pazhaiya sumai engalukku*, is highly characteristic of the poet. It deals with the problems of memory and experience. Can Man, especially in the east, cast away the unwanted burden of inertia, and become the architect of a world in which all men are equal?

Murugaiyan's *Kootruvan golu*, is a triumph of deliberate artistry.

The idea that man, with the gradual accumulation of destructive weapons, has slowly been making the work of the god of death redundant, is elaborated with underplayed drama and such superb characterisation and wit, that I cannot but consider it a masterpiece.

While four of Neelavanan's poems are characterised by varying degrees of obscurity...his...*"Paavam Vaadhiyar,"* which is a narrative proves a fine poem by its earthy wisdom and disarming humour.

Ponnambalam is the one poet who is greatly different from the rest, a contemplative as he is. His poems reflect the flashes of calm that sweep away his inner frustrations.

Nuhmaan's book of poems has already been reviewed in these columns. The marxian outlook colours the poems of some of the Lanka Tamil poets of the 60s too, and Nuhmaan is no exception. *Thaathamaarum Paerargalum* that runs into eight pages, he almost sums up the history of Islamic nations, and succeeds in powerfully presenting the call for the Islamic brotherhood as a poly of the oppressors to keep the masses in subjugation. *"Pirai-kodi parakkum idangalil ellam,*

nettru nadantha nigazhchigal enna," asks Nuhmaan, and goes on to quote history, unimpeachable fact. He ends up exhorting the poor Muslims to call the bluff of their rich 'brethren' by gaining class consciousness. What Nuhmaan does to Islam, Yesuraja does to Christianity. In *Ariyap-padaathavarin ninaivaaga*, entering into the cemetery, he finds class difference written on the very graves of the dead. The graves of the rich are easily identifiable, well-maintained, those of the poor unidentifiable.

Among the younger poets, Jayapalan needs special mention. He is able to come up with memorable phrases like in his description of the seashore as *"Kaalamagal MaNaleduthu Koalamitta Kadarapuram."* His *"Kanniyakumarriyil oru Kavidhai pozhudhu,"* is a poem of exquisite beauty that is addressed to the Tamils in India—an appeal for help, and with such dignity and self-respect. This book is a must, if ever there was one, for all lovers of Tamil poetry. Cre-A deserves congratulations for bringing it out. The jacket design is excellent, the biographical notes on the poets add to the value of the anthology.

N. Krishnaswamy.

(Courtesy: INDIAN EXPRESS 16-6-1985.)

FROM A STUBBORN SON...

*Dear Pearl of the Orient,
There was a time when
I felt proud of your beauty;
to serve you was joy
to toil for you my mission
to belong to you gave dignity.*

*Even when the white man raped you
squeezed out your charming youth
violated your virginity
with his mechanical, mercenary hands,
and then treated with scorn
your culture, your tongue, your
poverty
yet I stood by you.
I still took pride
in the colour of my skin,
I still dearly cherished
the identity you had given,
and I set to work again
restoring your former glory.*

*But how can I believe
the way your attitudes changed...
And how
flowers and fruits grace not your
gardens
but chopped limbs, smashed skulls,
entrails*

*of those unnamed, unknown thousands
who never deserved your betrayal.
The melody of birds are heard no more
but haunting voices in the winds
of those hovering restless spirits
which hoarsely clamour for justice.
Your 'picturesque' towns and villages
are now cluttered with smashed cars
broken furniture, burnt buildings.
Your face is smeared with blood
which you drank unsatiated,
You stink, Taprobane
you reek of rotting human flesh.*

*Yet with distortions, with lies
you powder your haggardness
you perfume your stink
and vainly try to present
an image you no longer possess
to those ever prying foreign eyes,
so that your body can still be sold
and your flagging 'trade' restored.*

*So how can you now blame me
for no longer loving you?
How, how can you yet blame me
when I strive so much to cleanse you?*

— Suresh

Appreciation

Rev. Fr. J. B. Packianathar

The death occurred recently with startling suddenness at the General Hospital, Colombo, of the Rev. Fr. John Baptist Packianathar, Prior General of the Congregation of the Rosarians. Fr. Packianathar as Head of the Congregation of the Rosarians was residing at the Rosarian Head Quarters at Bangalore, India.

Fr. Packianathar received his entire secondary education at St. Patrick's College, Jaffna, where he was a brilliant student and yearly carried away a number of prizes and medals. His school record was something unprecedented. At that time he was an inmate of the Catholic Seminary with the intention of joining the priesthood.

On passing the London Matriculation Examination, John Baptist as he was known at school, joined the Oblate Seminary in Colombo whose Director then was the Rev. Fr. Thomas Cooray, now Cardinal Cooray and Archbishop Emeritus of Colombo. Fr. Cooray had a special fondness for John Baptist.

John Baptist later joined the Congregation of the Rosarians and was ordained a Rosarian priest in Jaffna in 1949 by the late Rt. Rev. Dr. John Guyomar, the then Bishop of Jaffna. He was thereafter attached to the Rosarian Ashram at Tholagatty in Jaffna, founded by the late Rev. Fr. B. A. Thomas in 1928. It was at the inspiration of Fr. Thomas that Fr. John Baptist appended the name Packianathar.

Fr. Packianathar was later sent over to India to assist the pioneering Rosarian priests there. He spent 21 years in India and was instrumental in founding several Rosarian Ashrams both in North and South India.

On the death of Fr. Thomas, Fr. Packianathar succeeded him as Superior of the Rosarian Ashram at Tholagatty in Jaffna, in the year 1972. The Arul Ashram which is a beautiful edifice and an architectural master-piece was solely designed and erected by him in Chundikuli, Jaffna, and was inaugurated in the year 1980.

In 1982 he was elected Prior General of the Rosarian Congregation and moved over to his Head Quarters in Bangalore. The Ashram at Kochchikade, Negombo, was founded by him in 1984 after consultation with the Archbishop of Colombo. He was responsible for training several Rosarian priest both in Sri Lanka and India and instilled into them the spirit of the Founder.

Fr. Packianathar was an exemplary priest. Always self-effacing and self-sacrificing, he possessed an extreme sense of piety and humility. In fact he was a highly venerated priest who had renounced the world in the true sense. Scrupulously dedicated to his sacred calling he worked untiringly to the last unmindful of the hazards to his health. Although suffering from a multiplicity of ailments, he carried them all unrevealingly and uncomplainingly.

He came to Sri Lanka on one of his usual visits when he took student leave in Negombo and died in the short span of two days having been admitted to two Nursing Homes in Negombo and Colombo and then to the General Hospital, Colombo, where he passed away.

His mortal remains were brought to Jaffna where they lay in the Chapel of the Arul Ashram which he built, for one day and were removed to the Rosarian Ashram at Tholagatty the next day for burial. There was an unprecedented crowd comprising Bishops, priests, nuns and laity and also members of the public of all faiths at the funeral ceremony and the burial.

Fr. Packianathar is dead but his memory will live enshrined in the hearts and minds of all those who have known him and held him in veneration. His life will also serve as an inspiration and an edifying lesson to them all.

— Augustine Saverimuttu

TAMIL....

(Continued from page 3)

uni-national Sri Lanka their identity and nationhood will be mortgaged without any chance of redemption. The identity of the Sinhalese, who are a preponderant majority, will always be preserved even when Sri Lanka becomes a uni-national State.

For true democracy to survive in Sri Lanka the Tamils should not only be recognised as a nation but the equality (not quantitative but qualitative) of the Sinhalese and Tamil nations has also to be accepted. It must not merely be that all persons are equal it must also be that the Sinhalese and the Tamil Nations are equal.

The mistrust that has been growing between the Sinhalese and Tamil peoples must be eliminated and the Socio-political unity of the two peoples must be developed. In a multinational state, like Sri Lanka, this unity can be achieved only by retaining the peculiar characteristics of each nation and not by the majority nation devouring the minority nation.

World Conference On UN Decade for Women

CHANGES HARD TO MAKE

The United Nations Decade for Women, entitled "equality, development and peace", and devoted to the position of women in society, is nearing its end. This, however does not also mean an end to the struggle for promoting the position of women, which is inseparable from the struggle for the promotion of the general position of all people in the world.

The results achieved is the implementation of the objectives of the UN Decade for Women—promotion of equality, their participation in development and their contribution to peace, as well as employment, education and health will be assessed by the participants of the world conference set for July in Nairobi. The main task of the participants at this important conference is to determine a plan of activities up to the year 2000.

The final meeting of the UN Decade for Women was preceded by the first UN conference on the position of women in the world, held in 1975 in Mexico City, and another one in mid-1980 in Copenhagen. In accordance with the decisions of those meetings, many regional meetings and seminars were held over the past decade, at which prospects for the settlement of problems faced by women and for their greater involvement in development were reviewed.

men give as much as two-thirds of total time devoted to agriculture and cattle breeding.

Even though it is well known that in developing countries women run one-third of all families, up until recently aid organizations for those countries extended assistance exclusively to men. In Bangladesh, for example, seed was given to men although women as a rule cultivate the country's grain.

In spite of the growing participation of women in the world economy over the past few years although not to a sufficient extent in many places the lagging behind affects both women and the national economies, especially in developing countries.

A report by the World Health Organization (WHO) secretary-general Halfdan Mahler at the WHO annual conference, held last May 20 in Geneva, says that general progress has been made over the last ten years but with limited achievements. Many countries have adopted laws or guidelines aiming to promote the position of women, but the gap between the proclaimed and the achieved is still large.

The children's mortality rate in developing countries is 200 times higher than in industrialized countries. More than 500,000 women die at childbirth in those countries each year. This mortality rate could be reduced by ensuring ap-

by Mirjana Mastilovic

The realization that changes in the status of women cannot be viewed separately from the general socio-political and economic relations is growing stronger in the world. Changes in the status of women are hard to make even in industrialized countries in which legislation closely follows the economic and social realities, and they are even harder to carry out in developing countries, primarily because of the growing threats to their economies. For this reason, it is vital that, as part of the struggle for more equitable international relations, more women join the mainstream of development processes as the participants and beneficiaries of development.

It is a fact that the problem of women's participation in development is also becoming a priority question for the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). The results of a public opinion poll recently conducted by FAO in 82 developing countries show that women account for 42 percent of the work force in those countries agriculture. In African countries, wo-

propriate assistance i.e. family planning services and birth control.

Two-thirds of women in developing countries are illiterate, while only 15 per cent of women in Africa can read. The majority of women in those countries spend between 70-80 hours each week on supplying the household with water and wood for heating, and carrying out domestic chores each week, Mahler's report said.

At the close of a conference preparatory committee sessions last March in Vienna, the conference's secretary-general Leticia Shahani stated that "there is high measure of agreement on the aims and tasks of the decade...the differences lie in the fact that women who make up one-half of the world population belong to specific traditions, societies and countries and cannot exclude themselves from them."

It now remains to be seen whether regardless of different views, initiatives and proposals, the forthcoming conference in Nairobi will adopt a strategy which by the end of the millenium, will ensure a truly equal position for women in all spheres of life.

—Tanjug Features

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

RONNIE'S LAMENT: MODEL IN RUINS

"The present situation in the North and the East and the senseless killing of people be they Sinhalese, Tamil or Muslim cannot go on for ever" said Mr. Ronnie de Mel presiding over a mass rally at Morawaka in the Deniyaya electorate after the opening of a People's Bank branch there.

Mr. de Mel said that the immense destruction and the damage to the economy had set the country back several years.

"Sri Lanka was well on the way to becoming a model country in the Third World and a showpiece in Asia. All this has now been changed. My budget for 1985 which was projected to have a surplus. Rs. 1.7 billion will now end with a large deficit as a result of ethnic violence", he said.

The Minister said the expenditure on the Armed Services which was projected at Rs. 3.7 billion has now already gone up to Rs. 6 billion. This is more than eight times the defence budget of 1977.

"Foreign investment and foreign tourism has been seriously affected. As a result of all this, inflation which we had brought down to zero by a tremendous exercise in budgetary and monetary restraint, will increase once more. We feel it may rise to about eight percent this year. There is no way of avoiding this when the budget gets into a large deficit. With inflation, prices will rise and everybody will be adversely affected.

"Unemployment is already showing signs of increasing and it will increase still further if the present troubles continue. The money we had earmarked for the local costs of development schemes, like Samanawewa and Nilwala, are now being diverted to defence and more essential purposes. How long can this senseless destruction and suffering last without irreparable damage to this country? Tens of thousands have lost their jobs and their livelihood, both Sinhalese and Tamils."

"In these circumstances, every right-thinking man and woman in Sri Lanka, both in the North and South, must take stock of

the present situation facing the country quietly and objectively without communal passion and emotion. We must all support the President in any reasonable solution of the ethnic problem within the overall context of a unitary state. Extremist sections on both sides will oppose such a solution.

"There are some people who thrive on extremism and this happens in all parts of the world. Some of the opposition parties may also oppose us as the opposition will not like the Government to settle this major problem which it faces. Some of them would like to make this issue their trump card at the next election in 1989."

"There will also be some *puhu Sinhala veeraya* who will wax eloquent on this issue in the safety of their Cinnamon Gardens homes. It is all those who have to face the battle in the North and the East and it is those who have to foot the bill who know what all this is about. Don't be misled by such treacherous elements who are determined to sabotage any settlement.

"With the co-operation and support of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, we must solve this problem here and now. If we lose this opportunity, we will go down in history as weak and inefficient leaders how by our own lack of good sense and foresight hastened the division and downfall of Sri Lanka," the Minister said.

Talk On Separatism

The Board of Directors of the International Centre for Ethnic Studies has organised a lecture by Professor W.H. Morris Jones on "Realities and Dreams, Ebb and Flow in the Politics of Separatism" at the Auditorium of the Sri Lanka Foundation Institute, Independence Square, Colombo 7, on Tuesday, 6th August at 6 p.m.

KURIKKADDUWAN BUTCHERY

One of the most tragic and unpardonable events in Sri Lanka's post-independence history took place on 15th May 1985 when a boatload of innocent people were hacked near Kurikkadduwan by ruffians sans their uniforms.

How could anyone who claims to be a follower of the most peaceable religion of Buddha ever butcher an eight-month-old child?

Someone did that, on that Black Wednesday. The unfortunate child's picture appears on Page 1.

Lest we be accused of distortions, exaggerations and downright lies, as some pious people in the South have done these past many months, we publish below excerpts from the magisterial inquiry into the Kurikkadduwan tragedy.

Inquest No. 9055

Jaffna General Hospital Ward No. 25-4.25 p.m.-16th May 1985.

P. S. 8161 Paramesvaran present.

Attorneys-at-Law Mr. Thambiratnam, Mr. Visvanathan, Mr. R. Balasubramaniam and Mr. Rajeswaran Thangarajah appears to look after the interests of the deceased.

The Additional Jaffna Magistrate, Mr. K. P. S. Varatharajah held as follows:

From the evidence led at the inquest, it is proved that the 32 dead persons were passengers travelling in the "Kumuthini", which was plying on 15th May 1985 morning from Delft to Kurikkadduwan. The dead range from an eight month infant to an 84-year-old man and include children, youths, young girls and middle-aged people. The court accepts all the evidence led before it.

All were cases of homicide.

The question arises who attacked and killed these 32 persons.

In this regard, the evidence of two witnesses has to be analysed.

Witness Kangesu Santhalingam stated one thing clearly in his evidence, that is, that when they were travelling in the launch some people who came in another plastic boat had attacked them. He said that among those who came in the boat and attacked them there was one person with a short beard whom he had seen earlier. He said that he had seen this individual at the Nainathivu Jetty along with other Naval personnel on duty. On those occasions, sometimes this individual had been in Navy uniform and sometimes he was not in uniform. He also said that he could identify this individual if he saw him.

According to the evidence of Kangesu Santhalingam, it should be noted that among the dead was his wife Kusalakumari and another was Kusalakumari's younger sister Anusoooya. Miraculously, Kan-

gesu Santhalingam escaped with injuries.

Another injured person, Kanapathipillai Ganesapillai, a rural bank manager, also said that among those who attacked him were two persons whom he had seen earlier. He said that he had seen these persons on duty in uniform at the Nainathivu Jetty along with other Naval personnel and also on occasions without uniform. He also said that if he saw these individuals again he could identify them. Therefore, this court directs the Police to immediately make further inquiries and bring those responsible for this before the law.

Among those attacked with blunt weapons and pointed weapons was an eight month old infant identified at the postmortem as Visuvalingam Subashini alias Krishnakumari.

It should be noted that according to the evidence of the J. M. O. this infant died of injuries caused to the skull and brain by a heavy blunt instrument and of injuries to the heart and the lungs caused by a sharp pointed weapon. Moreover, there were three external injuries on the body of this child.

According to the post mortem Report 'P 7', there were three external injuries visible in the region of the chest. They were about four inches deep and had been caused by a sharp pointed instrument.

SR's Submissions

The whole Government-appointed Press Council of Sri Lanka, supposed to be the watchdog of Press Freedom, has pounced on the SATURDAY REVIEW for publishing the line "The only Government Censored Newspaper in Sri Lanka" in the issue of 4th May, 1985.

The SR was allowed to resume publication in February 1984—after a seven month ban under Emergency Regulations—under strict conditions of censorship, conditions which did not apply to any other newspaper in Sri Lanka.

The situation became so intolerable that on 10th November 1984 we first published the line that has offended the Press Council.

It was repeated in every issue until 4th May 1985 when, realising that other newspapers, too, were subjected to partial censorship on and off, the word "wholly" was added on.

It took time for us to realise the situation because Jaffna is a far-off place where most people in the South are concerned and communications are often disrupted.

But the moment we realised the situation, we altered the line to fall in line—as a responsible newspaper. In other words, a correction was made.

All these points were stressed by Mr. S. Sittampalam, Attorney-at-Law, in submissions made at the inquiry held by the Press Council on 26th July, 1985.

The inquiry was adjourned for 9th August.