

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 2 No. 15

April 9, 1983

Army & Police

pounce on Gandhiyam under Terrorism law!

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Jaffna. Under the provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the government is under no obligation to reveal even the whereabouts of the person taken into custody for the first seventy two hours.

The security forces are also stated to have surrounded the Gandhiyam offices in Trincomalee and Batticaloa.

Mrs. Shanthi Rajasundaram who was desperately trying to know the whereabouts of her husband and the reasons for his removal

under armed escort telegraphed President Jayawardene informing him of the incident and protesting at the action of the armed forces. When she telephoned Inspector General of Police Rudra Rajasingham in Colombo, to his official residence, giving her name, she was informed in Sinhala, apparently by a domestic help in the household that the I.G.P. was fast asleep and cannot be disturbed until next morning. The time was 7.30 p.m. on Wednesday the 6th.

On Thursday, almost within twenty four hours

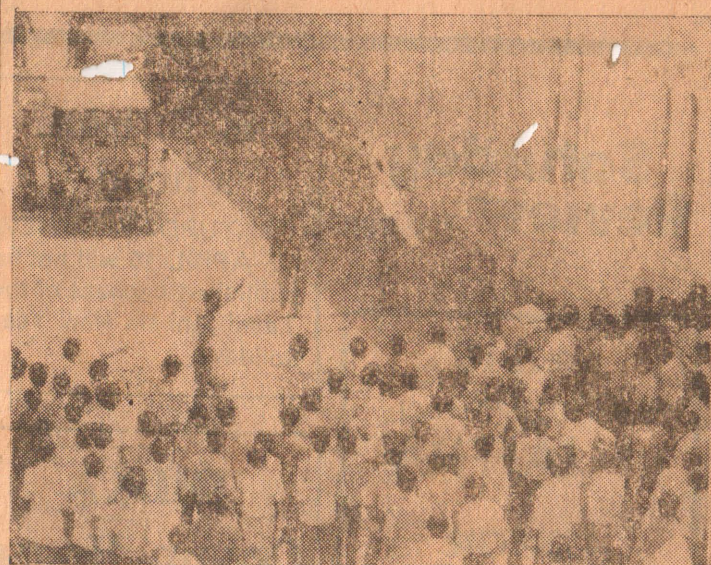
after Dr. Rajasundaram was taken away from Vavuniya, lawyers in Colombo filed a Habeas Corpus application on his behalf before the Court of Appeal.

The Vavuniya-based Gandhiyam Society was inaugurated in 1976, and in 1977 during the aftermath of the anti-Tamil riots in the South, did yeoman service in rehabilitating nearly three thousand

Vavuniya observed a hartal yesterday, Friday, 8th April, protesting against the detention of Gandhi-

refugee Tamil families in thirty six settlements in the Tamil areas. In the course of its community development service over the past few years Gandhiyam has earned the confidence of several international human development and Christian organisations including NOVIB of Holland, CARE of America, Asia Fund for Human Development, OXFAM, England and World Vision International, U.S.

yam Secretary, Dr. Rajasundaram and calling for a repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.



Police - Student confrontation

A three-day peaceful long march (patha yathirai) publicly announced one week ahead, was beaten back by a tear gas attack by the Police on Tuesday, April 5th. Picture shows a Police-Student confrontation at the gates of the Cathedral Grounds after the tear gas attack. More pictures and report on page 12.

Vavuniya MIRJE appeal to 'all those concerned

2 girls in custody for issuing leaflets!

under Terrorism law!

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3 German students

Three German Foreign Exchange Students who had come to visit GANDHIYAM were also picked along with Dr. Rajasundaram at the Gandhiyam office, and brought to Dr. Rajasundaram's house. The house was thereafter searched by the armed party consisting of about twenty Army and Police officers. Dr. Rajasundaram and the German students were taken back to the Gandhiyam office where several files and account books were seized. From there they were taken to the Vavuniya Police Station.

It is now believed that Dr. Rajasundaram is held incommunicado at the Gurunagar Army Camp in

Jaffna. Under the provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the government is under no obligation to reveal even the whereabouts of the person taken into custody for the first seventy two hours.

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Vavuniya MIRJE appeal to 'all those concerned with Justice'

The President of the MOVEMENT FOR INTER-RACIAL JUSTICE AND EQUALITY: (MIRJE), Vavuniya branch Rev. D. J. Kanagaratnam, in a cyclostyled communication to "all those Concerned with Justice", says:

"Gandhiyam is the main Social Service Organisation involved in assisting the poor hill-country Tamil refugees settled in the Vavuniya, Trincomalee and Batticaloa Districts.

Of late these poor refugee settlements and Gandhiyam have been subjected to all kinds of intimidation and harassment regarding which we have already protested.

The Gandhiyam Office and the residence of the Secretary Dr. Rajasundaram have been subjected to all kinds of intimidation and search in the past. On Wednesday 6th April about twenty Army, Police and C.I.D. Officers searched the Gandhiyam Office and residence of Dr. Rajasundaram.

Dr. Rajasundaram has been taken later to Jaffna by these officers and not yet released. We request all those concerned with justice in our land to protest against this kind of intimidation and harassment of "Gandhiyam" the main voluntary Social Service Organisation in the North to help hill-country Tamil refugees"

2 girls in custody for issuing leaflets!

Two young men and two young women who were distributing leaflets at the Vavuniya Bus Stand calling for a hartal in Vavuniya in protest against the arrest of Dr. Rajasundaram of GANDHIYAM, were taken into custody by the Vavuniya Police on Thursday around 6 p.m. The leaflets also demanded the abolition of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

SATURDAY REVIEW learns that until the time of going to press on Friday afternoon these four youths have not been released. There is reason to believe that these four—Rukmani (20), Shanthi (18), both of Vavuniya, Veerakumar Jeevan and Pushpan both of Batticaloa had been subjected to torture under detention, according to knowledgeable sources in Vavuniya.

Attacks on statues again!

Toppling and damaging statues in Jaffna which had been a habit with the Police and army personnel in 1977, 1979 and 1981 appears to have been resumed. On Wednesday night an equestrian statue of the last King of Jaffna, Sankili-

yan, at Nallur was damaged by men in civil clothes. The sword held by the King and the tail of the horse were both knocked down by these vandals who quickly moved away from the scene in a speeding truck.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

No. 118
4th Cross Street
JAFFNA
EDITOR
S. Sivanayagam

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S. R. takes
a holiday

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SATURDAY REVIEW
has never hesitated to ex-
pose the many journalistic
aberrations of the Colombo
based daily newspapers.
Even where they were not
guilty of deliberate racist
mischief they had often
betrayed bias and double
standards both in reporting
and comment in respect of
issues that affect the Tamil
people. Today SATURDAY
REVIEW seizes the op-
portunity to pay a compli-
ment to a Colombo based
daily—THE ISLAND—on
its editorial comment in its
issue of 7th April under the
headline: 'TEAR GAS—
AN OVER REACTION'.

We reproduce below the
editorial comment in toto,
particularly for the benefit of
our readers abroad:

The tear gassing of a
group of demonstrators
seeking to set out on a
pada yatra in Jaffna on
Tuesday seems to be an-
other example of Police
over-reacting to a situation.

The Police were well
aware for some days that
several organisations were
planning this as a protest
against the Prevention of
Terrorism Act and the
detention of some priests,
and there was enough time
for the Police to have
formulated an alternative
course of action. But in
these days of mounting
Police high-handedness
they seem to be increas-
ingly believing that all
problems can be solved by
wielding the big stick.

The tear gas attack on
the Jaffna demonstrators
has to be separated from
the rest of the Police
actions in the peninsula.
Whatever one thinks of the
Prevention of Terrorism
Act it invests the Police
and the armed forces with
certain powers of arrest
and detention which are
abused in some instances.
But the case of the pada
yatra has to be separated
from the generality of
Police actions because it is
a legitimate act of protest
accepted by any democracy.
The Police can, of course,
turn round and say that
the march was held despite
a Police ban on it but what
the law enforcement
agencies must realise is
that when it comes to a
democratic right of the
people it cannot expect to
get away by wielding the
big stick and treating the
people as common criminals.

It is a pity the Police
have chosen to behave in
this manner because it is
such high-handed acts
which have aggravated the
situation in the past. One
wonders whether even the
upper echelon Police
officers in the North know
what kind of situation they
are dealing with. On
Tuesday we discussed in
these columns the need for
Police to be aware of what
was happening around
them in society and the
need to reorient their think-
ing by getting out of the
colonial groove. If there
is one example of the
pathetic absence of a
social consciousness in the
Police Force, it is the
manner in which they
handle problems in the
North. What the police
do not seem to realise or
choose to ignore if they do
realise it, is that Jaffna
cannot be handled in the
same way as the law and
order situation in any
other part of the country.

Frustration and bitterness
have brought the mood of
the average Jaffna man to
the point of potential ex-
plosion. In such a situa-
tion to tear gas part of the
city's civilian population
will be the act of someone
who is pathetically myopic.

It is time Police top
brass took a serious look
at Police attitudes in the
North and made Police
officers in the peninsula
realise that apart from the
law and order situation,
there is a social problem
in Jaffna as well. The
Police cannot, of course,
solve social problems but
they will be foolhardy if
they think that they will
be able to function in a
vacuum. The Police must
constantly keep in mind
the potentially explosive
situation in the North and
in their dealings with the
civilian population (the
spontaneous use of such
barrackroom language
alone shows the gulf be-
tween the people and the
security forces in the
North) they must see that
no measure that they
pursue would aggravate
the situation.

It is time the Police made
a clear distinction between
the small coterie of ter-
rorists in the North and
the large mass of the people
who like people every-
where else are decent, law-
abiding citizens. Political
protest is to be expected
particularly in the situation
in which Jaffna finds itself
today, but as long as that
protest is peaceful then the
Police too must reciprocate
in a like manner. Those
engaged in a political
protest cannot be treated
in the same way as criminals
and more humane and
rational methods of persua-
sion must be devised. No
doubt the Police are work-
ing under difficult condi-
tions in which danger
from gunmen is an ever
present reality but what
they must realise is that in
the volatile political situa-
tion which exists in the
North they must adopt
different methods from
what they are normally
used to.

If the Police indeed in-
itiate some kind of dialogue
with the political leaders
of the North at all levels,
we are sure that it will bear
more results than the
empty tear gas shells
strewn on the dusty roads
of the peninsula.

We are certainly no sup-
porters of Tamil Eelam,
but it will be naive if one
does not recognise that
Police attitudes in the
north can themselves con-
tribute to the deterioration
of police-public relations
in Jaffna.

There was that Aesop's fable that we read in our school days of a father who was worried that his three growing sons quarrelled among themselves incessantly.

One day, he called them together and gave each a bundle of sticks. They were told to hold the sticks together and break them. They tried and failed. Then he untied the bundles and gave the sticks one by one. Sure enough, they snapped them easily.

The moral of that fable—that unity is strength—appears to have at last penetrated the thick skulls of the opposition leaders.

The decision of seven anti-UNP parties to enter into a no-contest pact to fight the May Parliamentary elections is the best news to emerge from opposition quarters for a long time.

That SLFP-CP-JVP-LSSP-MEP-NSSP-DWC combination appears very impressive on paper. But the last three of them are no more than paper tigers, without much organisational strength and following in the country. Even the LSSP is a much-debilitated party, as the results of the presidential poll revealed.

Still, if they stick together they could halt the UNP juggernaut at both the parliamentary and local elections.

It is too early for jubilation, however. They have to beware of UNP machinations to sow dissension among them, as it did so successfully before the presidential poll.

The selection of candidate could also present a problem, especially if Mrs. Bandaranaike attempts to impose her will. It is easy to dictate terms when in power—as President Jayewardene has been doing in most matters, including keeping down dissidence within the UNP—but not that easy when out, as the ex-Prime Minister should have realised after her failure to keep her own party men in check.

Dr. Neville
stumped again

From the SLFP, Mr. T. B. Alangaratne, Mr. Stanley Tillekeratne, Mr. Ratnasiri Wickremaranyake and Mr. Vijaya Kumaranatunge are obvious choices as candidates; so also are Mr. K. P. Silva and Mr. Y. B. Tudawe (CP), Mr. Rohana Wijeweera and Mr. Lionel Bopage (JVP), Mr. Athauda Seneviratne (LSSP), Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene (MEP) and Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara (NSSP).

This leaves seven more places, for which there is likely to be a keen tussle, with some old-timers, like ex-LSSP Mr. Anil Moonesinghe and ex-JVP Mr. Nimalasiri Jayasinghe making strong claims.

One problem is how to accommodate ex UNP M. P. Dr. Neville Fernando, who has been stumped again by President Jayewardene. There is no byelection in his former constituency of Panadura!

Political Causerie

by

Gamini Navaratne

tituity of Panadura!

The seven-party alliance has two more weeks to make a final decision.

And May Day would provide a good opportunity for the parties to demonstrate that the new-found unity is not a matter of mere political expediency.

With all the lessons of past elections before them, the opposition leaders should look beyond May day; beyond the May elect-

such unity.

The number of by-elections is 18, not 17 as stated by me last week. I had assumed that Dr. Ranjit Atapattu, a favourite of the President, who had resigned from Beliatta, would have been nominated from Tangalla, as widely tipped in political circles. But this did not happen, which is further evidence of the tensions and pressures within the ruling party. The UNP candidates

spectators of the byelection scene in the South, but not the local election scene in the North, where the tempo of political activity is once again on the upswing.

This demonstration of unity and strength should be a warning to the Government that there is no time to be lost in seeking a settlement of the National Question.

I can do no better than reproduce extracts from what I wrote in the "Saturday

some of the soldiers and Policemen. I guess that for every Tamil youth who is arrested and subjected to torture, on suspicion of being a 'terrorist' ten more 'terrorists' are born from among members of his family, relations and friends....

"All this is to stress that force is not the answer to the political problem involving the two main communities in the island. Force is likely to be met increasingly with force, as has been happening since the 'emergency' in 1979, leading eventually to civil war and the possible intervention of foreign powers

"What is required is the recognition that the Tamil people also are entitled to the same fundamental rights and freedoms as are enjoyed

Opposition unity and the National Question

ions, to the future when all the progressive forces in the country, including those in the North, are brought together.

Such unity is essential if Sri Lanka is to be saved from the perilous consequences of the political and economic policies being pursued by the UNP Government. The growing public discontent over economic issues could provide the spark and the spur for

are likely to be known by the time this appears.

The Maithri Group, jilted by Mrs. Bandaranaike, — a big mistake, I should say — appear determined to contest a number of the byelections. This, I think, is a bigger mistake, for anyone who at this juncture helps to divide the opposition vote is certain to be suspected of playing the UNP game.

IN THE NORTH

The TULF will be silent

Review on October 23:

"It must be obvious to everyone by now that unless there is peace and harmony between the various communities in the island, we shall never be able to progress as a nation. Just imagine the colossal dissipation of time, energy and resources on the maintenance of an 'army of occupation' in the North! What is more, the 'military approach' has not taken the question any nearer solution". (Remember the Hitlerite, order in 1979 to "exterminate the terrorists"?)

"In fact, it has become more complicated as a result of the senseless brutality of

by the major community, that they cannot be treated any more like a subject people...."

It is five months since President Jayawardene began his second term of office. I have not seen any genuine attempt being made so far to solve the National Question. It is like Nero fiddling while Rome was burning! Secret behind-the-scenes talks will get the country nowhere, because contacts among leaders alone are not enough.

That is the message of the intended "Long March" to both the TULF leadership and the Government.

Why not call for tree planting instead of boycotts?

The next time the TULF, the TELF or any other organisation in the North calls for the public boycott on any issue, I suggest that the boycotters, instead of holding demonstrations and inviting police and army repression, engage in something that could be very profitable to them and their cause: PLANT TREES!

There is no reason not to believe judging by the experience of some other countries, that the climatic conditions in the North and the economy itself could be transformed by a sustained campaign in social forestry.

In Kenya, for instance, the environment Committee of the National Council of Women has launched a re-afforestation drive that has transformed large segments of desert land into Green Belts.

School gardens serve as

nurseries where the seeds grown and the plants distributed. The entire community gets involved in the tree planting.

Similar campaigns have been launched in the Indian states of Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Punjab.

In Jaffna, palmyrah and other trees found suitable to the soil could be grown that in about ten years time there could be green where now one sees only white (of the limestone sand.)

At present, there seems to be plenty of tree-cutting but little planting. (A reader, Mr. T. K. Somasekaram wrote last week that "roughly 1,000 palmyrah palms are cut down illicitly everyday for use as timber"!)

Now, I would like to invite comments from readers. If what I have suggested cannot be done, it will never succeed, etc.

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In the *Daily News* of Monday, March 21, 1983 there appeared an article with the title "Apartness that divides a nation", written by Lalitha K. Witanachchi. March 21, every year, is the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination that commemorates the brutal killing of 60 Africans by the police on that day in 1960 while they were demonstrating peacefully against pass laws in Sharpeville, South Africa. The Article concerned was heart-rending and thought-provoking, heart-rending because the reader is made to feel for and suffer with the Africans, and thought-provoking because immediately he is driven to compare conditions in Sri Lanka today with those in South Africa.

It is said that the shameful apartheid regime came into power in 1948 and from that day there has been racist oppression in South Africa. Strangely enough, Sri Lanka (Ceylon then) became independent in 1948 and since then, particularly since 1956, the two nationalities, the Sinhalese and the Tamils, have been drifting apart. It is also said that there exists "a great division between white and non-white known as apartheid or 'apartness', an unjust and humiliating division of South Africa's land and morals and her people", and facts were given to show the nature of the oppression and the suffering the black Africans have to face and undergo. The state of affairs in this country is in no way different from that of South Africa, perhaps even worse in some respects.

Youths never returned home

Lalitha K. Witanachchi writes: "Political detainees have died under interrogation by the security police. Not much evidence is found about how these detainees died, for they are outside the range of the media. Occasionally some news trickles out of the prison walls and the world is horrified. Black leaders like Steve Biko, educated, articulate head of the Black Consciousness movement, Imam Abdullah Haron, loved and respected leader of the Malay community in the Cape, Samuel Malinga, and Mapetla Mohapi are some who have died of torture in prison, under circumstances, which have aroused particular disquiet. "The writer goes on to say that "when Dr. Neil Aggett was tortured to death in February, 1981, tens of thousands of Africans demonstrated and marched at his funeral in defiance and sorrow."

On 10th January 1974 during the 4th International Conference of Tamil Research, held in Jaffna, a police attack on the audience at a public

Apartness that divides a nation

How different is South Africa from Sri Lanka

meeting resulted in the loss of several lives and injury to others. On 12th July 1979 Emergency was declared in the Jaffna District and a directive was given by the President of Sri Lanka to Brigadier Weeratunga to eliminate the menace of terrorism. Even before the Brigadier could leave for Jaffna, on the nights of July 13 and 14 several young men were taken from their homes by the army and the police. Six of them never returned home. Two of them were Visvajothi Ratnam (Vipam) and his brother-in-law Selvaratnam (Selvam). Their dead bodies were later found in a mutilated condition near

abhorrent and atrocious Prevention of Terrorism Act of Sri Lanka. It is said that the Act is not an Act for the Prevention of Terrorism but an Act for the Protection of State Terrorism.

Recently some youths, two Catholic Priests and a married couple, a university teacher and his wife who is also a teacher were arrested and are still in custody. It has been openly alleged that one of the priests, Father Singarayar has been subjected to torture.

Very recently the District Judge of Point Pedro was openly insulted and humiliated on the high way even after he had proved his identity to the

Tamil youths in higher education and employment. They have become vagrants and nomads, wandering from country like the ancient wandering Jews.

Periodic general elections may not be held, perhaps for ever, but periodic assaults on the Tamil people do not fail to take place from time to time. The late M.P. for Kopay once said in Parliament that in South Africa it is the human dignity of the black African that is affected but in this country the very existence, the life of the Tamil man is in jeopardy.

It is true that in this country some Sinhalese and Tamil interlive, inter-dine and inter-marry. It applies to some; the vast majority are drifting apart and during the last five years the momentum has been accelerated, notwithstanding the pious platitudes of place-seeking politicians. This country is a divided nation. The writing is on the wall and none but the blind can fail to see it.

"The moving Finger writes and, having writ,
Moves on: nor all they
Piety nor wit
Shall lure it back to cancel
half a Line, Nor all thy
Tears wash out a Word of
it."

An Inexorable Fate seem to be driving the two peoples apart.

The writer in the article referred to says, "Strikes and demonstrations, commemorative dates of funerals of mar-

happening; here in this blessed isle where there is said to be Buddhist Compassion all these things are happening.

Lalitha K. Witanachchi also referred to the fact that the National Liberation Movement has won the support of a number of White South Africans as well as who have sacrificed their lives for the liberation of their black brothers. Here too, in this country, we have a movement known as the Tamil United Liberation Front. At the present moment it is intensely interested only in parliamentary manoeuvres. I shall not make any more comments on it now. But before I conclude I must not fail to mention that there are some movements in Sri Lanka such as the Civil Rights Movement, the Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality and some others that have stood up at all times for Justice and equality. We salute them.

'Why do people look away from their backyards?'

I often wonder why people like the writer of that Article — there are many like that writer — and Organizations like the Universal Brotherhood Association, World Government Association, etc. con-

Is it because we are living in an age of double standards?

cern themselves so much about what happens in other parts of the world and are not in the least worried about what is happening in their own backyard that is in this country. Is it because it is not rewarding financially and otherwise, or is it fear, or is it that they are cosmic conscious, or is their silence caused by a devilish delight that the Tamil Fellow should suffer or is it because we are living in an age of double standards?

tyrs and remembrance of anniversaries such as the massacres of Sharpeville and Sweto, where hundreds of people were slaughtered, have become the outer symbols of defiance". I submit, in all humility, this passage to the careful and serious consideration of the Tamil people in general and the people of the North in particular. They can learn one or two things from the black South Africans. In South Africa where there should be Christian Charity all those things are

by Dharma

a causeway. On the same night another youth T. S. Balendra from the same village was taken away. He never returned home and was believed to have been killed by the police.

On the same night in Jaffna town two brothers, S. Parameswaran and S. Rajeswaran, married to two sisters, were taken away by a group of armed men. They never returned home. Another victim was Indra Rajan, a 19 year old student of Ayurvedic Medical College, Jaffna. He was taken to prison and then admitted to hospital where he passed away on 21st July. Medical examination revealed that he was inhumanly tortured. Absolutely innocent persons were arrested, subjected to grueling questions, tortured in most cases and finally released. The Jaffna Residency became the abode of torture. From some of the court trials, methods of torture, employed in the places where Tamil youths are kept in custody—brutal, sadistic and inhuman — have come to light. In Sri Lanka, torture, a new peril to life and liberty, is the order of the day.

Even in South Africa there is no law comparable in harshness, severity, cruelty and inhumanity to the obnoxious, tyrannical,

army men. A lawyer, while returning from the courts was beaten up by army men. The students of Hartley College, Point Pedro were brutally assaulted by the army, and their bicycles were thrown into the sea. Where else in the world do you find such atrocities? Not even in South Africa! The Tamil people in the North are a captive people living at the mercy of the armed forces let loose in an occupied territory.

Rapes during race riots

It is not necessary for me to mention all the racial riots that have taken place in this country since 1958. Lalitha K. Witanachchi spoke of rape in South Africa, I shudder to think of it. In the Reports of Commissions and in books dealing with race riots of 1958, 1977 etc. are recorded the various instances of rape that have taken place in the country, instances that show to what beastiality man can descend. In the riots of August / September 1977 the Tamils were hunted down.

I need not dwell at length on the Great Fire of Jaffna and the great destruction caused by the armed forces of the State from the May 31st to June 6th, 1981, or on the discrimination against the

Sarvodaya boss's Ariyaratne and free speech

Is Sarvodaya leader Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne unaccustomed to genuine critical audiences at home? Does he not believe in the spirit of liberal academic tradition? Do questions asked about Sarvodaya or about the status of women in Sri Lanka at a seminar bring about disrepute to the country? This is the line of reasoning of an academic from The Hague-Joseph V.W. Kuitenbrouwer — in a letter he has personally addressed to Dr. Ariyaratne in Moratuwa. Mr. Kuitenbrouwer who is a senior lecturer at the Institute of Social Studies has expressed profound surprise at Dr. Ariyaratne's reactions to statements made at the seminar in the Hague under his Chairmanship.

Questions raised by Ms. W. Rohini Dep Weerasinghe of Kantha Handa, Sri Lanka, at the seminar were also interpreted by Dr. Ariyaratne as a campaign against the country. SATURDAY REVIEW publishes below the correspondence in this connection sent to us by Rohini Dep Weerasinghe:

C/o Kantha Handa,
18/9, Chitra Lane,
Colombo 5.
8th March 1983.

The Editor,
Saturday Review,
Jaffna.

Dear Sir,

I write to you in connection with a distorted statement made by Sarvodaya leader Mr. A. T. Ariyaratne, about me. His statement was the headline story of Lankadipa on the 18th December 1982. It was also given front page coverage in the Ceylon Daily News and Daily Mirror of the same day. It was only after I returned to Sri Lanka towards the end of last month that I was made aware of Mr. Ariyaratne's defamatory statement.

I sent my version of the meeting held in The Hague on 9th December 1982 in which Mr. Ariyaratne referred in his statement to all the papers which published it but none of them used it. I am sending a copy of the same statement to you. I shall appreciate it very much if you publish my statement in your paper.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
W. Rohini Dep
Weerasinghe

A reply to Mr. A.T. Ariyaratne

On my return to Sri Lanka at the end of January this year, I was surprised and shocked to read a distorted statement made by Mr. A.T. Ariyaratne, the Sarvodaya leader to the press. It concerns certain questions raised by me at a talk given by Mr. Ariya-

ratne at the Institute of Social Studies in the Hague, on 9th December 1982. The statement, which was the headline story in Lankadipa on the 18th December 1982, was also given front page coverage in the Ceylon Daily News and Daily Mirror of the same day.

Mr. Ariyaratne in his press statement alleged, among other things, that:

1. I had teamed up with a professor and had started a campaign to bring disrepute to Sri Lanka (Lankadipa and Daily Mirror)
2. I was active in spreading false stories about Sri Lankan women (Lankadipa and Daily Mirror)
3. A Lankan woman in the Hague (myself) had made a remark disparaging her motherland (Daily News)
4. I was a person with connections with Kantha Handa and that I stated that Sri Lankan women are being "harassed and ill-treated at a low level". (Daily Mirror, Lankadipa)
5. I was leading a luxurious life in the Hague (Lankadipa and Daily Mirror)

I was a student reading for a Master's Degree in Development Studies at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague, on a Dutch government fellowship. I lived in a room in a student's hostel of the Institute of Social Studies sharing facilities with ten other students. While it is true that I am a member of Kantha Handa, I categorically deny all the allegations made by Mr. Ariyaratne. In addition, I challenged Mr. Ariyaratne and the newspapers which published his statements to name the Professor with whom, he alleged, I had teamed up. Why does Mr. Ariyaratne feel so threatened by my views on development which may differ from his? Why does he interpret this as a campaign to discredit Sri Lanka? On what grounds does Mr. Ariyaratne say that I was leading a very luxurious life in the Hague?

I am surprised at the distortion of what happened at the meeting by the leader of Sarvodaya-a movement which professes to uphold truth. The questions raised by me at this meeting were related to the position taken by the Sarvodaya movement on the

current political and economic situation in Sri Lanka and particularly about the democratic rights of workers in and outside The Free Trade Zone and their conditions of work which affords advantages to multinationals. My questions on the Free Trade Zone were based on a research study done by Kantha Handa (Voice of Women), on the subject of women workers in this sector. I worked as a researcher on this project and my subsequent post-graduate research at the Institute of Social Studies was also on the same subject.

I may add that Mr. Ariyaratne did not give me a 'proper reply' to my questions as claimed by him in the press statement. He only repeatedly asked me what I was doing there in Holland instead of fighting in Sri Lanka! On the occasion of Mr. Ariyaratne's meeting there were many staff members and students of the Institute, who pointed out that he had made contradictory statements on the question of development in Sri Lanka. Why does Mr. Ariyaratne take exception only to my questions? I can substantiate the proceedings of the meeting with a statement from the Chairman.

Tradition of asking questions

In Holland there is no suppression of critical speech and research. In keeping with the democratic tradition of the Institute of Social Studies (where every shade of opinion is permitted), the students have always asked searching questions from visiting speakers. In Sri Lanka too, the right of free expression is ensured in the Constitution of 1978. The tradition of asking questions from visiting speakers also exists at the academic Institutes of Sri Lanka. As a student of the Institute of Social Studies and as a citizen of Sri Lanka, I had the right to ask questions from Mr. Ariyaratne and I wonder why he over-reacted to my questions.

Mr. Ariyaratne's barrage that I was "active in spreading false stories about Sri Lankan women" (Lankadipa and Daily Mirror), is a deliberate attempt to smear the reputation and activities of my self and

of Kantha Handa, a group fighting for women's rights. Who really is spreading false stories about women seems a relevant question to ask in this context.

This further illustrates the general trend in Sri Lanka today to suppress critical research and free speech and

highlights the similar role played by the establishment-biased media. Doesn't Mr. Ariyaratne's decision to make such an attack on me also reflect more than anything else, the position of women in our society? Is not Mr. Ariyaratne's reaction a very good illustration of the oppression of women in patriarchal society, where a woman especially comes under heavy attack if she raises a critical voice, and where a woman is supposed, as children were in Victorian society, to be seen and not heard?

'you seem unaccustomed to a genuinely critical audience Dr. Ariyaratne?'

251, Badhuisweg,
2597, JR The Hague.

Dear Dr. Ariyaratne,

I am writing regarding remarks of yours which I found in the Ceylon Daily News and the Ceylon Daily Mirror of December 18. These relate, I believe, to a visit which you made to this Institute on December 9 when you delivered a talk on the Sarvodaya movement under my chairmanship.

I would like to put on record the fact that while the audience asked critical questions regarding the approach of your organisation and your own interpretation of the situation in Sri Lanka, neither I, nor my colleagues who attended, nor indeed the outside guests who I have contacted can accept your suggestion that there was in this any attempt to bring the country to disrepute. Nor can we accept your statement that 'an organised clique' of Sri Lankans and our professors is, or has ever in the past, been campaigning to that effect. I can assure you that I had talked with no one who attended the meeting in advance of it, and that the questions that were asked and the nature of the discussion that followed were strictly within the purview of seminars in academic institutions in our country. Your allegations

have no basis and they cannot be substantiated.

Finally, and for us most disturbing, both I and my colleagues flatly contest your allegations against Ms. Weerasinghe. While she and others raised questions on the situation of women in Sri Lanka in relation to the presentation which you had made, it could in no sense at all have been interpreted as 'a barrage' or 'spreading false stories' against Sri Lanka or that here at our institute she campaigned against it. Nor can one — with even the wildest stretch of imagination — contend that, as a student in the Hague, she had been enjoying 'a luxurious life'. Such remarks I can only interpret as an expression of the fact that you seem unaccustomed to a genuinely critical audience in the spirit of a liberal academic tradition.

It is not my practice, nor that of my colleagues, to react to newspaper or to other reports regarding visits to our institute. In this case, however, the allegations which you have made are so outrageously inaccurate and, in the case of Ms. Weerasinghe, so grossly unfair, that we feel that we must respond.

Yours,

Joseph B.W. Kuitenbrouwer
Senior Lecturer.

Concluding the Series

International Funding Agencies: Aid or loan? Who are the real Winners? - 4

From the point of view of the third world countries what steps are needed to minimise foreign loans and loss of jobs to foreign countries? In January 1983, the new Chairman of the IMF's policy making interim committee and the IMF Managing Director went to Saudi Arabia to seek a loan of \$4000 — 5000 million. Saudi Arabia has already lent the IMF about \$8000 million in the last few years so, the Third World countries have to get themselves organised in order to cut the middle men. The four-fold increase in the price of oil in 1973 produced huge surplus of revenues for the OPEC countries and equally huge deficits for oil importing developing countries and advanced countries. The financial institutions in the western countries insisted that the mammoth re-cycling process should be done through them. During this time these financial institutions came up with a new concept in the long term international loans, that of valuable interest rates which can be back dated. By this technique the western countries transferred their debt problems to the developing countries which are already crippled by their own balance of payment problem, caused by the oil price explosion.

Getting the priorities right

This situation could have been easily prevented if the Third World countries were alert and had built up their own set up financial institutions dealing across international boundaries. There is an urgent need here for the developing countries to divert some of their best brains into such areas as international finance, consultancy, banking, insurance, freight etc, collectively known as the service industries. So far most of the best brains have gone into engineering, medicine, law & accountancy. Only those failed to find a place in one of these four prestigious branches opted for the service industries. The United States fastest growing export sector is trade in services which registered exports of at least \$ 60,000 million in 1980. It is time the Third World countries get their priorities right.

What can be done to minimise the loss of jobs of the Third World to the creditor countries? A hastily planned huge development programme would certainly force that country to world money markets for cash. The external indebtedness has come to be accepted as mortgaging a country's independence and future particularly in the present climate of variable interest rates. Financial independence is the guarantee of security of employment and the continuity of economic and social development. Rather than in-

crease its vulnerability to the whims of western creditors it is better to consolidate existing investments and to fund as far as, possible, investment needs for domestic resources.

Foreign borrowings should be limited mainly to exports credits, which at a fixed rate of interest, are much cheaper than commercial loans. Though the latter is available in substantial amounts for project financing of various types, such loans are medium term duration and may not coincide with project requirements.

sign and construction jobs, created by the projects go to the donor countries. So, the main aim of the Third World countries should be to minimize the foreign involvement by adopting "cut and thrust" methods in the same way the advanced countries throttle the poor countries.

The term "appropriate technology" means different things to different people. For the third world countries this term implies adaptation of the conventional design and construction procedures to

how" even better than the consultants from the industrialised countries. Thus, the consultants from developing countries cannot be disqualified by the World Bank under the pretext of not having had the previous experience in equipment biased technology.

The World Bank has just stated that it would test participation in syndicated commercial loans. The IMF has reached the agreement with Saudi Arabia for a loan of \$ 4000 million in 1983. Further talks with Saudi Arabia are planned for later this month when a delegation from the group of ten, leading indus-

the global economy seem to have had little success in producing a return to the straight and narrow path of the monetary stability. Whereas the average inflation rate for first league of industrial countries was 6.5 per cent, that for the non-oil developing countries is 36.4 percent and still shows no signs of coming down.

Third World countries forced into devaluation

As for the currencies of the third world countries, devaluation is now becoming very much the order of the day. During the past few weeks alone five developing countries—Zambia, Jamaica, Mexico, Kenya and Argentina—have either made straight cuts on substance in the external values of their currencies or introduced multiple-exchange system that had the same effect. Bearing in mind that the efforts many countries are making, or being pressurized to make in the international economic scene, i.e. trade and currency warfare—one thing emerges clearly. The developing countries must involve some of their best available brains in this important area of work. Bright young students must be made to take up this challenge and thus produce the rare breed of economic and financial consultants.

(Concluded)

by

P. Varothayasingam
London

Euro-currency bank financing, Euro-currency bond market etc. have the same drawbacks. The creditor countries are in this money business not for charitable purposes but to improve their profit and the declared intension of IMF conditionality is to force debtor countries to live within their national means.

The World Bank does not provide the total finance to any project in the developing countries. It gives only the foreign exchange component. This is repaid as fees for consultants, profits for contractors and manufacturers—all from the donor countries. This loan is again paid back as capital repayment with interest. Finally the lucrative de-

incorporate locally available resources, skills and finance to the maximum extent possible. Any unavoidable foreign loans should be best linked to commodities.

The natural tendency today is for the design, specification and even financing of construction projects to have an inherent bias in favour of equipment based technology, due mainly to the involvement of consultants from western countries. The equipment based solution may be "appropriate" for industrialised countries, but not necessarily so for poor countries with large surplus of unskilled labour. Besides, for appropriate technology, consultants from developing countries will have the "know—

rial countries arrive in Riyadh. The start of 1983 has found the leading industrial countries in better shape in some senses than they were a year ago. Their inflation rates are for the most part, materially lower. And, with the American currency no longer pushed to giddy heights by Washington's interest rates excesses, many of their currencies have been able to record sizable advances in the currency markets.

For countries belonging to the "other half", however, things have been going from bad to worse. The disinflationary pressures that the monetarist monstrosities of the United States, Britain and other advanced countries have injected into

LETTERS

17, Wijerama Lane,
Nawinna,
Maharagama 27-3-83.
To Mayanthie
with love

Dear Sir,

Mrs Mayanthie Arunachalam of Market Lane, Manipay, confers on me, in your issue of March 19, the dubious distinction of being one of the very few survivors of an almost extinct tribe of Englishmen in Sri Lanka, and, in the same breath, virtually dubs me an aggressive member of a new race of Singaputras! Both appellations are as inaccurate as they are unfair. I tout neither the vanished glories of a perfidious Albion nor the strident claims of a narrow chauvinism. Name calling, however flip-pant or good humoured, neither advances argument nor clarifies issues. What is the good lady really griping about?

English as a National language

My central point has been sadly ignored.

I was concerned in my brief contribution to deplore the constitutional imposition of English as a "national language" and to point out the dangers of this resuscitation of an alien tongue which has subverted the interests of an Anglicised class of collaborators with the British ruler in colonial times. No one in his right mind objects to the strengthening of the teaching of English, as a second or foreign language, in an efficient, practical, systematic, and durable manner, provided its benefits as an instrument of learning and access to modern knowledge are spread uniformly throughout the community. No one in his right mind will also dispute that only privilege and discrimination will be further enhanced

should the formidable enterprise fail, in whole or in part,

Not for nothing was tiny Ceylon regarded as the model crown colony in imperial times—English was then the sole and singular passport to economic fame and social fortune, not to mention political, professional and administrative preferment for an elite minority in our land. Under the current political dispensation and modes of development, Sri Lanka has almost arrived as the model neo-colony of a far-reaching transnational empire. The ceremonial restitution of English has become necessary to fulfil the inexorable logic of its commercial ends. We will soon be back to where we left off in 1948, and the impressive social and national gains of the liberating impulse of free education, allied to instruct-

ion in the local tongues, will be undermined, just as surely as the psychology of self-reliance and self-respect are being rapidly overturned in the sell-out to foreign modes of thought and a reckless genuflection to imported technology and consumerist values. English assists the international division of labour and fortifies the dependency relationship.

The ideological needs of a state are advanced and consolidated by the educational system it promotes and the language it fosters as the device of manipulation. The UNP and the economic interests it serves, here and abroad, depends on the return and consolidation of English as a tool of exclusive domination and control—they have little use for either Sinhalese or Tamil, the languages of the

(Continued next page)

The Chola descent attributed to Kulakkottan and the claim that he brought many settlers from the Chola country may suggest that the account of Kulakkottan contains a substratum of traditions concerning the activities of a Chola prince, presumably, Chola Ilankesvara tevar, who exercised authority over Trincomalee and the localities adjacent to it and had some connection with Konesvaram. The **Kon-ecar Kalvettu** which seeks to establish a close connection between the growth of Tamil settlements in the north eastern part of the island and the development of Konesvaram seems to record some traditions concerning the history of the temple of Konesvaram and the elaborate arrangements that had been made for conducting religious services at that temple.

Sanskrit studies

The development of Hindu institutions and cultural traditions on an impressive scale during this period had an impact on Sinhalese kingship and court life. Members of the royal family and some of the high dignitaries of state became increasingly acquainted with leading Sanskrit texts on secular subjects through learned Brahmins some of whom were appointed as functionaries at court.

Dynastic marriages with some of the Indian ruling families also perhaps, contributed towards the promotion of Sanskrit studies among court circles. As a result of this development the Sinhalese court was influenced by a variety of Indian literature on politics, warfare and administration outside the Buddhist tradition. It is only when we come to the Polonnaruwa period that the Pali chronicle mentions such texts in relation to Kingship and court life. The same chronicle credits Parakramabahu I with having mastered the work of **Kautalya** and the **Yuddharnava** — a text dealing with military science.

Arthasastra and Culavamsa

Besides, the long account of Parakramabahu as recorded in the Pali chronicle bears clear traces of the influence of Kautalya's masterly work. The details relating to espionage as found in the **Culavamsa** and the **Arthasastra** are strikingly similar and such close similarity presupposes a familiarity with the Kautalyan treatise on the part of the author of the **Culavamsa**.

Another major Hindu text referred to in the Pali chronicle in relation to the rulers of this period is the **Manu Smrti**. In Sri Lanka, during

Hinduism in Ceylon-6

Circa A. D. 1000-1250

the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Manu's work was held in high esteem as an authority on politics, law and government. It was undoubtedly one of the texts consulted by the kings of the island. Vijayabahu II (1186-1187) and Parakrama Pandya are said to have ruled in accordance with the laws of Manu. Another ruler, Parakramabahu II is described in traditional Sinhalese history as one who was well versed in the ordinances of Manu (**Manuriti Vicarate**). It is remarkable that some of the ideas expressed in the **Manu Smrti** are echoed in Sri Lankan inscriptions of this period.

Ideas from Hindu political thought which helped to extol royal authority were incorporated into the court ideology by the rulers of this period who continued to encourage the cult of the bodhisattva king. It was during the Polonnaruwa period that the concept of divinity of kingship found full expression in Sri Lankan inscriptions. The inscriptions of Nissankamalla echo the **Manu Smrti** when they assert:

"Though kings appear in

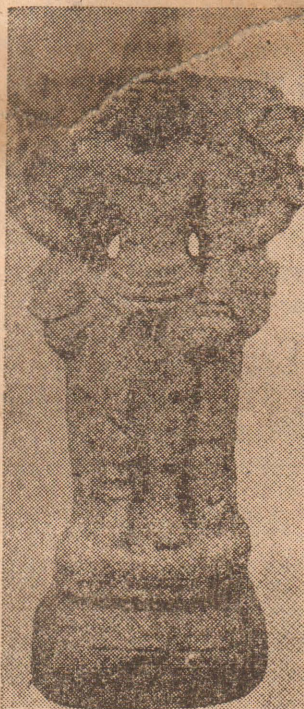


Image of Vishnu found at Kantalai

human form, they are human divinities (naradevata) and must therefore, be regarded as gods."

It was owing to the influence of Hindu treatises like the **Manu Smrti** that expressions describing the functional similarity of the king to the gods came to be included in Sinhalese inscription issued by Vijayabahu I and his suc-

cessors. The Ambagamuva inscription of Vijayabahu I, for instance, describes the king in the following manners:

"He has surpassed the sun in the majesty inherent in him, Mahesvara (Siva) in prowess, Visnu in haughty spirit, the chief of the gods (Indra) in kingly state, the lord of the riches (Kuvera) in inexhaustible wealth, Kitisuru in (bestowing) happiness to living beings, the preceptor of the gods (Brahapati) in the fertility of wisdom, the moon in gentleness, Kandarpa in the richness of his beauty and the Bodhisattva in the fullness of his benevolence."

The same idea is expressed in connection with Parakramabahu I in the Devanagala inscription in almost identical language. The Minipe slab inscription uses a slightly different imagery to convey a similar idea in connection with the general Bhama, who attained the rank of a local ruler when the Polonnaruwa kingdom had reached an advanced state of decline. It describes him as one who 'is like into Vishnu for Mahalaksmi, like into Brahma for Sarasvati and like into Suryya for his

pleasing appearance'.

The concept of the divinity of kingship became a major component of the ideology of the Sinhalese court since the twelfth century.

It was further accentuated by the adoption of the royal epithet **Tribhuvana cakravartin** by some of the kings in the post-Polonnaruwa period.

In conclusion it may be stated that Hinduism and Hindu institutions flourished in the north central plain during the Polonnaruwa period in an unprecedented manner. As in contemporary South India the temple became the focal point of religious and cultural expression. The Chola style of temple architecture and bronze casting introduced into the island in the eleventh century became an integral part of the cultural heritage of the Hindu communities which henceforth became an important element in Sri Lankan society.

Elements of Hindu culture

The construction of a large number of temples in the major towns and other localities was accompanied by the settlement of some Brahmin and artisan communities. Since the eleventh century Hinduism began to exert an ever increasing influence on Sinhalese society. Hindu ceremonies, rituals and even beliefs were adopted at the Sinhalese court in the twelfth century and in the subsequent centuries elements of Hindu culture were assimilated into Sinhalese Buddhism and this trend continued until recent times.

(Concluded)

LETTERS

Contd.

To Mayanthie with love

people. The installation of English as a "national language" by our present rulers will only result in the diminution of the authentic measure of our true national languages, which had begun to reassert their rightful place and resume their proper linguistic evolution after nearly three centuries in the wilderness of an alien expropriation.

A hundred and fifty years of English in this Oriental crown colony undermined our national self—confidence, inhibited self-expression, and domesticated the native intelligence in humiliating way. The colonial education system, pivoted as it was on the language of the colonizer, denigrated the truths, intuitions and insights of our own culture,

and did little or nothing to whet our creative appetites, feed our imaginations or nourish our spirits, let alone illuminate our problems in our own image. The racial assumptions of this civilizing mission were intended to spike our faith in the living cultures of Sinhala and Tamil. To cut a long story short, we had been transformed into docile, well-behaved hybrids, possessing crippled minds in a tranquilized cultural situation—clerical puppets, dutiful caricatures, or 'mimic men', sans pride, wisdom and self—reliant means of expression. As a victim of this process I would not wish the budding "wordsmith" from market Lane, Manipay to rue the day she becomes word perfect in the Queen's English to the detriment of her own native linguistic development and indigenous genius of expression.

H. A. I. Goonatilleke

Chundikuli, St. Johns, and Shakespeare

Mirila Bhavanam,
Tellippalai West.
30-03-83

The Editor,
Saturday Review.

Sir, We are glad that reader Mayanthie Arunachalam has come out of MARKET LANE and gone down MEMORY LANE to tell us that Chundikuli Girls of a bygone era presented SHAKESPEARE better than the English players who were here recently. We have nothing but admiration for M's ESPRIT-DE-CORPS.

Miss. Thillimpalam herself had to go to the West to learn to teach her wards—mere amateurs in their salad days—the histrionic art. So

we think M. talks twaddle, when she refers to the superiority of CHUNDIKULI.

In the distant past it was St. John's College, Jaffna, that regularly put on board the SHAKESPEARE PLAYS prescribed by the CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY for the JUNIOR & SENIOR EXAMINATIONS conducted during the spacious days of colonialism. Not long ago. Mr. VERNON ABEYASEKERA when he was Govt. Agent of Jaffna tried to revitalise English Drama among our schools. A few schools took part but CHUNDIKULI failed to show herself. M's claim is a heinous hyperbole.

Yours truly,
C. Sinnathamby

More letters
on Page 9

Kailasapathy's critical method - 2

The dialectical method in literary criticism includes a theory of artistic reflection as an important tool of aesthetic evaluation which does not stand on its own but along with other related tools of critical evaluation derived from the social sciences. In its sophisticated form the method calls for a close touch with contemporary theoretical developments.

With his penchant for reading, Kailas was always in touch with the developments at the frontiers of his fields of interest. But he was not a dilettante to be swept by intellectual fads. So one is not bound to find in his writings any special leanings to new fangled "theories" calling themselves "Marxists" or "Neo-Marxist". As far as I know he was not impressed by the method of analysis pursued by some "Neo-Marxist" who wittingly or unwittingly stood the Marxist method on its head. He thought quite highly of some new philosophers.

Althusser — some reservations

I think he had a high opinion of Althusser but at the same time he had serious reservations about the Althusserian school. I recall an interesting conversation with Kailas sometime in early 1982 on E. P. Thomson's devastating attack on Althusser and his disciples. Kailas could not have been an adherent of Althusserian "theoretical practice" for the single reason that Kailas upheld in Marxism precisely what has been discarded with contempt by Althusserians i.e. the study of history including empirical modes of enquiry wherever necessary.

No Western transplantation

At the same time I would think that fruitful concepts like over-determination can be seen at work in Kailas's writing although he does not use such terms. This is not the place to elaborate on these points at length. I mentioned them with a purpose as I vaguely remember some Indian magazine published by a group of young writers offering a patronizing criticism of Kailasapathy that he was not abreast with current developments abroad being breast with development in one's fields of study is one thing and rushing to grab anything that sounds new is quite another.

One point must be stressed here. Kailasapathy derived a framework of analysis from the existing body of Marxist theory on culture and related fields. He did not mechanically transplant the parameters from the western sources he read. He identified and defined his own parameters with reference to Tamil literature.

This is where his creativity lies. He was engaged in the pioneering project of evolving a conceptual apparatus. He was of course not alone in this field in a broader sense. There were other like Sivathamby and Vanamamalai to mention two eminent scholars. Only men with a high degree of originality can undertake such work and such men cannot be expected to behave like surface nibbling writers who get easily carried away by the latest intellectual fad.

injustice and the oppressed Tamil masses of South India and Sri Lanka participated in their own oppression with an empty pride of being Tamils. In the realm of ideas and culture literary criticism is a main tool of demystification.

Without speaking in general terms I wish to illustrate this aspect of Kailasapathy's method at work taking an example from his writings. His dialectical method is best shown in his handling of the relationship between utopia,

the fact that they were the intellectually most advanced poets of their times and that they engaged in a literary practice that subjected their society to some form of scrutiny. They also went further than that and defined the elements and norms of what they considered to be the ideal.

As shown by Kailas, their thoughts went beyond the limits of their times although they were unable to transcend the limits of their class. They created their own utopian

and compassionate in the name of divine righteousness.

Valluvar's labour was all in vain. His ideas were great for his time. His belief in re-ordering society by preaching to the dominant class and his moralising approach produced a utopia. And what was Valluvar's utopia; a society of good and well behaved, i.e. Kural practising, merchants. "If words could change class character" says Kailas "history would have been quite different."

Utopia is therefore a fantasy, a human mental projection of the ideal. This fantasy has a basis in reality. The realism of the Kural lies in its untold side, the real life in a class society that made Valluvar think of a better society. If the society of the time was actually practising the ideals of the Kural then there was no need for Valluvar to write his kural in a prescriptive, normative style. Demystification of Valluvar's utopia leads one to see the real drama of human conflict and suffering. That Valluvar failed to rehabilitate his class is obvious. Cilapadikaram and Malimekali offer the evidence, if anyone needs it. The "bakthi movement" described by Kailasapathy as a form of class struggle was a real social resistance to the oppressive and in human hegemony of the same class.

(To be continued)

By Dr. N. Shanmugaratnam

Tokyo

Kailas knew his mission which was to meet the challenge of creating a new paradigm of literary criticism in Tamil literature to fulfill a definite historical function. He defined this function unequivocally as follows.

Literary criticism is not merely explaining the world; it must be also an intellectual weapon ceaselessly used by the working class and its allies in their endeavour to change the world".

This position is faithful to the universal Marxist-Leninist principle of revolutionary struggle. But that is to state it at the broadest level. In the specific domain of its work literary criticism had to undertake, among others, a task of demystification of age old utopian fantasies and reactionary beliefs that oppressed the minds of the masses. Literature and cultural chauvinism have been used by the dominant classes to rationalise social

realism and struggle in Tamil literature. I have chosen this example for another reason as well. This is a recurring theme in many of his writings, taking different forms.

The connection between utopia and realism in the world of human thought is as old as human history itself. It is indeed one of the most fascinating areas for the philosophically oriented critics. This connection has been expressed in its best dramatized form by a contemporary socialist philosopher in following words; "....realism and utopia arguing with each other down the corridors of history as they have always done and may always do".

Kailasapathy lists four great poet visionaries in the history of Tamil literature: Valluvar, Kambar, Ilango, and Barathi. We have had thousands of famous Tamil poets but these are the greatest four. Their greatness derives mainly from

alternatives to the existing societies. What Kailasapathy does is to show the dialectical connection between utopia and realism by relating the former to the actual social setting from which it springs as a poetic projection. Utopia carries with it a realism that must be deduced critically.

Valluvar's class by birth may be difficult to ascertain but it is not necessary to know it to ascertain his class outlook. It is evident in his Kural and without doubt Valluvar stood with the merchant class. However, he was not satisfied with the social reality around him which was full of hypocrisy, dishonesty and swindling. He was moved to think in terms of a better human order and he had utmost faith in educating his class by moral precepts. He was a great moral rearmamentalist. He took great pains to preach to his class fellows to be honest

G. A. commends Karate to Jaffna schools

District Secretary and Government Agent, Jaffna, Devanesan Nesiiah, commended the teaching of Karate in schools in Jaffna when he presided at the Indo-Sri Lanka Open Karate Tournament held at the Veerasingham Hall on 27th March.

The Tournament was organized by the Director and Chief Instructor of the Academy of Oriental Martial Arts Jonathan Nathaniel.

Mr. Nesiiah said: "I must congratulate Mr. Nathaniel on what he has done to popularise and develop karate in Colombo, Jaffna and in other parts of the island.

"We live in a world which is becoming increasingly violent and most of the victims of violence are those who are not equipped to defend them-

selves.

"As I watched the performance with enjoyment I observed certain notable features of the programme. Firstly, even in the performance of the martial arts, strict rules are enforced, and discipline and self restraint observed by the participants. Any breach of the rules was promptly punished. Discipline is all important.

"Secondly, this is an art in which even a shorter and weaker person can get the better of a taller and stronger opponent. Although height and physical strength are undoubted advantages, superior skill may enable a smaller person to overcome a bigger opponent.

"Thirdly, defeat and any adverse verdict of the Judges

must be accepted readily and without question. It is significant that throughout the programme, not a single decision of the Judges was disputed either by the loser or by the spectators."

This was the first occasion when a Karate Tournament of this nature was seen in Jaffna. The Organiser, Mr. Nathaniel

RESULTS

KATA

8th KYU N. Nantha Kumar (Winner) K. Murugathas (Runner up)

7th KYU S. Ananthakumar (Winner) S. Vasanthan (Runner up)

6th KYU Edward Louis (Winner) S. Killivalavan (Runner up)

(Three Degree Black Belt) was three times open Black Belt Grand National Champion of India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Mr. G. Suresh Kumar won a Black Belt Open Title. He belongs to the Academy of Oriental Martial Arts, Kerala.

Mrs. A. Nesiiah awarded the Trophies.

5th KYU J. J. David (Winner) P. Sivanesan (Runner up)

4th KYU Sutharsan (Winner) (Brown) P. M. Joseph (India) V. Sebastian (India) (Runners up)

BLACK I. Manivasagam (Winner) C. Suresh Kumar P. Yogananda (Runners up)

(Continued on page 10)

LETTERS

T.U.L.F interference in the Co-op movement

Jaffna.
30-03-83

The Editor,
Saturday Review.
Sir,

What the 46(1) and 47(2) Inquiries made by the Co-operative Department into the working of the two leading Co-operative Institutions in the Jaffna Town failed to do, your timely exposures in the *Saturday Review* had marvellously worked. The arrogant Board of Management headed by an ex-S.L.A.S officer surfeiting in the blessings of the Ministry had been shamefacedly removed. In the other the President and the Board seem to have a longer lease of life by the mere fact that the President is an M. P. but the Manager and the Purchasing Officer have been sent on compulsory leave.

The Co-operative movement in the North unlike in other Provinces did not have any interference from the Members of Parliament. But the T.U.L.F members after 1977 have nominated their people to the Board and had themselves become Presidents. This has to a great extent brought disunity and corrup-

tion into the movement. This has also prevented good Co-operators from participating in the activities of the movement. The Co-operative officers are also afraid to pinpoint defects in these societies for fear of transfers and getting affected in promotions.

If the following 7 principles adopted by the ICA are followed by the Co-operative Societies they will have a better future.

1. Open and Vountary Membership 2. Democratic Control - One man one vote. 3. Distribution of the surplus to the members in proportion to their transactions with the society. 4. Limited interest on Capital. 5. Cash Trading. 6. Political and Religious neutrality. 7. Promotion of Education.

It will be also seen that the colour of the Co-operative Flag is 7 Colours - Rainbow Violet, Indigo, Blue, Green, Yellow, Orange, Red.

May you also infuse light through your esteemed Journal in different colours taking us to the one correct path.

Your Admirer,
S. Sivalogan

Stop this cart racing and torture of bulls!

Vannarponnai

The representations made to the I.G.P. to prevent cart racing during the forthcoming Sinhala and Tamil New year festive season by the "Association of friends of the cart bull" is indeed a very humanitarian move. Those who have had the misfortune to view cart bull racing in the Jaffna, explanade could not have failed to observe the torture and pain the dumb animals undergo by their tails being bitten and twisted in addition to repeated strokes on their backs by stout thuwara sticks. When each of these strokes is about to alight on their backs the poor animals instinctively lower their backs and thus exhibit their suffering. Beside these beatings which are administered by more than one intoxicated man up on the cart, the bulls are also some-

times prodded and pricked with sharp iron spikes fixed in the tips of stoicks. It is indeed a very revolting sight to view cart racing with the bulls frothing from the mouth and gasping for breath.

These cart racings are done after much intensive practice (during which too the animals undergo the same torture) to win prices offered by those who sponsor sport displays not only during the festive seasons but also during other sports celebrations as well. The Sponsors should at least ensure that the animals are not tortured if they are keen to continue cart racing.

Viewing the suffering of bulls which serve man in various ways amounts to graftifying the same instinct that filled the seats of the Colosseum over 2000 years ago.

Animal lover

Women of-Sri Lanka unite, you have nothing to lose except - that!

Market Lane,
Manipay,
4th April, 1983.

The Editor,
Saturday Review,
Sir,

If Mr. Ian Goonetilleke hopes to achieve salvation by proxy by courtesy of a maverick or a broiler-house Lolita, it is really unfortunate that he has exhausted his phrase-book. The maverick sister, like the Singapore girl is a great one to lie - under the tamarind tree, who likes to lie with me between lawful sheets - hey ho! there is gen-

tle breeze, sister and an eiderdown on the bed. Don't be vague - ask for H.A.I.G. Whisky at sundown. Women of Sri Lanka, please unite in the pages of S. R. to defend O.E.G. - you have nothing to lose except your orgasm.

To return to the world of Castro. Did Nehru embrace Castro - Certainly we are not interested in an unnatural exercise. There was perfect alignment when Nehru got into a clinch with Pamela Mountbatten at Palm Airport as a valedic-

tory gesture or when Dick Mountbatten cuddled Vijayalakshmi Pandit in the reception line at Kensington Palace Gardens—a centrally heated titillation of a kind that would have amused the Emperor Tiberius. The crucial thing about the Castro Indira bearhug is that on the TV screen, for a fleeting moment, the scene looked like a parallelogram—a perfect exercise in 'genuine' non alignment which really met the tone and tenor of the NAM.

Mr. Editor, Roger in?

Yours Etc.

Mayanthie Arunachalam.

Minister Mohamed might miss the bus stop as well!

Nelliady
Karaveddy
5-4-83.

The Editor,
'Saturday Review',
Sir,

Apropos the article of Gamini appearing in your esteemed journal of the 2nd April under the caption, "Mr. Mohamed, you have missed the bus," please spare me the necessary space to make certain observations.

In any Department or Corporation, priority should be given to the elimination of waste in any form by any employee and those responsible should be dealt with sternly even by adopting some of the provisions extant in the laws of the Gulf States. Public vehicles, for instance, meant for official purposes should not be permitted to be misused and abused for private affairs like weddings, funerals and pleasure trips with members of the family.

Secondly, the head of the Department or Corporation should be a full time officer who can sincerely and loyally devote his conscientious and undivided attention to his official duties, unhampered by the lure of other lucrative sources of income. A person saddled with a variety of responsibilities should be the last person to be appointed head of any public institution that involves the tax-payers' hard earned money.

The head of the, Corporation/Department should not only be above board, like Caesar's wife, but also appear to be so, not susceptible to flattery of sycophants who always have an axe to grind.

Finally, political patronage and influence should not be the criterion of any appointment, promotion, transfer or any disciplinary measure. The heads should not be weather cooks who like reeds, without

backbones bow their heads to every political breeze from every direction, but be straight forward and principled men who can discharge their responsibilities irrespective of the change in Government or Ministry.

However, if Minister Mohamed with his due loyalty to the policy of the present Government, aids and abets the strangling of a nationalised venture like the C.T.B. and encouraging the private sector to usurp the place of the C.T.B., then he may be forgiven on the ground that he was bound by the principle of

the cabinet collective responsibility, whatever may be the dictates of his own conscience.

But as a Minister who wants to do a good job of work and give the maximum benefit to the public if he turns a Nelsonian eye on what is going on under his nose and fail to take stern steps against irregularities under his Ministry, the future historian may have the unpleasant task of recording that he had not only missed the bus but the bus halt as well.

Thanking you,

Yours truly,
V. Mahalingam

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Starlit CE.

"The whole history of the progress of human liberty shows that all concessions yet made to her august claims have been born of earnest struggle. If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favour freedom and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without ploughing up the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the roar of its many waters".

—Frederick Douglas

Tamilman's back-door approach to solve problems

perhaps displaying and ingrained habit to achieve ends with the least effort, have plunged with equal gusto for back door negotiations with Sinhalese leaders.

Although this method may have been quite rewarding as far as their personal and parochial interests were concerned, it has been wholly disappointing in the political field. Even economic gains for Tamil areas have been almost wholly negative, despite the vast loans funds spent in Ceylon. Hence back-door strategy has been quite

other 6 years under the guise of a National Govt, on payment of political subservience to U.N.P. subterfuges. Many even wonder whether the T.U.L.F. flirtation with the U.N.P. leader for the last 6 years has not resulted in seduction as well.

In this context, it would be fitting to quote from the opinion expressed by an independent observer David Selbourne, whose standing as an unbiased and unattached observer cannot be challenged "The days of Appapillai Amirthalingam, the Secretary General of the

To quote David Selbourne again "After the 1981 riots, says S. C. Chandrasenan, the son of S. J. V. Chelvanayagam I told our youth: give the T.U.L.F. one last chance. Instead they went back to dialogue. Ours was a mass movement, he says bitterly, until the T.U.L.F. opted for NEGOTIATIONS..... Amirthalingam stresses the weakness of the Tamils: Chandrasenan their determination. J. R. does not disguise his low opinion of the present Tamil leaders: he does not think most of them want Eelam."

gees was brought into question. To refute T.U.L.F. defeatism, few will deny that Tamil militancy has brought the Govt's repressive machinery to be almost an unbearable burden both in cost and supply of manpower. Policemen are showing open reluctance for duty in the North, so much so, that almost an armoured column is needed to buy a cigarette. The enforcement of Central law, is now a big problem, and as a result the Police Chief is seeking T.U.L.F. cooperation to take the Tamil militants off police backs.

The Govt. is going through an agonising reappraisal of the desirability of repression, and apparently would willingly try every means to save face, without rousing the hostility of the South. To this end, political strategy may be directed to present the husk to the Tamils, retaining the kernel, in the confidence that the T.U.L.F. could be pressurised to play ball. It is for the Tamils to ensure that the sacrifice and torture undergone by Tamil militants is not bartered away for a mess of pottage.

Courage, but

not guile

The T.U.L.F. leadership would do well to descend from their self-conceived pedestal of sole leadership, to humbly acknowledge the great contribution of those who have suffered and given all, so that others may have self respect. Even an enemy admires courage, but not guile.

by

M. Krishnapillay

unrewarding, and the President has outmanoeuvred the Tamils every time, during the past six years, and will probably do so for another 6 years as well. For the Tamil leadership to complain that they have been deluded for 6 years is a poor consolation to the Tamils in general.

Tamil leaders and Sinhalese Chauvinism are equally to blame for the rise of Tamil militancy. The youth have lost patience, with words and protestations which have no meaning in practical life the latter for their heavy handed imposition of the "Herrenvolk" principle, and the former for their deplorable, lack of genuine activity, to protect Tamils and Tamil interests, so much so, that doubts have arisen whether the T.U.L.F. is running with the hare and hunting with the hounds.

TULF lack of performance

The impatience and chagrin of the T.U.L.F. leadership on their credibility and honesty of purpose being called into question by Tamil youth is understandable, but then the T.U.L.F. is to blame for its lack of performance in the last 6 years. What is even more disturbing to the Tamils, that despite talks of resignations by Tamil M.P.'s, the T.U.L.F. while pretending to be the "reluctant Bride" may perhaps dally with the U.N.P. to carry on for an,

T.U.L.F. must be numbered. He has not only been leading his troops away from the sound of gunfire, but at the same time denying the obvious: that it is the activities of the Tigers which have induced Jayawardana to discuss the Tamil demands with the T.U.L.F. in the first place. Moreover he told me that they would have to get USED (capitals mine) to the Army in the Northern Province. How I asked him like we live with mosquitoes, he answered LAUGHING. He did not sound like the LIBERATOR of the Tamils. While trying to pacify his own Tamil militants, he is trying to extract concessions from the Sinhalese by discreet and even secret negotiations. (Mr. A. said) We are not fighting from a position of strength, we are walking on a razor's edge".

The above analysis of a leader would naturally pose the question to all Tamils as to the advisability of handing over Tamil destinies to a defeatist leader in the saddle. One has only to imagine a Sir. P. Arunachalam or Ramanathan, to judge the immense contrast. To confess weakness is to beg, and in begging, there is no "real negotiations" but importunities.

The Tamils have rights and these are not antagonistic intrinsically to the Sinhalese, as has been the case over many centuries, for each have their homelands, and right to exist without domination.

One wonders whether even the Sinhalese with their traditional submission to parliamentarians would have tolerated the type of T.U.L.F. leadership for so long. A very real fear among some observant Tamils is that the T.U.L.F. may come to some dubious settlement with gilded packing, to justify their negotiations, and take the wind out of Tamil militancy. Many litigants are ruefully aware of lawyer's settlements in court, which in fact leave the litigants much poorer but wiser. To add spice to the settlement, the two lawyers who had already concoted the settlement, put on a show of almost coming to blows, before the admiring litigants.

To be fair to Mr. A. he does not even make a pretence of making a fight, although he has roundly condemned Tamil violence and threatened to teach the militants a lesson, when the honour of one of his prot-

Karate winners...

(Continued from page 8) BLACK

(re open) S. A. Srisankandkumar (Winner) I. Manivasagam, P. Yogananda (2nd R-up)

WOMEN Miss. S. Perera and Miss. C. Janaki.

KUMITE

7th KYU D. J. Walter (Winner) V. N. Thanapalan (Runner up)

6th KYU R. Velautham (Winner) V. Joseph (Runner up)

5th KYU Sithamparanathan (Winner) T. Tharmarajah (Runner up)

BROWN INDIA (India) P. M. Joseph (Winner) P. Sri (Runner up)

BLACK INDIA G. Suresh Kumar (Winner) I. Manivasagam (Runner up)

Under 15 Years

D. Wignarajah (Winner)

G. Rohulochanan

(Runner up)

Back door politics too

One cannot blame only the Tamil leaders for their dismal plight. The Tamils are themselves to be blamed to some degree, though it is for the leadership to awaken those who are too selfish to care. That the T.U.L.F. has been able to continue with hardly a protest from the Tamils, for 6 long years, with nothing to show except "Negotiations" does no credit to Tamil political acumen.

A debasing and servile habit among some Tamils is the penchant for the backdoor approach to attain personal ends, such as jobs, transfers etc, no doubt with considerable success during Colonial days. It is deplorable but true that the Tamil leaders, specially in the last decade, have displayed this trait in ample measure, hoping to pull out the magical rabbit. The Sinhalese have long been suspicious and distrustful of this Tamil tactic of back door deals in gaining advantages such as transfers, jobs etc, and this distrust and suspicion has extended to the political field. Tamil leaders

news BRIEFS

SPAIN: Two Spanish Policemen—secret police agents Amadeo Manuel Abonjo Blanco and Miguel Angel Garcia Valbuena—were given a 10 month jail sentence, banned for 10 years from work for the police and fined 100,000 pesetas (about 700 dollars) by a Court for torturing Dr. Xavier Onaindia, a leader of the Herri Batasuna Basque separatist coalition.

SPAIN: Prisoners belonging to the Basque Separatist Organisation ETA held a number of prison guards hostage for two days at the Namlares De La Oca prison to protest the transfer of an ETA prisoner to another jail. They ended the mutiny and released the guards after they were given an assurance they would not be punished and that there would be an end to the policy of transfers.

JAFFNA: Pathmanathan, a remand prisoner who ran away from the Mallakam District Court two months ago while in fiscal custody, has surrendered to the Chief Jailer of the Jaffna Prison.

COLOMBO: The plight of the Jaffna Hospital was spotlighted in Parliament by TULF MPs A. Amirthalingam (Opposition Leader), M. Sivasithamparan, V. Yogeswaran and K. P. Ratnam during the debate on the Health Ministry votes. They pointed out that the premier Government Hospital in the North suffers from a chronic shortage of drugs, bandages, surgical instruments and even paper to write prescriptions on! The Hospital has no ambulance too, they added.

JAFFNA: Police have banned the 'cycle procession' through the villages planned for 9 April by the THAMIL MANAVAR PERAVAI. The Peravai now intends to hold a series of seminars in the villages instead.

DELFT: The Government launch, KUMUTHINI, is back again in service plying between Kurrikattuvan Jetty and Delft (Nedunthivu). Kayts M.P. K. P. Ratnam ceremonially inaugurated the service of the new-look launch at Kurrikattuvan Jetty recently.

Colombo Hindu in Jaffna

VICTOR KIRUPARAJ reports :-

Colombo Hindu College which has yet to learn the strategy involved in a limited 50 over game, went down meekly to St. John's College by 10 wickets in a limited 50 over game played on the Johnian Brown strip recently.

Colombo Hindu, batting first, were soon wrapped up for a lowly 57 in 26.2 overs; Thinaharan was the only Hindu lad who showed some semblance of resistance to compile 14. Johnian spinner Jeyendran claimed 6 for 29 in 8 overs.

The Johnians in reply hoisted 58 for 1 wicket in 13.2 overs—Y. Muraleedaran and Kathirgamathan each being credited with an unbeaten 21.

Colombo Hindu crawled up to 15 in the first 10 overs. They had registered 44 at the end of the 20th over. St. Johns in turn

hit up 33 in the first 10 overs and 24 runs in the remaining 3.2 overs—which works up 7.5 runs per over in the final onslaught.

The Jaffna Hindu-Colombo Hindu Cricket encounter, played recently in Jaffna, ended in an exciting draw.

Chasing a target of 215 for a win, after having been shot out for 139 in the first, Jaffna Hindu raced up to 205 for 8 at close. Jaffna Hindu appeared to put down her shutters at the fall of the eighth wicket. Has she continued in the vibrant vein, even during the last few overs, she might as well have collected an exciting win.

The scores at a glance:-

Jaffna Hindu 1st Innings 139; 2nd Innings 205 for 8

Colombo Hindu 1st Innings 179; 2nd Innings 175

JAFFNA: A group of leading exporters from the South will visit Jaffna on 24th April to explore the possibilities of exporting Jaffna's agricultural produce—onions, chillies, potatoes, tomatoes—and palmyrah products. A conference will be held at the Farm School, Thirunelvely, that day for this purpose.

POTTUVIL: Janab M. I. Uthuman Lebbe (48), Principal of Akkaraipattu M.M.V. has been nominated 1st M.P. for Pottuvil by the UNP. He fills the vacancy created by the resignation of Dr. M. A. Jalaldeen (UNP) who was found guilty by a Special Presidential Commission.

COLOMBO: Minister of Justice, Dr. Nissanka Wijeratne, told Parliament during the course of the debate on his Ministry votes that the Prevention of Terrorism Act will not be repealed. On the contrary, it'll be given more teeth to wipe out terrorism completely, he said.

MAVIDDAPURAM: THE ALL CEYLON SAIVA MAHA SABAI celebrated KANTHAPURANA VILA and its PON VILA (Golden Jubilee) at MAVIDDAPURAM KANTHASAMY KOVIL MANDAPAM from 1-3rd April.

JAFFNA: Prayer meetings (Hindu, Christian and Islamic) were held at the Chelvanayakam Memorial Square on 31 March to commemorate the late leader. Floral tributes were also paid.

THUNUKKAI: The 4 stores of the Paddy Marketing Board at Thunukkai

Browns Group cricketers in Jaffna

Browns Group cricketers will be here in Jaffna this week and will play two matches here.

They take on a Jaffna Combined Schools' Eleven in a limited 50 over game on Saturday 9th April on the Johnian grounds. The visitors will play a Jaffna District side in a two day game on Sunday 10th and Monday 11th April on Jaffna Central grounds. All arrangements for the two day game is in the able hands of Dr. J. Philips, the energetic President of the Jaffna District Cricket Association.

The School's limited game will be the entire responsibility of Mr. Thanabalan, Secretary of the Jaffna School's Cricket Association.



Nirmala: The day when she was brought to face charges under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Nirmala's bail: A. G. given time till May 17

The Court of Appeal has allowed the State time till May 17, 1983 to file objections to the application for bail made on behalf of Mrs. Nirmala Nithiananthan who is in Welikade Remand Prison now, facing charges under the Prevention of

are overflowing with paddy. Co-op Societies in the area are active in purchasing paddy and delivering it to the PMB.

JAFFNA: Leading schools in Jaffna town have fared well at the GCE (O/L) Exam. Quite a few students have obtained distinctions in all eight subjects while others have got six and seven distinctions. The results were released on 30 March.

Basket Ball in Jaffna

The Jaffna University Cagers carried everything before them when they made certain of the TRIMMERS BASKET BALL TROPHY for the second successive year getting the better of Trimmers 'A' outfit by 77 points to 54. The Jaffna Campus lads ran into an early lead, and they maintained it till the final blast.

Trimmers who took time to settle down could never catch up with the tall, fleet-footed campus cagers.

Dr. J. Philips who was the guest at the final gave away the Trophies and certificates to the winners and runners up.

Terrorism Act.

When the bail application came up on Monday (4 April) before Appeal Court judges Justice O. S. M. Seneviratne, Justice Justin Abeyawardene and Justice S. Siva Selliah, Senior State Counsel, G. L. M. de Silva, on behalf of the Attorney General, asked for 4 weeks time to file objections.

Attorney V. S. A. Pullenayagam with Attorney Miss. Mangalam Kanapathipillai appeared for the petitioner.

The petitioner has stated in her bail application that she is subjected to discriminatory conditions which other female remand prisoners are not subjected to and that she is suffering from chronic bronchial asthma.

The results of the matches played by the champions are as follows:-

Jaffna University beat St. Patricks 44-17

Jaffna University beat Trimmers 'B' 27-22

Jaffna University beat young Patricians 44-31

Final

Jaffna University beat Trimmers 'A' 77-54

W. S. Veerasingham	23
V. David	17
C. J. Rajadurai	16
P. A. Raviraj	08
F. N. Saverimuthu	07
Trimmers 'A'	54
R. Vijeyakumar	22
J. E. R. Lawrence	08
S. Thevarajan	08

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Tear gas attack on anti - P. T. A. marchers

The three-day long peace march protesting the Prevention of Terrorism Act on Tuesday was dispersed when Police fired tear gas on the student marchers.

The Police who had from the early hours of the morning cordoned off the St. James' Church area at Main Street from where the procession was scheduled to commence, were temporarily taken aback when the procession took off instead from the Cathedral Grounds a few hundred yards away. The students later regrouped themselves at the

Cathedral Grounds and spent the day performing satyagraha.

Police action caused injuries to a few students including a young girl and disrupted students sitting an examination in a nearby school.

The identity and whereabouts of two youths who were seen thrown into the truck soon after the tear gas incident are not known. Over 50 bicycles parked against the walls in the vicinity were also bundled away to the Police Station.

Army-public relations in Jaffna worsen

Army-public relations in the North and East which had been souring for some time now, deteriorated alarmingly in Jaffna this week. Ironically, this worsening of the situation came quickly on the wake of the conference on public security called by Jaffna Government Agent, Devanesan Nesiah, last Saturday.

Saturday's conference which was presided over

by District Minister Wijekoon was conducted with a grim backdrop of events. The previous day a Tamil detenu at the Panagoda Army Camp, T. Maheswaran, escaped from custody under inexplicable circumstances. That same morning of the conference at 4 a.m. three huge bomb explosions had shaken the Secretariat, building and left the army and police even more demoralised. The conference understandably did not appear to have produced any worthwhile results, with the TULF spokesman headed by the new M.P., for Vaddukoddai, Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam calling for a withdrawal of the army presence in Jaffna.

On Tuesday, April 5th came the day of the announced three day long march by students and peasants and the police tear gassing. This was followed by indiscriminate assaults by army personnel close to St. Patrick's College.

On Wednesday and Thursday Jaffna observed hartal with shops and cinemas remaining closed.

Meanwhile in the early hours of Thursday morning a bomb exploded damaging a small part of the High Court building, barely a stones throw distance from the Jaffna Police Station itself. The same noon some crackers thrown on the road near the Windsor Theatre provoked the army men to fire into the air causing panic in the area. Yesterday, Friday morning two "hoax bombs" were discovered outside the Bank of Ceylon and People's Bank buildings at Stanley Road.

While on one hand the army men seem to be following an unstated order "Assault anything moving on two legs after nightfall in Jaffna", various youths and harassed members of the public appear to be retaliating with acts designed to tease or excite members of the armed forces.

Welikade security strengthened after Panagoda escape

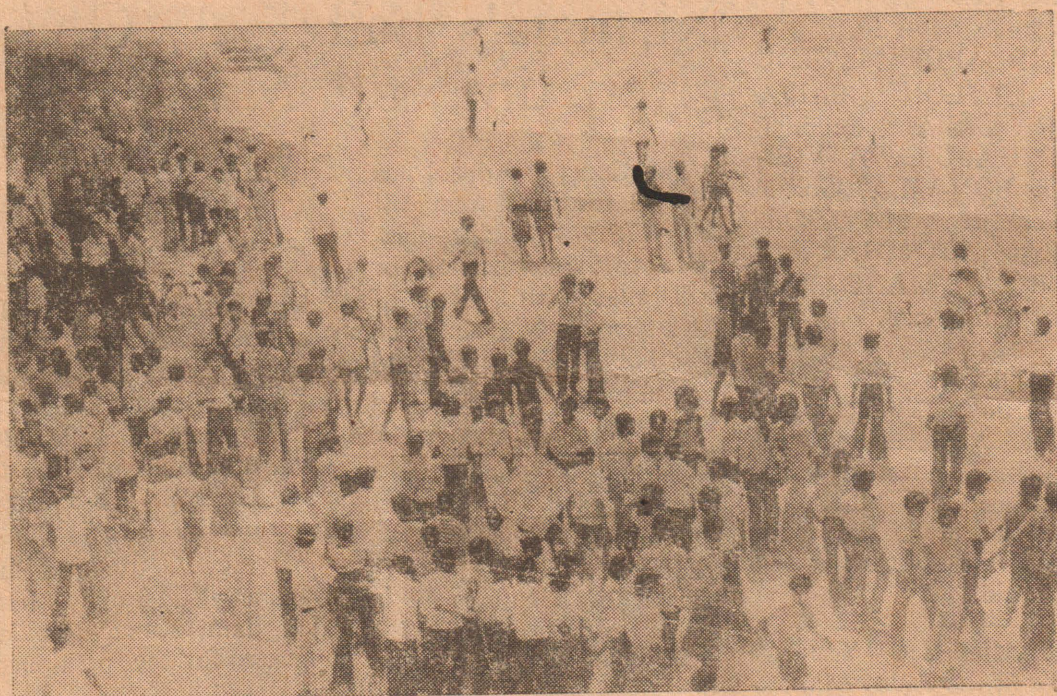
Security at the Welikade Prison has been further tightened following the dramatic escape from custody of Thambi-pillai Maheswaran from the Army Camp at Panagoda on April-Fool's day. University lecturer Nithiyanthan and Reverend Jayakularajah who were earlier housed at Magazine Prison had been moved over to Welikade.

Meanwhile Army Intelligence in Colombo continue to be baffled by Maheswaran's escape from Panagoda Camp. 28-year old Maheswaran who was a final year Engineering Student at Queen Mary's College, of the London University had come on vacation to Sri Lanka when he was picked up by the armed force under the Prevention of Terrorism Act on 19th June, 1981. During this near two-year stay at Panagoda, Maheswaran is believed to have been well liked

by camp officials. The reasonable inference that Maheswaran could not have escaped without the connivance and assistance by State employees within the camp has led to an intense probe. SATURDAY REVIEW learns however that no break-through has yet been made in gaining information on the circumstances of the escape.

Jaffna Library: Compensation not yet paid

It's now nearly two years since the Jaffna Public Library was burnt by men in mufti. And it's about one and a half years since the Lionel Fernando Commission recommended Rs. 10 million compensation for the Library. But up to date the Government has not paid a cent as compensation to the Jaffna Municipal Council. SATURDAY REVIEW learns



AFTER THE TEAR GAS ATTACK



PROTESTING STUDENTS AT CATHEDRAL GROUNDS