

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 3 No. 1

18th February 1984

All news and views appearing in the SATURDAY REVIEW have been subjected to censorship by the Government Agent of Jaffna, Mr. D. Nesiah, who has been appointed Competent Authority for this purpose by the Secretary to the Ministry of State, Mr. Douglas Liyanage, acting under Emergency regulations.

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

'LOVE LETTERS' - IN THE SANDS OF TIME....

The SATURDAY REVIEW is back—after an officially imposed ban lasting 232 days.

President Jayewardene's United National Party Government had thought it fit to silence us at perhaps the most crucial period in Sri Lanka's post-independence history when the voice of dissent and reason was most needed.

What was our crime? Fighting for the human and fundamental rights of the Tamil people, criticising the Government when we felt it necessary in the larger national interest and reprinting

informative material on events in Sri Lanka from foreign sources to which readers in our country generally do not have access?

If we had violated any law of the land, the sensible course would have been prosecution in the Courts.

Instead, the Government took the extreme measure of closing down the SATURDAY REVIEW by using the draconian provisions of the Public Security Ordinance—just as Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, as Prime Minister, did in the case of the SUN group of newspapers in 1974.

We regret that none of the other newspapers in Sri Lanka wrote one word in protest at the Government's action.

On the contrary, one newspaper went to the disgraceful extent of publishing a cartoon welcoming the closure!

We cannot say more on the matter because it is now before the Supreme Court, by way of a petition filed under the fundamental rights provisions of the Constitution.

The SATURDAY REVIEW has now been allowed to re-start publication, but under certain strict rules of censorship—rules which apply only to us!

We publish below the various "epistles" relating to the ban that we have received from the Competent Authority appointed under the Emergency Regulations.

The first, on 1st July 1983, stated:

"By virtue of the powers vested in me by Regulation 14 (3) of the Emergency (Miscellaneous Provisions & Powers) Regulations No. 2 of 1983, I, Don John Francis Douglas Liyanage, Secretary to the Ministry of State, appointed to be Competent Authority for the purpose of Regulation 14, being of the opinion that there has been published and is likely to be published in the SATURDAY REVIEW newspaper, matter

which in my opinion is calculated to be prejudicial to the interests of national security, the preservation of public order, the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the life of the community, and matter inciting and encouraging persons to mutiny, riot or civil commotion, do by this order direct that no person shall print, publish or distribute or in any way be concerned in the printing, publication or distribution of the newspaper SATURDAY REVIEW for a period of one month from the date of this order and that the printing press in which the said newspaper was printed shall for a period of one month from the date of this order not be used for any purpose whatsoever; and I hereby authorise the Inspector General of Police to take such steps (including the taking possession of the said printing press or of any premises in which it is contained or of any part of such printing press or premises) as appear to him to be necessary for securing compliance with this order."

The second, on 18th July, was a repetition of the original closure order, extending the ban for another month. This process was repeated monthly until 18th January, 1984.

After the ban was lifted, we received the following communication dated 24th January:

"By virtue of the powers vested in me by Regulation 14 (1) of the Emergency (Miscellaneous Provisions & Powers) Regulation No. 1 of 1984, I, Don John Francis Douglas Liyanage, Secretary to the Ministry of State,

appointed to be Competent Authority for the purpose of Regulation 14, being of opinion that it is necessary for preventing and restricting the publication in Sri Lanka and or the transmission from Sri Lanka to places outside Sri Lanka, of matter which would or might be prejudicial to the interests of national security, the preservation of public order, maintenance of supplies and services essential to the life of the community, and matters inciting or encouraging persons to mutiny, riot or civil commotion, do hereby direct that all material, which term shall include articles, comments, news items, pictorial representations and photographs, to be published in the Saturday Review, should be submitted to the Government Agent of the District of Jaffna and his prior approval for publication obtained before any such material is published in the said newspaper. I further direct that material which has not obtained the approval of the said Government Agent in the manner aforesaid shall not be published in the Saturday Review."

The final letter on 30th January, addressed to Mr. K. Visuvalingam, General Manager, New Era Publications Ltd., 66, Chapel Street, Jaffna, stated:

The services of Mr. S. Sivanayagam, who was the distinguished Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW from its inception on 30th January 1982 until the ban imposed under Emergency regulations on 1st July 1983, are not immediately available. In the circumstances, the Directors of New Era Publications Ltd. have appointed Mr. Gamini Navaratne as Editor.

"Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter of 24th January. You are no doubt aware that the prohibition on the publication of the SATURDAY REVIEW has been lifted and that the Police authorities have at the same time been requested to release the premises to the control of the owners. I have no doubt that this has been done. If you do have any problems, please contact the Government Agent without delay so that he may advise me direct as to what further action is required.

Yours faithfully,
Douglas Liyanage,
Secretary to the Ministry of State."

We wish to assure readers that, whatever the handicaps, we will continue to fight on, dedicated to the achievement of our original aims and objectives, chief of which are the preservation of the human and fundamental rights of ALL the people of Sri Lanka and the promotion of understanding between the various communities, especially the Sinhalese and the Tamil people.

In this spirit, the SATURDAY REVIEW welcomes the Roundtable Conference convened by President Jayewardene to find a permanent settlement to the National Question.

We hope and pray that intransigence on any side would not delay the achievement of a negotiated settlement, for time is running out—very, very fast.

NEW EDITOR

In the Fundamental Rights Chapter of the Constitution of the Republic of Sri Lanka, Article 14 (1) (a) reads: "Every citizen is entitled to the freedom of speech and expression, including publication"; that is, PRESS FREEDOM.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

No. 18, 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. 200/- (Indian Rupees)

Singapore / Malaysia—U. S. \$ 30

All other Countries

Annual U. S. \$ 50 or Rs. 1000/- in Sri Lanka
currency

Cheques payable to

New Era Publications Ltd.

Advertising Rates

Contracts — Rs. 15/- per col. centimetre

Casual — Rs. 20/- per col. centimetre

A MOMENT WITH DIOGENES

Diogenes was a Greek philosopher who lived more than two thousand years ago. He had no worldly possessions except for an abandoned tub on a sidewalk in Athens in which he lay when he was not walking in the streets of the city with a lamp lit in broad daylight, in search of a MAN in the real sense of the term. Once Alexander the Great having heard of Diogenes sent his equerry and commanded his presence before him. Diogenes disobeyed the command and told the horseman that if Alexander, whoever he was wanted to see Diogenes, it is Alexander who must come to see him.

Alexander surrounded as he was always by his flatterers and flunkys was delightfully surprised by the attitude of this man and decided to go and meet the philosopher. On his arrival he saw the Master in deep meditation and he announced himself "Diogenes—I am Alexander the Great the Conqueror of Conquerors and the ruler of rulers. I

have come all the way to see you". "Young man", said Diogenes, "I do not know you nor do I understand what you are saying. You do not appear to have conquered yourself. Remember a man who has conquered himself is greater than a conqueror of a thousand states".

Alexander was thrilled. It was altogether a new experience for him. He said, "Diogenes, you are unique. You are a wonderful man. Is there anything I can do for you?" "Yes", replied the philosopher "you can leave me alone without standing between me and the Sunlight". Alexander most respectfully left the presence of Diogenes saying, "If I were not Alexander, I would be a Diogenes." Diogenes these two thousand years has been born and reborn. He is journeying through Samsara. He is in Sri Lanka now. Owing to the high cost of kerosene and the realisation of the futility of searching for that MAN of his expectations, he no longer carries a lamp on his walk.

ference which is now going on?" "I have not been invited", replied the Master. "I do not represent any sectional interest nor even my interests. I have none. I am just another human being endeavouring to practice the Dhamma, and find peace. It is the Dhamma which has the message to end ethnic conflicts. Of what importance am I at this conference so long as those round the Table do not forget these lines in the Dhammapada? "He who for the sake of happiness hurts others who also want happiness, shall not hereafter find happiness".

"I only wish that Sri Lanka is also represented round the Table and the interests of the people of Sri Lanka as a whole finds representation. The whole is more important than the parts for the unity and sovereignty of this Blessed Island".

With these words, Diogenes passed on towards the gravel path to view the beauty of sunset. He was heard muttering—"The Sun is setting but before the Sun rises tomorrow, may those round the Table ensure peace and happiness for this country and the people".

(Diogenes next week—The Great Destiny of Sri Lanka.)

Pot-Hole Development

Many Sri Lankans are concerned that urgent economic issues are being neglected as the search goes on for a political solution in the aftermath of the July disaster, an analysis of the ethnic riots by the prestigious Asian Wall Street Journal has revealed

"Almost everyone agrees that any improvement in the economy is unlikely while the country's leaders are distracted by politics. A Cabinet Minister said, "We are borrowing time from economic issues," a special report by the Journal's Barry Wain said last week.

The two lead articles on 8th and 9th February were Barry Wain's reports on the Sri Lankan situation which dominated the front pages of the Asian Wall Street Journal.

The July clashes between Sinhalese and Tamils left hundreds dead, scared tourists, frightened investors and sapped faith in the Government. "The result today is nothing less than a crisis of confidence in the country," the report said.

Talking about a political solution, the report said even if one emerges, critics feel it will be difficult to sell it to both communities, especially the Tamil terrorists.

Barry Wain writes "Bankers report capital flight, even if it hasn't shown up in official statistics. Moreover, the international market place isn't interested in lending to government agencies for the time being, they say, while corporate investors, already a bit disillusioned with Sri Lanka have become decidedly skittish".

"Although companies in the Free Trade Zone were not touched and only a few joint ventures elsewhere were attacked foreign investors are delaying decisions.

"Inflation also quickened following the troubles with most estimates putting the figure to around 20 percent last year, up sharply from 11 percent in 1982.

Wain reports, "The rupee remains strongly overvalued, bankers and businessmen say. It's no secret that the World Bank and the IMF have been pressing the government to devalue substantially for more than a year".

Referring to the recent proposals circulated by President J.R. Jayewardene, Wain says the thrust of much recent thinking towards Malaysian-style racial quotas permeates the proposals.

NOTE BY OUR ECONOMIC CORRESPONDENT: The SATURDAY REVIEW, until it was banned, repeatedly drew the attention of readers to the deteriorating economic situation of Sri Lanka, warning that we were fast heading for disaster unless the economic policies initiated in 1977 were modified; in short, that Western-style development was not suited for Third World countries like Sri Lanka.

Now, we have it from the horse's mouth as it were.

The solution? More foreign aid from the U. S.? Oh, NO.

Who was behind it?

The interviews given by three Ministers of President Jayewardene's Government to the Illustrated Weekly of India and reproduced on Page 6 of the SATURDAY REVIEW have been approved for publication by the Censor on condition that the "denial" issued by the Ministry of State with reference to the K. G. B. is also published. We shall publish it once a copy is received.

Recently Diogenes was seen walking on the Galle Face Green. "Diogenes" asked an old acquaintance of his, "Have you not been invited for the Round Table Con-

FLOOD HAVOC

Since 1977, Sri Lanka has suffered calamity after calamity. First there was the post-polls violence, which somehow turned it into communal violence, then the cyclone which devastated vast areas in the Eastern Province in 1978; later the communal violence in 1981 and 1983; and, now, the floods.

The heavy rain, almost throughout the island and unusual for this time of the year, has been attributed

to a "low pressure system" in the Bay of Bengal which affected the Eastern, Northern, North Central and North Western Provinces.

Over 750,000 people are reported to have been affected while much damage has been caused to houses, property and crops.

In Jaffna, there was heavy rain for nearly 15 days continuously causing extensive damage to crops, especially onions.

UPALI BLESSED

Colombo: Religious ceremonies were held throughout the country on Monday (12th February) to confer blessings on Mr. Upali Wijewardene (a leading businessman and founder of the Upali Newspapers Ltd., publishers of The Island and the Divayana) and five others who disappeared with the aircraft they were flying in (from Kuala Lumpur to Colombo) on 13th February last year. (The Island, 15th February).

Notice to Subscribers and Agents

Those subscribers and agents who have changed their address after June 1983, are kindly requested to intimate their present address immediately to:

The Circulation Manager,
SATURDAY REVIEW,
P. O. Box 122,
JAFFNA.

One by one, quite a number of my friends have gone abroad.

Some of them have gone alone; some with their families. Many others are lined up to go away in the coming weeks and months.

The loss of a sincere friend is always a personal tragedy. But right now, I am not worried about personal loss.

That the majority of those who are caught up in a vicious circle happen to belong to the Tamil community is also not the main point.

What I am concerned about is the loss to Sri Lanka caused by the EXODUS.

Most of the people who have gone or are planning to go are top professionals in their chosen fields.

It is useless now to try to apportion blame for the tragic events of July 1983. The damage has been done to Sri Lanka—and its image abroad.

The tragedy is that clear signs of the impending disaster were evident a long time ago, but those responsible for guiding the destinies of the nation remained inactive until it was too late.

As a journalist, I have endeavoured to do what little I could to promote understanding between the various communities that inhabit our little island, particularly between the Sinhalese and the Tamil people.

It was at my suggestion that Mr. Lionel Fernando, as Government Agent of Jaffna, invited the first ever party of journalists from the South to the North in 1979.

I am now in Jaffna for the 52nd time since 1954, when the late Mr. S. Satyadasan, who was on the staff of The Times of Ceylon, introduced me to the land and its people.

I should like to reproduce a few excerpts from some of my earlier writings on the National Question, the main theme of all of which was the danger to the entire nation of delaying to find an answer to it.

Sun-20-7-1981

As one who has been a keen observer of the political scene for nearly three decades and who believes in a united Sri Lanka, what I can see is that the Sinhalese and Tamils are fast drifting apart. This is a dangerous trend that all those who believe in a united Sri Lanka should do everything in their power to arrest before it is too late.

As for the politicians, of all sides and shades, they could do very well by Sri Lanka in the present tension-ridden atmosphere by keeping their mouths shut about race and creed and language.

On the same line of thinking I would suggest that the two no-confidence motions before Parliament (one by Dr.

POLITICAL CAUSERIE

by

Gamini Navaratne

Neville Fernando against Opposition Leader Mr. A. Amirthalingam and the other by the opposition against the Government) be allowed to lapse. What good would the debates do to the country except poison the atmosphere some more through mutual allegations and re-criminations?

preserve their own race, language, religion and culture that they have unfortunately come into confrontation and conflict with the Sinhala people.

Unfortunately, I say, because such confrontation and conflict could have been avoided or minimised had

petition in every sphere from the other communities, if they are more united and work with greater purpose instead of getting carried away by communal slogans raised by designing politicians whose sole ambition is to gain power and remain in power.

I should like to tell the

The National Question

Sri Lanka's diversities of race and creed could be a blessing or a curse. It is up to us to decide what it shall be...

Saturday Review
16-10-1982

Why am I concerned so much about the Tamil people? many Tamils themselves have asked me.

I have no special love for the Tamil people. To me, people everywhere, irrespective of race, caste, religion, language or country, are the same human beings with the same basic urges and aspirations.

I have taken up the cause of the Tamil people in pursuance of my policy as a journalist of fighting for the fundamental rights of the people of our country. That is all.

I have found in Jaffna a people as peaceable and hospitable as any you can think of anywhere in the world.

In a largely arid land, in difficult circumstances, they try to lead their lives as best they could, following the doctrine of Ahimsa.

As human beings, the Tamil people have pride—pride in their race, language, religion and culture.

It is in their endeavour to

there been sensible political leadership in our country...

Saturday Review
4-6-1983

The Sinhalese as a nation could do very well for themselves, and stand up to com-

Sinhalese that the best guarantee against the division of Sri Lanka—the best way to blunt the demand for Eelam—is to allow the Tamils in their midst to live and work in peace. They are our hostages!

I say this as a warning

SQUARE PEGS AT ROUNDTABLE

We reproduce below a commentary which appeared in the Economist, London, in its issue dated 21st–27th January, on the first plenary session of the talks.

Two statements by the Communist Party of Sri Lanka on racial harmony and the conference appear on Page 8.

Sri Lanka's search for a political sop for its disaffected Tamil minority remains as unsuccessful as ever. Two weeks of round-table talks ended inconclusively on 20th January, 1984, their only achievement being that they brought the government and the Tamils to sit down together.

The round table was doomed from the start because the Sinhalese, who constitute three quarters of Sri Lanka's population, resented that it had been shaped with Tamil interests in mind, by India's Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi.

Mrs. Gandhi's old friend, the former Sri Lankan Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike, would not lead her party's delegation to the talks because she could not extract the price she wanted. President Jayawardene refused to restore her civic rights taken away three years ago so that she remains a political non-person.

So the conference began with 10 participating parties, five representing the Tamils and two Marxists, one loyal to Moscow and the other to the Trotskyist Fourth International. This imbalance suited the Tamils but incensed the Sinhalese, who insisted on bringing in other special interest groups, the most significant of which was the Supreme Council of the Buddhist Clergy. Buddhist priests were reported to have egged on the attackers in the anti-Tamil rampage last summer.

The appearance of the

to those Sinhalese, within the Government and outside, who believe that by driving the Tamil people away through violence, they would have solved the National Question...

Saturday Review
14-5-1983

The polls, parliamentary and local, are only four days away. I prefer to ignore them completely and write on a subject of more significance and urgency; the National Question. As I wrote previously, there is no time to be fiddling while Rome, that is North Sri Lanka, is virtually burning.

Throughout my writings on the National Question, I have maintained that it is up to the major community to come to terms with the minorities, especially the Tamil community, on the equitable sharing of state power and all that flows from it.

I have laid special emphasis on the fact that a purely military approach will not take the problem nearer solution because, just as Sinhalese nationalism, Tamil nationalism, has also come to stay; it cannot be ignored or suppressed. The Sinhalese must recognise the legitimacy of Tamil nationalism and provide avenues for its full expression...

★

Buddhists was the signal for the Tamil terrorist movement to intervene. It did so by killing two policemen in Jaffna district and by robbing a bank in Batticaloa. At the same time nine undergraduates who had fled from universities in the South during last summer's riots, went on hunger strike in Jaffna to demand places for refugees like themselves in northern colleges. On 16th January the weakening hunger strikers were spirited away, presumably by the terrorist movement. The authorities then closed Jaffna University.

The Tamil unrest provoked the Sinhalese parties at the conference into closing ranks. They declared their opposition to any form of regional autonomy, which was the core of the agreement hammered out by Mr. Jayawardene and the Indian mediator. The Sinhalese

(Continued on page 10)



Tamil people and Tamil culture have existed in this island from time immemorial. All the weight of geological, anthropological, historical, literary and linguistic evidence points to their existence in Sri Lanka with racial and cultural affinities with the inhabitants of South India (Swami Gnanapragasar in "Tamil Culture" - Vol. I - Nos: 1-4-1952).

The Mahawansa itself recognises the existence of a civilised people living in cities at the time of the landing of Vijaya. The Mahawansa, too, supposes a pre-Buddhist period when the people were Hindus. In the story of Elara's rule, the Mahawansa says: "when he had thus overpowered thirty-two Damila kings, Dutthagamini ruled over Lanka in sovereignty". Statements about the rule of Tamil kings, the accounts of the Vaitulyan doctrine, and reference to "Damiladevi", "the Chola people", "the further coast" and "the other coast" point to an ancient time when Tamil and Sinhala people and culture existed side by side on this island (W. Geiger, The Mahawansa p. 165; pp 264 at seq., Colombo 1950).

Conflicts: Internal not Fraternal

The relations of the Sinhalese kings with Nagadipa, with Chera, Chola and Pandya kings of S. India, their dynastic alliances, their embassies, their treaties, and even their wars and their intrigues are evidence of a fraternal rivalry that existed between these neighbouring kingdoms. There is a tendency to exaggerate these wars and to portray the relations existing between Sinhalese and Tamils as perpetually hostile. Such a portrayal is one of the dangers of history. (H. Butlerfield 'History and Human Relations, pp. 58 et seq. London 1951).

The truth is that these conflicts seem like the internal, if not fraternal, conflicts of kindred peoples. The wars of the Tamils against the Sinhalese are not any more numerous or hostile than the wars among the Tamil kingdoms, themselves.

At the time of the landing of the Portuguese in this island there is ample evidence of the honoured place Tamil enjoyed, at the Court of Kotte and of the Tamil schools that the Portuguese founded in the Western and North Western Province. (De Queyros - 'The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon' - p. 241 - Colombo 1930).

When printing was introduced into this island for the first time, the Dutch published books both in Sinhala and in Tamil. A copy of a Tamil book published in Colombo in 1754 by the Dutch pastor Bronsveld,

refers in the dedication to the Tamil language spoken within a greater area of the island (Maxima cum linguis insulae parte Tamulic loquentem).

Robert Knox and Dutch despatches speak of the Tamil townships and the Tamil speaking people of the Kandyan Kingdom.

Tamil Element

in Sinhala Composition

"Tamil place-names are found mostly along the sea-coast and in the Aunradhapura, Chillow and Puttalam Districts. Though there are

kingdom to another and to the sections of people that have changed one language for the other.

The laws, the caste-system, the patterns of social structure, etc., reveal very common elements. For the existence and interpenetration of these cultures there is no better evidence than the shrines at Kataragama and Nainativu.

The existence of two different religions did not always prevent the patronage that kings of one persuasion extended to the religion that was not theirs, did not prevent patronage and employ-

Tamil Buddhists on Cultural Missions

The Virasoliyam, a compendious Tamil grammar was compiled in the 11th century by a Tamil Buddhist, Buddhaitrar. The origin of Tamil is attributed in this grammar to Avaloketiswara (Bodhisattva). This grammar seems to have influenced the Sinhala grammar Sidatsangarawa. Among the more famous Tamil Buddhists who visited Sri Lanka on religious and cultural missions were Sangamitta (4th century), Buddhaitra Thera (5th century),

spoken in Sri Lanka represents a pre-Pallava period with its ancient morphological and grammatical forms and its repertoire of words obsolete for centuries in the neighbouring sub-continent of India.

Indisputable

Evidence

Tamil speech as obtaining in Sri Lanka, and Tamil phonetics as obtaining especially in the Northern and Eastern provinces, show a fidelity to the earlier Tamil grammar which the speech of south India does not-a clear indication of the development of Tamil in Sri Lanka unhampered by the extraneous influences to which South India was exposed.

The influence and vitality of Tamil culture in Sri Lanka has been such that it has produced a Tamil literature of worth, of which there is indisputable evidence from the 13th century. Many a Tamil poet and scholar crossed the Palk Strait and won fame and recognition in other lands where Tamil is spoken, studied and understood. The name of Sri-La-Sri Arumuga Navalar is associated with a great revivalist movement of Tamil and Saivism. C. W. Thamotharampillai was a pioneer, editor and publisher of the Tamil classics which spear-headed the Tamil Renaissance. V. Kanasabaipillai opened up a new horizon to many a foreigner with his.... "The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago" originally published in 1904; N. Kathiravelpillai distinguished himself as a lexicographer; Cumaraswamy Pulavar was recognised as a scholar of outstanding merit; Vidwan Ganesha Iyer established himself as an undisputed authority on ancient Tamil grammar; Swami Vipulananda occupied the chair of Tamil at Annamalai University; Swami Gnanapragasar (and Dr. H. S. David after him) established a reputation for comparative philology and for the history of the Tamil speaking people. The International Association of Tamil research with its headquarters in Paris was founded in 1964 by Prof. Fr. Xavier Thani Nayagam. The records of the earlier Tamil writers of Sri Lanka have been included in the "Tamil Plutarch" compiled by Simon Castle-Chitty. Arumuga Navalar himself takes a birds-eye view of early Tamil poets and scholars from Sri Lanka in one of his many pamphlet polemics with South Indian Tamil scholars.

Tamil ports with a naval history

Sinhalese sovereigns of various periods extended their patronage to Tamil poets and the story is told of the Tamil bard who set out from Jaffna with his poem to the court of Rajasingha at Kandy, to be told on the way that the last

(Continued on page 9)

The Tamils and Tamil Culture in Sri Lanka

no native Tamils living along the sea-coast south of Colombo the Tamil origin of some of the present inhabitants there, is seen from the fairly large number of Tamil place names. The "ge" names of these people, too, attest to their Tamil origin. The word "malai", meaning in Tamil "a mountain or hill" is found in the central parts of the island. They are reference in literature produced many centuries before the opening up of the plantations which show that the Tamil element in the composition of the Sinhalese is far greater than is usually conceded. Ranmalae, Kotmale and Gilmale are some of the examples". (B. J. Perera-Some Observations on the Study of Sinhalese place names-Ceylon Historical Journal - Vol. II - 1953 pp. 241-250; p. 244).

A comparative study of the Tamil and Sinhala Languages, of the literatures and grammar in the two languages, of place names, of the drama, the dance, the architecture, the sculpture peculiar to the two cultures of this island reveal to what limits they influenced each other. Anthropological surveys have shown the extent to which the common racial characteristics are shared by the population that speak the two languages, and history testifies to the shifting of populations from one

ment of Saivait Brahmins at the Sinhalese courts, did not prevent marriage alliances of Sinhala kings with Tamil Saivait queens; did not prevent the teaching of Tamil along with Sinhala, Pali and Sanskrit at the most famous privenas as testified by the Gira Sandesa (15th century).

There was a time when Buddhism counted many Tamils amongst its followers, even in Sri Lanka, and Tamil Buddhist monks contributed in no small measure to the enrichment of Tamil and Pali literature. Viharas were established in the Tamil speaking areas of Sri Lanka and South India, and Tamil monks came to teach as well as to learn in the Sinhala kingdoms.

by
'VEEKAY'

It will always remain a source of pride to the Ceylon Tamils that the greatest, if not the only classical epic of Theravada Buddhism exists in the Tamil language. The poetry of Manimekhalai (2nd Century AD) has been forgotten by scholars because of its didactic and doctrinal appeal, but it remains one of the finest jewels of Tamil poetry with an abundance of quotable lines.

Vajirabodhi (7th century-8th century), Anurudha (12th century), Dharmakirti associated with the Culavansa (13th century). Dignaga, Dharmapala of Nalanda and Bodhidharma of China were three other illustrious Tamil exponents of Buddhism.

The linguistic and etymological researches and publications by Fr. H. S. David (who died of shock on hearing of the burning of the Jaffna Public Library in 1981) point to Sinhala and Tamil having been spoken in Sri Lanka from 2000 B. C., although at that time they formed one original tongue.... proto-Dravidian. It is doubtful whether the long-held theory of Sinhala being a language of the Indo-Aryan group will stand the test more profound etymological research and studies. The oxymoron used by Dr. David - "separated by the same original tongues" - points to the revolutionary discovery of the common origin of Sinhala and Tamil. Sinhala and Tamil are two of the twenty languages derived from proto-Dravidian.

The punch-marked coins of an early era point to connections that Sri Lanka may have had with Mohenjodaro and the Indus Valley civilisations which has been deemed to be Dravidian. Tamil poetry composed in Sri Lanka has been included in the earlier Tamil anthologies, and the Tamil

Lakshman sets The Record Straight



Bishop Lakshman was in England during the Presidential election and Referendum campaigns in 1982. The following letter, to the Editor of 'The Times' of London, was written in reply to an editorial, in order "to set the record straight". It was not published.

8th December 1982.

The Editor,
The Times,
P.O.Box 7,
LONDON WC1X 8EZ.
Sir,

I am writing this letter in connection with your second leader entitled 'Capitalist Tea Tastes Sweeter' published on 4th December.

I have hitherto not expressed my views publicly about the current situation in Sri Lanka when I have been abroad, as I do not believe in washing dirty linen in public in a foreign country. But your leader of last Saturday has compelled me to make this exception for reasons given below.

True as far it goes

You say that Mr. Jayewardene won the Presidential election, with 52% of the vote, giving him a majority over all his opponents combined. This is true as far as it goes—he got 52.9%. But it would be useful for your readers to know that the total opposition vote was 47% and that over 18% of an experienced electorate abstained from voting.

You say that he won a higher vote than his United National Party had in 1977. This is also true as far as it goes. But it is necessary to add that at the Presidential election his most formidable rival, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike was prevented from either contesting or participating in any way in it.

You refer to previous governments using constitutional changes to curb the chances of the opposition in the future and say that Sri Lanka Freedom Party rule under Mrs. Bandaranaike from 1970-77 demonstrated this. Again, this is true as far as it goes. However, it is necessary to add the fact that UNP rule under Mr. Jayewardene manipulated constitutional changes to deprive

Mrs. Bandaranaike of her civic rights under a special Presidential Commission whose members were appointed by the same Mr. Jayewardene who was in actual fact both chief complainant and final arbiter of the total period for which she was deprived of these rights. She was thus effectively inhibited from participating in the next Presidential and Parliamentary elections; and her party was left in disarray.

Balance of

Power

You estimate that a general election under proportional representation, if held, might produce a rather different result in Parliament, though not different enough to alter the balance of power. It all depends on what is meant by altering the balance of power. Under PR, the opposition groups would have about 40-45% of the seats in the next Parliament, if we accept the trend indicated in the recent Presidential election. At present they muster only 16%. This enlarged and more accurate representation in Parliament under PR will in fact alter the balance of power in two ways. Since the present in-built 5/6th majority of the UNP will be reduced to less than a 2/3rd majority in the next Parliament, the opposition will have the power to prevent further manipulation of the Constitution. Also, their enlarged numbers will prevent the President from dominating Parliament through his nominees. For the fact is that all the present UNP members of Parliament have handed undated letters of resignation to Mr. Jayewardene, so that if he wins the referendum he can nominate whom he wills as members of the post-referendum Parliament. In such circumstances, will not the different result through PR that a general election will produce, alter the balance of power in more ways than one?

Referendum

You have not given the reasons which Mr. Jayewardene himself has publicly stated for holding a referendum, to avoid general election next year. He said that a Naxalite group within the SLFP had planned a series of political assassinations if their

candidate won the Presidential elections, and that he did not want this group to enter Parliament after the general elections as the dominant element within an enlarged SLFP representation. But the fact of the matter is that the next general election need not have been held until one year after he made this allegation. There was ample time for him to ensure that the investigations were completed and charges framed against the alleged conspirators in the interval. With fifty years of adversarial politics behind them, the voters could have assessed the evidence provided by both parties and made their own decisions. Mr. Jayewardene had a precedent before him. He had released the jailed leader of the 1971 insurrection after he came into power, and that person trailed far behind both UNP and SLFP candidates in the recent Presidential elections. Indeed, the only charges to be framed at the moment, according to newspaper reports, relate to something that is alleged to have taken place in October 1980 rather than in October 1982 and information about the former had been provided to a Parliamentary Select Committee in 1981. So far no indictments have been made against the alleged conspirators of October 1982, and the voters are faced instead with a referendum on 22nd December.

It may not be known to your readers that Mr. Jayewardene's Government has extended emergency rule and that in all likelihood the referendum will be held under such rule. To say the least, this is undesirable in a democracy and also creates bad precedents.

'Naxalite

Conspiracy'

In addition to the alleged Naxalite conspiracy, there are further allegations against fraudulent rice ration books in connection with the presidential elections, about incitement to communal violence and about support for terrorist activity in northern Sri Lanka. The UNP claim that it has had to take necessary action for reasons of public order and security. Certain opposition newspapers have been banned and allied

printing presses sealed. There have been short-term arrests, detention and repeated interrogation at the local level of SLFP workers and supporters. The SLFP headquarters were raided and membership registers and other records were seized, and its General Secretary along with some others have been kept under arrest. Though Mrs. Bandaranaike has been allowed to take part in the referendum because deprivation of her civic rights did not cover such a referendum, the SLFP organisation has been harassed and hampered. And it is the only formidable rival to the UNP.

President's

reply

The newspapers have reported that the opposition groups have complained to the Commissioner of Elections that placards and posters with the symbol of the UNP have been posted in various places, in contravention of the law relating to a referendum. Finally, Inspector-General of police directed police officers to have these removed from public or private premises, as reported in the newspapers. On the day your leader appeared in London, a national daily in Colombo reported that the police had warned a group of people in a certain area led by Buddhist monks and Christian clergy not to hold a meeting in a public place opposing the UNP in the referendum as they risked assaults by thugs who had assembled in the temple premises as an alternative venue, and damaging their property. A Christian clergyman was given a rough handling. Allegations of such disruptions have been made by the opposition.

To add to all this, there has been an unprecedented exchange of letters between the Chief Justice, whose appointment was made from the unofficial bar after the UNP introduced its new constitution, and the President. The Chief Justice said that "during the last few years there has been a gradual erosion of the position of the Chief Justice and indeed of the Supreme Court Judges, by

executive action", in addition to mentioning other matters. The President's reply denied this and other allegations. But the action of the Chief Justice is significant at a time when the referendum was adjudged not inconsistent with the provisions of the constitution by a majority decision of 4/3 of a seven-member bench of the Supreme Court, and when court action against the Presidential elections, the holding of the referendum and for habeas corpus relating to persons under detention, are being reported in the newspapers.

Sweeter or

bitter?

Whether the allegations made by Mr. Jayewardene and the UNP against their chief opponents and whether the actions taken in the alleged interests of public order are justifiable or not will become evident long after the referendum takes place. In the mean while, a climate of fear has begun to spread among opposition groups and the general voter. All this will be to the advantage of the UNP. All that is needed to win the referendum and bypass the general elections is a 1/3rd vote of the entire electorate, as the Prime Minister himself has been reported to have stated. In a climate of fear, many voters are likely to abstain and the UNP can count to obtain that 1/3rd which constitutes 2.7 million votes.

"Guided

democracy"

The upshot of all this is not whether capitalist tea tastes sweeter or more bitter. It is that the Sri Lankan voter is being offered "guided democracy" by Mr. Jayewardene by the device of the Referendum. The rituals will be there but the substance of liberal, representative democracy will be eroded.

Yours faithfully,
The Rt. Rev. Lakshman
Wickremasinghe.
Chairman, Civil Rights
Movement of Sri Lanka.

Who Was Behind It?

K. G. B?

Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis, Minister of State.

How are your rehabilitation efforts going on?

Ah, you are David Selbourne's friend.

Yes, I am, if by that you mean David writes for our magazine, I know he is persona non grata here.

Of course he will be. He is forever lying. It is people like him who have further damaged this already critical situation.

How did this critical situation arise?

It was inevitable. The terrorists were fomenting trouble over the years. There were countless acts of violence and crime. Policemen on duty were being shot down in broad daylight and we could do nothing about it at all. Finally, in July, when these 13 soldiers were killed in ambush, the people could take it no longer. They rose in sheer anger and went berserk. We tried our very best to bring it under control, as soon as we could.

But, by then, vast damage had been caused to Tamil lives and property?

That is true. But what could we do? This was part of an international conspiracy to destabilise us. We know who are behind it all. I have even told the nation this. This is not the first time they have tried this. You know what happened in the past. These people are jealous of the success of our experiments with a free economy. That is why they are trying their best to set us in flames. Behind all this is the foreign hand. The KGB, to be precise. I am not afraid of saying this openly.

What do you think of India's response?

India is our friend. She has behaved with great restraint and I have nothing but admiration for Mrs. Gandhi herself. Your country could have tried to take advantage of our difficulties. But it didn't. You behaved with great dignity.

How are you planning to meet the danger of the foreign hand that you speak of?

We are not scared. Their motives have been exposed. All the Marxist elements in this country have been outlawed. Their support base is only marginal. The people of this country are firmly behind us. The Sinhalese and the Tamils. What can a handful of foreign agents do?

Is the army back in the barracks now?



?...

Mr. Thondaman, Minister of Rural Industrial Development, points his finger at his own political colleagues.

Who do you think is responsible for fanning these communal passions?

We all know who these people are. I am not naming them right now because I don't want to embarrass the President, who is a good man and an honest man. He is trying his best to heal the situation. That is why I am keeping quiet.

But is any action being taken against these people?

How can any action be taken against them? They are important people. They are part of this government, just as I am. Behind all this are our own people. The racist elements. We all know them.

But unless you take some action against these people, or isolate them, the problems will recur. Won't they?

We have to take long term measures. The Indian Tamils have suffered for too long. They are the real minority in Sri Lanka, and yet no one speaks of them and their needs. Now that things are bad, very bad, they are listening to me. But it is too late.

What can be done now?

Only India can help us to tide over this crisis. Wherever I went in India, I found people were very concerned about Sri Lanka and our ethnic troubles. Mrs. Gandhi is our hope. India is our hope. You can help us to survive without being dismembered.

You don't believe that Eelam is inevitable? The only way out under the circumstances?

No, no. Sri Lanka must solve its problems without being dismembered. I don't rule out anything, not even a separate Tamil State, but this is not the time to talk of it.

But where does India come in?

The talks must obviously be within Sri Lanka, between the different communities, the different political groups. India has the most important role to play. She alone can force us on to the negotiating table. I have been travelling extensively in India and everyone is keen that we should come to some kind of understanding. So that the interests of the Tamils are protected. Unless this is done, we will have to take our own decisions.

(Continued on page 8)

Several months after the July 1983 holocaust, prominent members of the Government had expressed views (publicly and for all the world to read) at variance with one another and with scant respect for collective responsibility.

The most intriguing were the interviews given by three senior Cabinet Ministers of President Jayewardene's Government to Prithvi Nandy, Editor of the Illustrated Weekly of India, and published in its issue of 18th December 1983.

Mr. Sarath Mutettuwegama, M. P. for Kalawana, made a reference to these interviews in Parliament on 19th January, 1984.

We give below the full texts of these interviews:

They were brought back to the barracks immediately after the tragic incidents of July.

Not really immediately? If it was immediately, the damage would have been less?

It was not possible to do it immediately because things happened so fast that they caught us unaware. By the time we swung into action it was a bit late, I admit. The arsonists had lists in their hands and they went around from house to house wreaking savage violence on the Tamils. It was a planned strategy to embarrass us.

How are you going to fight this politically?

By taking firm and courageous action. We will not allow ourselves to be bullied by anyone. Whoever it may be.

INDIA?

Mr. Cyril Mathew, Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs, is angry with India for providing shelter to the insurgents.

Where do you think lies the roots of this violence, this ethnic confrontation?

I hate all you journalists. You are liars and dishonest people. I would not even have deigned to speak to you if the Ministry of State had not insisted. There is nothing that I hate more than journalists, particularly Indian ones. You are always lying.

Why have you had such a raw deal from the Indian press? Your colleagues in the Cabinet don't feel so strongly about us.

Because I have the courage to speak for my people. The Sinhalese will not be held to ransom by a bunch of ordinary criminals and terrorists. We are the majority community on this island and yet we live in constant fear of being attacked by this small band of insurgents who think they can rule us by fear and intimidation. It is time we stood up for our own rights.

What are these rights you speak of? As a majority community on this island, you have all the rights that are possible.

What rights do we have? These people have guns in their hands and they are constantly shooting down our boys. Look at the number of police stations that have been closed down in Jaffna because no one wants to be on duty there. Who wants to risk his life? Will you risk your life in such a dangerous situation? Law and order have been subverted. These people are trying to break up our country, destroy our heritage, force us to yield our most invaluable assets. How can we allow them to do this? How can you in India support such acts of terrorism? How do you offer these people shelter and guns?

So you think that India is

being unfair? That we are playing a negative role?

Behind all this is the dirty hand of India. We all know this. We have the evidence. If you did not give protection and shelter to these terrorists, our problems would have been over a long time back. For we know how to handle them.

What would you have done?

They are only a handful of people and I don't think that they have the kind of support base they are claiming.

Who backs these terrorists?

I don't know, India, I would imagine. Otherwise, why does the Tamil Nadu government refuse to hand over these murderers to us even when we have watertight cases against them? Is this fair? Is this in accordance with international practice? Is this how you should behave with your neighbours? You must have read the Sansoni Commission Report. I will send you a copy of it. It proves without any shadow of doubt that these terrorists are nothing more than ordinary criminals.

Do you see the danger of an Indian intervention in the offing? A Military one?

What can we do even if you did intervene? You are much bigger than us, much stronger. On our side, the only thing we have is truth. That will perhaps see us through.

THE HORNETS' NEST ON HULFTSDORP HILL

It was Friday, 9th September, 1983. Justice was moving at its normal pace in the Highest Court of the land. Nadesan*, the great advocate and the intrepid fighter for the civil liberties and fundamental rights of the citizen, was arguing the case of the closure of the SATURDAY REVIEW before 5 Judges of the Supreme Court. He had commenced his argument on the second day of the hearing. About 20 minutes after he began, he found the Chief Justice and Justice Wanasundera engaged in an animated discussion. Wishing to draw their attention to his submissions, he inquired from them whether they sought any further assistance or clarification on any matter he was arguing.

The Chief Justice remarked, however, that they were discussing some other matter and adjourned court till 1 p.m. They never appeared there after till 19th September to hear the SATURDAY REVIEW case.

In the Daily News of the following day, there appeared the sensational news that the Judges of the Supreme Court and the Court of Appeal had ceased to hold office on the midnight of 7th September. It was also stated that the Judges, though prepared to take their oaths of anti-separatism in terms of Sixth Amendment to the Constitution and had so written to the President, but the President, acting on the opinion of the Attorney-General, had declined to administer the oath to them as late as 9th September "as they had ceased to hold office." It was the Attorney-General's view also that fresh letters of appointment had to be issued to them.

Many were the tongues that wagged and many were the theories advanced. It was even doubted whether all the Judges would be given fresh letters of appointment. The

Judges themselves were not certain what was going to be.

For about 7 days, the country was kept guessing and it had neither Supreme Court nor the Court of Appeal functioning. The fresh letters of appointment were not forthcoming and everything was in suspense. On 13th September, photographs appeared in some newspapers of the Supreme Court barred under heavy armed police guard. The Judges had been locked out of their Chambers too,

such a situation the State is entitled to take all necessary remedial steps".

What were the events and circumstances which led to this tragic, unprecedented and unparalleled situation which rendered the country orphaned of its highest Court for so many days? Was it a storm in a tea cup or was it of such importance that it necessitated this exercise which today has created judicial history of much interest to jurists and constitutional experts alike?

as required by the 7th schedule to the Bill before 4th September and before the stated one month period had elapsed. When the bill went back to Parliament from the Supreme Court it was required, however, in the Amendment, that the Judges of the Supreme Court and Court of Appeal should take their oaths before the President. They had, however, taken their oaths each before the fellow Judges of the respective Courts.

It was while on the Bench on the 9th September, when

prepared to take the oath in terms of the Act before the President. There was no reply from the President. The Minister of Justice, however informed the Chief Justice that the President had been advised by the Attorney General that the period of one month had expired on 7th September.

The armed police guard placed on 12th, September in the court premises was withdrawn the next day. On 15th September, letters of appointment were sent out to the Judges who thereafter took their oaths before the President on the following day. Two oaths were administered—the oath of office in terms of the 4th schedule to the Constitution and the anti-separatist oath in terms of the 7th Schedule in the Amendment, thus raising the question of their break in service, when they were not out of office in the view of the Attorney General.

Nadesan

argues

On 19th September, the same five Judges who were-hearing the SATURDAY REVIEW case came back to Bench. It may be mentioned at this stage that the petition in this case was filed on the 22nd July 1983 and, on a reading of Article 126 (5), the Supreme Court was required to hear and finally dispose of this case within two months of the filing of the application, i. e., by 22nd September 1983. Mr. Nadesan, when the adjourned hearing was commenced, contended that the hearing he so far had on 8th and 9th September was before a valid Court and the Judges never at any time ceased to hold office. He submitted that the Court was validly and lawfully constituted and remained so in terms of the Constitution. He also urged that the two

(Continued on page 8)

by

CIVIS

'Blundering

bureaucrat'

On this matter, the Deputy-Solicitor General took two different positions later on during the course of the argument. At first, he stated that this was done on the orders of a "blundering enthusiastic bureaucrat" and no higher authority was responsible for it, but subsequently took up the position that the Supreme Court had to be protected from "interlopers, usurpers or anyone who may enter the premises with a mischievous intent." "If Judges" he continued, "who had ceased to hold office wanted to sit, what could the State do other than locking them out? And in

On 29th July 1983, which was BLACK FRIDAY, when the communal killings were at their peak, President of the Republic forwarded to the Chief Justice eight copies of a Bill entitled "The Sixth Amendment to the Constitution," which the Cabinet considered "urgent in the national interest" in terms of Article 122 (1) of the Constitution. After consideration by the Supreme Court, the Bill was passed with some amendments and was certified by the Speaker on 8th August 1983. The Sixth Amendment as it is called, required the Judges of the Supreme and the Court of Appeal, among others, to take the anti-separatist oath within one month of the said amendment becoming law. The Judges took their oaths

Mr. Nadesan was on his feet, that one of the Judges brought to the notice of the Chief Justice that the Act required the Judges of the two highest courts to take their oath before the President, a requirement which was not there in the Seventh Schedule to the Bill sent to the Supreme Courts for urgent consideration. It was this circumstance that led to the animated discussion on the Bench referred to earlier, when the Court adjourned on 9th September, this question was discussed by the Judges of the two courts in Chambers. The Chief Justice then wrote to the President that in the opinion of the Judges the period of one month would expire at midnight of 9th September and they were

C. P. Comments on A. P. C.

The FORWARD in its issue of 1st February 1984 had this to say of the All-Party Conference convened by President Jayewardene to discuss the National Question:

Having completed a long and tortuous first plenary session, the All-Party Conference has broken up into two committees. The next plenary will probably meet at the end of February.

What is encouraging is that the APC survived with relative ease the walk-out of the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna and the Sinhala Associations. But it seems to have been less successful in over-

coming the sustained stonewalling of those who, led by the delegation from the Maha Sangha, were determined that nothing more should be "conceded" to the Tamils than the redress of specific minor "grievances" and, perhaps, a few additional powers to the existing DDCs.

Although the first plenary session was able to keep more general solutions alive especially the proposals that had emerged from four months of discussions in Colombo and New Delhi between President Jayawardene and the TULF leaders through intermediaries like

Shri G. Parthasarathi and others, within the ambit of discussions, the terms of reference of the committees show that some compromises have been made.

President Jayawardene has described the APC talks as an "exhilarating, candid and enlightening discussion" (SUN, 21/1). But whatever obstructions that the APC has experienced so far are clearly the result of his own deviousness.

Although he broke the initial boycott of the SLFP and the MEP by the coup of bringing into the conference delegations from the Maha Sangha, the Sinhala

Associations, and other ethnic and religious bodies, he obviously did not take into full account the backlash that this unilateral decision would cause. To start with, he changed the character of the conference from one between recognised political parties into a broader roundtable forum. Secondly, he relied too much on the fact that several delegations were, in all other matters, strong supporters of the UNP, who could be expected not to rock the boat.

He was to find later that the persons whom he expected to support him preferred to make common cause

with Prime Minister Premadasa, who was following his own line in the conference. Especially disappointing was the performance of Dr. Walpola Rahula Thero, whom the President had once called "my Parthasarathi". But when the Sinhala Associations played into his hands by staging a walkout for a few minutes, which they offered to withdraw if the conference agreed to their proposals sponsored by the PM, they were quickly replaced by another set of hand-picked "Sinhala Associations". May be this is why the Maha Sangha delegation decided to stay on.

The following is the text of the resolution adopted at the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka (CPSL) on 28th January 1984:

A call for greater effort in the fight for national harmony and against racism of all hues was made in the following resolution adopted by the 12th CPSL Congress:-

The 12th CPSL Congress condemns the disgraceful and criminal racist violence unleashed in July-August 1983 against the persons and property of Tamils in Sri Lanka. It extends its sympathy to all victims of this racist violence.

Congress rejects the attempts to portray this outbreak as a spontaneous reaction of the Sinhalese people to the killing of some army personnel in the North. It considers this to be a slander on the Sinhalese people, the vast majority of whom took no part in this violence and many of whom did what they could, within their personal capacities, to protect Tamils who had been attacked.

Pre-planned

The racist violence of 1983, the third major outbreak of such violence in this government's six-year term of office, was a pre-planned effort, carried out by organised gangs associated with the United National Party and who derived inspiration and ideological leadership from sections within the government itself. This is why no action has yet been taken to punish even those who have been belatedly taken into custody for such violence.

Who

(Continued from page 6)

You mean, go to the streets? Like the others?

Yes, yes.

How do you hope to do this politically?

You ask tricky questions. There is no question of hoping. I have to do this politically. And India alone can help me. That is why I have been asked by the President to go back to India with him, when he goes for the CHOGM.

Do you have any hopes of success?

Of course. There are answers. We will have to find them. All of us together, with your help.

Don't your colleagues disapprove of your links with the Tamil extremists?

How can they? There are extremists on both sides. I stay in touch with one kind of extremists. They stay in touch with another kind. The important thing is to bring everyone back to the negotiating table. That alone will resolve our problems.

FOR NATIONAL HARMONY

It is no accident that these gangs have also been used earlier to attack and kill peaceful pickets, break up strikes, assault distinguished academics, and intimidate judges of the Supreme Court. It was part and parcel of an overall attack on democratic rights and all forms of dissent.

Damp squib

The attempt to make the USSR and the Left parties scapegoats to conceal the complicity of certain sections of the governments's supporters has proved a damp squib. The proscription of the CPSL and the detention of certain of its leaders had to be withdrawn after three months, without explanation or apology, as a result of domestic and international protest. But two other parties, the Jatika Vimukthi Peramuna and the Nava Sama Samaja Party continue to be proscribed without any proof of their involvement in such activities. Congress therefore re-iterates its demand for the de-proscription of these two parties.

Congress welcomes the summoning of an All-Party Conference to work out an accord on the ethnic question. This demand was made to the President by the CPSL as far back as May 1983, before the July events took place. If it had been acceded to then, much that happened later might have been avoided.

The All-Party Conference represents an attempt to find a solution to the problems of ethnic relations through the processes of dialogue and consensus, rather than through the processes of repression, military force, and state terrorism to which the government has resorted up to now, and which still continue unchecked.

To sabotage the conference

It has enabled all the various forces in the country who want a settlement of the ethnic problem to stand up against the powerful racist forces of all hues who, although thrown on the de-

fensive temporarily, are feverishly trying to rally and unite their forces to sabotage any positive outcome from the conference.

Congress re-iterates the conviction of the CPSL that a fully just and lasting solution of the national problem in Sri Lanka can only be achieved in a socialist society, from which all other forms of exploitation and discrimination have been abolished. But it is also ready to assist in the search for settlement on even lower levels that will enable the many ethnic nationalities and groups of Sri Lanka to live in peace and security, in equality, friendship and co-operation, within a united Sri Lanka.

government's capitulation to the World Bank's demands and its renewed attacks on democratic processes and the vital interests and standards of living of the people.

Congress is aware that the effort to obtain a negotiated settlement will not be easy. In addition to the opposition of racists of all hues the hide-and-seek position of the government, which refuses to put forward proposals of its own, complicates matters considerably. But the effort to obtain a negotiated settlement must go forward, lest the entire people of Sri Lanka, whatever the community to which they belong become victims.

Congress therefore endorses the decision of the

CPSL Congress Prescribe Pills For Communal ills

The need to evolve a negotiated settlement of ethnic relations has become a vital question in Sri Lanka to-day.

Failure to reach such a settlement has poisoned relations between the different ethnic communities and led to a dangerous situation where the political independence, integrity and unity of Sri Lanka is in danger.

To provoke

confrontations

It is being used by the U.S. imperialists to establish an enhanced political and military presence in the country, thereby threatening to make Sri Lanka another Grenada, Lebanon or Cyprus.

It is being used to provoke confrontations with our neighbour, India.

And it is also being used to divert attention from the

Central Committee for a party delegation to take part in the All-Party Congress, and the work that its delegation has done to make the conference a success. It instructs the new Central Committee to take all necessary steps to see that these efforts are continued. It calls on all who want the independence and unity of the country to continue, with justice to minority nationalities, to do everything possible to ensure this. The Forward 1st February 1984.

MY ENLIGHTENMENT

by G. G. LAKSHMI
NARAYANAN SWAMIGI
"I received complete
emancipation from
cankers (delusion)..."

For details contact:

G.G. Lakshmi
Narayanan Swamigi
174, K.K.S. Road-Jaffna.

The hornets'

Continued from page 7)

month requirement pertaining to an application for the violation of a fundamental right in terms of Article 126 (5) was only a guide and a direction and it was not a mandatory imperative requirement. It was also his position that the whole exercise relating to the question of the Judges ceasing to hold office was misconceived.

It was at this stage that the Chief Justice observed, "You are raising a Hornets' Nest". The Deputy Solicitor General remarked, "I don't know why my learned friend wants to raise this Hornets Nest except to get some political mileage". It was his position that the executive acts of the President cannot be questioned in Court.

Hornets' Nest

Mr. Nadesan, however, clearly saw the implications of these executive acts and events of the preceding ten days as to how it affected the independence of the Judiciary. He was certainly not prepared to leave a Hornets' Nest on Hulftsdorp Hill. He did not share the view with the Deputy Solicitor General that all's well that ends well with all the Judges put back on their saddles. His conscience was clear and it was the right of the citizen and in the interests of an independent judiciary to determine on the issues involved, among which the most important issue was the right of the Supreme Court to examine the legal and constitutional validity of an executive act of the President.

'Fearless, Selfless and consistent....'

The Chief Justice ruled that the matters raised were important and should be referred to a Full Bench of nine Judges, who finally delivered a majority judgment of great interest to the jurists and constitutional experts not only in this country but also abroad.

* The writer, who is proud of the Republican Constitution and values the Freedom and Independence of Sri Lanka, has advisedly refrained from calling Mr. Nadesan a Queen's Counsel, when the sovereignty of our country now lies with our people and not with the Queen. The greatest honour the writer can pay Mr. Nadesan is to refer to him as "Nadesan the fearless, consistent fighter for human rights and civil liberties."



The Strike and the Aftermath

The Press this week reports that the Government is likely to consider a "final solution" for the persons who remain denied employment for having taken part in the July 1980 strike. (Ceylon Daily News of 17th November).

There is an appropriate moment to have a closer look at the basic issues involved in this affair.

This position today is that a large number of workers in the public services and government corporations who struck work over one year ago, have not yet been reinstated in their employment despite their willingness to work. The resultant position calls for careful examination. For this situation is serious as it entails grave hardship not only to the several thousand workers concerned, but also to their families.

There is a lot of difference between a person who is unemployed and is in search of employment, and a person who has already been employed for years (even though at subsistence level wages) who is thrown out of employment. The unemployed is used to the conditions of unemployment and has the opportunity of seeking employment. The employed person is used to a settled pattern of living, and over-night faces the problem of unemployment.

Besides, the chances of his securing any employment at all is remote on grounds of age or the circumstances under which he was dismissed.

Even private employers may be reluctant to employ persons dismissed by the government.

Is it Fair

Or Just?

Thus desperation is liable to assail persons who lose their livelihood in this manner, and there have been a number of suicides among the victims of the July 1980 strike.

Because of the gravity of this human problem, and its social consequences, as well as the issues of basic rights involved, it is necessary to examine carefully the implications of all that has happened, and also to ascertain whether the punishment imposed on the strikers of virtual dismissal is fair or just.

The case for the Government is simple. It says that in its view, the strike was politically motivated, to cripple the Government in the middle of its term, and that therefore it had to resort to emergency rule under the Public Security Ordinance and declare all key industries to be essential.

To mark the 80th birthday of its founder member Mr. S. Nadesan, QC, on 11th February 1984, the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT OF SRI LANKA reprinted two of his earlier writings.

REGIONAL AUTONOMY is the substance of an article published in the Sunday Observer 27 years ago, just before the signing of the Bandaranaike - Chelvanayagam pact.

The CRM, in a press release, states: "Though not now taking any position on the subject examined, the CRM con-

siders the arguments of special relevance at the present moment, and hopes that their wider dissemination will be a useful stimulant to further discussion."

THE STRIKE AND ITS AFTERMATH was written by Mr. Nadesan for CRM in 1981 and is an official CRM publication. Its immediate subject matter is the strike of public servants in July 1980 when the Government used Emergency powers to treat the strikers (40,000 according to Government figures, many more accord-

ing to trade unions) as having vacated their posts. It also refers to similar use of emergency powers by the previous Government.

Of special interest is that the writer drew on his recollection of how fairly the problem of strikes in essential services was dealt with by the colonial government during the war, and traced the relevant Defence Regulation of 1942.

Today we begin serialising the second of Mr. Nadesan's articles.



by

S. Nadesan

It has been the Government's position that if the unions have misled the workers, and made them strike, then the workers have only themselves and their unions to blame for their predicament, and that in the interest of the public welfare, it could not permit these strikers to hold the public to ransom.

History of

Trade Unionism

The above contentions of the Government have to be examined carefully in the light of the history of the trade union movement in this country, and the part played by the present Government, as well as its predecessors, in the development of trade unionism in Sri Lanka.

It is not necessary for CRM's present purpose to examine the merits or demerits of the strike itself, or to go into the question of motivation. For purposes of information and reference, however, a brief factual history of the strike is given in appendix I.

Let us consider, however, for purposes of argument, the justification of the Government that the strike was politically motivated, in that certain political parties did seek to exploit the discontent of the workers, caused by economic hardship resulting from the sharp rise in inflation, to induce them to strike. If this has happened, is it not entirely due to the way in which the trade union movement has been built up in Sri Lanka from its very beginning?

From their inception, political parties have sponsored trade unions, and no Government has made any effort to stop this. On the contrary, it has been recognised that the help of such political parties was necessary for the development of trade unions in this country. In fact, the present governing party itself is busily engaged in sponsoring trade unions affiliated to it. Some Ministers are presidents of such trade unions or of federations of such trade unions. So, too, are there now, and have there been in the past, unions known

as CP (Communist Party) unions, LSSP (Lanka Sama Samaja Party) unions, SLFP (Sri Lanka Freedom Party) unions, UNP (United National Party) unions, and so on and so forth.

This being the accepted and recognised pattern of trade union development in Sri Lanka, is it fair to blame workers if the leadership of

some of their unions has been actuated by political motives in calling for a strike? Would it not be equally improper to blame workers of UNP unions, the unions of the ruling party, for refusing to go on strike, because leadership of their unions has been actuated by political motives in not calling for a strike?

This is all very well, some say, but how then is a Government expected to deal with a strike which is not bona fide actuated by "pure" trade union demands, but which is truly politically motivated, with the object of making government impossible?

CRM criticised the use of emergency powers in 1972 by the last Government to dismiss bank clerks who went on strike, and reiterated to the present Government, in the case of the present strike, that "The Public Security Ordinance should never be used, or appear to be used, as a political weapon in a confrontation between the Government and trade unions, to oppose the legitimate rights of trade unions."

The proper conduct of a democratic and responsible Government is otherwise, as we shall see.

[To be continued]

The Tamils...

(Continued from page 4)
Tamil speaking king of Sri Lanka had been taken captive.

The sea-ports of the then Tamil country, which included all the Malabar coast as well, were busy ports of call into which ships from the West called with their gold, lamps, wine and goblets to return home with pepper and silks, cotton and ivory and with the pearls of the Tamil seas. Teak from the Tamil country has been found in the ruins of Urvayanar men of the Greco-Roman world established colonies and trading stations in the Tamil Kingdoms and were even employed as engineers, body-guards, palace-guards and city-guards in the service of Tamil kings.

In this trade and overseas expansion the ports of North Lanka played a great part which is forgotten in this jet-age. Kelpitiya, Mantota, Kayts, Elephant Pass, Trincomalee have a naval history that has yet to be studied from foreign and local records, including Arab chronicles.

The author of Periplus and Ptolemy speak of ships that used to sail from the eastern coasts of South India and Lanka to the "land of Gold" (Malaya and Java), and Fa-Hien refers to his voyage to Java through Trincomalee.

WEDDING

Dr ANANDARAJAH -SURIYAKUMARI

The wedding took place on Sunday 12th February 1984, at the bride's residence, between

Dr. Anandarajah

Physician, Government Hospital, Vavuniya, son of the late Mr. N. Senathirajah and Mrs. Ratnam Senathirajah of Tellipallai and

Miss Suriyakumari

daughter of Mr. S. A. Cumarasuriyar and Mrs. Vanniasundary Cumarasuriyar of Udayar Valavoo, Imayanen, Uduppiddy.

The wedding was conducted by the High Priest of Naguleswara Sivan Temple, Keerimalai, Sri La Sri Parameswara Kurukkal.

T. R. R. O's APPEAL

The following is part of an appeal issued by the Tamil Refugees Rehabilitation Organization Ltd. of Jaffna (the rest being disallowed by the Censor):-

The Tamil Refugees Rehabilitation Organization (TRRO) was formed after the 1977 riots with the avowed object of providing homes for the refugees on purely humanitarian considerations. Our people are aware of the useful work the organisation has been doing in this direction.

The TRRO Ltd., which is a non-profit body, has now taken the place of the TRRO. We are now engaged in assisting the settlement of refugees through reputed social and religious organisations.

The magnitude of the task is such that every organisation with service as its objective should come forward to meet the challenge.

We have, however, in our humble way, drawn out plans to rehabilitate at least one thousand families.

To settle a refugee family, it costs between Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 40,000.

Construction of one small house with cement floor and tiled roof.	Rs. 25,000
Tools and implements for manual work and cooking utensils.	Rs. 1,000
Seed paddy/seed potatoes or cereals (as the case may be).	Rs. 750
One cow	Rs. 3,000
Small scale poultry farm	Rs. 1,000
Sustenance for one family at Rs. 300 a month for six months.	Rs. 1,800
Land—one acre in extent	Rs. 4,000
	Rs. 36,000

If the house is constructed with wattle and daub, the cost will be around Rs. 15,500. This does not make provision for a well, at as it is our intention to construct one well for every

five families. The average cost of constructing a well will be around Rs. 20,000.

Along with the rehabilita-

tion of refugees, we are also granting financial assistance to the dependents of the breadwinners who have been killed during the recent communal disturbances. Towards this and we have

already paid out of our collection Rs. 100,000. Although these families are not livings in camps, their plight is equally pathetic. They need continued assistance.

The purpose of this letter is to enlist the support of your association/society/centre/organisation/institution for this cause. We request that you contribute your share towards the realisation of the objective.

Our request is a modest one: Give us the funds to settle one or more families. If that is not within your reach, please find the funds to provide only the house for one family. If that, too, is difficult please collect funds to buy a cow (Rs. 3,000) for one family. Even if

that is not possible, please contribute whatever you can.

Remittance may be cheque drawn in favour of TRRO Ltd., and crossed "A/C] payee only" (Our account is with the Commercial Bank of Ceylon Ltd., Jaffna - A/C. No. 12503. Payment may also be made direct at our Jaffna office, 66, Chapel Street.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR:

The Council of Governors of TRRO Ltd., consist of Mr. K. Visuvalingam (Chairman), Mr. T. Sangaralingam (Vice-Chairman), Mr. K. Kanagarajanayagam, Mr. A. Nallathambiy, Mr. V. Kanapathipillai, Mr. S. Reveendran and Mr. S. Mahendran.

Steadfast Servant of Christ and Radical Activist

Others will pay proper and eloquent tribute to the main themes of Bishop Lakshman's outstanding clerical and intellectual career. But may I, a friend of many years, propose a few quick words to mark the tragic passing of an illustrious and intrepid Sri Lankan of our times, cut down in the prime of his renowned and unabated defence of human rights and political freedoms, which he perceived as inseparable from the fundamentals of his spiritual vocation on earth. The inner tensions and oppositions of his twin roles as steadfast servant of his Church and radical activist in the cause of truth and justice must have been an irksome burden to bear, but he rarely flinched from his commitment to secular resistance in the public arena whenever the occasion called.

He wore the purple sash as to the manner born but it was never allowed to restrict his passionate concerns for the human condition. When he died he had almost certainly begun to embody the rare and splendid fusion between thought and action, religion and politics, because he had realised, not without struggle, that spiritual emancipation must, in that last analysis, rely almost exclusively on the liberation of man as a political animal. His final message bears out

abundant testimony to the unswerving addiction to the voice of his moral conscience in the thick of contradictions.

My wife (a practising Buddhist) and I (an extinct Christian) have lost a trusted, cherished and compassionate comrade, always willing to chance his arm in defence of the teetering conscience or the clouded sensibility. For nearly a quarter of a century until 1980 he was a frequent visitor in our home, and his arrival (announced or unannounced) was sufficient to clear the air of moral ambiguities and environmental wounds. He brought with him cleansing vistas of beauty, strength, symmetry and a balanced joy, and mundane problems melted before the alchemy of his swiftly directed commonsense and a clinical, though impish, humour.

Lakshman's prescriptions seldom failed to curb turbulent impulses, defuse impetuous suggestions and return wayward proposals to realistic and equitable paths. He possessed that still, perfect centre which understood evil, deceit, confusion and pain, and triumphed over their design with a mystical detachment and a fearless Christian purity. The truest joy of a Christian is to know that his life serves—Lakshman's life exhibited this

US Visit

Colombo: President Ronald Reagan has invited President J. R. Jayewardene to make a state visit to the United States beginning on 18th June 1984. (Daily News, 14th February)

New Leader

Moscow: Mr. Konstantin Chernenko, 72, has been elected General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party in succession to Mr. Yuri Andropov, who died on 9th February. (Reuter)

Trincomalee

Colombo: Prime Minister R. Premadasa yesterday refuted as "mischievous and baseless" the charge that the Government was going to hand over Trincomalee to a foreign power. (Ceylon Daily News 13th February)

'Democracy alive'

New York: A United States Congressional delegation that visited Colombo recently has expressed its confidence in the political stability of Sri Lanka. "We are assured that democracy is alive and well in Sri Lanka" the chairman of the delegation Mr. Joseph Addabbo said here. (Sunday Observer 12th February)

In exalted and exhilarating measure. The memories of a brave and honourable friend who endured through much tribulation, unsparing in the gift of himself to others, will buoy us up through the dark and difficult days to come. May this brief witness to a treasured intimacy bring peace to his spirit where it rests in the pavilions of his God.

H.A.I.G.

25th October, 1983.

News Briefs

Home Guards

Colombo: A fresh effort will be made to establish Home Guards units to augment the Police and the armed forces in each electorate with the recruitment of volunteers by the Ministry of Internal Security. (Daily News, 10th February)

Banks Closed

Jaffna: Six People's Bank branches in the Northern Province will be closed with effect from today following the robbery of Jewellery estimated to be worth Rs. 5 Million from the Chankana branch on Monday. (13th February night) (The Island, 15th February)

Police Blamed

Colombo: Justice Minister Nissanka Wijeyeratne said (at the Sri Lanka Foundation Institute on 13th February) that Sri Lanka Police could not claim to be conforming to the ideals of Police behavior in crime detection an enforcement. "If they do claim so, it would be a harvest of truth". "But he paid a tribute to the Supreme Court and the other Courts which, he said, safe guarded the citizen and his human rights". The judges have faced demonstrations and street shouting but they continue to do their duty".

(Daily News, 15th February)

Law and order

Colombo: The inefficiency of the criminal justice system

in Sri-Lanka has made the large majority of citizens feel insecure and lose confidence in the whole system, Justice ministry Secretary Mr. A. R. B. Amerasinghe warned yesterday. (Sun, 14th february)

Campus Strike

Colombo: Students in four faculties of the Colombo University staged a one day token strike yesterday, on four issues: the ban placed on student councils under emergency regulations the establishment of a police unit on the Peradeniya Campus, the suspension of 63 students, and the failure to grant the demands of the Jaffna Campus. (The Island, 14th February).

Square...

(Continued from page 3)

went further and rejected any form of piecemeal accommodation with the Tamils insisting on the inquiry into the age old grievances of all races in Sri Lanka. This amounted to killing the Jayewardene initiative stone dead.

The only constructive option now open to the President is to call a general election. This would throw the Tamil terrorist movement as well as moderate Tamil politicians into disarray and would stop at least temporarily, the bitter feuding in the President's own party over who is to succeed him. Mr. Jayewardene might emerge with a mandate to create a consensus Government more suited to Sri Lanka's present needs. But whether any combination of Sinhalese politicians would be bold enough to make concessions to the Tamils is questionable.

THE CALL TO RENEWAL



This is the season of spring, the time of the earth's renewal. For us in Sri Lanka, this is the time of the year and this is the month when the call to renewal comes with the National New Year.

This festival should remind Tamil speakers of the great culture to which they are heirs. Its great antiquity and wide dispersion apart, it has a vehicle in the Tamil language, in turn the carrier of a noble literature enshrining noble ideals of life. For which of the literatures proclaimed two thousand years ago the ideal of one world and one humanity?

"Every country is my country; every man is my kinsman."

Or, witness again, Dr. Albert Schweitzer's reference to Thiruvalluvar's Tirukkural: "There hardly exists in the literature of the world a book which contains such lofty maxims."

No less heartening to sons and daughters of Lanka should be the realisation that, based on the Tamil and Sinhalese languages, these twin cultures have mutually influenced each other, binding us and the generations together. A bilingual society and a bilingual state is the legacy of our history. The early inscriptions, place names and family names, the documents of the courts of Kotte and Kandy, the curriculum of the medieval *pirivenas*, the extensive list of common words in the vocabularies of Sinhala and Tamil all point to the intermingling of the people and languages down the ages. So, too, dance forms and the drama, architecture and the sculpture of the two cultures.

Says Dr. Xavier Thani Nayagam: "For the existence and interpenetration of these cultures, there is no better evidence than a religious shrine like Kathirgammam held sacred by Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims, located in the southernmost part of Ceylon, and the religious shrines of the Buddhists located in Nainativu, a northernmost outpost of the Island, held sacred by Hindus also."

BRITISH CONTRIBUTION

With the coming of Britain to our shores we lost the initiative in our own life and our history came to be "made in Britain". But, there was a measure of redemption in this encounter with "a civilization on the

march." The curse has proved a blessing in disguise, as often in the history of civilization. The British became "the unconscious tools of history." For the first time in history, the fundamental cultural unity was reinforced by the common statehood and a newly awakened consciousness that we could be one nation from shore to shore. So to speak we began to pick elements from the legacies of our history, especially the fact that it is a twin culture and a bilingual society that we have inherited from the past. And what we have derived from the century and a half of association with Britain is, too, part of our heritage.

Is it really possible now to make a return journey to history, or undo the multi-group society that clusters in our new cities, or stop our gifted sons and daughters from sharing in the opportunities that an emerging world community provides?

The saving factor lies in the truth that men in power cannot really alter the currents of history; at best they

can only steer their barks. The purveyors of divisive political philosophies and discriminatory strategies in education are certainly betraying the future.

Likewise, it both belittles our grand heritage and denies our future when, with current stakes in group prejudice, historians substitute a collection of group legends for a composite History of Lanka where all groups are treated as equal and their contribution vital to the story of the nation.

by **K. Nesiah**

It behoves all men in positions of power and influence to realise that Lanka is irrevocably one nation, much in the way in which Mahatma Gandhi affirmed that India is One Nation. For Sri Lanka, the message of the past reads—Many traditions, one History! Four religions, one People! Two (or, even three) languages, one Voice!

We would do well to bear in mind what Radhakrishnan

said of India—that the richness of the inheritance should not enslave our minds. What we should be after is not a revival but a renewal. We are called upon to work out a felicitous synthesis between life values deriving from our authentic past and the challenges stemming from the social and scientific revolutions of our time. Not the least exciting aspect of this modern renaissance, that Sinhala and Tamil turned to new uses would help to carry the nation into

the world of our time; nor it lack an ever increasing number of gifted persons, who have absorbed the thought and culture of the age, able to write creatively to a world readership in English and other world languages.

It has been claimed that Europe's prominence and world contribution in modern times was helped by her possessing unity-in-diversity

in Space and continuity—through-change in Time. Sri Lanka, like India, has inherited a marvellous capacity for synthesis where the religious outlook is concerned. This gift should be used in other fields as well.

It is in this wise that she will send fresh shoots from the older tree, fed by the sap of its subterranean roots. To use the words of the Harvard Report, "as a feeling of commitment and of allegiance marks the sense of heritage, so a tone of tough-mindedness and curiosity and a readiness for change mark this pragmatic attitude."

It is by such a fresh cultural departure that Sri Lanka will serve as a model and hold a message to Asia and the world.

(Reproduced from "Education and Human Rights in Sri Lanka", a selection from writings and addresses by Mr. K. Nesiah. This article first appeared in the *Morning Star*, Jaffna, in April 1975)

The following report appeared in The Times of India of 10th January:

Lanka Tamils live in anxiety

Sri Lanka's 1.8 million indigenous Tamils live in anxiety and hope that the latest effort to find a lasting solution to their problems through an all-party conference scheduled to begin at the Bandaranaike Memorial hall here tomorrow would succeed where all previous efforts had proved abortive.

The bulk of them, now confined to the North where they fled after Sinhalese mobs, enraged at the killing of 13 Sinhalese soldiers in Jaffna in July by extremists demanding a separate state, attacked Tamils living in their midst in the South.

This correspondent who visited Jaffna last week to assess the mood of the people on the eve of the round table conference, found a dispirited, sullen, angry and leaderless community.

Dispirited because years of endeavour and achievement by large number of them in the South went up in smoke within a few days, with many Tamils losing their lives as well.

Sullen and angry because President Jayewardene's United National Party Government failed to give them adequate protection at the hour of their greatest need, some in authority even seeming to approve the senseless carnage and destruction

but none, not even the President, uttering one word of condemnation against the perpetrators.

Leaderless because until last week most of the Tamil United Liberation Front top-rankers were in India where they sought refuge when the violence had erupted. Most people this correspondent spoke to were resentful of this fact because they said they had no one to turn to in the last five months.

Now Mr. Appapillai Amirthalingam and his colleagues—no longer members of Parliament, having lost their seats because of prolonged absence without leave—are to make another, and probably the final, effort to secure a negotiated settlement of the community's problems the crux of which is state power and all that flows from it, something the Tamil minority had been demanding from the British before they departed in 1948 leaving all power in the hands of the Sinhalese.

The return of the TULF leaders was facilitated by the good offices of the Indian Prime Minister whose special emissary, Mr. G. Parthasarathy, has been engaged in

shuttle diplomacy since August. He is now in the island for the third time.

This correspondent found two disturbing developments in Jaffna. Hundreds of students were reported 'missing' from their homes. Many of them had presumably gone abroad to join the "Eelam Liberation Army" referred to in a letter written by Mr. Amirthalingam's second son, Bhakeerathan, now in India, and found in the possession of his intended brother-in-law, Mr. Valluvan Rajalingam. The latter was arrested by the Army on his return to the island from Madras in October.

The students reported "missing" are stated to have slipped out to India in the first instance, going by country boats—people say the service was provided by the "Eelam Shipping Corporation"—before proceeding to other destinations.

The second development is that nearly 1,800 students displaced from the universities of Colombo (247), Peradeniya (1,252) and Moratuwa (230) are still in Jaffna refusing to heed the Government's ultimatum to return to their campuses.

The Displaced Undergraduates' Union asked this correspondent how they could return in the face of the inability of the Government to ensure their security.

They are now demanding placement at Jaffna and Batticaloa universities, which the Government is refusing claiming lack of facilities. But they point out that nearly 300 Sinhalese students from Jaffna University have been found accommodation in universities in the South.

On Mr. Amirthalingam's intervention, the Government is not enforcing the deadline which expires today.

Also, there are still about 20,000 refugees in camps in the North, a majority without any previous connections with the peninsula. A majority of them are of Indian origin.

A lasting solution to the ethnic problem, independent analysts agree, could only be found, first, by the majority community recognising the legitimacy of Tamil nationalism, and secondly, by providing avenues for its full expression.

Unfortunately, all efforts at a negotiated settlement in the past failed, mainly owing to Sinhalese intransigence.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

HOW'S THAT, ST. MATHEW?

For the edification of "Sinhala wallahs," we reproduce this address by Prof V. I. SUBRAMONIAM, Vice-Chancellor of Tamil University, Tanjore, at the Convocation of the University of Jaffna on 11 February 1984:

It is both my duty and pleasure to thank the Senate of the University of Jaffna and the Dons headed by its erudite Vice-Chancellor, Prof. S. Vithiyananthan for inviting me to deliver this year's Convocation address. Indeed, I am quite conscious of my limitations as a scholar and as an administrator to merit the two honours accorded to me. But the Tamil University I represent deserves both and I thank the Jaffna University, on behalf of the University in Tamil Nadu, for these favours while conveying its fraternal greetings to the sister University of Jaffna.

Uniting people for achieving social or religious goals is difficult. It is still more difficult when communication was undeveloped in the early centuries before and after Christ. Transcending national and geographical boundaries, Christianity spread through the power of the gospel, social services, and conquest. Mohammedanism spread by conquest throughout the Middle East, Africa and in South-East Asia. Buddhism by the preachings of the apostles spread throughout India, and in the west up to Greece, in the north up to China and southern parts of Russia and in South Asia, including Sri Lanka, Burma, Cambodia, Korea and Japan from the early centuries before Christ and thereafter. This religious unity of an international order is the forerunner of the United Nations Organisation of recent days. How difficult it is to maintain the civilized nations under this organisation is a fact well-known to recent history!

The spread of Buddhism in Sri Lanka from the Maurya capital in India is generally attributed to Mahinda the son and Sangamithra the daughter of Asoka who according to the early chronicles of Sri Lanka are said to have flown to Sri Lanka. But the vestiges unearthed in recent days as well as in the last century have brought to the fore the role played by Tamil Nadu in the spread of Theravada and other

Schools of Buddhism in Ceylon and South Asian countries and its growth and development by erudite apostles who lived in Kanchipuram, Kaavirippuam Pattinam, Nagapattinam, Budhamangalam, Madurai and Tinnevely, all in the Tamil country.

Besides the literary records of the Tamils, like the Sangam literature, the twin epics Silappatikaram and Manimekalai, the remnants of Vimbisarakatha, the grammar Veerasooliyam which was translated into Sinhalese, the Pali annotations, the chronicles of Sri Lanka, the notices of the Chinese travellers and the writings of the Western savants whose respect for facts is only matched by the rigour of their interpretation have thrown a flood of light on an area which is unknown or little known to many till this day.

Says Dhammapada
"The gift of Truth excels all gifts,
The flavour of Truth excels all flavours,
The delight of Truth excels all delights"

Since seeking truth is the goal of all universities the following facts will be of interest to us all:

The discovery of the Brahmi inscriptions in the Tinnevely and Madurai Districts of Tamil Nadu in the rock-cut caves, in the early decades of this century, and their emended reading in the sixties have confirmed the conclave of Buddhist monks in the southern parts of Tamil Nadu. Ilam (Sri Lanka) has also been mentioned in one or two lithic records. On palaeographical grounds, they have been assigned to the first two centuries before Christ.

Hieun Tsang, the Chinese traveller (7th C.A.D.), notes that the Buddhist mission under Mahinda was directed first to the country of Malayukuta below Dravida, that is Tamraparani country, from where Mahinda must have gone across to Simhala. Also Hieun Tsang speaks of a monastery built by Mahinda somewhere near Tanjore.

'NO FAITH IN KALPAGE'

The problem of the Tamil students displaced from universities in the South threa-

tens to become another irritant in Sinhalese-Tamil relations unless speedy action is taken to find alternative arrangements for them to continue their studies.

According to the Displaced Tamil Undergraduates' Union, nearly 1,800 students have been affected by the incidents of July last year.

The breakdown of the numbers originally affected, as provided by the Union, is as follows:

Colombo University — 247 (Faculties of Medicine and Law)

He asked, "How could we return when there is no guarantee of physical safety? Students at Peradeniya University, who were first affected by the incidents in May 1983, returned after accepting the assurance of security given by the Government, only to be subjected to violence again in July the same year".

He noted that the 300 Sinhalese students who were at the Jaffna University had not received a similar ultimatum to return from the Ministry of Higher Education.

By A Special Correspondent

Peradeniya University—1,252 (Faculties of Engineering, Medicine, Dental Science, Agriculture, Veterinary Science and Arts).

Moratuwa University — 230 (Faculties of Engineering, Architecture and National Diploma in Technology).

The demand of the Union, formed at the Jaffna University in September last year, is that all the affected students be found accommodation at the Jaffna and Batticaloa Universities.

A Union spokesman said that the demand of the Government that all these students should return to their respective Universities was "most unreasonable".

have defeated Buddhists and driven them to Sri Lanka.

The Dhyana School of Buddhism developed in Kanchi was introduced to China and later to Japan by Bodhi Dharma (527 A.D.) Viharas in memory of him are found in China and Japan though he was forgotten in the Tamil country. He was the third son of the king of Kanchi.

After him in 727 A.D. Vajra Bodhi who studied in Nalanda and was the teacher of the king of Kanchi, went to Sri Lanka from where he sailed to China. He translated eleven works and spread Tantric Buddhism and died in 732 A.D. in China.

Besides Kanchi and Kaavirippuampattinam, Nagapattinam was a Buddhist centre. In 720 A.D. Narasimhavarman-I constructed a temple in favour of the Emperor of China and a placard

sent by the Emperor of China was placed on the front wall of the temple. This temple was pulled down by the French Jesuits in 1867.

The Kalyani inscription from Burma corroborates the Buddhist Vihara in Nagapattinam, which all foreign travellers visited.

Larger Leiden Grant of Raja Raja-I and the smaller Leiden Grant of Kulottunga-I mention about the endorsement of land grants for the upkeep of the Vihara called Cuulaamani Vihara built in honour of the king of Sri Vijaya.

(To be continued)

10EFL —
THE STEPPING STONE
TO A CAREER ABROAD
Avail yourself of
a GRAND BONANZA of
25 Listening Comprehensions
For details—Contact:
VICTOR
S. KIRUPARAJ
33, 3rd Cross Street, JAFFNA.

As a forum for free comment and expression of opinion, the columns of the SATURDAY REVIEW will be open to any point of view within the limits of law and reason—and for the present—the censorship rules.

Please keep your contributions as short as possible.

If the return of unused material is desired, please enclose a self-addressed stamped envelope.

Printed at Kalanilaya Atchaham, 303, K. K. S. Road, Jaffna, and published by New Era Publications Ltd, 118, 4th Cross Street, Jaffna, on 18th February 1984. Registered as a newspaper at the General Post Office, Sri Lanka under QJ/101.