

V. N. Navaratnam  
21/8/82

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

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V. N. Navaratnam

'Politburo  
for T.U.L.F.?  
call from  
Chava  
branch

### Viewpoint

#### Maname and St. Mathew

Among the most quote-worthy remarks on Culture that we remember was the one credited to Field Marshal Hermann Goering. Goering was one of the pillars of Adolf Hitler's Nazi establishment of the 1940s. Said Goering: "When I hear anyone talk of Culture, I reach for my revolver"! We have no doubt that a similar violent feeling must have inspired the thugs who laid their hands and paws on Dr. Ediriweera Sarachchandra when he attempted to speak on Sinhala culture at the All Ceylon Buddhist Congress Hall in Colombo on the 21st July.

Dr. Sarachchandra is no ordinary name. If there was one person in the packed gathering who could be singled out as most representative of Sinhala culture it was probably Dr. Sarachchandra himself. He was one time Professor of Sinhala Language and Literature in the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, a playwright and producer and a former Ambassador of Sri Lanka at the cultural capital of Paris. His play "Maname" has come to remain a major landmark in the evolution of Sinhala Drama. And if this man could be dragged off the stage in public, in a hall belonging to the Buddhist Congress, on a platform sponsored by men who talk shrilly of Sinhala glory and pride, and kicked on the head and face with shod feet, well, even though Dr. Sarachchandra was not allowed to complete his speech he had made his point—there is a demonstrable decline in Sinhala culture!

It was probably no accident that the hoodlums kept kicking the fallen intellectual on the head and nowhere else. It was thuggery against the MIND. This is nothing new to those who live on the wrong side of the racial fence. May-June 1981 demonstrated how State-employed thugs could under background guidance perform SELECTIVE arson, burn down that particular wing of the Jaffna Public Library that housed the books, the office of Jaffna's only Tamil daily newspaper, bookshops and magazine stalls—all widely scattered targets in the town. Barring one outstanding exception—Mr. Reggie Siriwardene—who had the honesty and perception to see it that way, and the courage to articulate it—Sinhala intellectual opinion failed to respond to the challenge at that time. By and large, just like the Sinhala mobs, they fell into the trap of the Sinhala-Tamil syndrome.

The plight of the Sinhala intellectual today as symbolised by the dastardly attack on Sarachchandra could be summed up in the words of St. Mathew: "Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men."

## T.U.L.F. faces a 'Palace Revolution'

The first serious, open, internal challenge to the present style of the Tamil United Front leadership—significantly enough, spearheaded by party veterans echoing rank-and-file sentiments: this is how knowledgeable political commentators describe senior TULF parliamentarian V. N. Navaratnam's call to set up a Politbureau to coordinate and direct the Front's activities.

These commentators underscore the fact that the call has been issued at a time when the TULF Secretary-General and Opposition Leader, A. Amirthalingam, is away in the U.S.S.R.

Chavakachcheri MP Navaratnam's call for the setting up of a Politbureau came at a general meeting of the Chavakachcheri TULF branch held recently at Amirthambikai Vidyalaya, Chavakachcheri. The resolution was passed unanimously and a six member committee chosen to go into this resolution and submit it to the general body of the TULF.

What adds piquancy to the situation, political observers note, is that special invitee, M. Sivasithamparam—the TULF President and Nallur MP—whole-heartedly endorsed the proposal, saying "Such a Politbureau should have been set up earlier."

Moving the resolution, Mr. Navaratnam said "In the future it will be impossible to find leaders as honest and politically sagacious as Mr. Sivasithamparam and Mr. Amirthalingam. At the same time attempts are being made to besmirch the reputation of

these TULF leaders. In this context and at this juncture, it is imperative that a 7 or 9 member Politbureau be set up to strengthen further the people's confidence and trust in the TULF, stimulate the growth of the party and carry forward the liberation struggle. This Politbureau should be on par with the present TULF leadership and all the Front's activities should come under its purview. The general body of the TULF should elect the Politbureau members through a secret ballot."

#### Authoritarian trends

After remarking that such a Politbureau should have been formed earlier, Mr. Sivasithamparam said "If such a body is set up, it should enjoy the fullest trust. Otherwise it will not be able to function. We should go carefully into the question of whether the proposed Politbureau will be armed with powers or not. After such scrutiny we should take a decision on the matter."

Political observers say that one has to read between the lines of these two speeches—which they describe as classic exercises in verbal tight-rope walking—to grasp the full

significance of the move to set up a Politbureau.

They interpret it as an expression of the growing rank-and-file resentment against discernible autocratic and authoritarian trends in the leadership: a collective Politbureau leadership will not only counter-balance this but also nip in the bud any attempt to build up personality cults or strike *prima donna*-ish postures. A Politbureau means that the Front will no longer be a one-man show, they point out.

#### A pre-emptive strike

Apart from being an attempt to clip the wings of the leadership, the Politbureau move is also seen as a pre-emptive strike by senior TULF parliamentarians to forestall being "guillotined": they have reason to fear that the leadership may force them to step down under cover of a 'Kamaraj Plan' to make way for new faces and favourites at the next elections.

How the general body of the TULF will react to the novel proposal to set up a Politbureau is anybody's guess, say political observers.

The six-member committee selected to go into the resolution and submit it to the general body of the TULF consists of Chavakachcheri M.P. Mr. V. N. Navaratnam himself, Secretary of the Chavakachcheri T U L F General Council Mr. S. Navaratnam, the Treasurer Mr.

(Continued on page 12)

#### LATE FLASH

### EMERGENCY DECLARED

Government yesterday (Friday) declared a State of Emergency throughout the country and imposed Press Censorship following continuing acts of violence in South Sri Lanka

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That Sepala Ekanayake affaire

# Govt. eyed the ransom money said U.S. paper

The insinuation that the Sri Lanka Government in its initial handling of hijacker Sepala Ekanayake was motivated by a desire to grab a part of the ransom money by way of Wealth Tax was made by the **Chicago Tribune** in its issue of July 2nd, 1982.

The complete report (with a four column headline - **Hijacker Home - Rich, Famous, Free**) is as follows:-

COLOMBO, SRI LANKA

A gaunt, chain smoking drug trafficker who used fake dynamite to hold 250 passengers hostage aboard a hijacked Alitalia jumbo jet returned to his native Sri Lanka on Thursday—rich, famous and free.

Crowds gathered at the Colombo airport and cheered Sepala Ekanayake, 36, who ended a 32 hour drama in Bangkok, Thailand, earlier in the day by freeing his remaining hostages unharmed.

He was paid a ransom of nearly 300,000 by the Italian airline, then boarded a regular flight with about 250 other passengers and flew to Colombo with his estranged Italian wife and son.

"I have not decided what

to do with the money," Ekanayake, wearing jeans and a butterfly-pattern shirt, told reporters. "A portion of this will go to the persons who helped me." He did not identify his accomplices.

His eyes were sunken and red as he and his family rode a police jeep to the luxurious Intercontinental Hotel, where they spent the night. Another jeep was loaded with security personnel.

SRI LANKAN police confiscated Ekanayake's passport but did not arrest him. Sri Lankan negotiators in Bangkok had promised no harm would come to him if he flew to Colombo.

Although the government

in Bangkok after seizing it Wednesday on a flight from New Delhi. He threatened to blow up the plane unless he was reunited with his family.

HIS ESTRANGED WIFE, school-teacher **Anna Aldovrandi**, arrived in Bangkok early Thursday from Rome with the boy, named Free. She boarded the plane and talked with her husband for two hours. Then, after receiving the money, Ekanayake freed the passengers and left the plane with his hands raised in victory.

After his departure from Bangkok, the Sri Lankan ambassador to Thailand, Manel Abeyesekera, told reporters that the tubes of dynamite that Ekanayake wore on a vest were fake and that he carried no explosives.

may question him about a long line of drug offences here and in Europe, right now it appeared more interested in getting part of the money. Sri Lankan officials told the Press Trust of India that Ekanayake may have to pay a wealth tax on his fortune.

Customs officials counted his money - \$ 297,700 in U.S. \$ 100 bills, which he carried in a brown shoulder bag.

The hijacker had held the Alitalia Boeing 747 at Don Muang International Airport

Thai Communications Minister Amorn Sirikaya, in charge of the negotiations with the hijacker, said Ekanayake's demands had been met to guard the lives of the Alitalia passengers and crew.

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I was on one of my periodic visits to Jaffna last week and was so busy going about and meeting people that I could not find the time to sit and write my regular column (Some impressions of my visit will appear in the "Saturday Review" later). In the meantime, there have been a number of developments that need comment—and condemnation.

First is the continued use of thuggery to silence criticism. Whatever may be the finding of the inquiry into the attack on the Sinhala Bala Mandalaya meeting at the All Ceylon Buddhist Congress headquarters in Colombo, my conviction that it was the work of the UNSEEN HAND cannot be shaken.

After the 1977 post-polls violence, we saw the UNSEEN HAND strike for the first time when the Sri Lanka Freedom Party rally at Hyde Park Colombo, was broken up by thugs, in 1978 if I remember right.

#### CHALLENGE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT

Since then, we have seen the UNSEEN HAND at work over and over again, indulging in such dastardly acts as breaking up demonstrations of bank clerks and other trade unionists in Colombo, roughing up students at Kelaniya University and smashing up shops, houses, institutions and people in Jaffna, all the way up North.

Now, respected Sinhalese leaders, both clergy and laity, have been the target.

The one and only 'crime' of the persons who have been the victims of the UNSEEN HAND is that they have dared in some manner to challenge the ESTABLISHMENT.

#### FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

The UNSEEN HAND cannot belong to a single person. The way it has operated, it has to be a syndicate like the Mafia which ruthlessly eliminates those who stand in its way.

On a number of occasions after the UNSEEN HAND had wrought its havoc, President Jayewardene had referred to the "Attanagalla Doctrine" — ex-Prime Minister Mrs. Srima Bandaranaike's justification in Parliament of the break-up of the United National Party demonstration in her former constituency by her supporters in 1976—but there had been no strong condemnation.

He did so after the attack on the Sinhala Bala Mandalaya as well.

The very reference to the "Attanagalla Doctrine", I say, is an attempt to justify the depredations of the UNSEEN HAND; more, it is an encouragement to it.

This is not the approach I expect from a national leader who repeatedly pontificates on moral values; who, in his own words, is determined to establish a "Dharmista Society" in Sri Lanka.

However, if he believes that his is the correct approach, then another amendment

"make use" of her during an election, reduce to three weeks the time within which an election could be completed, provide for floor-crossings after an election and allow the person who wins the proposed presidential poll this year to assume office only on 4th February next year, no matter if Mr. Jayewardene lost.

But the Government cannot be allowed to fob off the people like that. The "contemplated changes" had in fact been considered and approved by the Government

for failure to comply.

I wish to ask: Is the Government mad to even think of such a monstrous proposal which, if implemented, would ring the deathknell of every newspaper in the country.

Again, Government spokesmen have said that no such thing is contemplated. But the Government's credibility is now at such a low ebb that I hesitate to believe most of what it says.

I know that most politicians are very touchy about

#### PRESIDENTIAL

##### STAKES

The search is on for that elusive commodity—a common opposition candidate to take on Mr. Jayewardene at the Presidential poll. On present indications, that search is likely to end in failure. The chances are, there may be half a dozen candidates in the field, nominated by the various parties.

For those with presidential ambitions, I quote the quali-

# How the UNSEEN HAND struck again ... at ACBC Hqrs.

to the Constitution would be urgently necessary etc...

Article 14 (1) which, among other fundamental rights, guarantees the freedom of speech and expression, including publication, the freedom of peaceful assembly and the freedom of association, should be repealed immediately.

#### VICTORY FOR PUBLIC OPINION

It has been announced that the Government will proceed with only one of the contemplated amendments to the Constitution, namely, that to advance the date of the Presidential election.

A note issued from the office of the Leader of the House after the Government Parliamentary Group meeting on 21st July said; "...The President also said they (the Government) had not decided on any other amendments, as spotlighted in the Press..."

So it is the Press that had misled the people, by giving publicity to a number of "contemplated changes", like those seeking to impose a further indirect restriction on Mrs. Bandaranaike, disqualify all candidates who

and the plan was to push them through Parliament using the UNP's juggernaut majority. For evidence, there is the photocopied release issued to journalists after the weekly briefing by Cabinet spokesman Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis on 7th July where the first line read, "The Cabinet approved of the preparation of legislation for...."

What happened was that the Government beat an ignominious retreat after strong protests arose from many quarters, including the "Saturday Review". In its haste, the Government also conceded that if Mr. Jayewardene lost—a prospect which cannot be ruled out entirely—he would resign immediately, making way for the winner!

#### POLITICIANS AND THE PRESS

A bigger danger is looming over Sri Lanka in the form of a proposal to change the law of defamation to make it obligatory for a newspaper to cease publication once a defamation suit is filed against it, becoming liable to a fine of Rs. 100,000

newspaper criticism and some of them have suggested various ways to bring journalists to heel. What they actually want is to hide their unholy goings on from the people. But the duty of the Press is to expose them whenever and wherever possible.

What do politicians think of themselves anyway? All good souls out to serve the people at great self-sacrifice with the newspapers as the only fly in the ointment?

Many politicians are after all crooks; some are crooks before they came into the limelight, others become crooks afterwards. Some are pompous jackasses with donkey's brains.

The problem with journalists everywhere is that they may have information about crooked politicians but they cannot use it because of the law of defamation, for the "legal proof" necessary to defend themselves, if challenged, is usually hard to come by.

If any politician is honest and upright, he or she has nothing to fear from the Press.

fications necessary to compete for the highest position in the land.

Article 31 (1) of the Constitution stipulates: "Any citizen who is qualified to be elected to the office of President may be nominated as a candidate for such office—(a) by a recognised political party, or (b) if he or she has been an elected member of the legislature, by any other political party or by an elector whose name has been entered in any register of electors."

Article 92 stipulates that every person who is qualified to be an elector "shall be qualified to be elected to the office of President" provided he or she is over 30 years of age and is not subject to any civic disabilities.

Under Article 94 (2), "the candidate, if any, who receives more than one-half of the valid votes cast shall be declared elected as President." If such a situation does not arise, then all but the first two candidates are eliminated from the contest and their second and, if necessary their third, preferences taken into account to determine the result.



Few people know about the dedicated patriotism of Father Thani Nayagam other than those who were quite intimate with him. I was one of those few, having come to know him first when my wife and I met him in Morton Hotel around Russell Square in London. From then on I became his friend from 1955 to the time of his death. In 1955 and early 1956, Father (as we affectionately used to call him) was busy examining the parallels in regard to bilingualism in Belgium. He wanted me to look at examples in Canada, as between French and English, when I was working in the library of the Commonwealth Relations Office in London. Meanwhile, with his wealth of foreign languages, he was examining situations elsewhere. On the basis of these researches was published his classic for all time, **LANGUAGE AND LIBERTY IN CEYLON**.

#### Interview with Bandaranaike

Before he left London in early 1955, he told me that he was more than ever convinced that there was a case for bilingualism in Sri Lanka. But he was caught in the aftermath of the 1955 general election right at the peak of the Sinhala Only Movement. He sought and obtained an interview with the newly elected Prime Minister, S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. He tried to persuade the prime minister that two official languages, Sinhala and Tamil were a viable proposition, only to receive the stunning reply from Bandaranaike: "Father, I would rather have this decided by the sword." Father realised more than ever the forces of Sinhala nationalism he had to contend with.

#### University for the Tamils

His life now in the university of Peradeniya was quite inconsequential; despite friends, a nice house in Mahakande, an arrangement with the dons living in Mahakande to have "salon discussions" at regular intervals and a certain amount of nationalist activity both in Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu. I think that within him there was growing the conviction that something more tangible had to be done for the Tamil cause. He tried to impress on Professor Chatterjee who was heading a Universities' Commission around this time about the need for a university for the Tamils. He lobbied prominent persons in the Tamil community in Colombo but that was not where the roots of Tamil nationalism were to be found. He made frequent visits to Tamil Nadu where he had a

# Remembering Fr. Xavier Thani Nayagam



Had he been alive  
he will be 69 on Aug. 2

good friend and contact in a minister in the government of Tamil Nadu. But he was looked on with suspicion by the security agents in Tamil Nadu and was being watched by the Inspector-General of Police in Madras, in the same way, as he once was being followed by a detective of the Sri Lanka government in London. His work in Tamil Nadu bore fruit, the details of which need not be gone into here.

the grounds of the Jaffna Kachcheri where hundreds of satyagrahis were massed and gave them much moral support. He then along with me visited the satyagrahis in Batticaloa and Kalmunai, again trying to minister to them and to indicate to them that they must stand firm behind their leadership.

In his retirement, Father kept up his interests in the Tamil cause and in his read-

---it should have read "the Presidential Commission for the Decentralisation of the Administration and the Devolution of Subordinate Law-making Powers"---I protested against the "deceptive" first title but found myself in a minority), Father wrote to me that he was so glad that Neelan Tiruchelvam and I were serving on it.

When I gave my prize day speech at Jaffna Central College in October that year, at the height of the State of Emergency, Father said, in a card to me, that the Tamil People "were greatly comforted" by what I had to say. I mention all this because Father was from first to last the single minded Tamil patriot.

by

A. Jeyaratnam Wilson

*A tribute written in 1980*

The twin career of teacher and patriot went hand in hand. In Tamil Nadu, he had established a tremendous reputation. His **JOURNAL OF TAMIL STUDIES** was being widely acclaimed. He was offered a prestigious chair in one of the major universities there but he declined it because he loved Sri Lanka and his friends and relatives.

Then he decided, rather reluctantly to take the plunge and accept the Chair of Indian Studies in the then University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur. He built a good department and became sufficiently popular to be elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts. But he was also anxiously working on the promotion of the Tamil cause. He raised funds and I know for a fact that he financed a trip to the International Commission of Jurists in 1961 the result of which was an article in their bulletin exposing the hopelessness of the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka.

Soon after, he came to Sri Lanka on a brief sojourn, at the height of the satyagraha campaigns launched by the Tamil Federal Party against Mrs. Bandaranaike's 1960-1965 government. He visited

ing of Tamil literature. He was a visiting lecturer at Jaffna College for some time. He was appointed to the Council of the University of Jaffna where he contributed the wisdom of his experience.

When the Presidential Commission on Development Councils was appointed (the title is a misnomer, invented by a group of people in it

He was priest, teacher, research scholar, the grand organiser, the loving friend. But above all he was one of the frontline leaders. Had his health not dogged him he could well have developed into the style of an Archbishop Makarios (to whom he was once likened) of the Tamil Movement in Sri Lanka.

## The Media Scene

Judging by the performance of the state media, including Rupavahini, from 22nd July, the United National Party's presidential election campaign has got into top gear. But it is doubtful whether it would be able to keep up the momentum long enough.

The campaign is based mainly on digging up the past—the years 1970 to 1977—so that the people will not forget what happened under Mrs. Bandaranaike's regime as they go to the polling booths.

This is an old story that the people have heard about so much that they are unlikely to be moved in the same way they were moved as they went to the polls in 1977.

The problem with the UNP campaign is that it is directed by a man whose main qualification for the job is that he published a cartoon book titled "The Seven Year Curse" shortly before the last elections and he seems to think that it is his great creation that swayed the voters. There is said to be much resentment in the state-controlled media about the way he interferes in the work, making enemies among the media people, just as a public servant who thought no end of himself did the same thing for the last regime.

Meanwhile Mr. R. Premadasa is planning to start his own newspaper as early as possible, his PRO boys say. They are now on the look out for journalists, both English and Sinhalese.

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Following are excerpts from an open letter from a Palestinian American to U.S. President Ronald Reagan. The letter came in the wake of the Israeli massacres of Palestinians and Lebanese. By Courtesy ARAB NEWS, Saudi Arabia.

# Open letter to President Reagan

Mr. Ronald Reagan  
President of the United States

The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I am not only shocked, but also dismayed at the attitude of indifference of the White House in the face of Israeli genocidal and murderous attacks on Palestinians and Lebanese in Lebanon. Such a well-planned attack could not have taken place without the tacit approval of the White House, and I have no doubt that the world would not only blame and condemn Israel for its action, but will also condemn and blame America for its indifference and immorality and its partnership in the attack.

The recent attack on Lebanon, we are told by Israel, was in retaliation for the attempted murder of the Israeli ambassador to England. Since when in the annals of history has the attempted murder of one man justify the killing of over 10,000 innocent people. Such a justification could never be accepted by intelligent and morally conscious people, even though, this justification was accepted by you and by your representatives at the State Department and at the United Nations....

The last single

Palestinian....

One thing Mr. President that you must understand, and beyond you the Americans, Israelis and the Western world, that as long as there is one single Palestinian alive and deprived of his absolute right to live as a free man in homeland of Palestine, there will never be peace with Israel, and the farther the Palestinians are driven from Palestine the farther peace will be with Israel, and the farther Israel will be from the security it seeks to impose....

Believe me Mr. President, when I tell you that the Palestinians die like anyone else, and that they feel the loss of a son, a father or a mother like the Israelis, and don't be surprised if they have red blood like any human being on this earth, we have achieved that much since 1948.



## from a Palestinian American

You see Mr. President, according to your logic and that of the Western world, there is a difference between a Palestinian who places a hand grenade in a street corner, and an efficient Israeli pilot who with the drop of one bomb can kill over a hundred.

Terrorism, Mr. President, as has been defined in the hearts and minds of America, is not the difference in the methods of killing, but in the efficiency of weapons used. To the innocent dead, there is no difference, death is the ultimate journey. To help you sleep the nights, Mr. President, you have to help us change our image, and change us from terrorists to efficient soldiers, just like you have helped the Israelis since 1948, so that you will look up to the Palestinians with the same reverence and admiration that you accord the Israelis.

The American government and I dare not say the American people, have been justifying the support of Israel on historical ground in that the Jews once upon a time, 2,000 years ago lived in Palestine, and because of this

accident in history, they have the right to reclaim it, and are not expected to forget about Palestine while on the other hand, the Palestinians who from the dawn of history have lived--- uninterrupted--- in Palestine are expected to forget about Palestine in less than 40 years of history. Such reasoning can only indicate one thing, that the Palestinians, are less loyal to their land than the Jews are, and that the Jews are of superior human qualities than the Palestinians are. If you dare to say such a thing about the Jews, you may find yourself in court, and out of the White House in no time....

Furthermore, we have been told by the West that this support of Israel is based on moral ground. Since when does morality---even that of the West, justify the eviction of our nation to accommodate carpetbaggers of remnants of an alleged nation. Even morality as is preached by you could not justify such actions. Where was the Western morality when Hitler was killing not only Jews, but Poles, Russians, gypsies and many others.

Please don't preach morality to us, for we know what Western morality is all about.

We also keep hearing that the Palestine Liberation Organization does not represent the Palestinian people, and that your representatives are not convinced of such legitimacy of representation. On this issue, Mr. President, I want to ask you one simple question: Did the West ever ask the Zionist movement and the Jewish Agency for such credential when they claimed to represent the Jewish people. I must point out here Mr. President, lest you have forgotten, the Zionist movement declared itself representative of the Jews all over the world, be it the Jews from the U.S., USSR or Poland: the only common thing amongst these people was their religion. While on the other hand, the PLO, did not, nor does it pretend to represent Muslims or Christians all over the world. Their claim to representation is that of the Palestinian people, who are of the same land, of the same history, of the same

legitimacy of the PLO.

To help you Mr. President satisfy yourself of such answer, and if the U.S. Treasury can afford it, (it will cost less than that of one F-15), I suggest that you commission a survey, and ask every Palestinian if the PLO represents him/her. I am sure that you will be surprised by the findings.

Between you and I, Mr. President, we Palestinians are mature enough, and we can speak for ourselves. Just ask us, and you need not go to Cairo or Damascus to find out. We came a long way Mr. President in case you don't know, and we are as determined as ever---more today than yesterday, to return and regain every inch of Palestine. Haifa and Jaffa are as dear to our hearts and minds as Ramallah and Al-Birah are, let alone Jerusalem.

We are, Mr. President, sick and tired of all of the initiatives, declarations and fact-finding missions that your government and those of Europe have been coming up

with every once in a while. Who are you trying to fool? If all of the facts are within your grab, why in the hell send more people. All of these emissaries must be stupid for not reading the facts in their files. Nothing has changed. The Israelis are in and we were forced out, and we want to get back in. It is as simple as that....

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# Terrorists are not born, they are made

Terrorists are not born; they are made - made by the society in which they happen to be born. Would these energetic and resourceful young men with a sense of dedication have become terrorists if they were born of Sinhalese parentage. An honest answer to this question is a sine qua non for any dispassionate analytical study of the problem. In all probability, had these young men been born to Sinhalese parents, they would be holding high positions in Sri Lanka's army, navy and air force.

## Eliminate the causes'

A doctor would proceed to diagnose the ailment before administering any medicine to the patient. In the same manner the political "doctors" also should seek in the first instance to ascertain the causes of a problem before proceeding to administer the medicine. They should seek to eliminate the causes that underlie the problem. Confronting youthful terrorism with military terrorism is not the remedy. It will only complicate matters and make the problem less easy of solution. The consciousness that the Government is fortified with armed resources never attainable by the youthful elements should not misguide the authorities into persisting with military terrorism.

## No Programme chalked out

Now let us examine the causes that underlie the Northern terrorism. It is a patent fact that these elements are in pursuit of self-government for the Tamils. Undoubtedly there are really criminal elements merely bent on last intermingled with those who are motivated solely by aspirations of self-rule. The hard core of these youthful elements are dedicated to securing self-government for the Tamils.

Let us not forget that from the year 1948 the concept of Tamil Arasu had been dinned into the minds of the Tamil voters both young and old. In fact the urge has gone into their bones. But the duly constituted leaders of the political movement that rocketed the notion of Tamil Arasu had not made any progress towards the attainment of Tamil Arasu.

The term Tamil Arasu has only one and that an obvious meaning: government of the Tamils by the Tamils for the Tamils. But the Tamil

politicians who secured an overwhelming mandate for pursuing this objective had not even chalked out a programme or intelligible plan to achieve this. On the other hand the experience the Tamil youths had at the hands of the Government merely confirmed in no uncertain terms that the substance of self government has not inhered to the Tamils as it has to the Sinhalese. That the Tamils are the ruled nation and the Sinhalese the ruling nation is the conviction which is firmly in the minds of the generality of Tamils, particularly the youths.

seek nothing but self-government. In simple words intelligible to the ordinary man they want a *do-it-yourself kit* to arrange and determine their own polity and affairs and be the architect of their own future.

The quest for self-government is an inherent trait in human nature. Tiny babies themselves give clear evidence of this search for independence, of the urge for doing anything themselves in their own way. When this urge for self-expression, for self-government, for doing it their own way is denied and

the premises that the people gave them a mandate by electing them by an overwhelming majority. But the Tamil public never gave them any mandate to enact a constitution as claimed in the premises to the Constitution. The Constitution lacks validity in so far as the Tamil districts are concerned; the U.N.P. did not even seek a mandate from most of these electorates inhabited by the Tamils.

There is a fatal defect in the Constitution as far as the Tamil districts are concerned. There is no mandate given

together. If Sri Lanka were anterior to the Districts as an entity, it would be a case of Sri Lanka being divided into so many districts. But that is not the case; the Districts make up Sri Lanka. The constitution lacks validity and the first step that the Government should do is to rectify the defect and that is to seek a Referendum in the Tamil Districts seeking an affirmative vote for the Constitution. Once the Constitution is thus validated by a Referendum in the Tamil Districts, there would be no terrorism because these youths would have no excuse. It behoves the President to validate the Constitution in so far as the people of the Tamil Districts are concerned by holding a Referendum under Article 86 of Chapter XIII of the 1978 Constitution of which he himself was the architect.

It is necessary to give a message to the Tamil youths simultaneously with the request to the Government that it should proceed to validate the Constitution. That the Tamil youths should eschew violence is the firm view of every thinking

by

Somasundaram Vanniasingham

It is necessary to recognize one factor of vital importance; the problems facing the growing generation in modern times is something serious. These problems face the youth-not those who have lived three and three-fourths score of years. Growing population, limited resources, broadening range of wants, international competition, difficulty of keeping pace with advancing science and technology, ever-increasing Governmental intervention and above all the continuously mounting inflation and the like are difficulties and problems which face the rising generation but which cannot be visualized has the older folk who have lived through spacious times in the elitist society and who now exercise Governmental power.

True enough these problems confront the Sinhalese youth also. But the Sinhalese youth have the remedy in their hands; their voice is heard with respect since they can make and unmake governments with their votes. That status and power is not available to the Tamil youths; their complaints make up to nothing more than a cry in the wilderness, their vote counts for nothing in determining the pattern of government or the thinking prevailing in the circles wielding power. They feel that the substance of self-government is completely denied to them and they

no opportunity of finding self-expression for urges and aspirations in the constitutional way is available, the inevitable breach into paths of violence follows.

The terrorism in the North is easily understood. In all popular movements, the energetic and impatient youths stray into the paths of violence when the duly constituted leadership fails to deliver the goods or even to give proof of having taken some meaningful steps towards the proclaimed end. During the Indian nationalist movement the same thing happened-particularly where the youths of Bengal were concerned - notwithstanding the unique leadership of Mahatma Gandhiji and his philosophy of non-violent non-co-operation and sizeable progress from year to year. It happens in trade union movements in the form of wild-cat strikes and even resort to violence.

A political solution should be aimed at and that with real genuineness. Certain fundamental positions are not taken into account by people who comment on Sinhala/Tamil race relations or what they have designated as the "Tamil problem". The Constitution of Sri Lanka categorically states that sovereignty is with the people and is inalienable. The Constitution framed by the U.N.P. under Mr. J. R. Jayawardena is enacted on

by the people of the Tamil districts to constitute a polity called Sri Lanka or to enact a Constitution. In point of fact this is an issue which can be successfully fought in a Court of Law. The whole constitution proceeds on the footing that sovereignty resides with the people, is inalienable and that the mandate was given to constitute the polity of Sri Lanka by the people electing the U.N.P. by an overwhelming majority. But the Tamil districts never gave a mandate for the purpose.

## Defect in the constitution

Further, Article 5 of the Constitution specifically says that Sri Lanka shall consist of the twenty four administrative districts set out in the First Schedule. It is crystal clear that the districts coming together constitutes Sri Lanka. But the sovereign people of the Tamil Districts have not come together to constitute Sri Lanka. The word consist has a clear meaning; the dictionary says that it means "composed of". That composition has not taken place.

The Constitution clearly admits that the districts are anterior to Sri Lanka and have a sovereign and independent existence. Sri Lanka comes into existence only when the districts come to-

Tamil. But the message conveyed to the Tamil youths to this effect by the leaders is a blunt condemnation and not a reasoned or analytical case showing why they should eschew violence. It is a tragedy that there is a serious lack of intellectual content in what most politicians say or preach. A reasoned analysis why the Tamil youths should eschew violence is a must. Such an analysis would turn out to be as follows.

- That we are a civilized society and we intend to remain a civilized society.
- That it is a basic norm of any civilized society that no individual or group of individuals should be subjected to physical pain or injury or other deprivations except in accordance with the law enacted by the society and after appropriate judicial processes.
- that the denial of self-government, which is the grievance of the Tamils, is the result of a system and cannot be remedied by inflicting injury or loss of life to individual politician or policeman or armed personnel.
- that any armed campaign for however justifiable a cause and by whomsoever pursued, must be properly organized and under

(Continued next page)



Terrorists are not  
born, they are made....

(Continued)

appropriate disciplinary control of authorities who openly take responsibility for such armed campaign.

e. that violence furtively organized and encouraged undermines the morale, the national character of the people and their values and would inhibit a stable society and political organization when Tamils get the opportunity to constitute their own self-governing polity.

f. that resort to violence will erode moral support for the cause of the Tamils in the international plane and world opinion is of crucial importance for the Tamils in their endeavour to achieve their objective of self-government.

g. that there are many Sinhalese who would strongly support the demand of the Tamils "to leave us alone" if we on our part proceed "to leave the Sinhalese alone". Such support is eroded by resort to violence.

**'A nation which  
goes round  
the world  
with a  
begging bowl  
can never  
hold on to  
an empire'**

h. that the Sinhala imperialism built on the exit of the British is the most jerry-built imperial structure history has ever known. Sinhala imperialism over the Tamils is the finest target to prove the effectiveness of the weapon of non-violent non-co-operation. The weapon of non-violent non-co-operation is blunted by any resort to violence. A nation which goes round the world with the begging bowl can never hold on to an empire. If Sinhala empire over the Tamils had lasted so long it is solely due to the Tamils having pursued a wrong track.

i. the richest asset of a people is their national character. The national character of a group is moulded over centuries. The norms and values evolved and enunciated by our ancient seers and thinkers and other intellectuals of the past go to make up the national character. That is our heritage. There are some remarkably strong traits in the national character of the Tamils although there may be some weak points also. It is our duty to conserve and develop these strong traits of our national character. Violence resorted to furtively for a national cause will surely undermine our national character. If national character degenerates, there will be no Tamil nation and there will be no need for anything called Eeylom. Resort to violence is the shortest route to the disintegration of Tamil nation. If anybody wants proof of the importance of national character one has only to look at the recent history of Germany and Japan. These two countries were beaten to their knees in the second world war. But within a quarter century the two countries forged ahead to world leadership in so many fields. The explanation lies in the strong national character of the people. Of all the communist countries it is East Germany that is in the forefront. Reason: the strength of national character of the Germans. Violence furtively encouraged and stealthily supported will afflict the whole national movement with a pre-disposition to cherish fraud, falsehood and pretence. Our endeavour should be to seek a just society which cherishes truth and honest endeavour and encourages a frank and forthright attitude. Our dictum must be: **We mean what we say and say what we mean.**

In the name of the preservation of the Tamil nation, its culture and heritage, the youths must be requested to abandon all forms of violence and come forward to put their shoulders to the wheel to build up the Tamil nation that means no evil or ill-will to others. Our demand should be simple: leave us alone so that we manage our affairs and be the architects of our future.

# S. Nadesan Q.C. on Free & Fair Elections - I

I propose to examine the important provisions of the Constitution and the Election Law with a view to ascertaining the extent to which they ensure free and fair elections in this country.

Ours is democracy. Our concept of democracy presupposes that the ruling power of the State is vested in the people of this country as a whole and not in any particular individual or group and that the people exercise this power through representatives elected by them. It is through the process of election that the will of the majority of people can be ascertained. It is hardly necessary to state that in order that elections can serve the purpose of ascertaining the true will of the people such elections should be free and fair.

The first requisite to ensure free and fair elections is the appointment of an independent Commissioner of Elections or preferably the setting up of an election commission of not less than three members who will not be answerable to the President or the Executive, for the proper discharge of their functions.

## AN INDEPENDENT COMMISSIONER

Under our Constitution we have set up an independent Commissioner of Elections and also provided that such Commissioner of Elections shall exercise, perform or discharge all such duties as may be conferred or imposed on him by the law relating to elections for the office of President and of members of Parliament and to referendum or by any other written law.

We have also made laws relating to elections in 1981 namely, the Parliamentary Elections Act, the Presidential Elections Act, the Referendum Act and the Development Councils Election Act.

Under the Parliamentary Elections Act the Commissioner shall exercise general direction and supervision over the administrative conduct of elections, have power to issue to Deputy and Assistant Commissioners of Elections, Returning Officers, Presiding

officers and other Election Officers, such directions as he may deem necessary to ensure effective execution of the provisions of these Acts and execute and perform all other powers and duties which are conferred or imposed on him by the Act.

*We begin publishing today the full text of the talk given by Mr. S. Nadesan Q. C., at the seminar on Free and Fair Elections sponsored by the Civil Rights Movement and held at the Y. M. C. A., Fort Colombo on July 22nd.*

Similar provisions appear in the other Elections Acts also.

The Commissioner of Elections does not come under any Ministry. Neither does he come under the supervision and control of the President who appoints him. The commissioner is the Head of the Department of Elections and he is not responsible to any Minister or the President for the proper discharge of his functions. No Secretary to the Minister or to the President can overlook his work or interfere with it in any way. This is the position not only under the present Constitution, but also under the 1972 Constitution, and the earlier Soulbury Constitution.

Just as Judges of the Supreme Court or the Court of Appeal, though appointed by the President, are completely independent of him or the Executive in the discharge of their functions, the Commissioner of Elections once appointed is completely independent of the Executive in the discharge of his functions. This is the clear legal position.

**If a Commissioner of Elections is not completely independent and allows the Government in power to direct him in his work, free and fair elections in this country may suffer.**

The independence of the Judges of the Supreme Court and the Court of Appeal is ensured in the Constitution by providing that they shall hold office for a fixed term of years, that their salaries shall

be determined by Parliament and shall be charged on the consolidated fund and shall not be reduced after their appointments, and that they shall not be removed from office except by an address of Parliament supported by a majority of the total members of Parliament including those not present on the ground of proved misbehaviour or incapacity. What is more, no resolution for the presentation of such an address shall be entertained by the Speaker or placed on the Order Paper unless notice of such resolution is signed by not less than one-third of the total members of Parliament, and sets out full particulars of the alleged misbehaviour or incapacity. Provision is also made that Parliament shall by law or by standing orders provide for the investigation and proof of the alleged misbehaviour or incapacity.

The above Articles appear under the heading "Independence of the Judiciary" thus emphasising the correct legal position that they are independent.

## CORRESPONDING PROVISIONS

If we now examine the corresponding provisions of the Constitution dealing with the Commissioner of Elections what do we find? There is no reference to the independence of the Commissioner of Elections.

Under the Constitution the office of the Commissioner of Elections shall become vacant inter alia on his removal by the President on account of ill health or physical or mental infirmity or on his removal by the President upon an address of Parliament.

A Supreme Court Judge cannot be removed by the President on account of ill health or physical or mental infirmity. In such a case only a resolution of the Parliament alleging his incapacity which is investigated and proved and passed by an absolute Parliamentary majority can form the basis of removal by the President.

(To be continued)



# Armed forces in the North : Why they do

what they do — 2

by Staff Writer Suresh

(Continued from  
last issue)

When the U.N.P. came to power it was felt that the powers of the Armed Forces would be curtailed as J. R. Jayewardene openly expressed revulsion of Emergency rule. But the North was to taste the real nature of his rule when on the 12th of July 1979 a special Presidential directive was given to Brigadier Weeraratne to eliminate terrorism before the end of December. Emergency was declared, Press censorship was ordered to prevent news from Jaffna frightening the public outside. The Armed Forces misused their powers terrorising villages, and torturing and arresting many innocent people. On the night of 13/14 July six young men were taken from their houses by Security Personnel. Two were found the next morning tortured and murdered, another died later in the hospital, but the other three—Ramalingam Balendran, Sellathurai Rajeswaran and Parameswaran—have still not been found, though they are believed to have been killed.

## GOVERNMENT'S EVASIVE REPLY

Though the Amnesty International on the 23rd May 1980 protested against the Army atrocities and inquired regarding the three missing persons, the Government has very evasively replied that the three had been released but were in hiding afraid of interrogation in connection with criminal charges. Though groups like Civil Rights Movement, MIRJE and Amnesty International protested and requested the State to file action against the individual officers involved in torture, the State has offered no reply.

The failure of the government to check the excesses of its officers had more serious consequences in June 1981 when the Forces shook the very roots of democracy. On the 31st of May after two policemen were shot in a D.D.C. election meeting the Forces went on the notorious rampage. It proved to be a selective hit at the cultural life of North. The D.D.C. elections on the 4th of June was held in an emotionally charged atmosphere and at least 40 ballot boxes were found to have been pilfered with. It was ironic that while the Government was proudly celebrating Fifty Years of Universal Franchise in Sri Lanka with celebrations

in London, the polls in Jaffna showed what 'democracy' amounted to in practice. It was still more ironic that while the very D.D.C. system was introduced with the intention of giving Tamils more rights in their affairs, the Army reminded what these "rights" really amounted to.

# The growing power of the Armed forces

When the Leader of the Opposition and three other TULF M.P.s were arrested and detained for six hours by the Armed Forces, which the Government later admitted was "a mistake", it became prominently evident that the Forces had acquired unprecedented power in the politics of Sri Lanka. Though Cyril Mathew and Gamini Dissanayake were in Jaffna during those days, Gamini has helplessly explained in the Parliament: "There was a virtual mutiny situation in the Police and I hope we will be able to bring that situation under control. The Secretary of Defence is going through the records of all those officers who were sent to Jaffna, because some have very devious backgrounds". The State's inability to check the Forces seems to suggest that even it is helpless before the powers of the Forces.

## LEGALISATION OF TERRORISM

But what is more—today it is 'legal' for Armed Forces to terrorise the public. The prevention of Terrorism Act passed with an amendment on the 11th March, 1982 to be operative further, gives a safe legal framework for atrocities. It ensures that suspects can be arrested on the flimsiest grounds and detained in an unknown place for eighteen months without access to lawyer or relatives. This encourages torture and maltreatment in the hands of the Security Personnel as the evidence of the released suspects show. Though the Act specifies that arrests can be made only by officers not below the rank of Sub-Inspector and that reason for arrests should be

given, it has been found that these are not practically observed, and innocent people are taken away at random. The Act is only a legalisation of terrorism by Armed Forces under the guise of curbing terrorism of the Tigers.

In 1980 1.2 billion rupees was spent on Defence where-

as in 1977 it was 50 million rupees, and the total number of the Defence Services has increased to 14,940 from 13,700 in 1977. So the strength and influence of the Armed Forces is still increasing and proves ominous regarding the future.

The above consideration of the development of the Sri Lankan Armed Forces and their role in Sri Lankan politics impresses three trends in our minds.

Firstly, the Armed Forces from being a conservative unbiased force has been gradually turning purely Sinhala-Buddhist in composi-

tion. With only 2% of Tamils recruited for the Defence Services and less than 5% taken for the Police Force today, this racial-religious character of the Forces is beyond debate. So it is important to note that the bulk of the Armed Forces of Sri Lanka belongs to a particular community. It is

now not surprising that they failed to do their duty when Tamils were being affected in Sinhala areas during the riots. The Forces in North and East are virtually the private Army of a particular community occupying another nation.

## THE GROWTH IN NUMBER

Secondly, during the last two governments (elected in 70 and '77) there has been a meteoric rise in the number of the Armed Forces and their influence in Sri Lankan politics. While Mrs. Bandaranaike relied on the Forces to crush all opposition in pushing through her pseudo-socialist reforms, Pre-

sident Jayawardene is using it for the opposite purpose of ensuring a stable environment for his guests—the foreign multinational companies. The growth of the Armed Forces has also been paralleled by the efforts of both governments in using 'dictatorial' methods in prolonging their 'democratic' rule.

Thirdly, there is the frightening prospect of governments losing their control over the Armed Forces. Encouraging and sometimes ignoring the initial atrocities of the Forces they now find that the Forces have become an authority into themselves. The present government's embarrassing and evasive excuses given to Amnesty International and other Human Rights groups who demanded punishment for indisciplined personnel, and Gamini Disanaike's helpless explanation in the parliament of a "mutiny situation in the Police" are significant. From being an arm of the State it seems as if now it is the State that is the arm of the Armed Forces. With Jaffna virtually under the rule of the Army, it is a question of time when the same fate would occur to the whole country.

It cannot be denied that since 1970 we have been virtually living in a "military democracy" of the special ASEAN brand. It is important that all who are concerned about the fundamental rights of every Sri Lankan, both Sinhalese and Tamils, have to take note of the growing power of the Armed Forces.

## When does Music stop being Music and become a noise

When does Music stop being music and become a noise and an assault on the ear drums.

Music is defined as pleasant sound reaching one's ears in harmonic regular waves at the frequency in which most people could hear and in intensities never over 70 decibels. A good indication of correct music is that there should be no hindrance to members of the audience conversing with one another. If a member of the audience chooses to sleep—justifiable with pleasant music—the snoring should be heard by a member three feet away.

If any of the above conditions is not satisfied, what you are hearing is not music, according to ENT specialist and honorary director of the Post-Graduate Institute of Basic Medical Sciences, Madras, Dr. S. Kameswaran.

According to the specialist a 30-minute exposure to the cacophony of songs blared out from electronically-boostered speakers at a noise-level of 110 decibels is dangerous to hearing. It will lead to "socioculus" or hearing loss attributable to environmental noise.

"We have the authority

of Richard Carmen, famous audiologist of America that noise, if allowed to continue at the present rate, by the year 2000, nobody over the age of 10 will have normal hearing".

Barring politicians and Pop groups and the Commercial services of the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation, who are the biggest noise-makers in Sri Lanka. Surprising, but religious institutions and places of worship are becoming the worst offenders now.



Astrology is an empirical science. It has been observed in our experience that a planet or planets in Scorpio has yielded the worst results for Sri Lanka ever since independence.

The reason attributed to this is the afflicted Neecha position of Moon with Jupiter in the 10th house in bad aspect to destructive Mars in the Independence horoscope.

According to our ancient Seers the ruling sign of Sri Lanka is Aquarius-Kumba and therefore the 10th house from Kumba is Scorpio or Vrichika and planets traversing in the 10th house in bad aspect to the natal planets in the Independence chart, cause much evil.

Taking into consideration some of the past events when planets like Jupiter, Saturn, Sun, Mars and Rahu were traversing Scorpio. It has revealed thus:-

1. In 1956 when Saturn was traversing Scorpio with Rahu, there was an overall change in the form of government and administration from right to left, which was followed by many unprecedented events such as communal riots, strikes, nationalisation etc.

2. In 1957 December when Saturn and Mars were transitting Scorpio, Sri Lanka faced the most disastrous floods.

3. In 1959 when Jupiter was transitting Scorpio the then Prime Minister was assassinated, an unheard event in our country before, followed by many upheavals and changes at the top.

4. In 1971 when Jupiter was transitting Scorpio several youths had to be killed due to the insurgency.

5. In 1978 November when Mars and Sun were transitting Scorpio the Eastern Province was completely destroyed by a cyclone.

# Immediate astrological prospects for Sri Lanka

by

Pundit K. N. Navaratnam

Students of Astrology have observed many such minor events while minor planets were transitting Scorpio which cannot be enumerated here.

## Transit of Jupiter in Scorpio

It is most important to note that the transit of Jupiter in Scorpio is a very important factor as Jupiter had yielded many important changes every 12 years when it traversed Scorpio, as evident from:-

(a) From the 20th January 1947 to 11th February 1948 Jupiter was in Scorpio and during this period there was an overall change in the administration by the Order in Council or Independence.

(b) From the 30th December 1958 to the 21st January 1960 Jupiter was in Scorpio and during this period there were many changes and troubles in the administration due to the

assassination of the then Prime Minister. Parliament was dissolved finally.

(c) From the 11th December 1970 to the 5th January 1972 Jupiter was in Scorpio and it caused the insurgency and loss of thousands of youths.

Thus it is observed that Jupiter's transit in Scorpio is bad for Sri Lanka.

## 'Nov. 25—Dec. 21 an adverse period for Sri Lanka'

On the 25th November 1982 Jupiter will once again traverse in the 10th house and in Scorpio and will continue to be there till the 21st December 1983 which is considered evil. Transit Uranus is in Scorpio since October 1980 and it will continue to be there till end of 1986. The transit of Jupiter in association with transit Uranus in bad aspect to the natal

planets in the Independence horoscope will bring forth adverse results to Sri Lanka. Unfortunately the election year is coinciding with the transit of Jupiter and Uranus in Scorpio. Uranus is a reformatory, sudden, unexpected, peculiar and eccentric planet and being associated with Jupiter, it will bring revolts, reformatory changes with progressive ideas and policies of an eccentric nature. There will be political earthquakes.

It is unwise to have the elections during this period. It is bad to the constitution as well, as the 10th house in the National horoscope stands for the constitution and the head of the government. Uranus and Jupiter traversing in the 10th house shows some calamities at the top. Most of us are under the impression that when it is bad to the Head of State it is bad to the President or Prime Minister. No, the ill effects automatically affect the people as well.

## 'The Tamils are troubled that the 1977 Mandate has been placed in cold storage'

What was the thinking of the organizers of the World Tamil Eelam Convention held in Nanuet, New York on July 3rd and 4th. In their foreword to the 52 page souvenir published on the occasion of the Convention the organisers state:-

The several academic exercises undertaken by the community of expatriates during the past five years have had a very salutary effect on the concerns of the Tamils, both here and abroad. Unquestionably, these exercises undertaken at enormous investment of time, effort and funds, have in the last analysis provided the community not only an in-depth understanding of the com-

plex political realities surrounding the Tamils, but have also provoked an unprecedented enthusiasm and interest in the welfare and well being of our people, who have been subject to much oppression in the post-independence era by the Sinhalese power-holders.

The convention envisions the proper prioritisation of the critical issues facing the Tamils, and in the very nature of the polemic climate under which the Tamils have lived for several decades, the matter of the "right of self-determination" must receive immediate and prompt attention. This aspect of our

demand placed before the power-holders cannot be postponed any further.

There is widespread acceptance that the Convention held at Vaddukoddai, very clearly marked the end of an era of political slavery, and simultaneously ushered a new era of freedom and liberty.

We understand the Vaddukoddai Resolution to be a major shift in the Political Philosophy and strategy of the Tamils. This resolution was incorporated in the Manifesto of the Tamil United Liberation Front (T.U.L.F.) and endorsed by the Tamils voting during the general

elections of August 1977. The mandate was to work towards the restoration of the lost Kingdom of Tamil Eelam. This mandate is inviolate and therefore cannot be compromised without a fresh mandate from the Tamils. The Tamils are troubled that this mandate has been placed in cold storage.

It is the contention of the Convention that the path to freedom and liberty is best articulated in the reality of a separate state for the Tamils. This should be pursued vigorously.

(Emphasis ours - Editor SR)

## LETTERS

Balangoda

Editor,

Saturday Review.

Minister of Finance, Ronnie de Mel is reported to have said at Batticaloa:-

"Further racial conflicts would be suicidal for Sri Lanka and also retard the country's economic development".

One would like to see ALL the Government Ministers, M.P.s and all the political leaders of ALL parties to sit at a round table conference and sign a similar statement with a promise that each one of them would be a channel and an instrument to spread racial and religious harmony according to the best traditions of the four racial and religious communities of the country. A sporadic statement of ONE Minister cannot ensure the avoidance of a new racial riot. One single influential Government Minister or one single political party leader is not enough to create a repetition of August 77 or August, 81.

On 13-7-83 at the first meeting of the reconstituted National Commission for Missionary Activities representing all the catholic groups of the country, the suggestion that the Commission accepts as its special work for this "election year" a mission of RECONCILIATION among the different communities of the country in an effort to spread good will, brotherly love and racial harmony was unanimously accepted. The example of the Christian Churches of Jamaica was mentioned.

The Christian Churches are the only religious group having among their members Sinhalese and Tamils and therefore they have the special responsibility to give an inspiring example to the other communities and to show that the different communities CAN LIVE TOGETHER IN CO-EXISTENCE AND PRO-EXISTENCE, as when Catholics from the North and the South, from the East and the West, meet and pray together at MADHU, every year.

Let AUGUST, 82 build an atmosphere of mutual trust and spread the conviction proclaimed by the Finance Minister that "further racial riots would be a SUICIDE" for...all.

MAY GOD BUILD "A SRI LANKA UNITED PEOPLE".

Pio Ciampa, S. J.



# THE BIGGEST CENSUS IN THE WORLD

Even the census takers are too numerous to be counted precisely. Some of them set out early this month to conduct the world's most intimidating demographic exercise—the first scientific census in China. By October China will know how many millions to give or take from last year's highly tentative population estimate of 996 million....

China is now aiming at a population of 1.2 billion by the year 2000. The World

Bank is projecting an end-century Chinese population only slightly higher, at 1.24 billion, assuming that the Chinese maintain a fertility rate between now and then of 1.6 children per couple. Last year's rate, after a decade of stringent birth control, was 2.5. That is why the Chinese are pressing now for one child only.

Demographers rate China's birth control programme as the world's most successful.

From 1972 to 1979 the birthrate fell by 67 percent. It is now less than half the norm for China's income level. But Chinese techniques are not easily replicable in non-authoritarian societies. The single most important factor behind China's dramatically reduced birthrate is "direct administrative pressure on individual Chinese families". This pressure ranges from exhortation to outright coercion....

## What the Postal Clerk told Indian journalist

"Landing in Colombo, Sri Lanka, a month ago, my first act was to go to the airport post office and send a telegram to Madras telling my friends when to expect me. I was given a telegram form and I carefully wrote out the address and my message. I was told the cost but as I was counting out the money, the clerk looked up at me wearily and said 'Of course you realise we have to post it, don't you?' 'Post it' I asked. 'Whatever for It's a telegram I want? to send, not a letter'. 'I know', said the tired clerk, 'but you see, the lines between here and India are so bad, we gave up sending telegrams long ago and now we just

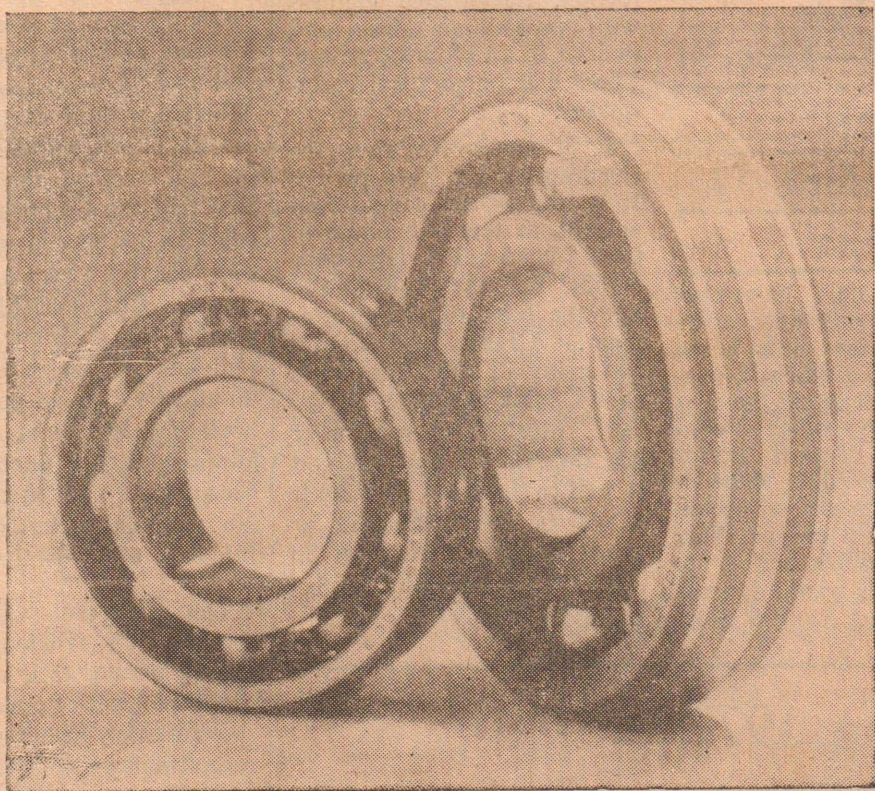
post them'. 'But in that case what's the use of sending a telegram at all' I said 'I might just as well write him a letter'. 'That's right. Why don't you', was the bland reply.

But the lines turned not to be as bad as all that at all. An hour or two later I asked the receptionist in my Colombo hotel to try and get me the *Indian Express* number in Madras and to my pleased surprise I found myself talking to a colleague only an hour or two later".

HARRY MILLER

*Indian Express* - July 16, 1982

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## Excavation to be done at Sankilithoppu

The Government is expected to give the go-ahead signal for archaeological excavations to be carried out at Sankilithoppu, Nallur, the seat of the last king of Jaffna. This follows a request made by the Tamil United Liberation Front leadership.

The Jaffna District Development Council has already earmarked Rs. 50,000 for excavation work at Yamunari. The Government, the *SATURDAY REVIEW* understands, has agreed to give matching funds for the project.

## Collections of Tamil short stories

Two collections of Tamil short stories 'Mulaikal' & 'Krishnan Thoothu' written by Santhan over a period of time and published in India were released ceremonially at Veerasingham Hall on Tuesday 27 July. These short stories had appeared at various times in journals like *Mallikai*, *Alai* and *Samar*.

The ceremony was presided over by Mr. S. Varathalingam and the speakers were Messrs. Dominic Jeeva (Editor, *Mallikai*), Sempayan Selvan, Sivanathan and Sivalingarajah.

The Cultural Ministry is shortly expected to authorise and license the Dept. of History and Archaeology or the University of Jaffna to go ahead with the dig at the Nallur tank-site.

## VAVUNIYA SEMINAR ON AUG 7

A seminar under the title "Religion and Liberation of Society" organised by "Vimukti Dhamma Kendra" will be held on Saturday 7th August, 1982 at 3.30 p.m. at the Town Hall, Vavuniya. Rev. Beruwela Sanghatissa Thero, Professor Kailasapathy and Sevaka Yohan Devananda are billed to speak at this seminar.

A book in Sinhala entitled "War or Peace" dealing with the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka will be released at the seminar. The Tamil and English translations are still in progress and will be out shortly.

The seminar will be preceded by an exhibition at 1.00 p.m. and also a cultural show which will be held at 6.30 p.m.

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# UNESCO Culture

## powwow now on in Mexico

Washington — National delegations from around the world are now in Mexico City for the World Conference on cultural policies. The conference, called "Mondiacult" lasts from July 26 to August 5.

The Mexico meeting is the second worldwide forum sponsored by Unesco for the discussion of cultural issues by Unesco (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization).

Among the issues on the agenda subject to debate and adoption of Recommendations are: Cultural rights,

the Preservation of culture, its role in development and what the agenda calls "Production and dissemination of cultural goods and services". The last item, when used in a negative sense, is often simply referred to as "Cultural Imperialism."

The United States has supported the idea of holding such a conference and feels that the meeting is important for two reasons, according to James Phillips, director of the State Department Office of Communications and Unesco.

In an interview before departing for Mexico City as a member of the U.S. delegation, Phillips said the conference will provide an opportunity for the United States to assert its own cultural values in an international forum and, secondly to face head-on some of the challenges that will undoubtedly arise during the debate.

### Pride in multi-ethnic Society

In a nutshell, the U.S. position on cultural development is that creativity and culture thrive on freedom, unfettered by governmental or international directives and restrictions.

Phillips said that while the United States does not pretend to claim that the American Approach to culture should be used as a universal model it is an example that others may wish to look at more closely.

"Our approach to culture in a multi ethnic, multi racial society has provided a good framework for creativity for innovation, for cultural excellence" Phillips said. "And that's a record we can take to Mexico City with a certain amount of pride."

The American delegation— which is headed by ambassador to UNESCO Jean Gerard feels that a frank debate on all the issues in Mexico will be beneficial, Phillips said. But the United States, he added, will not support any recommendation that serves

to restrict cultural freedom.

"Our viewpoint is that the state has no role in either the creative act of producing culture or in controlling its dissemination," he said. "We don't like censorship: We don't have the state controls that are used in so many parts of the world. So we will be very active in defending

our right to organize our culture that way, and other countries' right to follow suit if they like."

"We don't see culture as in the service of the state, just as we don't see news or the media as in the service of the state," he stressed.

(American News Feature)

## Doyen of the Ceylon Tamil Stage Passes Away

Kalaiarasu K. Chornalingam, the doyen of Ceylon Tamil actors, passed away peacefully on the morning of 26 July, aged 94, at his ancestral home in Navaly.

Kalaiarasu first stepped on to the stage when he was just 12 years old, in 1901. The drama was Harchandra and he played the role of Devadasan. He acted in several of his Guru Sambantha Mudaliyar's plays. The regard the guru had for his disciple is revealed in Sambantha Mudaliyar's book 'The Artists I Have Known'.

With his guru's blessings, Kalaiarasu set up the Ilankai Subodha Vilasa Sabha and in December 1915, the troupe staged Simhalanathan, an adapt-

ation of Shakespeare's Cymbeline. This ushered in a new era: up to that time the local stage had been dominated by South India troupes.

Kalaiarasu was equally at home in both serious and comic roles. His most famous roles were: Kooni, Shylock, Thathan and Manohara.

The University of Jaffna at its first Convocation held in 1980 honoured Kalaiarasu by conferring on him the honorary title of Nadaga Viththakar.

Kalaiarasu's book Eelathil Nadagamum Nanum won a Sahithiya Mandala prize in 1969.

The funeral took place on 27 July.

## NEWS BRIEFS

### MORE COPS FOR ELECTION DUTIES.

5000 new policemen will be recruited for service shortly in order to handle election duties on the 690 polling centres around the island. A directive to the effect has been sent to the Police Department by the Ministry of Defence. The strength of the present police force is 15,900.

### A TAMIL MUST CONTEST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

It was urged at the meeting of the Tamil Congress Action Committee on 24. 7. 82 that a Tamil should contest the on-coming presidential election. The final decision on this matter will be taken at the next meeting on August 4.

The Tamil Congress has also requested the TULF to reconsider its decision not to stand a candidate for presidency.

### VAVUNIYA IN GRIP OF DROUGHT

The residents of Vavuniya district are experiencing severe shortage of drinking water as there has been no rain for many months now. Cultivators are also much affected. The prices of vegetables have shot up following the drought.

### LIBRARY FOR POINT PEDRO

A Public Library is to be built in Point Pedro at a cost of Rs. 10 lakhs. The building will be put up on the land

where the Point Pedro Electricity Station functioned earlier.

### GIVE TAMILS RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION

It was decided at the 10th convention of the Govt. Public Service Trade Unions Federation held in Kandy to urge the President to give the Tamils their due right of self-determination. The Convention was held at Kandy Buddhist Youth Club Hall, Kandy, with more than 40 Trade Union and 700 representatives participating.

### THREE YOUTHS ARRESTED

Three youths suspected to have connections with the Nelliady shooting incident were arrested and taken to the Gurunagar Army Camp for questioning. The police refused to reveal the identity of the young men.

### LETTER TO PRESIDENT

The TULF leader Mr. M. Sivasithamparam sent an urgent letter to the President drawing attention to the assaults on the public by the armed forces and requesting him to take immediate steps to curb the situation.

### SAIBABA HERE IN AUGUST

Bhagawan Satiya Sai Baba is due to visit Sri Lanka as a State guest in the first week of August. He is expected to visit the Tamil provinces of Jaffna and Batticaloa also.

## T.U.L.F accused of betraying trust

A public meeting was held by the Tamil Eelam Liberation Front chaired by Dr. S. A. Dharmalingam on Saturday 24th July to publicise the resolutions adopted at the New York World Tamil Eelam Conference. The initial address was made by Dr. S. A. Dharmalingam and the others who spoke were Mr. S. Kanagalingam, Mr. V. Navaratnam and Mr. S. S. Mahadeva, ex-mayor of Jaffna Municipal Council.

The general tone of the speeches was one of challenge to the present TULF leadership. All four speakers outrightly condemned the TULF as having betrayed the trust

placed in them.

Mr. Dharmalingam briefly explained the legitimacy of the cause of self-determination which TELF stood for. He also said that the Tamils as a race constituted a nation for they satisfied all conditions necessary for nationhood.

Mr. Navaratnam in his speech drew an analogy of the Tamil problem with that of a younger brother pleading with his elder brother to give him his rightful share of what was left behind by their father. He said that in the event of the elder brother refusing to consider his re-

quest the neighbours have to be called in to settle the matter. He was positive that if the Eelam voice were raised loud enough other countries will come to arbitrate and give us our lot. Referring to the youths who resorted to the gun Mr. Navaratnam said that it was wrong to brand them as terrorists for they were forced into such a situation because of injustices meted out to them.

Mr. Kanagalingam stressed the need for more sacrifices on the part of the Tamils to win back their lost state of Eelam.



# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## Quote QUIZ !

"...fortunately, this country has been saved from man-made phenomena like riots and racial wars and we want to keep it that way---because if there is trouble of that nature then no amount of development can succeed"

Who said this and where? Pick out the correct answer from the following:-

- (a) Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew - in Singapore.
- (b) President Reagan in Washington D.C.
- (c) Air Lanka Advertising blurb writer in Paradise

Isle Advertisement in Time Magazine.

(d) Prime Minister of Canary Islands.

(e) President Jayewardene referring to Sri Lanka.

Since no prizes are awarded, we will give you the correct answer straight-away. The last-mentioned is the correct answer. This was stated by President Jayawardene in his address to the nation on the fifth anniversary of his Government!

(Ceylon Daily News July 23, 1982 - Page 1)

## J. V. P. off to a head start in Jaffna

While other political parties are still oiling their election machinery, the Janatha Vimukti Peramuna (JVP) has got off to a head start in the North—even before the Government has announced the election deadline.

The JVP has already launched an active pre-election propaganda drive in Jaffna, thus becoming the first party to plunge into the electoral fray in the North.

Headed by Lionel Bopage, General Secretary of the party, JVP Politbureau members are holding discussion meetings with small

groups, paying house to house visits and making informal contacts: these tactics stand out in marked contrast to the usual election strategy adopted by more conventionally-minded political parties.

Their propaganda teams have fanned out to Kankesanthurai, Udupiddy, Nallur, Pallai, Kodikamam and other areas. The plan seems to be to see that the JVP message reaches every nook and corner in the North.

The JVP also use their Tamil paper, **Sensakthi** (Red Power), in their campaigning.

## Navy too gets into action in Jaffna

Karainagar-based naval personnel went on the rampage in the Jaffna Grand Bazaar area on 24 July, round about 7 p.m.

Men, women and children ran helter-skelter and shopkeepers hurriedly put up their shutters as a jeep-load of sailors in civil went berserk, protected by a truck-load of armed naval personnel. The number plates of both vehicles were covered, according to eye-witnesses.

Innocent passers-by and cyclists were badly man-handled. A taxi driver has

complained to the Police that one of the assailants had snatched over Rs. 5,000/- which was in his shirt pocket.

A few days before this incident, two navy personnel in civil—very much the worse for liquor—had tried their 'monkey pranks' with some girls near the New Market. Incensed by-standers had roughed them up.

Hitherto, it was mostly land-based security forces that were involved in assaults on innocent civilians. Now, apparently, naval guns too have decided to open up.

# Jaffna Stadium Siting : Govt. thinking of logistics ?

The Government---the funding agency---is quite adamant that Jaffna's International Stadium should be sited at Kakkativu and nowhere else, the **Saturday Review** understands.

The reasons have more to do with logistics than sports, say knowledgeable circles.

The **Saturday Review** was the first to spotlight the vehement protests by all those interested in the archaeology and early history of Jaffna against the decision to site the Stadium at Kakkativu (SR, 8 May).

Their protests centred round the fact that the area staked out for the Stadium includes the greater part of the excavated Anaicottai sites which have yielded evidence of early Dravidian settlements in the Jaffna Peninsula.

### Potential military cantonment

The **Saturday Review** (12 June) also highlighted the clash between the Jaffna Municipal Council and the Jaffna District Development Council over the issue: the JMC wants the Stadium sited at Chemmani instead of Kakkativu.

Knowledgeable sources say the Government is keen to site the Stadium at Kakkativu as, strategically speaking, it is an ideal site for a temporary military cantonment.

Troops stationed there during an emergency can control not only Jaffna city but also the densely populated Valikamam area. Besides, they can link up with the army camps at Mathagal and Thiruvadinilai and the naval base at Karainagar. Another plus point for Kakkativu is that the troops there can keep a watchful eye on the Jaffna lagoon.

Meanwhile---in keeping with a DDC decision---an informal discussion about the suitability of Kakkativu as a stadium site was held on 23 July at the Jaffna Secretariat.

The participants were Jaffna DDC Chairman S.

Nadarajah, DDC Secretary and Govt. Agent Devanesan Nesiah and some University dons.

The **Saturday Review** understands no firm decisions were taken at this informal meeting.

## University Admissions stalled: Computer becomes the scapegoat!

What really has stalled University admissions this year?

The University Grants Commission announced earlier that 5245 students had been selected for admission and that a two-month Intensive English Course for these freshers would start on 2 August.

Up to now these students have not received their admission cards as the UGC seems to have suddenly discovered that the computers—which processed the admission data—had gone haywire and messed up the admissions.

So now, says the UGC, it is using man-power to carry out a physical check to ensure that there is no hanky-panky in the admissions. This inevitably means that the deadline (2 August) has to be pushed back and, possibly, the new academic year may not start in early October, as originally scheduled.

Academic circles who are sceptical about the whole business think this is a classic case of man passing the buck to the computer: after all, the computer prints out only what man feeds into it; if you try to make piecemeal adjustments the whole programming gets buckled.

Some of them feel that the computer has been made the scapegoat for more sinister ends. Under the pretext of straightening out the computer-messed-up admissions, ethnic quotas could be surreptitiously introduced this year itself, instead of waiting for the next academic year—when ethnic quotas for University admissions and jobs become official policy, as already announced by the Government.

### Cathedral Dedication

The Dedication of St. Mary's Cathedral, Jaffna took place on Friday 30th July, at 5 p.m.

St. Mary's Cathedral is believed to be the second largest in Ceylon and can accommodate a congregation of 10,000.

Five Bishops participated in the Dedication Service, which was presided over by Rt. Rev. Dr. B. Deogupillai, Bishop of Jaffna.

### T.U.L.F. faces...

(Continued from page 1)

S. Pararajah, V. C. Chairman Mr. S. K. Mylvaganam, Attorney-at-law Mr. M. pararajasingam and Mr. N. Sithamparanathan, another TULF activist.