

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 3 No. 20.

30th June 1984

WRITE & BLAST THE S.R.

It was 1st July 1983. I was on one of my frequent visits to Jaffna, in the course of which I visited the SATURDAY REVIEW office and had a long chat with the then Editor, Mr. S. Sivanayagam.

We talked about many things, especially about the beginnings of our happy association in the DAILY MIRROR in 1964 and the future of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

Within just 18 months, the SATURDAY REVIEW had become a force to reckon with in the Sri Lanka media world. It proved what really good journalism could achieve.

But the results were not palatable to some people in authority in Colombo as well as to those journalists who were prostituting their profession.

There was talk that the SATURDAY REVIEW should be silenced—"for the greater good of the country" that is, the good of the major community!

For the SATURDAY REVIEW was espousing the cause of the Tamil people

as it had never been done before, besides taking up other issues affecting all Sri Lankans, especially in the spheres of political and fundamental rights.

Siva and I agreed that, come what may, the SATURDAY REVIEW should persist in its bold independent course.

It was around 4.30 p.m. that, under the shade of the temple tree in front of our office, I shook hands with Siva and took his leave.

Half an hour later, I received a telephone call from him to my hotel saying that the SATURDAY REVIEW office had been sealed!

The Competent Authority's order, issued under the Emergency Regulations, had stated, among what we consider to be other inanities, that he was "of the opinion that there has been published and is likely to be published in the SATURDAY REVIEW newspaper matter which in his 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, "and so by his 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."

The same order was repeated monthly thereafter until 18th January 1984.

The SATURDAY REVIEW had never intended to do what was attributed to it, contrary to the views appeared to have been formed by quite a number of non-Tamil readers, some of them probably because they had been prejudiced, others probably because they had been misinformed, still others probably because they wished to please the powers-that-be. We still do not know.

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

This is a special censorship that applies only to the SATURDAY REVIEW of all newspapers in Sri Lanka.

In addition to the constraints imposed on us 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."

Question, that it has deviated from its original policies, etc.

My humble request—it is not a challenge—to all our critics is to put their views down in writing in the SATURDAY REVIEW—and under their own names.

We welcome criticism and we will publish whatever criticism that does not exceed certain bounds of decency.

At the same time, I, an "outsider", so to say, wish to thank all those persons in the North and in the South, irrespective of race, religion and language, who have extended their co-operation to me to keep the SATURDAY REVIEW going.

My heavens, despite all the obstacles in our way, all the grumblings and all the threats, we have managed to come out with 20 issues of Volume 3!

Gamini Navaratne.

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A MOMENT

"Master, coming back to the Ban on Pseudonyms, have you any further comments to make?" asked a Reporter from Diogenes on Galle Face Green.

"I have done some rethinking on this matter. I now support it wholeheartedly. This amendment befits a Dharmishta Government. Why should it tolerate falsehoods? Our writers must learn to discard false names in a Dharmishta Society within a 5-Star Democracy. As I told you before our Democracy is a 5-Star, Democracy which caters to the super elite and not to the people, like our exclusive 5-Star hotels. When our Constitution guarantees the Freedom of the Press, and the Freedom of Speech, why should our writers hide under false names?"

"But our thugs will deal with them and they will be intimidated by the private armies", said the Reporter.

"That should be no cause for complaint. Our Dharmishta Society respects the Freedom of everyone. The writer must enjoy the free-

dom to write. That is what he is for. Our thugs also must enjoy the freedom to be violent. That is what they are for. We are a 5-Star Democracy. We do not believe in the Democracy of the Greek City State. The rabble destroyed their cities and all the democratic institutions. We would rather adopt the Wilsonian theory of a guided democracy. We believe in getting undated letters of resignation from the people's representatives so that no one dares rocking the Republican Boat. We believe in Freedom for all—freedom for the writers to write, the thugs to assault and kill.

We enjoy the Freedom from Court prosecutions in our Paradise Democracy. We enjoy the freedom to kill, the freedom either to be violent or to be non-violent, the freedom to demonstrate even in front of the residences of Supreme Court judges.

Where else in the world does the citizen enjoy all these freedoms?

WITH DIOGENES

Nissanka is a philosopher king, as the President is. We are an ideal Society and an ideal State. We are ruled by Philosopher Kings. Our rulers, including our Prime Minister, can hold forth on the Buddhist and Hindu philosophies like no other ruler can in any other country in the world.

Our President is a Messenger of Love, who saved Japan after the last War. Thondaman thinks he is the only one who can solve our problems here. I think that our Philosopher King is the only one who can solve all the problems of the whole world. He is the Philosopher King whom Plato had in mind."

"What do you think of his new-found friend Ronald Reagan?" asked the Reporter.

"Well, he will solve the problems of Mankind, both personal and national, even international. He will solve the problem of man one day within five seconds. He will establish peace for all mankind for all time. He will establish Utopia in the real sense that it will be no place and there will be no man—with cockroaches the only survivors of a nuclear war creeping and sprawling on the surface of the earth".

"Master, what do you think of our President's idea for an Anti-Terrorist United Nations Commission?"

"I wish it luck. But who has taken this UN resolution seriously of late? There will be a quick permutation of the letters of the English

alphabet—it will be A.T.U.N.C. It will be ATUNC and may be unidentifiable. Flying objects will be flitting about holding inquiries at much expense and much profit to themselves for so little purpose.

"My dear fellow, the creators of terrorism must be identified and the cause of terrorism must be realised. Please recall my 18-fold noble path which I outlined some time ago which must be paved for a peaceful solution", concluded Diogenes. "To reach peace, there must be a path paved towards Peace."

Words of Wisdom

"To refrain from all evil,
To do what is good,
To purify the mind,
This is the teaching of Buddha"

—Dhammapada

"No one sees what is before his feet; we all gaze at the stars."

—Cicero

"The truest characters of ignorance are vanity, pride, and annoyance."

—Butler

"Man can climb the highest summits, but he cannot dwell there long."

—Bernard Shaw

"It is much easier to be critical than to be correct."

—Disraeli

(Collected by Jupiter)

MAFIA ON THE WAY

The country would very soon be inundated with mafiatype underworld gangster organisations unless the three enforcement

agencies—the Customs, the Police and the Excise—jointly co-ordinated plans to crush the drugs and narcotics menace.

So warned Mr. H. B. Dissanayake, Principal Collector of Customs when he inaugurated a seminar on "Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances" organised by the Customs for Excise Officers held at the Customs Training Institute, Vauxhall Street, Slave Island on 22nd June.

Mr. Dissanayake said Sri Lanka was now in the throes of a drug problem that most Western countries had experienced over five years ago. Unless joint and co-ordinated action was taken to counter the supply and

demand of narcotics, Sri Lanka, before long, might face similar problems, because of man's greed for money.

He said the drugs menace could do untold damage to the entire country. There should be no complacency or easing up on the part of the enforcement agencies because the menace was spreading fast.

The Customs chief said that even the locally-produced ganja was now being processed to meet modern needs. Ganja was now available in compressed cubes. He warned that hashish would soon be made out of ganja. (The Sunday Times, 24th June)

QUEST FOR A BETTER LIFE

Human history could be described as a quest for a better life, as a striving towards a just social system. Marxism-Leninism laid the theoretical foundations for building such a social system and teaches the fine and difficult art of politically leading the masses and the revolutionary movement to build such a just social system.

To gain this knowledge read the book "Lenin and Asia" by Attorney-at-Law T. Duraisingam, veteran member of the revolutionary movement in our country.

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J.R. Absolves Indira's Govt.

President Jayewardene yesterday delivered a strong denunciation of the terrorists of North Lanka and the Tamil Nadu Government which supports them at a press conference in Fleet Street.

Mr. Jayewardene who faced some of Fleet Street's best known journalists, said that although India had been accused by some people of helping the terrorists he would categorically deny that he was accusing the Central Government.

"But we do accuse the Government of Tamil Nadu and the people who help the terrorists," he said.

Explaining the July incidents and the plan for a settlement of the country's ethnic problems, Mr. Jaye-

wardene said "The terrorists believe in the bullet, and whether that same bullet will be used against the Tamil United Liberation Front no one can say."

"It is quite possible that it will be so, but I believe, in the ballot, and whatever decision the All-Party Conference arrives at."

OFF TO ROME

The Bishops in charge of all the dioceses of Sri Lanka including the Rt. Rev. Deogupillai Bishop of Jaffna, left for Rome on 28 June for their Ad Limina visit. During this traditional quinquennial visit they will meet the Pope and also hold discussions with the prelates of the Sacred Congregation for Evangelisation.

FOCUS ON INDIA

Presidential Red Herring

Political discussion, when it is initiated by politicians is so often motivated or marked by partisan thrust and parry the public at large can be forgiven for taking it with a large helping of salt. So it is with the resurrection in recent days of the debate about a presidential form of government for India. The discussion has surfaced periodically. The last time, some three years ago, it showed surprising stamina doing the rounds in specially convened forums, the press and political circles before being given, what was then thought at any rate, a quiet burial. Evidently not, for the same ideas and arguments are once again surfacing and while it remains to be seen how vigorous this second coming will be, it is obviously necessary to test its fibre.

Why, in the first place, should there be another orchestrated attempt to force this discussion? Undoubtedly the present system is under strain. Grave distortions have occurred in the major institutions and democratic norms have been seriously eroded. The parliamentary process, indeed Parliament itself, has been allowed to decline in its role and importance. But these are not distortions caused by institution or basic defects in the functioning of parliamentary democracy (as opposed to a presidential democracy). They have been brought

about by the political parties by the leaders of this parties chiefly – but not exclusively – in the ruling Congress (I).

They are symptoms, not the disease. It is understandable that the Congress (I), should voice favour for a presidential system. It would after all, be far easier for Mrs. Gandhi to be elected a president than orchestrate her party's plurality in Parliament. It is understandable too that the ruling party should want to pass its own crisis – of calibre, of leadership, of confidence at the hustings of organisations – as a crisis of the political system, but this will not convince the electorate who will see through it as an effort to distract their attention from the real problems, the real issues, such as the role of black money in elections and politics, the unbridled sale and purchase of legislators, the deliberate subversion of democratic norms the sharp decline in political morality. The list is far from complete, but these ills which have caused the decay of India's political system, are very real and will be untouched by a conversion of the system of democratic government from the parliamentary to the presidential.

If the Congress(I) is in fact serious about a debate on the system of government then it is clearly going about it the wrong way.

A true debate on the presidential form of government must begin with identifying the ills of the present political system and seeing how they can be remedied within the present system. It must be a debate that takes in the widest range of opinion, one that will surpass the width and depth of the constitutional debates that marked the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly. It must be a debate that seeks national consensus just as the framers of the Constitution sought, and it must be a debate that is seen to move the country forward rather than protect the parochial interests of one political party, group or individual. All this is a far cry from the suggestions, usually made off-the-cuff, dropped by political functionaries from time to time. It is very different to trying to force an amendment of the Constitution through an obliging series of legislatures in which the ruling party is within reach of the necessary two-thirds majority. And, it is very different to the kite-flying that loyalists seem to enjoy, whether it is to win kudos from their leaders or even at their behest.

Before any debate can be taken seriously, it must address itself to certain questions that are germane to it. Will the Indian presidential system be a centralised one as in the United States? Can a centralised presidential system work in a country as vast and diverse as India? What system of checks and balances will be built into an Indian presidential system? Will the legislatures be supreme as in France or will the courts have judicial review as in the US? What form of government will be introduced in the states? Will they run themselves as in the American model or will they be reduced to the status of French prefectures? Finally, where will sovereignty lie—with the people, with the legislature or with the president?

Only when these questions are answered can the nation decide which system is the better one. These are not questions that can be debated in a hurry. Nor are they subjects of narrow, sectarian interest. And, obviously, the whole issue is not one in which there can be room for any kind of doubt: any attempt to railroad a conversion of the system will not only produce confrontation

with the opposition parties, it will provoke the ire of the Supreme Court which has ruled that the basic character of the Constitution cannot be changed by Parliament. Any move to force the issue will result in what nobody wants, a serious constitutional crisis. The debate has to be seen for what it is, a red herring.

ing to distract public attention. This is not the time to bring up these difficult and time-consuming issues. There will be time enough after the elections, when saner, less motivated minds may be brought to bear on it.

(from India Today, 31st May 1984)

APPRECIATION

Mr. K. Manikkalingam

One by one, the scions of the Foreign Service (Valthianathan vintage) are being snuffed out. The latest casualty is Mr. K. Manikkalingam, who until recently was our man in Djakarta. He also had the rare distinction of being the first career man to act for the head of the Foreign Office.

Maniks was brought up in a sheltered, top-drawer family from Uduvil and had a remarkable school record both in studies and sports. After obtaining an honours degree in chemistry, he opted to join the Foreign Service which was then in an embryo stage. It was a challenging assignment: he was house "trained" in the Foreign Office by the whizzkid laureate Neville Jansz, another physics honours graduate. It was good alchemy and in course of time he became an accomplished professional diplomat, having served in the major capitals of the world, mastering the art of making friends and influencing people with a high degree of sophistication.

What seemed typical of Maniks was the antithetical quality of his primary virtues—he was extraordinarily warm and generous but never turned out to be a glorified baggage boy for visiting V.I.P.s at airports. Nor did he hog in any capital to become an irrelevance in the country of accreditation.

He did not bend the rules nor did he indulge in the ancient establishment sport of goal-post moving when he could not have his way. He would never by thought or in deed submit to what he felt in his conscience was wrong.

His appearance reflected his character and he encouraged informality in greeting and address. His manner was one of rather intimidating reserve but as acquaintance matured into friendship he revealed himself as a kindly and generous host with a ready wit and a keen sense of enjoyment. His loyalty to friends and his magnanimity was truly unusual. He neglected his health

(Continued on page 10)

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SJV's six demands

We have now begun to receive such a volume of letters that we would not be able to accommodate them even if we took up all the pages of the SATURDAY REVIEW!

While asking would-be contributors to remember our limitations of space, we would also urge them not to touch on topics that would not pass the Censor.

Besides the special censorship on the SATURDAY REVIEW, there is now a blanket censorship on all the newspapers in Sri Lanka imposed under No. 14(1) of the Emergency (Miscellaneous Powers and Provisions) Regulations, effective from 4th June. (See SATURDAY REVIEW, 16th June).

The Editor.

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW.

In his letter which appeared in your newspaper on 2nd June, Mr. Mansoor Rasheed asked me to let the readers know what the contents of the letter of Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam to Mrs. Bandaranaike were. I tried to get a copy of that letter, but I have not succeeded.

Mr. Mansoor Rasheed is also keen to know what Mr. Chelvanayakam's six "moderate demands" were. I cannot do better than quote from an article written by another writer.

"The then Federal Party participated in the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly, but withdrew from this process in despair in mid-1972) after its attempts to work certain amendments into some of the basic resolutions were arrogantly disregarded. Despite the mood of pessimism within the Tamil leadership, an effort was made to formulate a programme which constituted the lowest denominator of Tamil needs and aspirations. This programme, which was later described as a Six-Point Plan, contained the following specific elements:

"The first element called for equality in constitutional status of the Tamil language and the Sinhala language. Secondly, it called for citizenship to be extended to all those who had settled in Ceylon and who had been rendered stateless under the citizenship laws. Thirdly, it called for commitment to a secular, state, one in which the equality of all religions was assured. Fourthly, it called for constitutional guarantee

of the fundamental rights and freedoms based on the equality of all persons on ethnic and cultural grounds. The fifth element of the plan involved the abolition of caste and untouchability. And, finally, there was a call for a decentralised structure of government which would make it possible for participatory democracy to flourish and where power would be peoples' power rather than state power.

"These demands presupposed a commitment to constitutionalism and represented a desire on the part of the Tamil leadership to work towards equality within a plural society. The stubborn refusal of the then (United Front) Government to seriously negotiate these proposals shattered the expectations of even the most optimistic exponents of this policy. The party leadership became embittered, and sought an opportunity to demonstrate to the Government the complete rejection of the Republican Constitution by the Tamil People. Mr. Chelvanayakam, the leader of the Federal Party, resigned his seat in the National State Assembly with a view to seeking a mandate for the Six-Point Plan".

Whether Mr. Rasheed will regard the six demands as "moderate" I do not know. If he does not, certainly he is entitled to his opinion, as am I entitled to mine. I leave it to the readers to judge.

But all reasonable men will agree with me when I say that if in 1972 discussions had taken place between the Sinhala and Tamil leaders, and if a compromise had been arrived at, and a constitution acceptable to the Tamil people had been drafted with their participation, this country would not have been brought to the present chaotic state and there would not have arisen the necessity to import the Israelis at very high cost.

What a golden opportunity had been missed, especially when the then Government had Left parties in it! Perhaps, the Left parties were helpless.

T. Subramaniam
Colombo.

PARTY SPIRIT

The Editor,
Saturday Review.

I enclose a copy of a passage from a speech on the evils of parties by George Washington, the first President of the U.S. The passage

is worth reproducing in your paper. The message is relevant for today.

K. Pooranampillai
Peter's Lane,
Jaffna.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of parties generally. This spirit unfortunately is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments: but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, however, the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it. It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. Which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passion. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another".

DENIAL BY SPARTACISTS

The Editor,
Saturday Review.

We refer to the article "The shadow of terror of stalks beneath the round table of peace" by Don Mithuna published in the Weekend on 4th March 1984. We treat the reference made

LETTERS

to the Spartacist League/USA, under the subtitle "Helping hand" to be maliciously written with the intention of attacking this organisation and the contents as deformed and full with wrong details.

We challenge the writer's easy statements that the international Spartacist tendency is an organisation with "terrorist" links. On what basis does he say so? From which source did he gather this information?

There had been others organisations, like the American Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Department of Justice of the State of California which had the backbone to directly accuse the international Spartacist tendency to be a terrorist organisation. However, after it was proved that labour parties which firmly believe in socialism or communist parties for that matter are not "terrorist" parties they, too, were compelled to withdraw the charges.

On one occasion, when president Carter attended a trade union meeting, a Spartacist member was dragged out of the platform by Secret Service agents. After law suit, the Secret Police apologised and paid \$3,500 as compensation.

Here it is best to quote Leon Trotsky in "Terrorism and Communism" (1920).

"What we are concerned with is not at all the defence of "terrorism" as such. Methods of compulsion and terrorisation down to the physical extirpation of its opponents have up to now advantaged, and continue to advantage in an infinitely higher degree the cause of reaction, as represented by the outworn exploiting classes, than they do the cause of historical progress, as represented by the proletariat. The jury of moralists who condemn "terrorism" of whatever kind have their gaze fixed really on the revolutionary deeds of the persecuted who are seeking to set themselves free....

"The present work, therefore is far away from any thought of defending terrorism in general. It champions the historical justification of the proletarian revolution. The root idea of the book is this:

that history down to now has not thought out any other way of carrying mankind forward than that of setting up always the revolutionary violence of the progressive class against the conservative violence of the outworn classes".

The international Spartacist tendency is not nameless, faceless or defenceless. It has a proud labour history. It is a propagandist organisation devoted to organise the international working class into power. Terrorism does not arise from a working class movement. On the other hand, why do Spartacists hail the Red Army in Afghanistan with victory to the leftist rebels in El-Salvador and the militants in Nicaragua and Cuba? Because they are essential in expanding the labour victories of the October Revolution.

The international Spartacist tendency is an organisation with newspapers, magazines, periodicals published in various languages including Sinhalese and Tamil in various parts of the world and sold openly.

The international Spartacist tendency has demonstrated not only on behalf of the Lankan Tamil people, but also on behalf of the Lankan working class and the other oppressed masses. When the UNP Government suppressed the July 1980 strikers, the international Spartacist tendency organized international protest rallies. We wish to state here, that front page news report covering these demonstrations were published in "Davasa" and the 'Sun' on 16th September 1980 along with photographs.

Finally, one thing should be said. Don Mithuna, has dutifully served the purpose as an agent for the entire capitalist class to viciously attack, slander and destroy working class movements.

Patrick Fernando

Spartacist League/Lanka
33, Canal Row,
Colombo 1.

Note by Editor: For reasons of space, this letter (originally meant for the Weekend) has been heavily edited.

FIGHT AGAINST TORTURE---

AI asks world support

Thousands of people around the world are in prison because of their beliefs. Many are held without charge or trial. Torture and executions are widespread. In many countries men, women and children have "disappeared"; others have been killed by governments and their agents.

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nesty International's members gets underway: letters and telegrams on the prisoners' behalf, petitions and publicity. The work is funded by donations from members and supporters. This financial independence is as vital as the strict political independence. Amnesty International does not receive government money for its budget.

What can People do?

Amnesty International needs broad public support for its Campaign for the Abolition of Torture. An intensified is being made in 1984 with the publication of a major report on torture. Your help is vital. Contact Amnesty International today. Study our 12-Point Program for the Prevention of Torture. Share it with your friends and colleagues. Cut it out and post it in your school, church or workplace. The first step is to convince people that torture can and must be stopped.

Further information is available from: Amnesty International, International Secretariat, 1 Easton

Street, London WC1X 8DJ, United Kingdom.

THE PREVENTION OF TORTURE

1. Official condemnation of torture:

The highest authorities of every country should demonstrate their total opposition to torture. They should make clear to all enforcement personnel that torture will not be tolerated under any circumstances.

2. Limits on incommunicado detention:

Torture often takes place while the victims are held incommunicado — unable to contact people outside who could help them or find out what is happening to them. Governments should adopt safeguards to ensure that incommunicado detention does not become an opportunity for torture. It is vital that all prisoners be brought before a judicial authority promptly after being taken into custody and that relatives, lawyers and doctors have prompt

and regular access to them.

3. No secret detention:

In some countries torture takes place in secret centres, often after the victims are made to "disappear". Governments should ensure that prisoners are held in publicly recognized places, and that accurate information about their whereabouts is made available to relatives and lawyers.

4. Safeguards during interrogation and custody:

Governments should keep procedures for detention and interrogation under regular review. All prisoners should be promptly told of their rights, including the right to lodge complaints about their treatment. There should be regular independent visits of inspection to places of detention. An important safeguard against torture would be the separation of authorities responsible for detention from those in charge of interrogation.

5. Independent investigation of reports of torture:

(Continued on page 9)

It is a fallacy to assume that minorities are always oppressed groups; it is dangerous to condition one's thinking to the notion that minorities are necessarily the victims of discrimination. They may well be, in a given set of circumstances; they may be the oppressors and aggressors in a different set of circumstances. What happens at a particular point of time and in a particular place is often governed by historical factors — by the sins of the fathers, as well as by the responses of the sons (and daughters) of that time to their inheritance from the past. Oppression is repugnant. Discrimination is revolting. It matters little who inflicts these crimes against humanity; it is irrelevant who the victims are — for the victims are also human beings as much as the perpetrators of those crimes.

So, it is prudent to have a closer look at the realities relevant to minorities. What does the record indicate? The white people in the world are a minority; yet they dominate the much larger majority of blacks and browns. Among the nations of the world, there are but a few, a small minority of them, that are developed; this small minority exploits the majority of the world's underdeveloped nations. Only a minority of countries are rich: they still

Jaffna Pilgrimage - 3

plunder the resources of poor countries; they strangle the economies of the latter. The historical factors that have contributed to the position of dominance of these global minorities, notably the conquest of vulnerable peoples by force of arms, through the application of violence, and by the execution of the processes of colonialism, cannot be overlooked merely as happenings of a bygone age. And those very nations perpetuate the injustices of oppression and exploitation of minorities by minorities even at the present time; they encourage aggression and oppression by other minorities. The Israelis a belligerent minority in the Middle East, are propped up by the United States. Botha of white South Africa, symbolic of the most virulent form of racial discrimination, apartheid, has done a tour of Europe and has been received in the United Kingdom-Britain is truly Great! In Ireland, an intolerant minority of protesting Christians oppress a majority community of Irish Roman Catholics, some of whom have become "terrorists" in Northern Ireland. The Irish Protestant minority find succor in Great Britain.

Nearer home, exploitation by minorities and oppression of majorities are freely practiced although the present crisis is about just one manifestation of this widespread condition, the disabilities and grievances of Tamil speaking people. In Sri Lanka, people freed from want of basic human needs are a minority — that minority includes Sinhalese, Tamils and others. Those who have received higher education are a minority — Sinhalese, Tamils and others.

by Nissanka Seneviratne

Those who have been able to obtain professional qualifications and who have had the opportunity for advanced studies abroad are a minority. Those with stable jobs and assured incomes are a minority. Those who can receive adequate health care, purchased as a commodity because they have the means to do so, are a minority. Indeed those who enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in Sri Lanka are a minority, a microscopic minority. The masses in distress, those denied basic human needs; those without favourable educational opportunities, those without secure employ-

ment, those without adequate incomes, those who cannot receive essential health care as a right, because they do not have the means to purchase it as a commodity, they comprise the majority in Sri Lanka. The Language and ethnic barriers are breached when these minorities and majorities are considered. The syndicates of "commissioners" (those who make huge commissions from contracts, tenders, import and export deals, smuggling of gems and

trafficking in narcotics, and the peddling of prostitutes in an industry euphemistically called tourism) are profitably integrated in associations composed of Sinhalese, Tamils Muslims and others. The wretched of Sri Lanka's earth — the suffering masses, the toiling farmers, the exploited factory workers and fixed wage earners, and the violated and alienated youth are also thoroughly mixed groups comprising the vast majority of Sri Lanka's Sinhalese, Tamils, muslims and others. The underprivileged and marginalised majority groups are freely exploited by the advantages minority

groups — they are violated and oppressed by the rich and powerful. Also, minority groups, both ethnic and religious, who have enjoyed advantages and privileges as a consequence of Sri Lanka's colonial history, have contributed to the climate of suspicion, antagonism, resentment and fear — the agony of Sri Lanka today. It will be neither true nor feasible to pretend that Tamils are blameless. But it is true that in the present round, a minority of Tamil-speaking people have been bruised, battered and brutalised. Yet majority — minority relationships need to be considered in categories more complex than language and religious factors. The multi-headed monster of oppression and discrimination must be stripped of the coverings that yet conceal some of its heads from public view while others are freely exposed. Human beings must be guaranteed their human rights — to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness — not because they are members of majority or minority groups but because that is an inalienable right of every human being. The Sri Lankan society must ensure that all beings are happy.

SATURDAY REVIEW CASE

Justice Rodrigo's order

Mr. Justice M. Rodrigo, in his separate judgment dismissing the fundamental rights applications Nos. 85/83 and 6/84, concerning the closure of the SATURDAY REVIEW under emergency powers on 1st July 1983 said:

'I have come to the same conclusion. The 'Saturday Review' keeps knocking at the door of this Court with each monthly renewal of the ban on the paper following each extension of the Emergency. The dirge it sings is the same. But the choir changes. The company owning the paper and its shareholders had on different occasions separately petitioned this Court against the ban without success. The present applications are by some alleged readers of the paper. Counsel for the Competent Authority argues that the application is misconceived. He says that the ban is on the printers, publishers and distributors of the papers and not on the readers. This point is resisted with the argument that the right of publication granted to one person carries with it of necessity the right to another to read the publication. That is to say that that Art. 14(1) (a) of the Constitution enacts that every citizen is entitled to the freedom of speech and expression including by implication the right to receive information. So, the argument runs that if the ban on publication is invalid giving rise to a cause for complaint by the publisher so does it give a cause for complaint to the reader. Publications in the Roman Dutch Law of defamation can be understood, it is said, in ten different senses. It means basically in that law "to put the matter in the way of being read and understood by someone...." (Salmon p.353—13th Ed.) This word read in the context of Art. 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights simply means imparting information and ideas through any media. To impart information there must be a recipient to receive it. So a reader or hearer is inseparably linked to the concept of publication. One does not exist without the other. Likewise if one ceases to exist so does the other. Where a publisher is free to publish any matter he is also free to discontinue the publication and a reader has no vested right to have the

matter published. This freedom to publish is granted as a fundamental freedom to a citizen by the Article referred to in the Constitution. Where the publisher is not a citizen he has no fundamental freedom of publication. Where the right of a person other than a citizen to publish is lost through whatever cause he cannot complain against it as the loss of a fundamental right. The proprietor of this paper is not a citizen, it being an incorporated company. A reader of the contents of this paper published as it is by a non-citizen cannot be in a better position than the company itself, in regard to the fundamental right of publication. The company cannot do indirectly what it cannot do directly. See Dr. Neville Fernando's case — S. C. Application Nos. 116/82 and 134/82 — S.C. Minutes of 14-12-82 and 11-2-83. If it cannot complain against the ban as it has no fundamental right how can a reader raise a cry on its behalf since in effect that is what he is doing when he complains that he is not getting his usual paper? It is conceded that where the paper voluntarily discontinues publication the reader has no ground of complaint. Likewise, it is conceded that the reader and the publisher are bound alike by restrictions imposed on publications by the law of defamation, sedition and so on. This applies where the publisher is a citizen or otherwise, and likewise where the reader is a citizen or otherwise. In as much as the relief sought here is in relation to violation by administrative action of a fundamental right of publication the petitioners must establish that the fundamental right violated is that of a citizen. Where no citizenship is claimed for the publisher there is no bottom to hold the complaint by any person such as a reader of it on its behalf. Just as a reader cannot meaningfully seek to compel a publication by a person who has voluntarily ceased to publish any matter so a reader cannot effectively seek to have recourse to law to lift a ban on a publication the right to publish which the publisher has no fundamental right, it being remembered that relief is being sought under provisions relating to enforcement of fundamental rights.

The Deputy Solicitor-General (D.S.G) nevertheless started from a more advanced starting-block, namely, lack of protest by the publisher himself and a lack of an order directed at the readers. He was content to do so as it was presumably unnecessary for him to borrow into questions of legal incapacity in the publisher to complain and follow the consequences to the readers. I have, however, examined it as it is staring in the face from the immediate background. Be that as it might. The fact of the matter is that the publishers protested twice earlier in different capacities and on each occasion this Court was obliged by law to refuse a locus standi to the publishers. To grant one to the present petitioners who are alleged to be readers of the paper is to close one's eyes to the mask behind it. All the petitioners barring the 5th petitioner in the application No. 85/83 are the self same petitioners in application No. 47/83 that was dismissed for want of legal capacity in the petitioners in that they as shareholders of the incorporated company were held incapacitated from maintaining the petition where the company itself — 7th petitioner — could not maintain it. They did not claim the present alleged capacity in that application. In application No. 6/84 the petitioners are not still claiming to be readers. The subterfuge is all too transparent. To legally shut the front door to the publishers and to say that they are entitled to come through the back door is sophistry. Every member of the literate public is a potential reader of every newspaper and to recognise the right in an alleged actual reader and not recognise it in every other member of the literate public which in fact means a vast and amorphous public does not seem right. To hold otherwise is a self-evident fallacy. Any way, in case I am wrong in this vow, I shall address myself to the contention that the fundamental right implied in Art. 14(1) (a) of receiving information that every citizen is entitled to has been infringed by the closure of the paper. Notwithstanding the Universal Declaration of human Rights and the Covenant on the Civil and Political Rights to the latter of which Sri Lanka has become a signa-

tory and the submissions contained in a booklet made by the President as Leader of the Opposition to the Constitutional Court then against the Press Council Bill which recognised a fundamental right to receive information, I do not think it necessary to reach a conclusion on this alleged right in this application. It is perhaps significant that it finds no place specifically in the present Constitution. There is no pronouncement by the Supreme Court of India on it though there is a provision in the Indian Constitution corresponding to our Art. 14(1)(a). The U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Stanley v. Georgia* 394-U.S. 557, 564 (1969) deals with the First Amendment relating to Freedom of the Press and not to a provision corresponding to our Art. 14(1)(a). The subject is too vast and uncertain to make a pronouncement where it is unnecessary to do so in considering an application that can be disposed of otherwise. It is safer to approach this application from an angle of the validity or otherwise of the banning order. If the order banning the paper is valid under Emergency Orders then the petitioners too are bound by its validity. I shall therefore consider the validity of the order complained of.

In the judgments delivered previously in connected applications I have repeatedly addressed myself to the limited role that this Court can play when considering orders made by the Competent Authority under Emergency Regulations that empower him to move this kind of order merely if in his opinion it is required by the exigencies of national security and public order. References have given in those judgments to the view expressed by Courts here and abroad as to the judicial approach to the consideration of these orders made in times of Emergency.

"In times of grave Emergency it is unlikely that a theoretical judicial control will be able to come to play as the ingredient of policy is so much by comparison with the ingredient of ascertainable and relevant facts." — Wade, pp 575-6. The fact that issues of the paper and affidavits by the petitioners have been placed before us does not remove the ingredient of policy that underlies the

opinion of the Competent Authority when he made the order banning the publication.

In regard to the exercise of a discretion in an Emergency situation Lord Denning H. R. expressed himself in *Secretary of State v APIEF* (2). 1972 (2) All E. R. 949 at 967 as follows:

'But.....when he honestly takes the view of the facts or the law which would reasonably be entertained then his decision is not to set aside simply because thereafter someone thinks that his view is wrong. After all this is an Emergency proceeding. It has to be set in motion quickly, Where there is no time for minute analysis of fact or of law the whole process will be made of no effect if the Ministers decision was afterwards to be con ned word by word, letter by letter, to see if he has in any way misdirected himself. That cannot be right. Take this very case. He had made a mistake in but, that, in my opinion, was not sufficient to invalidate the application on the basis on which he acts.

As late as in 1980 Lord Diplock in *I. R. C. v. Esso* Ross-minister — 1980 (1) A. E. R. p. 80 observed:

"The decision-making power is conferred by the statute on the officer of the Board. He is not required to give any reasons for his decision and the public interests imminently provides justification for any refusal to do so. Since he does not disclose his reasons there can be no question of setting aside this decision for any error of law on the face of the record and the only ground on which it can be attacked on a judicial review is that to was ultra vires because the condition precedent to his forming the belief which the statute prescribed namely that it should be based on reasonable grounds was not satisfied. Where parliament has designated a public officer as decision-maker for a particular class of decision, the High Court acting as the reviewing Court.... is not a Court of Appeal. It must proceed on the presumption omnia prae sumuntur rite esso acta until that presumption can be displaced by the applicant for review on whom the onus lies of doing so. Since no reasons have been given by the decision-maker and no unfavourable inference can be drawn from this fact because there is obvious justification for his failure to do so, the presumption that he acted intravires can only be displaced by evidence of facts which cannot be reconciled with there having been reasonable cause for its belief."

(Contd. on next page)

Formation of Sri Lankan culture

Early history of Sri Lankan culture (and for that matter, of Sri Lanka society as a whole) is highly dependent on material from the chronicles although this is occasionally collaborated by epigraphic and other evidence. The 'history' of the period prior to the 2nd century B. C. is largely dependent on chronicle material specially as to the introduction of Buddhism and Sinhala language to form what later came to be called Sinhala Buddhist culture. Early Sri Lankan history thus rested until very recent times on reading into and interpretation of the near mythical references in the Mahavamsa. Hard archaeological evidence prior to the introduction of Buddhism has hardly been sought for until very recent times. This paper attempts to summarise recent archaeological evidence of the early history and thereby partially reconstruct the economic and social system in that era. With this firm data as background, the paper also attempts

pts to re-interpret the descriptions in the chronicles as to the introduction of both Sinhala language and Buddhism to Sri Lanka and hence indirectly the formation of 'Sinhala Buddhist' Culture.

testing of associated artefacts at circa 4500 B. C. (Wintle and Oakley, 1972). Excavations at a carefully stratified basis at the Gedige area of Anuradhapura (S. Deraniyagala 1972) has also brought out

to whom one could possibly assign several cave paintings (S. Deraniyagala 1971 p 38) that we are interested in; it is with the culture associated with settled agriculture.

a sufficient surplus (which hunting and gathering is not capable of) for the upkeep of kingdom. Such agriculture would have been based on irrigation as two of the three kingdoms, namely Mahiyangana and Nagadipa coincide with the red soil dry zone of the country. The third, Kelaniya, is in the heavy rainfall area. (The latter is an interesting anomaly, both in this mythical history as well as in actual history - it was in the 2nd century B. C. the seat of Kelanitissa - in that it is outside main red soil dry zone area).

by Dr. Susantha Goonatilaka

The popular ideology held by historians and lay persons alike was that Sri Lanka productive forces as well as its culture (Sinhala Buddhism) were generated largely by physical transfer of a population of North India to Sri Lanka. This paper interprets recent archaeological finds as well as Mahavamsa descriptions to indicate that productive forces (economy) were largely a product of changes within Sri Lanka in common with some South Indian ones. The introduction of Sinhala language as well as Buddhism as a classical colonisation process was a necessary outcome of the changes in these internal productive forces.

Artefacts and remains of stone tool-using man have been found in several sites in Sri Lanka, with the site at Bellan-Bandi Pelassa being dated by thermoluminescent

artefacts associated with this culture indicating thereby that this culture was widespread in the country. But it is not with stone age man or his cultural products

Settled agriculture especially those associated with tank irrigation is often considered to be an introduction of the 'Sinhalese culture' that was brought by the waves speakers of a North Indian dialect. However, there is considerable evidence both direct and indirect that settled irrigated agriculture arose before, and independent of the coming of the North Indian language speakers.

Possible indirect literary evidence is in the Mahavamsa story of the Buddha's three visits to Sri Lanka to local kingdoms at least half a century before the latter's story about the coming of Vijaya. The references to such kingdoms makes one speculate on the presence of settled agriculture giving

Further, the Vijaya story as well as other sources which could be dated to times almost contemporaneous with Vijaya point also to the existence of other economic activities which could not have existed without settled agriculture. The incident in the Vijaya story relating to Kuveni describes her activity of spinning of cotton. References to Sri Lanka's export trade during these early times, in gems and pearls, exist in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* and the *Mahabharatha* (referred to in Ellawala 1969 p. 138). Both these economic activities of spinning cotton and export trade in gems could not have existed, we should note, without the primary activity of settled agriculture.

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Justice Rodrigo's order (contd.)

The Competent Authority in his order merely states why he made the order but he does not seek therein to give his reasons for forming his opinion. When in the last case referred to the statute required reasonable grounds for the exercise of a discretion by an officer, Lord Diplock was satisfied with the application of the presumption attaching to official acts. The vires of the order or the bona fides of the Competent Authority in a personnel sense are not challenged, what is argued is that the Competent Authority has not been reasonable in banning this publication apart from the allegation of discrimination. When the officer concerned is empowered by statute in a particular way if in his opinion it is right to do so then I think following Lord Diplock's view we are all the more restricted in scrutinising the sustainability of the Competent Authority's order. In fact, the Privy Council in the case of *A/G of St. Christopher v. Rev. nolds* - 1979 (3) All E. R. 129 (P. C.) For Lord Simon has stated:

"The facts and background of the *Tameside* case, *Liversidge v. Anderson*, *Nak-*

kudda *Aly* case and the present case are of course all very different from each other. This is why their Lordships have reached their conclusions as to the true construction of Reg. 3 (1) of the Emergency Powers Regulations 1967, in reliance chiefly on the light shed by the constitution rather than on such light as may be thrown on that regulation by the authorities to which reference have been made."

It would, therefore, seem, the opening allowed to a Court to look at a Competent Authority's order is narrow. This is because there cannot be two masters in conditions of Emergency to control the same threat. If there are, the miscreants will exploit it. It is not the Constitutional task of the Supreme Court to be a 'generalissimo' over the authorities empowered to combat an Emergency. Given good faith and legal competence it must be, in the nature of things, on the rarest of occasions that we may set aside an Emergency order and uneasily hope that the authorities will respect it and not bring out two other orders in its place the next day.

Even so, the issues of the paper from its inception have been supplied to us and we were invited to read them and judge for ourselves whether the order of the Competent Authority (C. A.) banning the paper outright was reasonably required by the exigencies national security and preservation of public order and so on. Though this Court on two previous occasions had unanimously declined to intervene after consideration of the self same issues of the paper and the material supplied in the affidavits furnished in relation to those applications, we indicated to counsel that we will consider ourselves not technically bound by the conclusions reached in those judgments. In an affidavit filed by the 4th petitioner in these proceedings there is a paragraph (para 28) averring facts not supplied to us in the earlier proceedings. Having considered the averments in that paragraph for the first time and reconsidered the rest of the material all over again I see no reason to reach a different conclusion. For a detailed examination, see the judgment of Wimalartne, J.

There is, however, the submission that the order of the

C.A. is in contravention of Art. 12 (1) which guarantees equal protection and equality for all persons before the law. Emergency Orders in their nature are unequal in imposition as they deal with individual persons or individual situations in circumstances that vary from each other. One paper may be banned altogether and another only censored depending on the degree of harm that the contents in the respective papers may cause to the security situation. That is not discrimination. See *Seri Ram Krishna Dalmaia et al v. Justice Ten Dolkar et al* A. I. R. 1938 (S. C.) 538. Counsel says that if the ban was imposed in that kind of circumstances the C. A. should have said so in his affidavit. The C.A. has merely denied discrimination. One can understand the reason for the bareness of the affidavit. During Emergencies public officers entrusted with grave assignments should not fritter away their energy and time in meeting complaints against them in Court. In fact, that is the rationale behind the Emergency Regulation No. 8 that no order rule or direction etc. can be called in question in any

Court. Though the Courts just the same exercise a limited supervisory jurisdiction, it must not give a platform to litigants to demand exacting pleadings from public officers whose orders they are challenging. Any way the burden is on the petitioners to establish discrimination. See *Dr. N. R. W. Perera v. The University Grants Commission* S. C. Application No. 57/80; S. C. Minutes of 4 8-80, and *Probbudas Morajee vs Union of India* A. I. R. (1966) S. C. 1044. The two cases cited by Counsel namely *Eleko v. The Officer administering the Government of Nigeria* - 1931 A. C. 662 and *R. v. Brixton Prison Governor* - 1969 (2) All E. R. 347 do not deal with Emergencies. The petitioners have proved nothing beyond making a plea of differential treatment. In any case in relation to steps dealing with exigencies of national security and public order taken by a public officer I cannot imagine a situation ever arising in which this Article can be applied. Even if it does arise, the instant case is definitely not one.

The applications are dismissed.

Formation of Sri Lankan culture

(Continued from page 7)

The earliest indication of settled agriculture that we have some direct evidence of, is in the 'Megalithic' culture whose remains have been found scattered in many parts of Sri Lanka. The existing sites as indicated in a map in the Colombo Museum shows a spread of these sites (Pomparippu, Gurugalhinna, Katiraveli, Podyogampola, Walave Basin) in the red brown earth soil region of the dry zone of the country. The stratigraphic excavation at the Gedige area in Anuradhapura (S. Deraniyagala 1972) indicates that 'artificial reservoirs of water existed at Anuradhapura from the period represented by stratum 2 onwards' (ibid. p. 159). Stratum 1 was associated with artefacts of the stone age and comparable with the 'Balangoda Culture' of 4500 B. C. whilst stratum 3 had artefacts 'whose closest cultural correlative is the early iron age 'Megalithic' culture of peninsular India which is datable to the 800 - 100 B. C.' (ibid p. 159). The dating of this particular site is by strata and no dating by physical means - say by photoluminescence testing of the pottery available at the site - has been made and therefore we cannot say with precision the exact dates of the megalithic culture layer, or the one associated with irrigation in stratum 2. But within this limitation we can state with Deraniyagala that at least by the period represented by stratum 3 a. which was before the advent of 'Mauryan traditions' in the 3rd century B. C. the inhabitants cultivated rice through tank irrigation and were culturally closest to the early iron age 'megalithic' man of middle and South India, although certain culture traits were characteristic of the North'. (ibid p. 50)

The characteristics of this megalithic culture common to both Sri Lanka and South India are well known. 'In one respect the settlements differed from each other; burial practices and funerary monuments varied. The variety includes dolmens, cists, stone squares and urn burials' (Senaratna 1969 p. 30). Further, the culture was metal using, the pottery was of a black and red type and 'a settlement had four distinct areas; a habitation area, a cemetery, a tank and fields. Irrigation was practised and the introduction of this technique to these regions it is now thought to be the work of these people' (ibid).

It is in these settlements associated with the South Indian megalithic culture, (which were from available physical evidence, practising an irrigated agriculture - before the so-called 'coming of the Aryans') that we have to look for the first beginnings of our traditional culture, which as is well recognised, is intimately tied with the growth and spread of irrigation in this country. The culture associated with this village tank based irrigation had also houses made of wattle and daub, (Deraniyagala 1972) used iron and pottery. (Senaratna 1969) had implements like grinding stones (the latter being found even in the late stone age of Sri Lanka) and very probably had wooden spoons, and artefacts associated with weaving. An important aspect of significance indicating the belief system of this culture were its funerary monuments. 'Associated with these megaliths have been found urnfields in which the remains of the dead have been buried in large pots, together with the offerings made to them continued in smaller pots.' (Paravithana 1967 p. 8). Clearly the burial practices have a religious significance, as well as do the megaliths associated with it and here one finds a close identification of the irrigation tank and the religious/belief centre, a direct parallel between the dagoba and the tank of the later 'Sinhala-Buddhist' times.

Village Tanks

The physical basis for early Sri Lanka culture was in the village tanks associated with this South Indian megalithic culture. The major socio-economic changes in the next millennium and half are intimately related to the expansion, interconnection and consolidation of this incipient irrigation system so as to give an increased surplus from the land. And it is within this growth of the consolidation which is well documented that we have to see the crucible as it were of traditional Sri Lanka culture.

In the absence of extensive archaeological excavation there is no general indicator of how widespread, the 'megalithic' irrigation was, in the absence of excavations of tank bunds that could date them we do not have a direct physical indicator (the references in Mahavamsa to the founding of a few important tanks is an indirect reference to the existence of some tanks) about the extent of expansion of the irrigation system in the pre-Christian era. Yet in the pre-Christian epigraphic remains we have a good in-

direct indicator of the extent of this spread assuming that the epigraphic remains reflect the existence of settled tank irrigated agriculture. This is a fairly reasonable assumption to make in that a map of the pre-Christian epigraphic remains coincides strongly with the dry zone reddish brown earth soil region of Sri Lanka which is the tank region of the country as is revealed by the tank network that survived to the 19th century. (An examination of the epigraphic map of Sri Lanka and C. R. Panabokke's soil maps indicate this. Such a comparison has been done in two maps published in October 1975 Issue of the Economic Review) Evidence exists to indicate that by the dawn of the Christian era the tank culture has spread throughout the country. These were very probably a collection of irrigation units. 'nothing larger than the village Tank' (Nicholas 1960 p. 44) and we could reasonably speculate that most such tanks were built on technology associated with the megalithic South Indian culture.

With time these tanks grow larger, streams are dammed and an irrigation network covers the whole dry zone region. The first century sees the steps towards major tanks and the construction of canals as long as thirty miles (ibid). The first colossal reservoirs are assigned to King Mahasena in the 3rd century, with these activities continuing in the 4th and 5th centuries (thus Kalawewa with a bund $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, 40 feet high and irrigating 7,000 acres: and the great canal Jaya Ganga. 54 miles in length carrying water to Anuradhapura). These activities continued in the 6th and 7th centuries with, for example, the building activities of Aggabodhi II almost rivalling those of Mahasena and with the total length of the major canals in the 7th centuries being over 250 miles (ibid) The 8th, 9th and 10th centuries were a period of apparent affluence, but little new irrigation works are adduced to this era. (ibid) The next spurt in irrigation activity is in the 11th century by the Parakrama Bahu, after whose reign begins a slow collapse of the hydraulic systems due to warfare and other reasons and from the 13th century a drift of the socio-economic centre to the South West of the Island occurs.

It is the 'hydraulic' civilization which arose in the roughly 1500 years up to the 13th century that nurtured traditional Sri Lankan culture. The most significant socio-economic impact of the extensive growth of the irri-

gation system was that it increased the available yield from the land and thereby the disposable surplus available for disbursement. The manner in which this surplus was used gives us important clues to the socio-economic system of the time, specially the nature of its class relations. How the surplus was used we can know to some extent by the living standards of the peasants and others.

We know that until very recent times the use of tiles and bricks was restricted to those related to royalty and the church (Pieris: 1922 p. 23) and that consequently all houses of the peasantry were wattle and daub structures. These were rudimentary and it is very doubtful if the structures changed much from the wattle and daub structures of the megalithic period of which we have evidence (Deraniyagala 1972 p. 58). The basic structure still survives in various parts of the island and was very prevalent in the North Central Province for example before the tile and brick structures spread there during the last fifteen years.

If the living quarters in Sri Lankan classical period were of wattle and daub, what of the other requisites of living, clothes, household items etc. We know that cotton was widely grown in Sri Lanka (Paravithana 1967 p. 11) and if the Kuveni story is to be believed even from pre-Vijayan times. We also know from sculptural remains and extant paintings that even the royalty of the time used comparatively scanty clothing, with mostly a dhoti around the waist as fitting a hot climate. The peasantry undoubtedly wore a similar type of clothing of probably coarse material and with the average peasant owning only a single change or two of clothing. We know that just like there were social strictures on the types of building allowed to the peasantry there were similar strictures on clothing (the upper half of the body not to be covered by the lower castes for example) a practise that survived till a few decades ago in several parts of the country. If we are to use the Kuveni story as evidence of the use of cotton before 'Vijayan' times, we can hypothesise with a fair degree of reasonableness that the pre-Sinhalese Sri Lankan probably had the same type of dress as the later Sinhalese.

The Artefacts used in the home can also be reconstructed from remains of pottery etc. and from extrapolation backward of the posses-

sions of the present day peasantry. Pottery used during this period would have been very similar to the ones used till very recently in Sri Lanka as indicated by a successful classification of ancient pottery [Gunasekera et al. 1971] using existing types; in fact pottery remains at the 'megalithic' site of Pomparippu conforms to some recent traditional types (ibid) (Types of pottery are a good indicator of life styles as well as standards of living; a particular pot being in existence for a more or less specific use, the persistence of a similar type over millennia thus indicates persistence of a similar life style and standard of living.)

Folk Museum

At Anuradhapura a folk museum has been put up recently which has collected items of everyday use in the area which are indicative of the life style of the pre-modern type. The Museum classification does not differentiate on the basis of class, for example, the Serakkali, the eating stand on which the bowl of rice was placed and whose use was only restricted to the upper strata being kept alongside other artefacts. But with observations in the life style of the peasantry of even very recent times we can draw the following items from the museum as indicative of their possessions; pots, wooden spoons, coconut scrapers, winnowing pan, mats, wicker baskets, betel pouch, betel cutter, gourd containers, knives, mammoities, axes, grinding stones, ropes etc. From our knowledge of descriptions during early historic times and available remains in the form of pottery and ironware it is very unlikely that the life possessions of the early historical peasant would have differed much from this. It might possibly have been marginally lower or higher by not much. The possessions of 'megalithic' man whom we know used iron, possessed pottery, had artefacts like grinding stones and probably used cotton would not have differed very much.*

(Continued next week)

(Reproduced from "Ethnicity and Social Change in Sri Lanka" published by the Social Scientists Association, Nawala, Road, Colombo - 5.

Mother Teresa

"Touch a leper, touch him with love", is the motto of Mother Teresa. It is this motto which has transformed her into an apostle of the poor and the destitute. By her unstinted labour she has overcome the limitations of the moral frame, endeared herself to those for whom there had been no place in society so far. Her missionary work evoked world wide admiration. Jawaharlal Nehru was so much impressed by her mission of charity that he hailed her as "the refuge of the disabled".

Mother Teresa's original name is Agnes Gonxha Bejxhiu. She was born of Albanian parents in Skopje, Yugoslavia, on 27th August 1910. Agnes had decided to become a nun at the age of twelve. At eighteen, she joined the Irish Order of the Sisters of Loreto.

She came to India in 1928, to begin her novitiate in Darjeeling. The next year, she joined as a Geography teacher at St. Mary's High School in Calcutta and soon became the Principal. In 1931, she adopted the name "Teresa".

The turning point in her life came on 10th September 1946, when she heard a tiny

voice - an inner voice, asking her to start a new experiment to serve humanity. To quote her: "It was on that day when I was going to Darjeeling to make my yearly retreat - it was at that time there was a call..... that I should give up everything and give my life totally to God and the poorest, in serving the poorest of the poor."

The call that came from within could not be stifled or suppressed. The arguments with which Mother Teresa tried to counter the call from within failed to stifle the voice. It echoed within her bouncing back and forth, saying "It's God's desire that you would leave the convent and reach out to a larger field of activity. He has chosen you to play a more vital role. You are His instrument and He wants to work through you to bring solace and comfort to those who have lost faith in life, in mankind, in God too. You shall bring hope to them, reduce their agony, render selfless service and reassure faith in God in them."

Mother Teresa took up this challenge: She sought the Pope's permission to leave

the convent and start her work in the Calcutta slums. She got permission in 1948. Soon after, with only Rs. 5/- in hand, she quietly walked out of her school into the streets and the slums of Calcutta to "face single-handed the colossal problem of poverty and want, and to bring to it, if not anything else, at least the little soothing touch of a single personal concern for every single personal grief."

Later she recollected, "To leave Loreto was my greatest sacrifice, the most difficult thing I have ever done. It was much more difficult than to leave my family and country to enter religious life. Loreto meant everything to me."

With affection and love she collected some children from the slums of Calcutta who were full of dirt. She washed them and under a tree in an open field, she taught them.

Mother Teresa underwent a short training course in nursing from the medical mission sisters at Patna. She opened her first home and her first school at Creek Street, Calcutta, for slum children. This was in December, 1948, the year she took Indian citizenship.

White Sari

To identify herself with the Indians Mother Teresa gave up her Loreto habits and clothed herself in a white sari with a blue border. She speaks in Bengali to the poor in Calcutta.

In 1950, Mother Teresa received permission from the Pope to start her own order and the Missionaries of Charity came into being. Those who join her order take the vows of poverty, chastity, obedience and free service to the poor.

Justifying these four vows Mother Teresa observed, "Poverty is very strictly to be observed because to be able to love the poor and to know the poor, we must be poor ourselves. We take the vow of chastity so that we can give our hearts complete and undivided to Christ. Obedience, because take all other vows according to obedience. We have to do God's will in every thing. We also take a special vow which other congregations won't take that of giving whole-hearted free service to the poor."

This vow means that we cannot work for the rich. neither can we accept any money for the work we do. Ours has to be a free service, and to poor."

Mother Teresa sees Jesus every human being. "I say to myself. This is hungry Jesus; I must feed him. This is sick

Jesus; this one has gangrene, dysentery or cholera. I must wash him and tend him. I serve him because I love Jesus."

She believes; "As long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me." This Biblical adage, which emphasises love and respect to the poor, inspires the work of the Missionaries of Charity.

Her faithful band of followers, sisters and brothers of Charity, go about "Soothing the fevered brow, washing the festering wounds, feeding the hungry and giving shelter to the abandoned".

by **B. K. Ahluwalia**

Mother Teresa's work inspired some young people of different faiths in different parts of the world so much that they founded the International Association of Co-workers of Mother Teresa. The aim of this association is to "recognise God in the person of the poor; to love God better through works of charity and service to the poor; to unite with the Missionaries of Charity in prayer and sacrifice; to keep the family spirit and to foster aid between various countries."

Mother Teresa has set before herself the most sublime goal. "For those not loved, I give love. For those discarded, I give shelter and care."

The Unwanted

She is regarded as the apostle of the unwanted. The Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, has called her "The Spirit of Mercy."

Mother Teresa has narrated one of the most moving incidents in her life which prompted her to start the first 'Nirmal Hriday Home' for the dying destitutes in Calcutta. She says: "It was in 1952 when I walked down the streets of Calcutta, I found in front of a hospital, a person eaten up by rats and maggots. I picked him up. That was the first time I had come in very close contact with a person, a living person, unwanted, unloved, in a most distressing disguise; and for me that person was Christ, because He had said 'I was homeless and I was sick and you took me in.'"

According to Mother Teresa, "Nobody in Nirmal Hriday has died depressed, in despair, unwanted, unfed or unloved. We give them whatever they ask according to their faith. Some ask for

Ganges water, some for holy water, for a word or for a prayer. Others just want somebody to sit with them. We just help them to make their peace with God because that is the greatest need—to die in peace with God."

Next Shishu Bhavans—Children's Homes—began to spring up in many parts of the country. Children disabled by polio or other diseases, or mentally retarded or orphaned and abandoned children, find refuge in these Bhavans.

Mother Teresa started a leprosarium in Calcutta in 1957, initially with five patients, who were roaming shelterless. Later, Shanti Nagar, a township of Peace, near Asanfol, was also set up by her for leprosy patients.

Speaking on the occasion of XII International Leprosy Congress held in New Delhi Mother Teresa exhorted the people to help the victims of leprosy in all possible ways and treat them with a lot of love and compassion.

Loving Care

She stressed that sympathetic attitude towards the patients of leprosy and proper understanding of their problems could go a long way to eradicate this disease. "We should love leprosy patients as we love each other", she added.

Wherever there is poverty or hunger for love, Mother Teresa's Missionaries of Charity reach there. They work among drug addicts, alcoholics and lonely destitutes all over the world.

Mother Teresa has travelled widely in connection with her work. According to her, "The hunger for love is greater than the hunger for bread." She inspires by her missionary work voluntary workers who come from all over the world "to serve the poor to the full, with their hands and hearts."

Mother Teresa opened a centre in Venezuela in 1965, in Sri Lanka in 1967, in Rome in 1968, in Australia in 1969, in Jordan in 1970, in Vietnam, Lima and Peru in 1973, in Sicily and in New Guinea in 1977.

Many Honours

Mother's work progressed with lightning speed and won for her international recognition and awards. In April 1962 the Government of India awarded the title Padma Shri to her. Describing the award Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit said, "The magnificent Durbar Hall of Rashtrapati Bhavan became silent when the sari-clad nun—a picture of humility—walked up the dais. She took (Continued on page 10)

AI asks world support

(Continued from page 5)

Governments should ensure that all complaints and reports of torture are impartially and effectively investigated. The methods and findings of such investigations should be made public. Complaints and witnesses should be protected from intimidation.

6. No use of statements extracted under torture:

Governments should ensure that confessions or other evidence obtained through torture may never be invoked in legal proceedings.

7. Prohibition of torture in law:

Governments should ensure that acts of torture are punishable offences under the criminal law. In accordance with international law, the prohibition of torture must not be suspended under any circumstances, including states of war or other public emergency.

8. Prosecution of alleged torturers:

Those responsible for torture should be brought to justice. This principle should apply wherever they happen to be, wherever the crime was committed and whatever the nationality of the perpetrators or victims. There should be no "safe haven" for torturers.

9. Training procedures:

It should be made clear during the training of all officials involved in the custody, interrogation or treatment of prisoners that torture is a criminal act. They should be instructed that they are obliged to refuse to obey any order to torture.

10. Compensation and rehabilitation:

Victims of torture and their dependents should be entitled to obtain financial compensation. Victims should be provided with appropriate medical care or rehabilitation.

11. International response:

Governments should use all available channels to intercede with governments accused of torture. Inter-governmental mechanisms should be established and used to investigate reports of torture urgently and to take effective action against it. Governments should ensure that military, security or police transfers or training do not facilitate the practice of torture.

12. Ratification of international instruments:

All governments should ratify international instruments containing safeguards and remedies against torture, including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its Optional Protocol which provides for individual complaints.

Whose Freedom?

Editor,
Saturday Review.

When the Tamil youths who are banded into various political groups say they are fighting for their rights, intelligence prompts the following questions: Whose freedom are they fighting for? Who is not free?

The political freedom gained in 1948, was what the Sinhalese and Tamil leaders jointly sweated for.

What is this Eelam that the Tamil youths talk about? Who wants it? Have they got a mandate for it from the Tamil community?

Whatever demands forwarded by MPs representing Tamil areas, were carefully considered by all previous Governments and granted. In my opinion, Parity of status for Tamil along with Sinhala should have been granted; unfortunately, it was not.

All political groups in Jaffna say that they are not against the Sinhalese people. That was the reason why the Sinhalese people saved so many Tamil lives in July 1983. I am happy that I am one of those who saved eighteen families. What the Sinhalese community cannot understand is why the youths are killing soldiers, and policemen when they are on duty? Will somebody please explain?

You all are educated, intelligent youths. Some of you call yourselves Marxists. But your behaviour is contrary to Marxism.

Marxism permits helping the

members of any community in the event of civil commotion.

Marxism advocates mass action over political and economic issues. Marxism rejects the demand of ransom for the furtherance of a political issue.

Please do not disgrace a universally accepted political philosophy and its principles. When mass action is spearheaded by Marxist leadership it is a powerful force and breaks through all imperial barriers. What the youths have indulged in is not politics, but something which is very obscure. Trigger happiness is not the road to socialism. Behaving in this manner, how can any group call itself liberators?

A sense of mutual respect to one another should be displayed by both communities in order to heal the communal ulcer.

Edward Perera

Colombo-6

AIR LANKA

The Editor,
Saturday Review.

A Boeing Jumbo Jet 747 costing several millions of rupees has been lately added to the Air Lanka fleet.

Everybody is aware that Air Lanka is running at a colossal loss and there is absolutely no justification for this expenditure where the money could have been better utilised.

Our public transport services which cater for the

ordinary man are maintained at a deplorable law level. Where we had about 4 or 5 trains running daily between Jaffna and Colombo till the recent past we have now only one train.

Mails are carried only every other day and people suffer quite a lot of inconvenience and even hardship.

I understand that there is a lack of locomotives to maintain an efficient service in

LETTERS

the Railway. The state of our roads, especially trunk roads and long-distance roads, is an utter disgrace.

Surely, Air Lanka does not cater for the ordinary man! So why bother so much about it? It is the ordinary man's interests that should be first looked after. Pumping so much of money into a transport service that has been doddering from the inception is just callousness.

Augustine Saverimuttu
Jaffna.

REV. DAVID

The Editor,
Saturday Review.

The late Rev. Dr. David opened up new vistas in the history and literature of the Tamil people. He set out to prove the thesis of the late Swamy Gnanapragasar that Tamil is the language nearest to the original human speech.

To his B.A (Hons.) in History, he added M.A. in Sanskrit and Ph.D. in Tamil from the London University. In the process, he mastered 33 languages and acquired a working knowledge in several others.

His in-depth studies of the Aryan Rig Veda and the Dravidian Tholkapiam revealed to him the vicissitudes of Indian history and literature, religion and culture. His

APPRECIATION

(Continued from page 3)

by working round the clock and his last years were overshadowed by illness.

All said and done, Maniks will best be remembered as a diplomat who set very high standards of conduct in the formative years so much so that the Foreign Service has notched a high rating for efficiency in the Eighties. Behind the facade of elegant living, there has always been a harsh reality of a dog's life - sleepless nights spent deciphering, early rising and late evenings and cancelled weekends accommodate visiting dignitaries.

Maniks is the stuff that inspires and endear - so we remember him with affection.
S. K. Ratnasamy

learned articles in various journals are witnesses to his erudition and thoroughness. His introductions to linguistics often baffle scholars.

He postponed his main task to advocate unity and fraternity on ethnic and linguistic bases. He exploded the myths and half-truths on which prejudice and pride are built. He dissipated the ignorance of historical facts and appealed for sanity.

But his hopes were shattered by the barbarous burning of the Jaffna Public Library, symbol of Tamilian industry and culture. He could not survive the shock. We lost him. But his spirit and memory live with us. The Library, like the phoenix, rises from the ashes to perpetuate our imperishable values.

May I suggest to the authorities of the Jaffna Library to dedicate one of the research sections to the memory of Rev. Dr. H. S. David who, as Mr. A. Amiralingam stated, now stands identified with this institution. His serious smile would remind future generations of Tamils of the effort and struggle required to live a dignified human life.

Thurai Arokiathan

26, Temple Road,
Jaffna.

PSEUDONYMS

The Editor,
Saturday Review.

Your article under the caption "Frightened of Pseudonyms" in the issue of June 9th was interesting.

How does the Government propose to check on the authors of letters to the Editor? Do they expect the writers to hand over the letters in person at the publisher's office with their identity cards?

(Miss). Saradha
Ramanathan

Kondavil East.

C T U PROTEST

The 27th annual delegates conference of the Ceylon Teachers' Union was held at G.C.S.U. hall, Colombo on 29th June at which the following were among the resolutions that were approved:

"The C.T.U. firmly urged the Government to withdraw the control on news media that has been clamped down to hide all anti-democratic steps and foreign stooging".

"The proposed amendments to the Press Council Law is in contradiction to the basic human right of expression and the C.T.U. therefore totally condemns such steps and urges the Government to abandon this action".

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Mother Teresa

(Continued from page 9)

the award as if she was taking a sick child or a dying man in her arms. It meant nothing more than that to her".

In August the same year she was awarded the Meghaysay Award, which carried a stipend of \$ 10,000, and a gold medal in recognition of greatness of spirit in serving the people. The citation ran in part, "By her election, the Board of Trustees recognise her merciful cognisance of the abject poor of a foreign land in whose service she had led a new congregation".

In 1971, Mother Teresa was awarded by Pope Paul VI "The Pope John XXIII Peace Prize". The Pope hailed her as the apostle of brotherhood and the messenger of peace. In September 1971 she got Good Samaritan Award. In October, 1971 she received the John F. Kennedy International Award and it was stated while giving the award, "In her unique geography of compas-

sion Mother Teresa knows where the need is and in her unique faith never doubts the means to meet it".

The Indian Council of Cultural Relations awarded to her the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding in 1972. In 1973 she was given the Templeton Foundation Prize for progress in religion for "widening and deepening man's knowledge and love of God and thereby furthering the quest of the quality of life that mirrors the Divine".

In 1979 Mother Teresa was awarded Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of her work.

In 1980 she was awarded Bharat Ratna - the highest award of our country.

Titles and awards mean little to her. "She", as former President Giri said, "is a woman of God who embodies Christian love in action.... Her humanism is the highest form of religion, the light that never fails".

(Courtesy Indian & Foreign Review 31st March)

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LIBRARY SOUVENIR

The commemorative souvenir issued by the Jaffna Public Library to mark the opening of the rehabilitated building on 4th June was in every way worthy of the occasion.

Besides carrying messages from a number of reputed persons, there was a number of very informative articles in English and Tamil on Jaffna, its people and their culture.

A pity was that there was not a single article in Sinhala to convey to the Sinhala-reading public the great service performed by the Jaffna Public Library and the loss to the whole nation caused by some idiots among them, to use a very polite phrase.

To quote from the preface "The movement for a free public library in Jaffna came in the wake of universal franchise (1931) and the man behind it was Mr. K. M. Chellappah. It became the town's library in 1935, when urban council came forward to run the library. After independence, the city got municipal status and the first Mayor, Mr. Sam A. Sabapathy secured the approval of the Municipal

Council to construct a specially designed library building. The noted Indian architect Narasimhan designed the building in Dravidian style, and the first stage of the new edifice was completed and occupied in 1959. A grateful people remember Fr. J. M. F. Long, the Indian High Commission and the Asia Foundation as among those who helped to make their dream a reality....

"It was 1st June 1981 and the still hours of the night when this priceless collection, which was the repository of a great human culture in our country, was turned to ashes, and a building, which was the architectural pride of the North, damaged.

"It is, however, something to be thankful for that both within the shores of Sri Lanka and in lands beyond these shores it was realised that this was not just a loss to learning among the Tamils of the North, but a deep dent in the country's intellectual system and a loss, too, to the international community of learning. So they did not send to find for whom the bell tolled. Instead, institutions and

groups the world over rallied round to help in reconstructing the library, restoring its shelves and restocking its books...."

A tribute has also been paid by the publishers of the souvenir to one of Sri Lanka's distinguished librarians and an author of books, H. A. I. Goonetilleke, who accepted the then Mayor's invitation to visit Jaffna in mid-1982 and make interim suggestions. It was on his recommendation that the necessary repairs to the North wing were carried out and four sectional services started.

The souvenir committee comprised- Mr. K. Nesiah (Chairman), Rev. Fr. Francis Joseph, Mr. N. Mylvaganam, Mr. N. Nadesan, Mr. C. V. K. Sivagnanam (Municipal Commissioner and Chairman of the Library Committee) and Mrs. Ropawathy Nadarajah (Secretary).

The following is a list of the monies received for the reconstruction of the Library and the main heads of expenditure.

Brought forward balance 19,926; The President of Sri Lanka (compensation) 20,00,000; Proceeds of Flag Day (Colombo and Jaffna) 7,38,114; Norwegian Agency NORAD 3,22,580; Jaffna District Development Council 3,00,000; Proceeds of dance recital Swarnamuhini in Colombo and Jaffna 1,56,476; World Council of Churches 1,50,000; Contribution from Sri Lankans in Zambia 1,18,934; Direct credits to bank (particulars not known) 1,18,023; Contribution from Sri Lankans in Germany 1,12,996; Ceylon Tamil Association, Victoria, Australia 1,01,098; His Holiness Dr. Syedna Mohamed, Bohara Community 82,000; Contributions from Sri Lankans in Canada 82,566; Contributions from Sri Lankans in London 78,860; Mayor and members of the Jaffna Municipal Council 76,433; Contribution from Sri Lankans in Brunei 75,728; Interest on fixed deposits 66,500; Contribution from individuals 60,584; Lions Club of Jaffna 60,000; Hatton National Bank, Colombo 50,000; Red Bar-

na - Sri Lanka (Norwegian) 50,000; Contributions from Sri Lankans in Nigeria 49,881; Contributions from Sri Lankans in Norway 49,485; Contributions from Sri Lankans in Saudi Arabia 44,203; Mauritius Tamil Temple Federation 38,444; Ceylon Tamil Sangam Norway 34,510; Contributions from welfare societies, clubs, etc 25,146; Contribution from Sri Lankans in America 23,261; Contributions from Sri Lankans in Kenya 23,164; Bishop of Colombo and Methodist Mission 17,619; Contributions from Sri Lankans in Australia 13,673; Mr. M. M. Sivasanmugam, artist, Tamil Nadu 11,172; Contributions from Sri Lankans in Bagdad Abudabi, Akkiroya Kuwait Sweden 10,944; Contributions from Sri Lankans in France 10,000; Ceylon Tobacco Corporation, Colombo 10,000; Commercial Bank of Ceylon Ltd. Colombo 10,000; Bishop of Jaffna 10,000; Sarvodaya Movement of Moratuwa 10,000; Hindu Maha Sabai, Kuru-negala 6,290; Adatkalai Kalagam, Colombo 6,037; Kundanmalls Ltd, Colombo 5,000; Sri Lanka Library Association 5,000; Rotary Club, Batticaloa 2,500; Contributions from residents in India, Peking and Malasiya 2,200; Total Rs. 52,39,357.

The main items of expenditure so far have been on the renovation of the northern wings and lobbies of the Library 1,00,213; electrical wiring and installations 1,40,550; the 3rd stage of the Library construction 11,40,548.

Tourist, Transistors or Stones by Cecil Rajendra

*The silent scarecrows
that stood sentinel
over our rice-bowls
have gone....
And where once
rolling paddy-fields
stretched for miles
now the multinational
electronic factories
roost supreme
Lords of the domain
Messrs. Hitachi & Bosch
belch their industrial
filth into our sky
Industrial giants
—like secret agents—
have licences to kill!
Wherever you turn
the story's the same
Development hits you
like a flung knife
I walk down to
the village and find
the local smallholder
who used to supply
our weekly quota
of eggs and vegetable
has been bought over
by a hotel developer
He is now a waiter
in the man's hotel*

*His daughter
marks time in the adjoining
escort agency
Sulphur in my heart
I return home
open a newspaper and read
plans are already afoot
to transmogrify my
favourite fishing village
into yet another Mecca
to tantalise the tourists
The fishing stakes are
being ripped out to make
way for a floating casino
bars, massage parlours & all
the paraphernalia of decad-
ence
Meanwhile, the fishermen
will have to BUY their fish!
Like every honest citizen
I have no bones
to pick with progress
but if croupiers
and waiters
and foreign investors
take over from
our farmers & fishermen
Pray, tell me this
when my son grows up
what will he eat
tourists, transistors, or stones?*

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Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

S. O. S. FROM THE SOUTH...

Government on 29th June lifted a 24-hour blackout on the news of an attempt to blow up the insurance highrise at Slave Island, Colombo with a powerful charge of gelignite placed one and half floors below the office of National Security Minister Lalith Athulathumudali.

Mr. Douglas Liyanage, Secretary to the Ministry of State, said that the newspaper-wrapped parcel of 45 sticks of gelignite and its timed triggering mechanism was discovered by a security guard an hour before the Oberoi explosion.

"He disarmed it and carried the whole 25-pound parcel down five floors to his chief security officer", the Secretary said.

Mr. Liyanage also said yesterday that the Oberoi bomb which killed 26-year old Rochelle Wallis, a floor supervisor at the hotel, did not appear to have been aimed at the Israeli special interest mission officials resident at the 5-star luxury highrise.

The Israelis had, in fact left the hotel on June 25, although they had not checked out. Also, they were billeted a floor below room No. 810 which was blown up by the powerful bomb.

Mr. Liyanage said that the young couple who had occupied room 810, pretending to be honeymooners, had not requested any particular room, nor had they asked to be assigned to the wing where their room was allotted.

Asked whether the investigators believe that the bomb was intended for the Israelis, the Secretary said: "Specifically and pointedly, No."

Discussing the two bombs and a third incident involving the razing to the ground of the Tissamaharama Magistrate's Court on Thursday- the Secretary said there could be a connection between the bomb

that went off and the other that was discovered two hours before it was timed to explode.

(Daily News, 30th June)

The Minister of Education Mr. Ranil Wickremesinghe yesterday said there was a strong possibility of foreign involvement in the recent student agitation in which two students died and several others, including policemen, were injured.

He told the 'Daily News' that evidence gathered so far suggested that a foreign country or organisation was behind the university incidents last week.

"Their idea, we believe, was to destabilise the country and destroy our integrity and independence" He did not refer to any country by name, but said the people of this country already knew it.

Mr. Wickremesinghe accused political parties banned by the government for trying to drag in innocent school children to achieve their own ends.

(Daily News, 30th June)

Police stations in the south were on Friday alerted by police headquarters to look out for four youths who are believed to have set fire to the Tissamaharama Magistrate's Court on Thursday night.

Mr. Liyanage said the courthouse was razed to the ground by the fire.

(Sun, 30th June)

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WHITHER SRI LANKA?

Since our inception, we at the SATURDAY REVIEW have, contrary to the opinion formed by some of our readers, strived to focus national attention on three major issues—the National Question (involving the future of the Tamil people and, therefore, of all the people of Sri Lanka), the worsening economic situation and the growing authoritarian trend of the United National Party Government.

What we have been alarmed at is the fact that some responsible persons with in the Government and outside have attempted to focus more attention especially through the state-controlled media, on the first

issue than on the other two, which, in our opinion, are equally urgent because they are all intertwined and one cannot be resolved without tackling the other two simultaneously.

On the growing authoritarian trend, the latest alarming developments are the reported decisions of the Government to grant complete immunity to Parliament over whatever it says or does and to prevent criticism of the Government even by innuendo (see SATURDAY REVIEW, 17th March).

All we wish to ask is: What more has the Government—which claims to be of

the People, by the People and for the People—to hide from the People?

We would leave it to the Colombo-based "national dailies" to fight off what can in the end threaten their own existence.

Our existence does not matter.

But we would not leave it to anyone to make use of the National Question—that is, to focus attention unduly on events in the North to the virtual exclusion of events in the South.

We cannot comment more on these events because of the censorship rules except to ask: WHITHER POOR SRI LANKA?

SLFP

Condemns Shooting

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party has condemned the shooting of students in the recent campus incidents.

A statement issued on 22nd June said the central committee of the SLFP discussed the situation that had arisen in the campuses and condemned the shooting of the two students, deprivation of the rights of students and expressed its sorrow at the plight of university students.

The statement said that the party also discussed the deterioration of the political, economic and social and cultural sectors and considered steps that would liberate the people from the situation. (The Island, 24th June)



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41 1/1, Gregory's Road, Colombo 7 (Tel: 598542)
or Branch Manager, 89, Second Cross Street, Jaffna.

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