

# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 5 No. 30

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## Hands Off Jaffna

There is a genuine fear among large sections of people in Jaffna Town that the 1,000-metre security zone order may be enforced shortly in their region also.

The basic order is that there should not be any human habitations within 1,000 metres of any Army camp in the North.

This is to give the Army a clear range of fire to ward off attacks by militant groups.

The order has been already enforced in a number of areas in the North—with devastating effect.

Palaly is a good illustration. The people in the vicinity of the

airport have been chased away at very short notice and their houses smashed.

Prime Minister Premadasa has set a target of building 1,000,000 houses in Sri Lanka but the Security Forces are breaking up houses in the North at a hell of a rate. And spawning more and more refugees.

Will Jaffna town be the next target?

The Army camp in the old Dutch Fort is only a stone's throw from the town.

If the draconian order is enforced in Jaffna, the town is finished.

The main bazaar, the central bus stand, many residential places and even the Jaffna General Hospital will have to be evacuated.

But where are the people to find alternative accommodation? In refugee camps? There are enough of them in Jaffna already.

There has been enough ADHAR-MISTA activities in a land called DHARMISTA.

Is there going to be another act of Adharmista?

We warn President Jayewardene's Government—even as the Northern boys play cricket, just as they do in the South—not to commit an act of unpardonable folly.

We urge the Government to remove the Army Camp to a place from where it cannot be seen or heard.

Our final plea: Let saner counsel prevail at the highest levels of authority.

Otherwise, they will reap in ample measure what they are planning to sow.

A bumper harvest—of skeletons on all sides.

## SR—NOT JR's Darlo

The SATURDAY REVIEW has suddenly become the Government's darling.

The paper which the Government and its media whores described as the Kottiya (Tiger) paper has now become their favourite journal.

Here is an extract from a heli-dropped, anonymous leaflet titled People of Jaffna and signed A Friend Of The People Of Jaffna.

This is how the first paragraph of the leaflet reads in Kaduwa English:

"You all in Jaffna read the SATURDAY REVIEW which is published in Fourth Cross Street, Jaffna".

The news item Postal Pokers (P5) referred to appeared in our issue of 28.6.86. Readers have only to refer to page 7 of the same issue where there is an item headlined Don't help the Butchers about the S. L. Aid Consortium meeting at Paris.

The Government and the media are trying to make out that the SATURDAY REVIEW has suddenly developed a 'crush' on President Jayewardene.

In our issue of 9.8.86 we carried an article on page 3 by the reputed historian and scholar Dr. James Rutnam — founder of the Evelyn Rutnam Institute situated behind the University of Jaffna — on the skeletons in the family cupboards of President Jayewardene and the late S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike.

Anyone who has doubts about our bona fides has merely to read the first page of our 2nd August issue headlined 'SHUT UP, SLBC'.

Readers can now judge for themselves.

## Ragging: The Two Sides

Three undergrads of the Jaffna University who were taken into 'custody' on 6th August by the LTTE were released on the 7th. A statement issued by the LTTE on the 7th said that the three male undergrads had been questioned and punished for ragging a female fresher at the Campus.

The Tigers had earlier called for a ban on ragging and had announced that anyone indulging in inhuman ragging would have to face the consequences.

Students at the Jaffna Campus have been boycotting lectures since 7th August.

A statement issued by a Student Organisation of the Jaffna University on 12th August said that the

students had placed 7 demands before the administration; 1. Office-bearers of all student bodies to be elected from and by students. 2. The approach in all issues affecting the student community should be through the administration or student bodies. 3. The University administration should guarantee full security to the students and immunity from outside interference in student affairs. 4. The Administration must issue statements contradicting those of the LTTE on the 7th and the Point-Pedro Citizens Committee on the 12th. 5. All students to be admitted into Campus precincts on the basis of their Varsity Identity Cards. 6. Postponing Arts Exams; study leave for Science Students

(Continued on page 12)

## Lock-Out Ends

The Jaffna undergrads ended their lock-out of the administration yesterday (Friday, 15th August).

This followed certain assurances given to the students by the administration.

The students have announced that they have called off the lock-out temporarily to give the administration a chance to implement certain demands.

But they have stated they will continue to boycott lectures till all their demands are met.

Release All The Political Prisoners in Sri Lanka jails



## Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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# Bash On!

The Indian Government has rejected a Sri Lankan proposal for a South Asian convention on terrorism providing for compulsory intra-regional extradition, the Press Trust of India (PTI) news agency reported Thursday.

New Delhi's opposition to the move stemmed from a realisation of the need to distinguish between political and terrorist acts. PTI said quoting informed sources.

PTI said the two-day meeting of SAARC foreign ministers beginning in Dhaka, Bangladesh on Tuesday is expected to set up a working group to identify terrorist offences, as distinct from political ones.

(A. F. P. Report)

At the same time, the Ministers have pointed out that the legitimate struggle of peoples under colo-

New Delhi's opposition to Colombo's proposal for a South Asian convention on terrorism providing for intra-regional extradition has once again revived anti-Indian sentiments in the Colombo Press. India's position is that a clear difference between political and terrorist acts should be established.

But interestingly enough no one seems to remember the resolutions passed at the Ministerial meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-aligned Countries at New Delhi on 14-20 April, 1986. The meeting was attended by our own Foreign Affairs Minister A. C. S. Hameed.

We publish below the relevant resolutions on International Terrorism and on A. F. P. report Published in C. D. N. (9.8.86.)

The Colombo proposal, reportedly raised at the forum of the seven-nation South Asian Association for Regional Corporation, was apparently designed to ensure the extradition of Sri Lankan Tamil militants based in the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu.

nial and racist regimes and all forms of foreign domination and occupation and of their national liberation movements against their oppressors, in particular, the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, and Palestine, for self-determination and independence in accordance with the purposes and principles of non-alignment, can in no way be considered or equated with terrorism.

The Ministers expressed their deep concern at the worldwide escalation of acts of terrorism including State terrorism, in all its

forms, which endanger or take innocent human lives, jeopardize fundamental freedoms and have an increasingly deleterious effect on international relations and may jeopardize the very territorial integrity and security of States. They condemned all terrorist activities, whether perpetrated by individuals, groups or States, and resolved to counter them by every legal means possible. They called upon all States to fulfil their obligations under international law to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in terrorist acts in other States or acquiescing in activities within their territories directed towards the commission of such acts.

Mercenarism or the activities of soldiers of fortune are an essential part of international terrorism, and thus constitute an international crime. In the light of the harmful effects the activities of mercenaries have had on a number of non-aligned member States, particularly African countries, and which have prejudiced the peace, sovereignty and stability of such countries, the Ministers condemned unreservedly the recent intended mercenary attack on Ghana. The Ministers in this regard recalled the various OAU resolutions as well as the United Nations draft on an international convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries, and reminded all member States of the international community, particularly Western countries, to fulfil their obligations under the various international conventions by forbidding the recruitment, use, financing, training, transit and directing of mercenaries and by severely punishing them when apprehended.

(In A Bureau report)

## Govt. Refuses To Renew Double H's Visa

The B. B. C.'s Colombo correspondent Humphrey Hawksley, known as DOUBLE H in media circles has left the Island. The ostensible reason was that the Sri Lankan Government had refused to renew his work visa which expired on August 1st. Hawksley also had a tourist visa valid up to August 28.

Earlier Hawksley had been advised by the B. B. C. big-wigs to stay put. He was asked to operate regardless of his visa being renewed. Backed up by the B. B. C. DOUBLE H was determined to provoke a deportation incident. But suddenly the B.B.C. changed its mind and so Hawksley packed up his bags. Apparently high-level representations had been made because when Hawksley went to London last month his instructions were clear.

B. B. C. listeners would like to point the finger of guilt at National Security Circles as most of Hawksley's reports were on Security issues. But what most listeners do not know is the fact that DOUBLE H enjoyed greater access to Defence Circles than any other previous B. B. C. Correspondent.

All Co-ordinating authorities were instructed to supply him with details required. Likewise he was permitted to visit several trouble-spots in the Tamil areas including Jaffna. This was a boon denied to most foreign correspondents. Even while one branch of the Defence Ministry refused to extend his visa another branch allowed him to visit Jaffna from August 4 — 61.

Remarks were also made in Colombo that DOUBLE H was angling his reports in favour of India as he coveted the B. B. C.'s New Delhi post.

## The Media Scene

But Hawksley a free-lance correspondent of the B. B. C. was also writing to several newspapers agencies and broadcasting stations in Australia, U. S. A., Canada and Europe. A one-man demolition squad indulging in a media

blitzkrieg. So DOUBLE H had to go.

After the earlier episodes of Alan McDonald and Chris Moore few expected a B. B. C. man to get a visa. But DOUBLE H got it. It looks like another B. B. C. man will be here soon.

But DOUBLE H will not forget a Monday night where the guns were raging around the Jaffna Fort while he was staying in Ashok. The performance was perhaps for his benefit.

★ ★ ★

The witch hunt against Tamils in the media is on! The latest casualty is a Lake House Journalist, who obtained employment in

(Continued on page 11)



# OBJECTIVITY OF TRUTH

A cultural aspect that characterises a society with totalitarian tendencies is the devaluation of truth. Truth ceases to be objective and becomes relative—something determined by a person's tribe, class, race or caste. Relativism at the popular level has an Indian origin. You will be told that we mortals deal with the world of 'maya' or appearances. Any search for truth in this world will be folorn. Only some mystics who have pierced the core of reality can know the real truth.

The other source of relativism goes back to Hegel and Marx. Immanuel Kant who gave philosophy a new and revolutionary direction maintained that speculation or reason, when it ventures into a field where it cannot be checked by reason, is liable to get involved in contradiction, antinomies, 'mere fancies', 'illusions' and 'sterile dogmatism'. That is to say questions such as the existence of God, the beginning of time and the boundary of the universe cannot be decided by reason alone. Argument can provide seemingly good cases for both sides. Hegel twisted this to mean that it is in the nature of reason to contradict itself. Significantly Hegel was called

to the University of Berlin in 1818 in the service of the Prussian monarchy of Frederick William III to combat the ideals of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, the ideals of the French revolution of 1789, spread through Europe by Napoleon's advances. Now philosophy was divested of its obligation to consistency — contradiction was after all in the nature of things. What Schopenhauer termed the age of dishonesty and windbagery had

group interest. Its social consequences are division, oppression, caste, class, racialism, nationalism — in short, tribalism. Each interest group has its own truth. Even the Christian Church seems to have surrendered to the view that there is one truth for Tamils and another for the Sinhalese.

Modern Physics however does of necessity rely on the objectivity of truth. It continually requires new theories to replace older theo-

velocities (speeds). A neat answer was provided by Einstein — the standard universal time of Newtonian Physics had to be abandoned together with the adoption of the Lorentz transformation to correlate time and distance measurements between different moving observers. The underlying notion is not that there was one truth for Newton and another for Einstein. But it is that there is a single objective truth. This may be impossible to know in its fullness. Nevertheless Einstein's theory has brought us a step closer to it.

There is at present in physics the problem of the incompatibility between General Relativity and Quantum Physics. The former deals with gravitational phenomena and long distance effects and the latter with microscopic phenomena. This does not mean that we operate with contradictions, but we take it as a spur or challenge to bridge this contradiction by finding a new theory that will supersede and explain both Cosmological and Quantum effects. Our ignorance will remain boundless. Every little advance creates new problems. Yet there is a thrill and a sense of adventure in this. This is the nature of the perennial quest for truth.

I owe most of these ideas to the writings of Karl Popper. It will be argued later that the same spirit of inquiry holds for the social sciences as well as for an objective standard of morality.

BY

RAJAN HOOLE

begun. All you needed to do was to say something that will charm or bewitch the listener by its grandeur and pomposity and then proceed to draw the conclusions you want—'The Nation State is spirit in its substantive rationality and immediate actuality... is therefore the absolute power on earth. The state is the spirit of the people itself'. We Indians with our bent towards mysticism manage to accomplish in our everyday lives startling feats of reason without the help of Hegel.

With reason freed from the objective constraint of avoiding contradiction, it becomes the tool of any

ries, when the latter have failed, when new phenomena need to be explained or when a new theory has greater unifying power. For example, when it was found by experiment (Michaelson — Morley) that the speed of light was independent of the observer and was the same in all frames moving relative to the light source, Newtonian Kinematics had failed. Yet Newtonian physics had been tested and found reasonably accurate at low velocities. A new conjecture or theory was required that will keep the speed of light constant in all reference frames and will yet approximate Newtonian Physics at low

As the first joint operation between the SSWA (Science Students Welfare Association) and members of the staff a debate was conducted on the topic "Students of the University of Jaffna spend sufficient time in their studies". The aim of this debate was to bring about an awareness amongst students, to express one's ideas freely without fear or favour and to nurture good relationships between the students and the members of the academic staff.

Though the debate was meant to be bilingual with a minimum of two speakers from each side speaking in English, all the speakers chose to speak in English. The student speakers did it with such spirit that the audience who had packed Kanagasabapathy hall followed through with enthusiasm, applauding and whistling at times.

In his welcome address Mr. A. Rajinthrakumar, the President of the SSWA said that the tradition of debates was being revived after eight years and that this was being done in the belief that a University must uphold the principle that it can and should perform the function of inquiring into all matters of concern to the community without fear or fa-

## Students Have Their Say

avour. He also quoted Tarzie Vittachi who recently said that Sir Ivor Jennings, University of Ceylon's first Vice-Chancellor, had taught them that, opposition in politics is a civilised relationship between human beings'.

Members of the team supporting proposition were headed by Roshan Vethanayagam. He said that in the present context the undergraduates were following their course under trying conditions, unlike the undergraduates of years gone by or undergradu-

the outbreak of hatred and violence a broad based education including political and cultural involvement are necessary. In spite of the traumatic experiences our students are going through, their performance has in fact improved creditably contrary to what might have been expected.

At the SLAAS annual sessions held in Colombo during December, Jaffna University presents more papers, surprisingly more than do Peradeniya or Colombo campuses. Recently at a conference

Miss A. Kalaivani said that the University of Jaffna produced excellent results despite the lack of canteen, building and hostel facilities. She added that work went on here fairly regularly despite the climate of disruption and the fact that students had to travel from such distant places as VVT, Pt. Pedro and Karainagar.

In her address Miss Reynolda Xavier said, "A very negligible minority of the student population was intent on disruption of work by calling for strikes and hartals which adversely affects work. It is for this reason that the students felt the need to organise themselves and form the Science Students' Welfare Association. This shows the concern students have for their studies and refuse to allow this to be disrupted. Does this not show that students are bent on their work and not in dissipating time?"

Members of the opposing team headed by Uthayakumar Luther, said that Education should not be certificate oriented but should develop a person intellectually and personally and should help to solve the socio economic problems facing the society today. He further added that the University

by

Gita Asirwatham

ates of other Universities. On our society only 3% of those who sit for the advanced level examination enter the portals of this University. So the undergraduates today are not in any way nincompoops. Moreover social, cultural and political involvement is an essential feature of undergraduate life. It is these that go towards the moulding of new leaders of the emerging future. To prevent

when the Vice-Chancellor, Prof. Vithyanandan met Stanley Kalpage, the latter had enquired of him how the University of Jaffna was managing to maintain their high standard of education under the present circumstances, to which the former had replied, 'the students of University of Jaffna were not willing to sacrifice their studies for anything else'.

(Continued on page 4)



## HIGH COURT JUDGEMENT

(Continued from last issue)

The accused's evidence has to be assessed in the light of the evidence given by Godfrey Gunatileke and Fr. Tissa Balasuriya, whose evidence I accept without hesitation. According to the evidence of Godfrey Gunatileke and Fr. Tissa Balasuriya, the accused was given the chance of escaping the ordeal of being in detention and trial and this is possible if only he retracted the information he gave by saying that the information he gave were based on false promises.

According to their evidence, the accused did not want to resort to this device because it was against his conscience. If he had no scruples he could have made a statement that the information he gave were based on false promises and he would not have to face the ordeal of going through this protracted trial. This conduct of the accused assists the Court in assessing the evidence of the accused in its correct perspective. The evi-

## PAUL NALLANAYAGAM

dence given by the accused shows that he was genuine in the discharge of duties as President of the Citizens' Committee and that he would not compromise with the rights of the citizens. The accused had acted genuinely to protect the rights of citizens. The accused's credibility has not been shaken by the detailed and severe cross-examination by the learned Addl. Solicitor-General.

The duties of Citizens' Committee are a responsible and onerous task, especially in the present context of events in this country. They are the only persons to whom innocent citizens could go for redress because the Members of Parliament are more in Colombo than in their constituencies. In the discharge of their duties sometimes they are a source of embarrassment to the authorities.

I accept the evidence of the accused.

The gist of the offence in Regulation 29 is "communicating or spreading a rumour or false statement". But none of the charges in Counts 2 to 7 speak to "communicating or spreading".

I hold that the charges 4 and 7 have not been proved beyond reasonable doubt.

Finally, I come to Count 1, according to which charge the accused is said to have conspired with persons unknown to the prosecution to excite feelings of disaffection to or hatred or contempt of the Government of Sri Lanka. The accused has denied in this affidavit that he had brought the Government into disrepute.

Regarding the Natpattimunai incident what the accused wanted

was an inquiry and that is why he had complained to the police. The accused did not go to seek the foreign correspondents but that they came and he told them that the police are investigating the matter.

I do not think that the accused was engaged in exciting feelings of disaffection to or hatred or contempt of the Government of Sri Lanka because it is the Government of Sri Lanka that the accused has appealed for an inquiry. The charge is that the accused conspired with others in committing the offence of sedition. There is no evidence at all that there was agreement between the accused and any others to commit the offence of sedition. This charge in Count 1 fails and consequently charges in Counts 2 to 4 also fail.

I find the accused not guilty of the charges in the indictment and I acquit him.

(Concluded)

## STUDENTS HAVE...

(Continued from page 3)

is a place where one is given every opportunity to develop his creative ability. Universities are places where ideas originate, instead, in this University ideas originating elsewhere are implemented here. Hatred and antagonism towards society are brewed here due to misguided political ideological motives. The second speaker Mr. Guhanantha said that no active research projects or seminars were held, as in other Universities. There was no coordination of thoughts or exchange of ideas between teachers and students. Discussion on matters pertaining to politics seems to be of sole importance, as compared to discussions on matters of scientific importance. In other Universities societies like mathematical societies, new science societies, technological development societies were active and alive but here the political societies were the only keen societies actively involved in local politics.

Miss. S. Kasilingam speaking next said that the culture of objective thinking was on the decline in our community. It was this, she said, that permitted the rise of dictators like Hitler and Mussolini in Europe after the First World War in the 1930's. When this culture of objective thinking is threatened even in a University which is meant to uphold it, it leads to a feeling of helplessness and frustration.

Rajan Hoole said that part of the reason why students do not

show full interest in their studies is that the whole University set up including the staff and students was divided into small conflicting interest groups which are unable to get together and express a common interest in the well being of the University. What our students are suffering from is a lack of Professionalism.

Prof. 'Tawney' Rajaratnam, Head of Commerce and Business Administration, who was the judge, gave a hilarious address which kept the audience roaring in stitches. "It would", he said, "take the wisdom of Solomon to judge between the two sides because each spoke for the other". Talking about distractions he said, "there is one distraction you have which I did not have in the late 40's. In my Economics special class of 18 there were no girls. Now the female species has made deep inroads into University life".

The debate was chaired by Rev. (Dr.) G. F. Rajendram S. J., President of the University Science Teachers' Association.

## MEDICAL CHECK

About 126 detenus from the Army camp at Boosa were stated to have been taken to the Army Hospital for a 'check-up' under full military guard. They were stated to be suffering from skin ailments and measles. This was done on the 'special order' made by the President. They were later taken back to Boosa.

## Rupa Plays About With Dead Civilians

Commenting on massacres of Tamil civilians by security forces in the Eastern Province and the massacres of Sinhalese civilians in two bus explosions, the BBC correspondent Andrew Whitehead said, 'the massacre has become the latest political gambit in Sri Lanka'. This is probably the ugliest face of the present war. The national TV network Rupavahini employs a quaint formula in describing Tamil civilian casualties of an army rampage—"..... terrorists were killed when they attacked an army patrol at..." Indeed while the truth can have only one version, contradictory versions by the official media have become so proverbial, that such embarrassing ceremony requires an empty head if not a heart of granite. Unlike the Rupavahini we Tamils cannot afford a sporting attitude to deaths of civilians, Sinhalese or Tamil.

One is reminded of the interview given by Lt. Col. (now General) Ranatunge to the Daily Telegraph in 1971 in the wake of the insurgency. He referred to lessons they had learnt from Malaysia and Vietnam. That insurgency was put down in six weeks by massacring over 10,000 Sinhalese youth - considerably less than the number of Tamils killed in the last 9 years. We know that the army is capable of repeating its performance of 1971 in any Tamil

area outside Jaffna without impediment. Why is the army restrained? Why did the aerial bombing of Jaffna cease? The answer I believe is international and Indian opinion.

In Jaffna people are strongly influenced by the kind of press-coverage given here and by the image of tired and hungry boys doing sentry duty around army encampments, preventing the army from moving out. We owe these boys a debt of gratitude and more importantly we owe them a future. The best way of doing it is not necessarily by agreeing to the most vocally expressed views of the time.

Those who know the peasants will realise that they have little inclination to think about units of devolution. They are more likely to be concerned with their daily bread, fertilisers and what the army may do to them after the next 'incident'. Such uncritical reporting creates vain hopes. We need peace, at least to get hatred out of our veins and be normal human beings. We are reminded of the Illiad, the immemorial poem by the ancient Greek bard Homer. Here what happens on the plains of Troy are reflections of a drama in heaven between the gods, led by Zeus of the thunderbolt. Men expend their emotions, and live out their lives, over which they have little control.

— R. H.



# Asian Students Demand: Halt All The Killings

## DECLARATION

We, the participants of the Asian Students Solidarity Mission to Eelam, held in Madras from June 28 to July 4, 1986, have in these seven days seen with our own eyes, the plight of the Tamil refugees, have had input from renowned speakers and have had lengthy discussions.

Through all seminars, photograph exhibition and a visit to refugees camp we have become aware of the history of oppression of the Tamil speaking people in Sri Lanka, the grave violations of human rights and the struggle of the Tamil speaking people.

The very existence of the Tamil people has been threatened by the systematic genocide of the Sri Lankan regime since independence in 1984.

While we abhor and condemn the systematic programme of genocide carried out by the state forces through the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the Emergency Regulations and all other black laws, by the Jayewardene regime upon the Tamil speaking people, we also recognise that the continued support of foreign governments and imperialists through the supply of arms, military training, economic aid and all other kinds of assistance serves only to lend legitimacy to the regime, to perpetuate and intensify the mass killings.

- A. We therefore condemn the following: the sale and supply of arms to the present Sri Lankan regime by the governments of Singapore, the Republic of China (Taiwan), the Peoples Republic of China, South Korea, Malaysia, Apartheid South Africa, Italy, Pakistan, the United Kingdom and Zionist Israel.
- B. the provision of military training to the Sri Lankan Security forces by the US imperialist, the Mossad and Shin Beth of Israel, the SAS and KMS (Kini-Mini Services) of the United Kingdom and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.
- C. the direct interference and involvement of the Israeli Services

Personnel, i. e. Mossad and Shin Beth, and the SAS and KMS mercenaries of the United Kingdom in the Sri Lankan's insurgency operations against the Tamil speaking people.

We, therefore: demand that the Jayewardene regime halt all indiscriminate killings, withdraw all troops from the North and East cease all aerial bombings specifically the use of napalm bombs, strafing by helicopters and shelling from naval coastal areas immediately;

that the Jayewardene regime terminate all arrests and detention of Tamil speaking people and the regime's Sinhala opponents under

Jayewardene regime in view of the widely condemned human rights records of his government, especially the continuing atrocities against the Tamil speaking people;

that all governments express their concern to the heightening conflict and bloodshed in Sri Lanka and declare their recognition of Eelam support the Tamil speaking people of their struggle for self-determination and independence;

that the Indian government and organisations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross and the United Nations agencies pay more attention to the welfare of the Tamil refugees especially

determination, freedom and independence of the Tamil speaking people;

We, the participants will pool our strength together in defence of the Tamil speaking people and express our profound solidarity with the Eelavar of Eelam in their quest for a new society. We, the participants anticipate that in the future, solidarity with the Tamil speaking people's struggle will be strong not only in the Tamil areas and outside Sri Lanka, but also within the Sinhala community. In conclusion we, the participants of the Asian Students Solidarity Mission to Eelam, believe in and support the struggle of the Tamil speaking people for self-determination and for a free and independent Eelam. At the same time, we would like to alert the Sinhala masses that the arms and ammunition which is at present being used against the Tamil speaking people will one day be used against them.

Signed by:

Dravida Kalaham, Australian Students International Network, Australian Coalition of East Timor, League of Filipino Students, Moitree International, Asian Youth Centre, PAMOKAU, Third World House of Bremen, YSSU, CSCAB, Humanity Organisation of Indian Students and Youth, Bangladesh Students League (JSD), Dhaka University Central Students Union, Palestine Youth Organisation, S A C R E D Asylgrup West Berlin, College of Pharmacy, Canchipuram Arts Troup, Student Organisation of Liberation Tigers, Hong Kong Federation of Students, Eelam Repatriates Organising Society, Eelam Friends Organising Society, New Zealand University Students Association, American College, Sri Lanka Solidarity Campaign, University of Jaffna Students Assembly, Democratic Youth Front, Rural India Social and Cultural Centre, ASA—Secretary, General Union of Youth and Students.

## Text of the resolutions passed at the Asian Students Solidarity Mission to Eelam Seminar held in Madras from 28th June to 4th July in association with the General Union of Youths and Students of Eelam. Some of the papers presented at the Seminar are published on Pages 6, 7, and 8.

the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act and all other black laws;

that the Jayewardene regime release ALL political prisoners presently held under the above laws immediately and unconditionally;

that all sexual exploitation and rape of women by the regime's forces be terminated;

that all foreign governments providing or intending to provide to the Jayewardene regime directly or indirectly any form of aid, military, political, economic or diplomatic, to withhold all these, in view of the grave violations of human rights in the country by the present regime against the Tamil speaking people;

that all foreign governments immediately stop all arms sales to the

their problems regarding migration, job opportunities, improvement of living conditions, education and medical care;

that the Indian government being aware of all the crimes committed by the Jayewardene regime on the Tamil speaking people, utilises all sources at its disposal, bilateral and international to ensure the rights of the Tamil speaking people are safeguarded;

that all governments attempt to bring the Jayewardene regime to the International Court of Justice to expose the atrocities that have been committed against the Tamil speaking people;

that the World, all justice loving people, recognise the right to self-



# ARCHAEOLOGY, HISTORY, POLITICS:

It is now well over a hundred years since the inception of archaeological studies in Sri Lanka. The introduction of the concept of archaeology its methods and models of interpretation were all of a colonial legacy. The pioneering studies in this respect were initiated exclusively by the European scholars.

Ironically, the outcome went contrary to the interests of colonialism. The foundations for the native revival was laid by such studies as the natives realised the rich cultural heritage. Thus, the political character of the discipline was indispensable since its introduction - a factor, perhaps common to many of the nations in Asia and Africa.

It should be noted that in the Sri Lankan context, the native revivalism never attained the form of a nationalistic struggle against colonialism in sharp contrast to what happened in the neighbouring Indian sub-continent. For a long time, the revival movements remained communal as Sinhala-Buddhist and Tamil-Saivaite, until about a time when forces that are peculiar to Sri Lanka led the country to be dominated by the Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism. Archaeology dragged into and manipulated to provide the theoretical basis for this development - a process, the outlines of which we try to trace briefly in this paper.

## Sinhala - Buddhist Historiography

The Sinhala - Buddhist culture of Sri Lanka has a long historical antiquity and integrity, comparable and parallel to the various linguistic cultural identities of South Asia, particularly that of South India. Though ethnically and culturally sharing a common South Indian cultural stratum and was influenced by South India at every walk of its history, the Sinhala-Buddhist formation resisted it and enviously guarded its identity throughout history.

This was effected by four basic factors: (a) the geographical disposition of the Island separated by a narrow stretch of the Palk Strait from the mainland that provided an environmental niche for the development of an identifiable culture; (b) substantial achievements in tank-irrigated agriculture which provided a stable economic basis for a social and cultural formation since the ancient

times; (c) the ideology of Buddhism and the institution of monks which was part of the statecraft in comparison and contrast to the institution of Brahmins in India and (d) the myth of the Sinhala race that has conditioned the minds of the masses for ages.

Thus emerged Sinhalisation - a sociological force which is still at work in many parts of Sri Lanka. Earlier the force was capable of Sinhalising successive waves of migrants from South India. A recent example is the Sinhalisation of a number of Malayalis and Tamils in the north-western part of Sri Lanka in the past few decades.

To shed more light on the Sinhala - Buddhist consciousness, a few norms found in *Mahavamsa*, the Pali-Buddhist historiographical literature of 6th century A.D., can be cited; (a) In the beginning the Island was inhabited by non-human species like the *Yakkas* and *Nagas*; (b) Buddha visited the Island by air, blessed it as a home for human beings and subsequently the Sinhalese who hailed from the Aryan race populated it; (c) Buddhism arrived in through an Asokan emissary and the Sri Lankan king as well as people accepted it. It is the foremost duty of every Sri Lankan ruler to protect and promote the Buddhist faith, and (d) the Tamils are hereditary enemies of Sinhalese who often invaded and intervened into the Sinhala-Buddhist domain since pre-Christian times.

These norms bring out a picture of a 'promised land' for the Sinhala-Buddhists in Sri Lanka which became the nucleus for the Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism. As the economy and the political authority passed into the hands of the Sinhala-Buddhist nationalists by the turn of affairs in this century, the Pali-Buddhist version became the authentic history of the Island taught at the Schools and Universities. Archaeology became a stooge for such a history. It was a vicious circle of communal Politicians encouraging bogus archaeological studies and the outcome helping them. As a result, negligence was shown towards the scientific areas of archaeology like pre and protohistory. Comparative studies of the Sri Lankan social and cultural formation with that of South India were not at all attempted, for such studies went contrary to the Buddhist historiographical version. On the other hand, undue importance was

given to the classical archaeology of the Buddhist period.

The Sri Lankan social and cultural phenomena have much in parallel to the South Indian formations like Tamil, Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam. Though the Buddhist literature of 6th century A.D., talks of an Aryan migration to Sri Lanka in 6th century B.C. (!), there is no archaeological evidence in support of this hallucination of the monks. The evidence suggest of an uninterrupted affiliation with the South Indian pattern. But, surprisingly a comparative study of Sri Lanka and South India is hitherto missing and was deliberately avoided as it was not in tune with the popular norm that the Sinhalese belong to the Aryan race.

A notable example is the interpretation given to the Sri Lankan Brahmi inscriptions. These earliest written documents in Sri Lanka are in a script that belongs to the family of Tamil cave Brahmi or TAMILI script. The personal and clan names found in them are comparable to those of ancient Tamilnadu and Kerala. But, a scholar of the calibre of late Dr. Paranavitana, has made an arbitrary attempt to attribute Aryan origins for them to substantiate the Buddhist historiographical dictum.

Coming to more recent times of Sinhalese historiography, we are yet to come across Sinhala historians accepting the territorial rights of Tamil Society in Sri Lanka, or its parallel formation along with that of the Sinhala social formation.

## The Jaffna - Tamil Historiography

The ancient Tamil strain in Sri Lanka did not produce a history in terms of the Pali-Buddhist historical literatures. The existing earliest works are of late medieval origin, of the times of the Kingdom of Jaffna (13th - 17th century A.D.). After two centuries of Portuguese and Dutch cultural repression the Tamil-Saivaite revival emerged in Jaffna in late 18th century as a result of certain socio-economic developments towards the end of the Dutch period. This, freshly initiated the writing of history. *Yalpana Vaipava Malai*, which can be called as the first history of Jaffna in prose, was written in this time on the lines of the earlier historical literature i.e. *Kailayamalai*, *Vaivapatal Racamurai* etc.

Except *Yalpana Vaipava Malai*, the other existing earlier works were not at all aware of what has been said in the ancient Pali-Buddhist literature. In all the above said works, the ancient past finds only, vague references the existence of an ancient kingdom at *Katiramalai* in Jaffna; the blind musician who received the sandy stretches of Jaffna; the arrival of a Chola princess who is married to the King of *Katiramalai* and then leaps into the history of the Kingdom of Jaffna. Even while discussing the Kingdom of Jaffna, the main focus was on the demographical distribution of castes and clans, seeking legitimacy for the Vellala dominated social structure. Yet, they fulfil a basic requirement of historiography; they cover a compact territory and a homogenous population, i.e., the Tamil homeland in Sri Lanka in their scope, which suggests that at least since 500 years, the Tamil history in Sri Lanka was considered as an identifiable phenomenon for the writing of history.

The late medieval Tamil historiographical thought can be abridged as follows: (a) though it has been taken for granted that the Tamils were aborigines of the land, there was no conscious attempt to focus it in contrast to the 'promised' land concept of Buddhist historiography, (b) Apart from a few references on the Tamil South India, they maintain a Jaffna-centric approach throughout; (c) the demography of castes and clans; and the feudal chieftains find the main focus.

The difference in focus between the Tamil and Buddhist historiography is due to the periods of their writing, for the Tamil historiography is a product of late medieval feudalism compared to the ancient or early medieval Buddhist historiography of the royalty cum clergy.

The late 19th century and early 20th century witnessed the emergence of middle class dominance in Jaffna. The petty bourgeoisie social formation of Jaffna, politically and culturally led the rest of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. In the meantime, as early as in mid 19th century there was a vague attempt to project the Tamil-Saivaite revival into a Jaffna Tamil nationalism. Arumuga Navalar who is known





# SRI LANKA'S EXPERIENCE

as the champion of Tamil-Saiva reformation in Jaffna, was the first to put forth the hypothesis that the Jaffna Tamil culture is an independent formation from that of the Tamil South India.

This has set the trend for quite some time, culminating in the work of A. Mootootamby Pillai, who in 1912 wrote a history on Jaffna in Tamil.

Tamil historians were unable to face the imbalance effected by the development in new fields like archaeology in the Sinhala [South]. The traditional Tamil historiography never considered archaeology as a tool to reconstruct its history. Jaffna was considered sterile for the classical archaeology that was encouraged by the State. If the Sinhala-Buddhists manipulated archaeology, the Tamils erred by neglecting it.

1920s and 1930s witnessed another set of historical writing on Jaffna by C. Rasanayakam, Rev. Gnanapiragasar, and Kallady Velupillai. To a certain extent, the first two had employed archaeology and other modern tools to write the history and produced standard works that are quite different from the earlier ones. In the meantime, the first archaeological excavation conducted in 1917 at Kantarotai, Jaffna, by Paul Peiris unearthed the rich ancient past of Jaffna including that of its Buddhist remains which has been attributed to the Tamils by the excavator himself.

Rasanayakam has utilized all these evidences and in instances came out with certain sound interpretations in his writing on 'Ancient Jaffna'. Despite this Jaffna-centric approach, writing the ancient history of Jaffna came under a heavy influence of the Sinhala-Buddhist historiography. The Tamil historians have conceded to the norms that the Sinhalese and Tamils belong to different races and an en masse Aryan migration caused the Sinhala race. They did not visualise any other model to explain the Tamil-Sinhala phenomenon. Due to this tendency, they even considered the place names in Jaffna—which are in fact residues of a proto-Dravidian strain common to Sinhala and Tamil—as Sinhala place names. This was appreciated by the Sinhala historians as objective writing of history. The succeeding decades witnessed a virtual conquest of

Sinhala historiography on the Tamils. The trend tallied with the [socio-economic and political realities in which the middle class dominant Jaffna was dependent on the Sinhala South and there was no serious attempt to raise the Tamil national question.

Tamil history was a research topic at the University level and some important works have been published, the impact of Sinhala historiography was still felt on them. It was said that though the Tamils were present in Sri Lanka since pre-Christian times, they were individuals and temporary residents until about mid 13th century and only after that they had a territorial claim in the Island as a society. But, this view has been now refuted by those who authored it themselves. Recent knowledge on the proto history [of the Island including that on Jaffna has given way to a different model of interpretation. It is now said that the Tamils and Sinhalese belonged to a common South Indian cultural stratum during proto historic times, which deviated as different formations later. The cultural and social formation of the Tamils in Sri Lanka, is considered to be of pre-Christian antiquity and was parallel to Sinhala South and Tamil India.

Yet, there are serious gaps in Tamil historiography in presenting a comprehensive history of the Tamil homeland as one. The Tamil historiography is hitherto Jaffna-centric. The rest of the Tamil homeland in wanni and eastern province were never satisfactorily covered in the historical works. Similar to the Sinhala-Buddhist domination on the Tamils through history, this is a Jaffna domination on the rest of the Tamil homeland. The nature of the evidences in wanni and East are quite different from that of Jaffna. There are even social and cultural deviations due to a different environment and subsistence patterns. More folk, cultural anthropological and archaeological evidences have to be tapped here to reconstruct the history. It is for the people of the respective regions to come up and write their own history.

## Manipulation of Archaeology

Towards independence, the Tamils had a contiguous territory of traditional homeland in the North and

East of the Island. After independence, the Government sponsored Sinhala colonisation programme was launched to change the demography of these Tamil territories. Archaeology played an important role here. In this process, Buddhist ruins in the Tamil areas were hastily reconstructed without proper archaeological research; they were projected as ancient settlements of the Sinhalese; irrigation tanks nearby the ruins renovated; forests cleared and they became the nucleus for modern Sinhala colonies. Such colonies were started in strategic areas as a planned effort to disturb the contiguity of the Tamil territories. Typical examples are the colonisation programmes at Padavia, Kantalai, Seruvavila etc., which are located in the crucial north-east border.

Buddhism was a common ideology for various social formations in South Asia at one time or other. The Buddhist remains in Jaffna are an unique archaeological expression of the cultural heritage of Jaffna. But, it became a pet project to the Govt. archaeological dept. to reconstruct them using 'concrete, [without proper excavations.] Besides, propaganda was carried out that they belong to the Sinhala-Buddhists which has alienated the people of Jaffna from their own cultural heritage.

A few years ago an official of the Archaeology Dept., has submitted a list of Buddhist sites in the Tamil areas along with a map to the parliament. A resolution was mooted by the then minister Mr. Cyril Mathew, to reconstruct them in order to settle Sinhalese there. Such an attitude made the local people to look upon archaeology with fear and antagonism. There were incidents in which the local Tamils reacted and resorted to destroy archaeological evidences in the respective areas. A classic example of manipulation was the Dutegemunu show, which was aptly exposed by Dr. James T. Rutnam in a publication. Dutegemunu was an ancient Sinhala King at the dawn of Christian era who became a hero for terminating the reign of a Tamil king at Anuradhapura. A relic casket of doubtful authorship, said to be found in one of the stupas at Anuradhapura, was proclaimed that of Dutegemunu's in a cabinet meeting! and was paraded in the country by the Government. This was to satisfy the poli-

tical megalomaniacs who identified them with the ancient Sinhala heroes who fought against the Tamils.

The museum at Jaffna was organised in late 19th century by the colonial administrators as a national museum along with other important museums in the country. In the course of time, it was neglected; degraded as a departmental museum and became virtually a store room maintained by an unqualified assistant. However, what can be considered as the most systematic and extensive damage was the deprivation of Tamils from learning the discipline. For the past few decades Archaeology has been taught at two of the universities in Sri Lanka. But, the course in Archaeology is available only in Sinhala medium, hence out of reach for Tamils. When a request was made to introduce it at the Tamil Jaffna University, it was rejected. At present, there are no Tamil officers in the Government Department of Archaeology. It was only through private studies, extra-official attempts in the Universities and through associations like the Jaffna Archaeological Society, an awareness of this branch of knowledge is fostered among the Tamils.

Now, the big show is the UNESCO sponsored Cultural Triangle Project that covers the Sinhala-Buddhist heartland, to which money flows certainly not benefiting the discipline. All the universities in Sri Lanka are given projects here except the Tamil Jaffna University.

## Irony

In 1980, an important archaeological site was discovered and excavated at Anaikkottai in Jaffna, which shed much light on early Tamil culture. Two years later, though there were vast tracts of land available nearby that particular site was acquired to construct a cricket stadium, not by the Government; but, by the now defunct District Development Council of Jaffna controlled by the Tamil politicians. Such was their ignorance. This doesn't mean that the present militant politicians are anyway better; some of them damaged the Buddhist monuments at Kantarotai, without realising that they belong to the cultural heritage of the people of Jaffna.

(Final Conclusions of the writer regarding Archaeology, History and Politics in the Sri Lankan experience will be continued next week.)



## Growth in National Education

# WHY HAVEN'T PLANTATION WORKERS BENEFITED?

### Underdeveloped Plantation Sector :

The people of Sri Lanka live in towns, villages and estates. According to a Socio Economic Survey and Research conducted in 1980, 44% of the children in the Plantations were without any School education. We can call this the rate of illiteracy of the Plantation workers. However, this rate is only 19% and 22% for the people in the towns and villages respectively. While 56% of the people in the towns and 37% of the people in the villages had atleast secondary education. Only 8% of the Plantation population had such education.

**Index of educational standards—**Kandyan Sinhalese 4.40, Low country Sinhalese 5.26, Sri Lanka Tamils 4.94, Indian Tamils 2.10, Muslims 3.91, Malays 5.48, Burghers 6.44, Others 6.50. (Source : Socio Economic and Consumer Financial Survey-1980)

The above survey showed the backwardness of the Indian Tamils. Their educational standards are the lowest. The educational standard of the Muslims is also low.

### Rate of Admission :

According to a Survey conducted in 1976, even though the percentage of the Indian Tamil population was 9.3% in Sri Lanka in that year, the percentage of Indian Tamil Students in Government Schools was only 1%. When the Sri Lanka Tamils are also taken into account even though the percentage of Tamils in Sri Lanka according to 1971 census was 20.5% of the Sri Lanka population in 1976, the Tamils among the School Going Student population was only 13.2%.

For a long time the Estate Schools had only primary education. They were mostly one teacher schools and were suffering from very low ratio in Teacher—Student ratio.

While the other sections of the population benefited by many Junior, Secondary, Senior Secondary and University and Technical Educational Institutions, the Plantation Workers had to be satisfied with the Primary Schools. Even these Primary Schools were without basic facilities. The very poor conditions and the lack of facilities in these Schools were the prime reason for the children of the estate workers to continue as estate labourers, workers in boutiques and shops and as domestic servants.

### Educational Reforms :

The Educational Reforms effected in Sri Lanka before and after independence did not bring about any improvement in the education of children in the Plantations.

The Plantation Schools did not have even a minimum standard so as to get maximum benefits from free education and the scholarship schemes. Only in 1960, for the first time, the Higher Secondary Education classes (Grades 11 and 12) were started in the Schools in the towns in the Plantation Districts. These were the classes that prepare students to enter the Universities. Those classes provided little facilities, that too only for the Middle Class Tamils who lived in those towns. The children of the Plantation Workers were thus completely deprived of Secondary, Higher Secondary and University Educations. Even the very few students who managed to get admissions in the Universities from the Plantation Working Class had to pay for their education since they did not have citizenship rights.

After 1930, even the various reports on Educational Reforms which recommended various Educational Policies and the Reforms did not come out with any concrete suggestion to improve the standard of the Plantation Schools. While the rest of the Schools in the Island continued to improve since they were managed and financed by the Christian Missionaries and the Government. The Plantation Schools were neglected because they were in the hands of the Owners of the Plantations.

The various reports on Educational Reforms were more concerned in making the official language as the medium of instructions. This suggestion which is against the accepted universal norm namely the best and the natural medium of instruction is the mother tongue of the child, was not implemented.

The system of plantation education was never brought into the main national stream of education. Instead it was left alone. Today, the Government has taken over majority of the Plantation Schools. In 1971, there were 803 plantation Schools out of which only 28 were not taken over by the Government.

However, the number of teachers who are competent and who have

the necessary training is highly inadequate. The courses that were conducted by the Universities, training College and other educational institution, were not available for the teachers in the Plantation Schools. Majority of these teachers were uncertificate teachers and who did not have opportunities for higher education.

### Present Position :

The instability prevalent as a result of the recent disturbances in the country had further brought about stagnation in the development of education in the plantation districts. The displacement of plantation workers has caused a drop in the number of School going children. The teachers from outer districts want to go to their own districts, on transfers because of the present situation. Hence, the problem of scarcity of teachers has further intensified. In many places, the school buildings were also damaged during the disturbances. During unstable conditions, the teachers as well students are unable to concentrate in their work.

There is an attempt to form school zones in the Plantation Districts. It is said that the reason

### by S. SANTHIRASEKARAN

to set up this is to make available the facilities in a particular zone to all the Schools in that zone. But at the present situation, when the relationship between the two communities strained if the zones are established and the schools of different communities fall within one zone, the possibility for sharing the facilities would be much less. However this suggestion needs further consideration.

It appears that owing to the present situation, the Plantation District students who are in the Universities in the Northern province want to go to the Universities in the South. The admission for the Tamil Students is denied to the Universities in the South, except the one at Peradeniya, the excuse being that there is a University for them in the North. The threats and intimidations at Peradeniya are well known. Various Plantation Organisations have put forward many demands pinpointing these difficulties.

### Researches :

There were attempts in the Educational Research Reports during the last fifteen years that highlighted

regional imbalances that the educational facilities in the North are in excess. They attempted to justify standardization in the field of higher education saying that the facilities for education for the Tamils were more. But strangely in those research reports there is nothing about Plantation Education, but the truth is that when we take all the Tamils in Sri Lanka and analyse the facilities for the whole Tamil Nation instead of analysing only the northern province or the Jaffna District, they are backward in many fields of education. For some purposes, the Tamils are grouped together as one single race and analysed and for other purposes, they are considered separately according to the regions depending on the convenience of the analysts for obvious reasons.

Efforts should be made to bring the primary education in the Plantation Schools in line with that of the national education prevailing in other schools. The number of teachers has to be increased and efforts should be made to import the necessary skills and training to them and the shortage of persons with training in School management should be removed. The primary education should be streamlined according to modern methods of teaching. The difficulties faced by the Secondary Education Schools in the towns in the plantation areas should be looked into and their problem should be solved. Further, the secondary level classes should be conducted in the plantation schools or in the nearby schools.

The educational standards of the plantation people cannot be raised just by improving or modernising the school education. Adult education programme could be introduced in the plantations. So as to benefit the illiterate adults there. There are modern methods in the field of Adult Education which bring about speedy and better results. These modern methods can be used so as not only to improve literacy but also to improve their knowledge in agriculture, dairy development and Hygiene.

It should be stressed that the remedy for the education ills in the plantation sector lies in the two prolonged strategy of developing both the school education and adult education.



(Continued from last issue)

# May '86

22.5.'86 - **Jaffna** - Shells are fired from the Fort army Camp from about 4 p. m. Sections of the buildings of the 'Eelanadu' Press are damaged. From 9 p.m. a helicopter strafes for about one hour.

22.5.'86 - **Jaffna** - 4 fishermen in lagoon shot dead by firing from a helicopter.

May '86 - **Alankerny** - Security Forces surround village and remove 10 males to a temple nearby. Security Forces open fire on 2 persons killing one and seriously injuring the other. The 6 others are assaulted mercilessly. Several houses are set alight.

23.5.'86 - **Malwatte (Amparai)** - Security Forces shoot killing a cyclist and remove body to the Army Camp.

23.5.'86 - **Serunuwara** - 8 Sinhalese civilians are reported to have been killed by Tamil militants.

23.5.'86 - **Kalkudah** - 3 Sinhalese civilians are killed and 4 injured when attacked by hand-grenades by unknown persons.

25.5.'86 - **Mahadivulwewa** - 21 Sinhalese including women and children are shot dead, several houses set alight by armed youths suspected to be Tamil militants. (In November 1985 several permanent Tamil residents of this area were murdered by Sinhalese thugs and the others chased away from their homes. 200 Sinhalese were then settled in the village).

25.5.'86 - **Soorankal, Thampalakamam** - A mother of 9 children and 2 youths at a Refugee Camp who go to see their house abandoned through fear are shot dead by Security Forces. 3 houses are also set alight.

26.5.'86 - **Trincomalee** - 3 Tamils refugee camps searched by Security Forces in the early hours - 200 removed to Army Camp and detained for questioning till evening when they are released except for 8 persons. The wives of the 8 persons appeal for release of their husbands.

26.5.'86 - **Chenkaladi** - Security Forces on foot patrol shoot killing a youth.

May '86 - **Oddusuddan** - About 300 persons are rounded up at gun-point by Security Forces and removed to the Army Camp - compelled to participate in Buddhist Wesak celebrations which are video-filmed, and then released.

May '86 - **Paduvankarai (Batticaloa)** - 2 Public Health Inspectors are when arrested by Security Forces on field work.

May '86 - **Ambalathadi, Kokkadichcholai** - Special Task Forces of Vellaveli, during search operations shoot killing one. A Hindu Temple is blasted with bombs. Over 25 houses are set alight.

26.5.'86 - **Santhiveli, Kalkudah** - Special Task Forces fire on a car passing Army Camp at about 8.30 p.m. 3 killed, 3 seriously wounded. Those killed are a prominent Muslim businessman, another Muslim and a Sinhalese driver, all of Kalmunai. The businessman was on his way to apprehend an employee who had stolen some cash. Colombo media give different versions, 3 civilians killed in cross-fire, "Halt Order defied, vehicle shot at."

May '86 - **Elephant Pass** - Over 25 Tamil youths, most of them proceeding to Colombo to take flights overseas, are arrested by the Security Forces and transferred to the Kankasanturai Army Camp.

26.5.'86 - **Kalmunai** - Government communique: Policemen on being attacked fire killing 3 militants.

28.5.'86 - **Jaffna** - Security Forces who attempt to move out of the Police Quarters are forced to retreat by militants. Security Forces fire shells from the Jaffna Fort Army Camp into residential areas. 6 civilians are injured; several houses and shops are damaged.

May '86 - **Kokkadichcholai** - A helicopter strafed a passenger van. Passengers flee. The helicopter returns and drops shells on the van which is fully burnt.

May '86 - **Trincomalee** - Members of the Citizen's Committee meet the Co-ordinating Officer. The case of 15 Tamils arrested recently by the Security Forces at Thampalakamam and Mullipothana and whose whereabouts are now not known is discussed. Brigadier assures reply in a week.

28.5.'86 - **Vasavilan** - M. Sathavarajayan, a trader of Jaffna who had proceeded on his usual rounds has not returned home. There is fear for his fate due to the Army Camp opened recently at the Vasavilan Central College.

(NOTE: Several decomposed bodies were found later near this Army Camp).

29.5.'86 - **Jaffna** - A shell fired at about 6.30 p.m. from the Army Camp falls in the busy bazaar area. 9 are injured; several shops suffer damages.

29.5.'86 - **Araly** - Road transport to the islands is suspended due to Army Camps being set up at both ends of the causeway. Large number of people wading through the lagoon to cross over to Kayts strafed by a helicopter. One person is killed and another injured.

29.5.'86 - **Jaffna** - A fisherman crossing the road in a residential area is shot dead by the Security Forces firing from the Jaffna Fort Camp.

29.5.86 - **Vavuniya** - A Police jeep overturns and some Policemen are injured. In wanton shooting by Police immediately after the accident, one person is shot dead. He is a refugee fisherman of Cheddikulam. A Government communique: states a terrorist shot dead.

May '86 - **Eruvil, Batticaloa** - Special Task Force personnel fire on 3 motor cyclists. All 3 are killed. The motor cycles are set alight. The dead bodies are removed by the Special Task Force personnel.

29.5.'86 - **Thirunagar, Kilinochchi** - 3 are injured and a house damaged by shells fired from the Army Camp.

30.5.86 - **Slave Island, Colombo** - A bomb explosion in the premises of the Colombo Cold Stores leaves 11 dead. About 50 are injured. 13 persons are arrested by the Police.

30.5.'86 - **Mutur** - Convoy of Army vehicles proceeding from Dehiwatte to Mutur hits land-mine. 24 Army personnel and 5 civilians are killed. Over 10 are seriously injured.

May '86 - **Delft** - Skeletons are watched ashore. 3 more skeletons are also reported to have been washed ashore in the last few days.

30.5.'86 - **Thampalakamam** - Servicemen in black-uniforms enter a Tamil residence in the night and fire on persons listening to 'Thamilosai' programme of B. B. C. A husband, wife and 2 children are shot dead. Another young woman and a 13 year old girl are injured.

30.5.86 - **Boosa** - As a reprisal for the bomb attack at the Colombo Cold Stores Tamil detainees are reported to have been assaulted.

31.5.'86 - **Veyangoda** - Bomb explodes in train from Batticaloa proceeding to Colombo. 8 passengers are killed. In retaliation, 5 Tamil passengers are reported to have been caught by mobs and burnt to death. Belongings of Tamil passengers are looted.

May '86 - **Kiran** - 3 bullet-riddled bodies of Tamil youths with their heads chopped off recovered from the river rolled up in a fishing net. Security Forces engaged in checking operations in this village on this day responsible for these killings.

31.5.'86 - **Batticaloa** - Special Task Forces suddenly arrive in vehicles. People flee in fear. 6 are arrested.

## SEWING MACHINES PRESENTED

The Refugees Rehabilitation Fund-1983 has donated 25 new Singer Sewing Machines to families who had lost their bread-winners.

The presentation was done at the Jaffna YMCA Hall on Monday 11th August.

## AUSTRALIAN HC'S DONATION

The Australian High Commissioner has donated Rs. 100,000 for the purchase of sewing machines, basic equipment and clothes.

The donation has been made to the Refugee Rehabilitation Fund-1983 as "part of its rehabilitation programme for families whose bread-winners had lost their lives in Jaffna District due to the ethnic disturbances."

The Council of the Refugees Rehabilitation Fund selected 25 widows "who had opted to earn an income for the maintenance of their families by sewing and dress making."

## APPEAL FOR BOOKS ON COMPUTER STUDIES

The Data Centre - Centre for Computer Studies - of Jaffna has appealed to the Asia Foundation to help build up a library stocked with books and magazines relating to Computer Study.

The Data Centre includes in each batch "students and families adversely affected by the unfortunate happenings that had been prevailing in the North these past few years".

The Asia Foundation has requested the Data Centre to obtain a letter from the Government, Agent of Jaffna about its participation in rehabilitation work.

The Directors of the Data Centre are: Dr. J. P. C. Phillips A.C. Wijenathan; S. Atputhananda, and K.S. Murugesu.



# Bus Mudalalis — Blood-Suckers

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

I was pained to read the letter of a 'Tired Traveller', Jaffna in your issue of 28.6.86. Apart from the travails of the travellers, the bus fare is incredibly high and is outside the capacity of even the affluent class to pay such an exorbitant sum.

For instance from Colombo to Matara, the Omega Hotel Luxury bus service in Colombo — (leave aside the CTB or other private coaches) — charge only Rs. 22/- to Matara. So on a proportionate basis of distance the highest fare to Jaffna should naturally be Rs. 55/- Are not the bus mudalalis sucking the blood of their own people? Are there no people to take up the matter with the Ministry of Omnibus Transport? No doubt the unscrupulous mudalalis who are fishing in troubled waters in the absence of railway link would readily argue that the risks involved in the present context warrant a higher fare. But it should be clearly noted that the bus operators are covered by insurance and perhaps the greatest tragedy is faced by the poor commuters who risk their lives and limbs on their passage to the North.

May God bless the poor Jaffna Man who is harassed and hacked from all corners.

Colombo-5 B. H. Jayasinghe

## DISMAYED

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

As one of the main founders of the TAMIL UNITED LIBERATION FRONT and Ex-Chairman, Urban Council Valvettiturai. I am constrained to request you to be so good as to publish my comments as hereunder:-

Any impartial judge of politics cannot but view with dismay evidently the superficial knowledge displayed—according to press report—by no less a person than the Hon. Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Anura Bandaranaike with regard to Constitutions in vogue in multi-linguistic countries in the world. On the one hand he is slinging mud by casting vituperative and insinuating remarks against His Excellency J.R. Jayewardene for his seeming attempt at granting Provincial Council set-up, as if he were going to sell the Sinhalese to

the Tamils, and, on the other, he is hailing his late father in that he has levelled meaningful criticism against those responsible for nullifying the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact.

Anyone with an elementary knowledge of politics will agree that the said Pact entered into so early as about 30 years back, conceded Regional Autonomy, if not a preliminary mould for full fledged Federalism.

Had however, the celebrated S.W.R.D. been alive for at least a couple of years further, his enviable resourcefulness would have undoubtedly enabled him to contrive to accord the aforesaid Constitutional status, if not Federalism. In view of the foregoing one will be driven to pause the question, "Whither Anura"?

## LETTERS

Further, it cannot be unknown to the leader of the Opposition that most of the multi-linguistic countries in the world, there is either Federalism or Regional Autonomy. Because it is too well known that in a Unitary form of Govt. in a multi-linguistic country the basic principle of maintaining equality of status in accordance with Democratic Human Rights will be rendered difficult, if not impossible.

In this context it might be recalled that when the world-renowned Statesman Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visited our country last he too expressed the foregoing view when his opinion about our Constitution was sought for by press-men. Incidentally when India won Independence in 1947, it was divided into Autonomous States on linguistic basis.

It is indeed strange to note that the Hon. Leader of the Opposition is critical, if not arrogantly unrestrained, that the "terrorists must first be crushed before the question of settling the ethnic problem be considered. One will be at a loss to know whether he means State terrorists or Tamil terrorists"!

Notwithstanding the Affirmations contained in the Constitution solemnly assuring equality of status to the minorities we cannot fail to mention gentlemanly calibre in the hierarchy that has not hesitated to point but according to the press the unequal treatment meted out to the Tamils — a sister community — on a number of occasions reproduced—to the best of my recollection:

ions reproduced—to the best of my recollection:

Hon. Ananda Tissa de Alwis:

The Tamils are a soft and mild lot...The Tamil leaders contributed in great measure to the attainment of Independence. It is not charitable even to hurt their feelings.

Hon. Shelton Ranarajah, Junior Minister for Justice:

The person who disrupted the implementation of the B-C Pact will have to bear the responsibility for the present calamity. You are also aware as to how the District Council elections were held in Jaffna.

Hon. De Mel Finance Minister:

Unless the ethnic problems is settled peacefully Sri Lanka is going to face severe economic crisis and cannot expect any loan from donor countries.....

Even foreign Diplomats have not failed to show their sympathy to the Tamils in their struggle for freedom. For instance, in a dialogue recently given by the Hon. High Commissioner for India in Sri Lanka, he has not hesitated to point out the atrocities perpetrated against the Tamils in 1958, 1977, and 1983.

It will be quite appropriate and legitimately correct to draw the attention of the Hon. Leader of the Opposition and other responsible bodies to the sworn declaration and affirmations contained in SVASTI, the preamble to the Constitution and the enunciation of FUNDAMENTAL DUTIES portrayed in Chapter 6, para 27, items (5) & (6) of the Constitution which abridgedly run thus:

"The state shall strengthen: national unity by promoting co-operation and mutual confidence among all sections of the people of Sri Lanka including the racial, religious, linguistic and other groups, and shall take effective steps in the field of Teaching, Education and information in order to eliminate discrimination and prejudices.

J. GNANAMOORTHY

Valvettiturai

## CRASH PROGRAMME

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

The only inevitable inference to which one is driven after observing the mixed reaction to the pack-

age deal by the President, is that some of the starry-eyed leaders of certain recognised political parties stand in need of enlightenment in many aspect of Political Science.

Primarily, they should be taught the elementary distinction between Federal and Unitary set-up, which does not require the use of a microscope. Then there is what is known as the concept of Regional Autonomy found so profusely in standard text books and in several parts of the world. There is also what is reiterated as the Right of Self-Determination which has found a place in the Covenants of the U. N. and its related documents. The political structure of Socialist Countries with a plural society is, of course, a closed chapter to most of them.

Why cannot the President and Parliament amend the much amended Constitution of Sri Lanka to make it imperative for the all the M. P.'s to undergo a crash programme of Political Science for a Specified period and condemn that those who fail to qualify and distinguish themselves as over and above the average elector of average ignorance will be disqualified from re-entering Parliament for the rest of their lives.

V. Mahalingam

Karaveddy

## CRUELTY TO ANIMALS

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

It is high time that an association like "GAL GAVA MITHURO" is formed in this part of the country as well, to prevent:

(i) Inhuman methods of slaughter; (ii) use of physically handicapped bulls in hard labour, overloading &c; (iii) to set up a home for aged bulls and cows who are abandoned or sold to butchers.

Cruelty to animals, particularly cows and bulls which were created to help man is a sin of the highest degree. As Philosopher Jeremy Bentham said, 'The question is not, can they reason? Nor can they talk? but can they suffer Divine punishment for wanton cruelty to harmless innocent cattle is bound to be automatic, GOD's mill grinds slowly but surely.

C. Ratnasabapathy

Jaffna



## Film Corporation Axes Tamil Film Imports

# SINHALESE TOO ENJOY TAMIL FILMS

It is not merely Tamil-speaking people but even a very large number of the Sinhalese, who enjoy seeing Tamil Films, now have a genuine grievance that the Film Corporation didn't import an adequate number of Tamil films in 1984, 1985 and now in 1986 — to satisfy the demand in the areas outside the North and East.

The Corporation has tried to evade its responsibility by stating that fewer Tamil films were required because all cinemas in the North and East were closed down.

The Film Exhibitors Association (FEA) and Film Exhibitors Guild have in numerous memoranda shown that the Corporation has failed to import the 'required' number of Tamil films — although His Excellency the President had, in 1983, directed the Chairman of the Corporation to import the 'required' number of films with an adequate number of prints and also keep a sufficient quantity as buffer stock to meet all exigencies. The FEA, which represents Sinhalese, Muslims and Tamil film exhibitors, alleges that the Corporation has not been able to comply with the directives of the President either because of an anti-Tamil bias or because

it has run short of funds to finance the import. The Corporation, it is true, has given fabulous sums of money as 'loans' to certain favoured Sinhala producers whose films proved to be box office flops and that for this reason the Corporation's money went down the drain as irrecoverable.

The FEA has also pointed out that the Corporation gets a 55% share of the Tamil (and Hindi) films imported for exhibition and that this 55% share had contributed to the greater portion of the Corporation's income. In contrast, the share from English films is minimal — certainly not anywhere near the 55% drawn from Tamil and Hindi films. Furthermore, the FEA states that English films are imported by private individuals without a proportionate benefit to the Corporation, and the FEA argues that if the private films exhibitors and others were allowed to import Tamil films, the Corporation would be able to draw its 55% without investing any money for their import — and at the same time have money to subsidise the production of Sinhala films as it had done in the past.

Confronted with the charge of mismanagement and worse, the Corporation has trotted out some lame excuses about theatres being shut down in the Tamil areas, and also that Sinhala Film Producers had wanted the import of Tamil films to be kept down.

The FEA has shown that the Sinhala Film Producers had not made any stipulation about Tamil films although they had wanted a ban on Hindi films.

The FEA was also able to show by statistics that the primary and secondary Tamil release centres in the non-Tamil areas outside the North and East required a minimum of 30 Tamil films a year with five prints each. The FEA was also able to establish their case on a demographic and population basis, together with the record of collections over a number of years at the cinemas showing Tamil films on Sinhala areas.

Finally, to stop further argument, the Corporation proclaimed that it had (by May 2nd) opened letters of credit for the import of 24 films for 1986. The FEA has challenged this and stated that letters of credit had been opened by May 2 only

for 7 films — five of which were for the 1985 quota.

It is time that the Corporation stopped this game of bluff and bluster. This is doing damage to the Government's image among the Tamil speaking and cinema going population in the country. It is also driving theatre owners and film exhibitors into bankruptcy and worse. The Corporation and its coterie of film producers have failed to produce an adequate number of marketable Sinhala films. And the Corporation has also followed a dog-in-the-manger policy so far as Tamil films are concerned.

The Corporation will do well to study the claim of the FEA that a minimum requirement for 1986 would be the import of 30 Tamil films with 5 prints each, and that when the theatres in the North and East re-opened they would require more films with at least 9 or 10 prints each. And, if the Corporation does not have the money to finance the import of Tamil films, it should allow the private sector to do so, as in the case of English films.

(CONGRESS NEWS, JUNE '86)

(Continued from page 2)

the South Asian division of Deutsche Welle, the West German Government owned Radio.

This person who held a top-post in the Times of Ceylon Group before it was closed down joined Lake House thereafter — in a lower position because the higher-ups did not want a Tamil in a position of responsibility. A prominent Indian Daily appointed this person as its Colombo Correspondent. This caused many problems and probes. One of which was for reporting that civilians had died in the 'firing' instead of 'cross-fire'. Now the Sri Lankan Government has officially protested to W. G. and has got the appointment cancelled!

★ ★ ★

What is happening to Kandasamy? The "Eelanadu's" Colombo Correspondent was taken into custody at Anuradhapura on May 14 (1 year after the massacre). The offence? For allegedly sending a parcel of Indian Newspaper cuttings and 'terrorist literature' to his Jaffna head office.

## Govt. Refuses...

All good Journalists writing on the ethnic issue have this literature in their possession. All newspaper office libraries have them; otherwise one cannot write about issues.

Why single out Kandasamy alone? But what is worrying is the dead silence of Journalist Associations over the issue. Working Journalists Association National Union all are keeping mum. Even the Northern Journalists. What is the Eelanadu management doing about it? We hear that Kandasamy is now in Bogambara.

★ ★ ★

We publish here WITHOUT COMMENT extracts from the Colombo Newspapers.

The first is from the Daily News Editorial of August 5th.

EVEN THE RANKS OF TUSCANY...

"President J. R. Jayewardene's long, arduous and imperturbable effort to bring about a settlement of the violence in the country

had drawn a tribute from the heartland of Tamil militancy.

The usually pro-separatist terrorist SATURDAY REVIEW published in Jaffna, is quoted as saying that it accepts that Sri Lankan President Junius Jayewardene has come as far as any Sinhalese leader could go, on the ethnic issue, in this country.

The REVIEW in its page one lead story head-lined AT LAST, SOME HOPE, states. We see a war weariness in the North. The militant groups should realise this. Enough is enough of everything. Especially killing by both sides.

Even the ranks of Tuscany... One might recall that from ancient times, men have had the capacity to acknowledge a great endeavour even when the performance comes from one they opposed."

The second is from the Political Sketchbook by Ariel in the SUNDAY ISLAND of 10th August.

"...In the past, efforts to secure a settlement have flounder-

ed either due to the TULF's intransigence or because anti-Sri Lanka feelings have been high soaring in turn feelings within Sri Lanka.

"Whenever such episodes have occurred India has inevitably been cast as the 'bad guy' in Colombo and the signal is given for the seasonal bout of India-bashing. But this time paradoxically it is not in Colombo but in Jaffna where India and Prime Minister Gandhi have been cast as the bad guy. The Jaffna-based 'SATURDAY REVIEW' which has consistently echoed the separatist position has condemned India in its latest issue for what it calls 'torpedoing' the separatist platform of an amalgamation of the Northern and eastern provinces.

"The journal is unhappy over India's stand that the present proposals constitute the furthest any Sri Lanka Government would be ready to go. The merger of the north and the east which is described in separatist parlance as the 'traditional homelands' of the Tamils is central to its position but India apparently knowing the depth of the opposition to this on the part of Colombo has taken up the stand that the TULF should not press for this."



# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## KALMUNAI:

# UNEASY CALM PREVAILS

(By D. B. S. JEYARAJ)

Kalmunai is now peaceful and quiet. No clashes between Tamils and Muslims were reported on Tuesday night and Wednesday. On Thursday people who had evacuated their homes were returning. Shops were opening. Life was becoming normal. But underneath the calm surface there is rippling tension still. Any untoward incident may provoke another conflagration.

It all started on Saturday, 9th August, when a 24 year old Muslim youth Shirajdeen was called to Pandiruppu a Tamil village adjoining Kalmunai. This youth is the brother of a rich businessman in Kalmunai. Shirajdeen was allegedly a 'fence' dealing with stolen jewellery, T. V. sets etc. Upon being asked to come to Pandiruppu to purchase some gold the youth had got out with some money. He was seen no more. His body was found near a tankbund in Pandiruppu in the early hours of the morning.

Subsequently certain Muslim youths were seen outside the Kalmunai seabeach mosque. Thereafter Tamil houses in Division 3 Kalmunai were attacked. Over 50 houses were burnt. One died; two were taken to hospital where another died. The assailants had shot guns. The Tamils did not have guns as they had been confiscated by the State earlier.

The Security authorities were alerted. A curfew from 5 a. m. to 5 p. m. was declared. On Sunday night the Kalmunai M. P. C. S. Store was ransacked. Some houses including that of the lawyer M. H. M. Ashroff were burnt.

On Monday several prominent citizens of both communities along with Security authorities had a peace meeting. Vehicles with loudspeakers went around imploring people to remain calm. Sammanturai M. P. M. A. Abdul Majeed played a constructive role. On the day in question Kalmunai M. P.

A. R. Munsoor was indisposed in Colombo.

On Monday evening some Tamil people including a well-known school master were assaulted. On that night a group of armed youth attacked Kalmunaikkudi which is predominantly Muslim. This group possessed sophisticated fire-power. About 35 houses belonging to Muslims of the upper-strata were destroyed. Three Muslims including the 18 year old daughter of a prominent businessman who is in Mecca at the moment were killed. Three others were injured.

On Tuesday morning the body of a Jaffna Tamil businessman abducted from Kalmunai on Sunday was washed ashore at Onthachimadam. Three other bodies were washed ashore later. Some Muslim persons abducted on Sunday are yet reported missing.

Later on Tuesday "Saraswathy Stores" owned by a Tamil was attacked. Thereafter 6 shops opposite the Kalmunai Hospital were attacked. These were owned by Muslims. A petrol shed owned by the Kalmunai M. P.'s brother was also destroyed.

Further Peace Conferences were held resulting in the last few days being quiet. Over 5,000 people comprising Tamils and Muslims from Kalmunaikkudi and Kalmunai divisions 1, 2 and 3 have left their homes through fear. They are now returning. Makeshift refugee camps set up in schools are being closed.

A singular aspect of the clashes this time is the 'Neutrality' of the armed forces and the Special Task Force.

Unlike last year's Karaitivu incident there seems to be no evidence of instigation, aid or abetment. One Tamil youth was shot dead on Monday night by the Special Task Force after the attack on Kalmunaikkudi. That was the only incident.

But the most distressing consequence of the incidents is the cleavage which may affect hopes of a Union.

## News Briefs

### JAFFNA'S 20 LAKHS

The Commissioner-General of Inland Revenue Mr. Hugh Moligoda has stated at a Press Conference that nearly 20 lakhs have been collected as Income taxes and about 58 lakhs as Business Turn Over Tax from Jaffna. He is reported to have said that in spite of the prevailing tensions and unsettled situation in the North and East the Tamil people have given their fullest co-operation and support.

### AMBULANCE SERVICE

The Tamil Eelam Students Organisation has set up a Round-the-Clock Ambulance Service. This service could be contacted at the Students' Centre, at Old Park Road in an Emergency.

### SUNDAY'S SHELLING

The flag hoisting at Nallur Kandasamy Temple on 10th August was marked with shelling from the Jaffna Fort Army Camp. Some shells fell near the fruit stalls at Grand Bazaar killing three instantly, while the 4th succumbed to an operation. 11 people were stated to have been injured.

### NARROW ESCAPE

Employees from the Water Supply Department who went to repair the sewage block near Pannai on 13th August had a narrow escape from death when they were fired upon by security forces from the Fort Army Camp.

### LABOURER SHOT

Kokilu Moharasa (27) a sanitary worker was shot dead from the Fort Ramparts around 5 p.m. on 13.8.86 while going along Muneeswaran Road.

## CANCER SOCIETY'S APPEAL

The Northern Province Cancer Society has decided to construct a Cancer Home for incurables. The estimated cost for the building which will house 25-30 inmates is 2 million rupees. All contributions are exempt from income tax. Please draw cheques in favour of the Northern Province Cancer Society. If you wish, you may contribute Rs. 30,000/- towards the cost of a room in memory of a person you nominate. A plaque will be laid with details. Please send the cheque to President's address:- Dr. M. Jehanathan, President, 383, K.K. S. Road, Jaffna, Sri Lanka.

(Based on conversations with Sammanturai M. P. Mr. M. A. Abdul Majeed, Joint Secretary Citizens Committee of Batticaloa and Amparai, Mr. Sam Thambimuttu and Kalmunai Attorney-at-Law Mr. A. Samsudeen.

## Stark Facts

District	No. of deaths
Amparai	2
Batticaloa	7
Trincomalee	5
Mullaitivu	1
Jaffna	5
Mannar	3
Vavuniya	6
Kilinochchi	-
Total.	29

### STATEMENT OF DEATHS

From 1.8.86 to 10.8.86

Source of information: Convener, Co-ordinating Committee of Citizens Committees.

## Ragging...

(Continued from page 1)

should be extended only after providing lectures and practicals that have been missed by undergrads. 7. Two representatives of the newly-elected students organisation should be on the Administrative Committee of inquiry into ragging.

The students on their part guaranteed that no student would be mentally or physically harassed under the cover of ragging. All students would abide by the panel elected by students to monitor ragging. 3 students will not take counter-action against any lawful action by the administration against those caught ragging.

Meanwhile the statement issued by the Point Pedro Citizens Committee on 12th August said that the boycotting students had requested a transfer to Southern Universities if their demands were not met.

The Committee noted that an alien espionage agency had set foot inside the Campus through the students. The students had wittingly or unwittingly fallen prey to this. It called upon all students to unite and defeat this conspiracy.

A statement issued earlier by the Tigers said that under the guise of ragging, freshers were subjected to physical and mental torture. Certain students were using ragging as an outlet for their sexual perversions.

The LTTE had learnt that acts of social and sexual abuse had prevailed during last year's ragging. The movement had proscribed ragging to prevent social degradation.