

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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POLLS IN APRIL?

50-CENT FUND

Direct talks between President Jayewardene's United National Party Government and the leaders of the Tamil militant groups based in Madras are expected to take place this month.

If all goes well, then elections to the proposed new unit of devolution of state power—Provincial Councils—will take place around April.

The Councils, nine in all, cover the entire Island and not merely the Northern and the Eastern Provinces, will have all the powers as an Indian State, under the latest formulations to solve the ethnic problem evolved with the assistance of the Indian Government and placed at the disposal of the militant leaders.

There is provision for linkage between any two or more provinces, for certain purposes, if the people in these provinces so wish, through a referendum.

The latest formulations go far beyond even the Bandaranaike-Chelva-kam pact, which was accepted by the Tamil people at that time representing a reasonable solution to the ethnic problem.

We urge the Government to live up to the situation boldly because there is tremendous support in the North (that is both the Northern and Eastern Provinces) for the proposed terms of settlement.

We urge THE BOYS to accept these terms because these are the only terms they could attain DEMOCRATICALLY.

Of course, THE BOYS could go on fighting for complete independence of the Tamil people through an independent State.

But at what price? As tools of one foreign power or other?

Certain foreign powers are on the horizon, waiting for the kill.

Why allow foreign powers to intervene in what is basically an internal problem?

The winners, if they have their way, will not be ANY community in Sri Lanka, but those foreign powers who care two hoots for the Sri Lankan people as a whole.

Eelam is a good goal, if it can be attained.

THE BOYS have come very near to achieving it.

But do they want to throw all the gains away by insisting on impracticable conditions?

Our sincere advice to THE BOYS is this: take what has been given and consolidate on it.

Prove your mettle and box on from there.

The Moon is a little too far away.

Take the Earth. It is all yours, if only you see the realities of geopolitics, in the South Asian region.

We hold no brief for any side in this continuing conflict which is draining the life-blood of the nation.

All we want to see is life returning to normal in Sri Lanka—where ALL the communities can work shoulder to shoulder towards a United Sri Lanka, a prosperous Sri Lanka, a Switzerland of the East.

YES or NO?

Dr. David Selbourne, who is at the centre of a Press Council inquiry precipitated by a second complaint by the Minister of National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali has also sent his 50 cent contribution to the Fund started by the SATURDAY REVIEW to pay the legal costs awarded to the Minister in an earlier case.

In a personal letter to the Editor, we have re-iterated that what he stated at a seminar in Toronto, Canada in 1985, and published in the SR on 10th August 1985, on the Government's military approach to the ethnic problem, was what exactly the Minister told him during a visit to Sri Lanka in 1982, though at that time he was only Minister of Trade and Shipping.

Ministers are prone to say various things at various places, depending on the audience. That is their special privilege. But none of them can fool the public all the time.

(Continued on page 12)

BALAKUMAR SAYS:

WE ACT IN OUR OWN WAY

"The time has come, India should clearly indicate to the world its definite political stand on the ethnic strife, instead of playing a mediatory role alone", said Mr. V. Balakumar of the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS) in Jaffna.

When asked what he felt during the crisis hours in November when he was taken into custody along with other militants by the Tamil Nadu Police in a humiliating way, he said that the situation was so bad and he could almost visualise a completely different phase.

Seated in a wooden chair in a humble middle class house situated in the suburbs of Jaffna he spoke to the SATURDAY REVIEW.

"Even before the arrest we felt certain ominous tendencies in Tamil Nadu and in the Indian political situation with regard to us" he said.

How does he perceive the current Talks (direct, indirect and sometimes "secret") cum kill situation?

"In this regard," asserts Mr. Balakumar, "EROS wants to re-emphasise its previous stand and would like to comment on the process of mediation. India cannot be a mediator alone, and any negotiations that failed to assess the present Geo-political situation could not be successful. In the absence of a definite Indian stand on the ethnic strife there is a strong possibility that negotiations will drag on, for ever. We cannot forget history. If such a situation tends to develop we cannot but act in our own way."

He pointed to the situation in the East. "The people in the North relatively enjoy a sort of freedom.

Talks and goodwill seemed to be on the increase. At the same time, the Government is hell bent on killing civilians in the East. We strongly feel that India should send a fact-finding mission to the East.

"Several new military encampments have been opened in the East, particularly after the so-called negotiations. Now, it appears that the Sri Lankan Government attempts to isolate the Indian Government from the militant groups. In order to achieve this the Government creates a picture of direct talks.

"As far as we are concerned, finding a solution to the ethnic crisis—first of all—is not possible without taking into account the plantation Tamils. Secondly, any situation or a settlement without the understanding of India is inconceivable."

Release All Political Prisoners In Sri Lankan Jails

Saturday Review

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Mr. K. Sripathy, Rural Development Officer, Valigamam North, Tellippalai has been awarded a scholarship by the Asian Rural Institute in Japan. The Scholarship is a nine month course in Japan. Forty one trainees have been selected from fifteen Third World countries which include Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, Swaziland, El Salvador, India, Bangladesh, Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines, Korea, Burma and Sri Lanka.

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Politeness Doesn't Pay

A young journalist was standing outside the University administration building. A University official told him, "I say, your paper did not publish our statement." The journalist grinned and replied, "That is the trouble, sir, nowadays the papers do not publish what you hand in politely. But they are quick to publish what is handed in impolitely".

These are difficult times especially for newspapermen who value the integrity of their profession.

One saving factor today is that at a certain level of society, the Jaffna man still retains his skepticism and pungent humour — like the office boy who said "We Tamils have become like the Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas of old".

The constraints on journalism have been changing so rapidly as to tax every editor's flexibility. While government forces were at large in Jaffna the SATURDAY REVIEW hit upon the device of getting news past the censor by quoting the government's own denials. Then the Eelanadu Editor, a scion of the Youth Congress steeped in the Indian independence struggle, was on particularly strong ground.

The Editor of the Eelamurasu Mr. S. M. Gopalaratnam (Gopu), finds his strength in that he thinks and feels like the common Jaffna man. He draws from the rich store of down to earth common sense found at that level, and has the courage to express it. He once said privately, "When a son of the home goes to war it is as if we have all gone to war." We give below excerpts from his writings in the EELAMURASU.

On the arrests of militant leaders (November 1986)

India has readily given refuge to our people in distress. They have been given all manner of succour. Now comes the dismaying news of the arrest of militant leaders. This may be because President Jayewardene is going for the SAARC conference in Bangalore and India wishes to demonstrate that it in fact has power over the Tamil militants. Or it may be that Sikh militants are being given refuge in Pakistan and

Thank you SACRED HEART OF JESUS LADY OF PERPETUAL SUCCOUR ST. JUDE, ST. ANTHONY. INFANT JESUS FOR THE VERY GREAT FAVOUR GRANTED.

SATA

India finds the Tamil militants on its soil embarrassment. It is an old Indian custom to offer hospitality to those who are in distress. There is an old Tamil saying "Medicine and Food are only for three days". India has done its share. It is time that our people seriously thought of coming back.

THE TWO PROTESTS

We are seeing at present two protests being conducted simultaneously. One led by University students for a student who mysteriously disappeared and the other for the detained militant leaders in Tamil Nadu. We have seen a spate of protest fasts, processions and sit-

The Media Scene

downs on highways. This may seem not just comical but it is also distressing.

When orders were issued for the arrests and deportations of Dr. Balasingham and C. Chandrasekaran Tamil Nadu rose up in tumultuous protest. Here the North and East too rose up with a loud voice.

What is the position today? This gives food for thought, both for the Tamil people and the militant groups.

STIRRING THE POND (September 1986)

When the village is divided and quarrelling the spectator has his amusement." (A Tamil proverb).

The events of the last two or three days in the Northern and Eastern provinces have given cause for the Sri Lankan government and the Army to celebrate.

The news agencies in Colombo are now shouting with glee the names of militant groups which they did not wish to even pronounce before. But the Tamil people bowed their heads in unbearable shame. The Tamils have tried to gain their rights by political means and later though non-violent means and have day by day experienced oppression.

Having suffered racial violence and much deprivation Tamils too lost faith in non-violence and provided both moral and physical succour to the militant youth. Just as the politicians broke up into smaller and smaller parties in the face of mounting public support, so did the armed youth break up into several militant movements.

There arose a demand amongst the people that the militants should unite. Rivalries amongst politicians can be decided by the vote. But the militant groups can only decide on leadership by the strength of arms. As a consequence we can only say the arms have been directed away from the real enemy. This phenomenon may be common elsewhere. But can this small community in a country bear this?

Must thousands of young men who set out with a thirst for freedom lie mute on the streets because of militant youth?

Those groups which do not deserve to survive will vanish by themselves in the course of time. But to force the issue will only give strength to the enemy.

Even at this late hour if the groups are unwilling to unite and work under a common scheme it will be like the fable of the fish who stirred the pond and exposed itself to the hawk.

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FIRST DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF

RASIAH FRANCIS
RATNASINGHAM



BORN: 20-05-1916

BORN TO ETERNAL

LIFE: 01-01-1986

New Year dawns with deep regret
Bringing fond memories of one who loved us best
All through life mundane he toiled to make us well
May the Good Lord now grant him eternal rest.

Inserted By his
Sorrowing Wife, daughter, Son-in-law, Sons, daughters-in-law and grand Children.

"Ratna Mahal"
Karampon East,
Kayts.

NICARAGUA

Democracy Via Mass Organisations

An extremely important aspect of the FSLN-led revolution is the formation of organizations which attempt to incorporate the majority of the population in the socio-economic transformation taking place in Nicaragua. This process of involving the majority in the determination of the course of the revolution is a broad and deep democratization that complements the holding of fair national elections. Prior to the revolution, neither of these avenues to participation in the political process were available.

The creation and strengthening of what the Nicaraguans call mass organizations is one of the most important manifestations of this developing participatory democracy. The worker, peasant, student, women's, professional, and neighbourhood organizations involve approximately one million citizens of 40% of the total population. The significance of their role in the democratization process is seen in the participation of representatives of the mass organizations in the Council of State beginning in May 1980. Nature of the Mass Organizations.

One of the goals of the mass organizations is to serve as "schools for popular democracy" through which people participate in the political, economic, and social decision making process. Over the last five years, changes and reorganizations based on day to day experiences have deepened their internal democracy. In their meetings members assess the actions of their executive officers. Through their electoral process, all the mass organizations can ratify or reject their leadership in assemblies held at the base, zonal, regional and national levels.

The relationship between the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and the mass organizations is a mutual one with the mass organizations developing a significant autonomy from the FSLN. In the view of the FSLN, the mass organizations must not become mere appendages of the party, set up to carry out the work of a top-down revolution. The Sandinistas are committed to preserving the autonomy of the mass organizations as the "architects of history" in the new Nicaragua. According to one regional political

secretary of the FSLN: The FSLN has the conception that the role of the masses in the revolutionary process is something fundamental; it is not an accessory nor something secondary. The masses themselves have demonstrated that they are the principal agent in revolutionary transformations: they are the active and conscious agents of the revolution. As a political organization we relate ourselves to them.

The way the FSLN relates itself to the mass organizations is in terms of itself, conception as the vanguard. This conception is inseparable from its relationship to the masses. Commandante Carlos Nunez, a member of the nine-man directorate of the FSLN says that: The FSLN came to be and is the vanguard of the Nicaraguan people not only for having defined the correct way of struggle, but also for having clearly defined that the masses were the forces capable of moving the wheel of history. If yesterday, oriented by their vanguard, they were the motor of the overthrow of the dictatorship, then today, directed by that vanguard, they are the motor of the revolution.

While this perceived role entails carrying out a leadership function, this does not mean that the FSLN regards the relationship between it and the mass organizations as a monolithic one. "In Nicaragua the people weren't isolated from the vanguard or vice versa," points out Ricardo Wheelock of the FSLN. "There's intercommunication between the two of them."

The intercommunication between the FSLN and the mass organizations has been institutionalized. Zonal and regional officials of the mass organizations regularly send written reports to the zonal and regional offices of the FSLN. These reports include details concerning both the achievements and problems of the mass organizations. In turn, the FSLN sends "orientations" to each leadership body of the mass organizations calling on them to help carry out some task of the revolution.

Leaders of the mass organizations also have frequent face to face meetings with FSLN party leaders. These meetings may be of an ad-hoc nature to discuss the special

concerns of a mass organization, or may be regularly scheduled encounters where an interchange of concerns takes place. Mass organization leaders emphasize that the FSLN does not interfere with the mass organizations' prioritization of tasks or work methods. An official of one regional Sandinist Defense Committee (CDS) remarked that "if the Frente has a task for us we talk with them and decide whether we can do it or not. We negotiate with them to see whether it's possible. We are an autonomous organization. We don't have a vertical relation with them."

The relationship between the FSLN and the mass organizations is not tension-free. For example, in early 1980 the Association of Farm workers (ATC) mobilized its membership in support of legalizing land seizures that had taken place in the months following the triumph of the revolution. The FSLN, concerned with maintaining the support of the national bourgeoisie and ensuring the survival of the revolution, tended to oppose post-victory land takeovers. For the ATC, however, any return of land to private owners symbolizes a reversal of the process of agrarian reform at a time when thousands of workers and peasants expected its continued advance. In the end, the FSLN backed down from its previous position and decided to support the demands of the ATC.

In 1983 AMNLAE voted against the FSLN in the Council of state on the issue of women's participation in the military draft the FSLN's original proposal was to make military service obligatory only for men. Women in AMNLAE vigorously opposed this position and eventually won the right for women to volunteer for the patriotic Military Service.

SANDINISTA DEFENCE COMMITTEES

The most important of the mass organizations is the CDS. With 600,000 members—almost 25% of the total population—organized at the base in 15,000 block organizations it is the largest mass organization.

The origin of the CDS is in the grassroots organization that multiplied rapidly following a devastating earthquake in 1972. Little by little, these groups took on insurrectional tasks. One of the major li-

mitations in barrio level fighting against the Somoza regime was need for organized provision of food, water, medical care, and civil defense to the civilian population. To counter this weakness, the FSLN pushed the organization of Civil Defense Committees (CDC), the predecessors to the CDSs. The CDC were organized block by block. They provided the necessary infrastructure to support the population during the insurrections. From the outset, their membership was open to all "honest Nicaraguans"—those who were willing to participate in the resistance against Somoza. Membership or political unity with the FSLN was not a requirement, except on the issue of opposition to Somoza. The overwhelming majority of the CDS membership is not in the FSLN.

The leadership of the CDCs was chosen by the people in the neighbourhoods rather than by the FSLN. On occasions, landlords or businessmen were chosen to head committees because of their high standing in the community.

On July 19, 1979 the FSLN inherited a country which there was a certain vacuum.

There was an immediate need to organise distribution of essential services and maintain order in a situation of near anarchy. The CDCs—now renamed the CDSs—were a principal element in establishing and maintaining order and organizing the delivery of essential services in the absence of any governmental agencies capable of exercising those functions. The FSLN issued a call for the organisations of CDSs in every neighbourhood, and CDSs were formed throughout the country.

The basic element of the CDS is the block committee. Each committee elects its own leadership. They discuss and work on neighbourhood problems and also study national political questions. Decisions are made by majority rule.

The next level of the CDS is the barrio committee, which typically has several thousand people under its jurisdiction. It is at the barrio level that campaigns are organised and tasks are undertaken. The barrios elect their leadership to the next level which is the zone. After the zone is the district.

(Continued on page 4)

NAVALAR: ANTI - IMPERIALIST FIGHTER

In the wake of the liberation struggle that is being waged for the last several years by the Tamil patriots and militants in Sri Lanka for their separate Tamil homeland, a past hero came to life in one of their strongholds —Wimbledon.

At the Wimbledon Little Hall (otherwise known as the Tamil Hall) Tamils representing all walks of life and political views gathered together to pay their tribute to Arumuga Navalar and re-dedicate themselves for continued support to their present struggle—all in the name of their last century hero.

On November 30, 1986, the meeting began with prayers led by Saiva Neri Kavalan, Mr. S. Sabapathipillai, Mrs. V. Muttucumaraswamy and Mr. V. R. Ramanathan.

Among those who spoke were Mr. K. Navasothi and Selvi Surulika Lokanathan.

Mrs. Arunthathi Srikantharajah and her pupils entertained the audience on Veena and with songs.

In my own speech, I said that what the Tamils should do now is

by

Krishna Vaikunthavasan

give their full support to the Tamil militants.

Earlier a large size portrait of Arumuga Navalar painted by Gandeepan Vaikunthavasan was unveiled.

SRI LA SRI Arumuga Navalar will always be remembered as a Tamil

scholar of outstanding originality, a great reformer and above all as an intrepid fighter against imperialism which was in its incipient stages during his life time.

He lived for only 57 years (1822-1879) and although born, bred and educated in Jaffna, he prided himself that he was first and foremost

a Tamilian, therefore his primary affinity and the sacrifice of his entire life was for the Tamil people and their way of life whether in Jaffna, Cithamparam or Thiruchendur.

PIONEER

Long before Subramania Bharathiyar of Tamil Nadu, Arumuga Na-

valar from Yalpanam was widely recognised as a Tamil literary figure.

When he was only 27 years-old, Arumugam was already a highly respected sanyasin and welcomed to the holy pilgrimage and cultural centres. His discourses on Siva Sithantham and Hindu philosophy earned him the title of 'Navalar' from the highly prestigious institution the Thiruvavaduthurai Atheenam in South India.

As Tamils on this occasion of our paying homage and tribute to one of our greatest ancestors, let us so live that we are in a position to honour Tamil freedom fighters like Sri La Sri Arumugam.

(Courtesy : New Life)

Democracy Via Mass.....

(Continued from page 3)

It is only at the zonal level and above that the staffs are professional. At those levels the leadership is limited to dealing with larger policy issues. Day to day organization and tasks are left to the barrio and bloek committees which are composed of all volunteers. Despite FSLN stress on organization through the workplace, in the CDS structure it is quite common for the head of a block committee to be a retired man or woman or a housewife, since they are almost always at home. The result of this structure is a considerable level of autonomy on the local level. The block and barrio committees are forced to resolve their problems with minimal input from above other than the broad policy guidelines of the national organization.

In the beginning, the CDS carried out many para-statal functions. For example, there are no national identification cards, and the CDSs were used to identify people based on personal acquaintance of people in the neighbourhood. They also organized the distribution of food and services.

The CDSs assumed these para-statal functions primarily because of the lack of a state apparatus capable of carrying them out. Nicaragua is extremely poor and has limited resources for the establishment of a bureaucracy. CDS members are all volunteers who carry out their tasks after work and on the weekends. In addition, the services that the CDSs initially undertook were needed immediately and the already existing CDC structure allowed them

to be organized in a matter of days or weeks, rather than the months that the organization of a bureaucratic structure would have entailed.

Even today the CDSs are relied on to perform many tasks the state is economically and organizationally unable to carry out. They carry out the health campaigns, such as the massive vaccinations for polio and measles. They have taken steps to control malaria by removing water and mosquito breeding areas throughout the country. Once a year they vaccinate all dogs against rabies. They organize neighbourhood clean-up and weed and trash control. They organize janitorial services for all schools on a daily basis. The CDSs find volunteer teachers and donated classrooms for the adult education programmes. Before each rainy season, CDS members climb into the sewer system to remove trash and debris to prevent flooding.

The most controversial task of the CDS is the revolutionary vigilance. Members of the CDS serve one or more four hour shift per week at night patrolling the neighbourhood. Originally, the vigilance was organized to monitor and defend against counter revolutionary activity. It still fulfills this function along the borders where contra activity is high. The vigilance is similar in many ways to neighbourhood watch programmes in the United States. Because the state does not have the economic resources to patrol the neighbourhood, it formally relies on the CDSs to assume this function. Except in areas of high contra activity, the CDSs are unarmed and

rely on shouts for assistance in case of emergency.

One striking result of the vigilance is an enormous drop in the crime rate. Prior to 1979, few people ventured out after dark because of the presence of criminals and the National Guard. Now, thanks to the destruction of the National Guard, and the formation of the vigilance, people stay in the streets until late.

The CDS role in the distribution of rationed foodstuffs is also very important. Many basic products such as rice, beans, corn, eggs, milk, toilet paper, and cooking oil are rationed because they are in tight supply. The CDS has been assigned this task due to the lack of any other bureaucracy that could take it on.

Finally, the CDS are active in mobilizing people for political events as well as civil defence. They also encourage people to participate in the militias and army to fight the contras.

Critics of the CDS focus on the last three activities. They argue that the CDS is both a para-statal and party structure that allows the FSLN to perpetuate and expand its control over society and influence elections—by blurring the distinction between the state and the party. In support of their argument they point to incidents of CDS members harassing opposition party supporters, tearing down their posters, painting over their graffiti, and disrupting their rallies. There is a dispute about how widespread these abuses were, but the FSLN admits that they have occurred.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNAL DEMOCRACY

The following example provides insight into the internal workings of the CDS. In 1983, the CDSs underwent a round of restructuring at the zonal and regional levels throughout the country to correspond with the decentralization process of the government. A regional secretary in Las Segovias explained how the executive committee in his region was chosen; At the zonal and regional levels we are approved or rejected in public assemblies. Our record of struggle against Somoza is taken into account, as well as our level of acceptance by the people. All block, barrio, comarco (rural district), and community leaders participate. So in this zone, 400 CDSs and 2000 people can participate. In October 1983, the regional assembly met and chose the regional secretaries. Each zone put forth two or three candidates that were chosen at the base level. Seven people were elected and we then decided among ourselves should be responsible for each position.

The FSLN takes an interest in the process of democratization in the CDSs. The CDSs are quite autonomous, and despite the influence that the FSLN has on them, abuses result from the spontaneous response of the membership. Recognizing some of the problems in the functioning of the CDSs, Commandante Bayardo Arce wrote a letter to them in October 1982. The letter expresses the strong belief "that the CDS leadership and members should express qualities that can be measured by...their willingness to be the best servants of the people, avoiding and combating opportunism, bureaucracy, favouritism and bossism. "It goes on to describe arbitrary attitudes and actions that exert influences which are contrary to Sandinista principles."

(To be Continued)

LOOKING BACK AT 1986

'Now round us spreads the watery plain—
Oh, might our margins meet again!' — Arnold
"To Marguarite"

Despite signs of peace shooting across the horizon like meteors, the year has seen little change in the black hearts and bullet-ridden hearts in Colombo. The civilian toll of mainly Tamils continues to rise monthly by the hundreds. A recent visitor from the Eastern province told me, "it is very unlike Jaffna where the smallest incident gets much publicity. There the humble folk are impoverished, with little influence and the citizens' committee is hardpressed. If someone disappears the relatives make inquiries at the nearby camps of government forces. They then go to their homes and bear their grief in silence. You can gauge the size of the problem from the fact that several employees of Batticaloa University have disappeared."

Jaffna on the other hand has had relative peace for several reasons, not least important being timely warnings given to the Sri Lankan government by India to lay off the Peninsula if she is to maintain her equipoise consistent with a mediatory role. This gave the people of Jaffna a wonderful opportunity to find answers to the thorny moral questions which had sorely divided them. Here the leading sections of society have failed. Their stand has not gone much further beyond "hooray! The winning side won."

At a recent public meeting in the St. Johns' hall (14. Dec.) the audience was asked to present their views to the visiting delegation from the National Christian Council. With a few exceptions speaker after speaker went up the stage to recite a history where Tamils were always innocent victims. The inevitable question, what does a forgiving wife do when her husband repeatedly mistreats her, was asked; The Southerners, especially Christians, were taken to task. The chairman, a leading ecclesiastic from Jaffna, in conclusion delivered an unusual rendering of Jesus' parable of the good Samaritan. He introduced a new concept calling it the 'trap of the good Samaritan'. The good Samaritan of the parable was an outcaste who extended loving care to a man who had been robbed on the highway and left unconscious and bleeding.

Two leading persons had previously passed by on the other side. The chairman posed the question, what would the Samaritan have done if he had come at an earlier time when the victim was being beaten? After cleverly posing a contrived moral question it was allowed to hang in the air in a manner congenial to the current moral climate. To many in the audience, Christ and his message to love one's neighbour whatever the cost, had been lost sight of.

There was no more question what we had been doing and ask what our share had been in our evident disintegration. Liberation theology is ignorant of the potent enemy within.

When the speeches were over and the people were gone, there remain-

by

ed the hard fact; that on that day many of our youth were on the run in fear and alienation; the same youth whose sacrifices had been praised by the speakers and whose torture at the hands of the government had been rightly condemned. Do our own youth, many of whom with sincere longing, had set out to fight for our freedom, deserve humiliation and much worse at our own hands? We had no answer. What is certain is that our social climate is being increasingly poisoned with pockets of smarting humiliation and seething anger for which the price will be paid someday.

A RAY OF HOPE

The first move perhaps, to stand up for the threatened values of justice, truth and decency came from the students of the University of Jaffna. To point to their faults and mistakes is no more than to say that we are all victims of our past and are limited by current cultural mores. Many of us observers could not doubt the courage and the core of sincerity. The weight that had to be borne by the whole community had been placed on such tender shoulders. Perhaps it is right that the grievous cost to the community of ignoring such values as truth and justice should be better understood by persons from those layers of society that have been scarred by this conflict. A group of clergy was once observed looking distinctly uncomfortable in the company of a young Hindu activist who

said, "there can be no relationship of love and affection between persons unless there is mutual respect and a commitment to common values of justice". The young clergymen steeped in modern dialectical theology were unsure as to whether there was anything called justice. The bemused observer told me with a smile, "even clergy men have to sometimes learn about Biblical values from unaccustomed quarters". The depth of understanding and commitment of several of the student leaders left many who spoke to them deeply moved. After talking to some worried students a young lecturer in the Humanities observed with grim fore boding, "idealism and courage are not enough in this world".

THE SOUTH

One may hazard a cautious guess that we are past the stage of race

Rajan Hoole

riots and of extreme racial hatred. For this we owe thanks to the peace committees, the MIRJE and many like-minded organisations that have been combating racism. Even the Government whose conduct had been more than wanting has taken to making some gestures for peace. Vijaya Kumaranatunge should not be disheartened by jibes provided he retains a sincerity of purpose. The importance of his civilising mission in getting people apparently on two extremes—Buddhist clergy and ordinary Sinhalese folk with militants of the LTTE—to sit down and talk to each other should not be underestimated. This will no doubt improve the atmosphere in border areas. One must also not underestimate the racist and militaristic propaganda that has gripped many young minds. Sound tapes of this category are also selling in competition with those of Vijaya's Jaffna mission.

NCC REPLIES

During the meeting with the NCC mentioned earlier, particular spirited replies were given by reverends Selvarajah and Ebenezer. Defending work done in the South Selvarajah spoke of another actor, Gamini Fonseka, who had protected Tamils during the '83 violence. When the front to protest against peace negotiations was being formed in the Dalada Maligawa sacred to the Buddhist, thither went Fonseka in the company of a Tamil. There he asked, "do you want to see the

Uttama Putra (virtuous son)? It is this Tamil man who donated his kidney to an ailing Sinhalese stranger at Vellore." Selvarajah went on, "when you speak of Tamils are you really one people? Two of your ladies came to Kandy for a women's conference. At a seminar on prostitution when asked about Jaffna they replied "we have no such problem". Then someone pointedly inquired about the low-castes, and the ladies replied, "oh, they might have." Whom do you mean by Tamils?" Ebenezer spoke about Sinhalese colleagues in the clergy who had risked their lives for Tamils.

What good work has been done in the South must be humbly acknowledged and we must be grateful that Selvarajah and Ebenezer are in Kandy and Hendala instead of in Sydney and Vancouver. Have we Tamils lost the moral initiative through being beguiled by a mixture of self-pity and false hopes built on vanity?

The fighting and killing must stop, even if only through sheer fatigue. But the future of freedom and democracy, both in the North and in the South, depend on grappling with the moral nettles.

WINDS OF CHANGE

*I go with the winds.
The winds of change
that are wafting over Jaffna.
The new winds.
Jaffna,
heartland of the Tamil people,
may see a new life
if only they see reason.
We must forget
the era of
Elara and Dutugemunu.
Victory is yours,
Tamil Youth
who have humbled
a mighty Government.
But peace?
It is a difficult deed.
Unlike fighting
with guns and swords
and blood and death.
It is all yours
the Children of Eelam.
if you know
where you are coming
or going.
A friend who cries
in the night,
I pray for you,
Children of Eelam.*

— ANON — XII

LALITH VS SR: ACT 1

The inquiry into the second complaint by the Minister of National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali was held over three days— 31st October, 21st November and 5th December.

The complaint related to a speech made by Dr. David Selbourne at a Seminar in Toronto, Canada, published in article form in the SR on 10th August 1985.

The Editor was unable to be present on the first day because of his commitments in Jaffna complicated by transport and communication difficulties.

Because the complaint has a vital bearing on the fundamental right of freedom of speech and expression enshrined in the Constitution (Article 10) the collective responsibility of the Cabinet, the survival of the SR and the survival of democracy itself, we propose to publish excerpts of the proceedings at the Press Council inquiry, beginning with this issue.

Present at the inquiry on the first day were all seven members of the Press Council all appointed by President Jayewardene's Government:

Mr. M. Hussein (Chairman), Mrs. Manel Abhayaratne (Director of Information, ex-officio member), Mr. Ranjit de Silva, Mr. L. Ivor Fernando, Mr. G. S. Perera (Editor of the Sinhala daily "Dinamina" published by the Government-controlled Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd (Lake House), the only journalist member), Mr. K. B. Sugathadasa and Prof. Tennakoon Vimalanada.

The officials present were Mr. K. C. P. de Alwis, Press Commissioner, and Mr. M. K. Weerakoon, Secretary, Press Council.

Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, M. P., Minister of National Security, and Deputy Minister of Defence, (Complainant) was present.

Mr. R. Gunaratne, attorney-at-law, appeared on behalf of the complainant.

Mr. S. Sittampalam, attorney-at-law, appeared on behalf of the defendants.

Mr. Sittampalam: Mr. Gamini Navaratne, the Editor, was here to get ready in this matter but he left and he has sent a message (from Jaffna) saying that he is held up due to unavoidable circumstances because he is trying to help in the release of the hostages. (the two soldiers held in captivity by

the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) and wanted to be excused for not being able to be present today. I rather like to believe him because I have been told that he does have some influence in this area and therefore I ask your Honours to give me a date.

Chairman: But the Complainant can begin his case today.

Mr. Sittampalam: Very well Sir. Examination-in-chief. by Mr. Gunaratne.

Q: You have made a complaint against the SATURDAY REVIEW dated 10th August 1985?

A: Yes, that is correct.

Q: That is in regard to an article written by David Selbourne?

A: Yes.

Q: The article written by David Selbourne is published in the SR of 10th August 1985?

A: Yes, the article is entitled "David Selbourne Rides Again".

Q: Now the complaint is in regard to PIA, paragraph 4 (marked by counsel)?

A: Yes.

Q: This attributes to you that you are going to smash heads?

A: Yes.

Q: Did you ever make such a statement to David Selbourne?

A: No.

Q: Earlier, in the second paragraph of his article, he says that you and David Selbourne were contemporaries as students in Oxford?

A: Yes, for some of my period he was there.

Q: You have known him for long?

A: I knew he was a contemporary but I was not on great terms with him because he was at another college.

Q: He says in the second paragraph (reads...) Also, of having spoken to... We both studied Law. Is that correct?

A: I think it more correct to say "We knew of each other" than to say "We knew each other".

Q: In the third paragraph it is stated (reads...) "My meetings with President Jayewardene... which has ever been my misfortune to hear".

A: I do not know what he seems to convey. I went to see President Jayewardene on that day and David Selbourne was there already. I did not recognise him but President Jayewardene said "here is David Selbourne who says that he was a contemporary of yours as students at Oxford." So I smiled and acknowledged that. The name David Selbourne rang some kind of bell in my mind but when I saw him I could not place him in that way. I remember seeing his name as writing article in the Manchester "Guardian." I am not seeking to contradict the statement that he was an undergraduate from 1955 to 1958. If it was said that we had known of each other, then it is correct because there was a person like that, but to say we knew each other is not correct.

Q: Did you belong to the same college?

A: No, he was in another college, he did his degree and went away. He was not in particular a friend of mine. May be he would have known of me.

Q: You said he was in another college?

A: Yes I was at Jesus.

Q: The third paragraph says "...because of the old school tie which operated with great effect when I first went to Colombo."

A: I do not know how he says that, he did not operate with me. I met him in Colombo only on one occasion and that was with the President and the President put him and me into one car and I went to Katunayake.

Chairman: It was the President who introduced him to you?

Examination - in chief contd. You say that the fifth paragraph in that article is incorrect?

A: Yes.

Q: He says you said that he is a good fellow and should chat with him?

A: Certainly I will not use that language if I am speaking to the President of the country.

Chairman: That is fiction, you say?

A: Yes.

Examination - in - chief contd.

Q: He says that you said that he comes from Oxford?

A: I did not say that certainly. That is not the kind of language I would have used when talking to the President.

Q: In the next line he says "I imagine...reception I got"?

A: It seems to me that it is a part of his inconsistency. This paragraph is inconsistent with the previous passage. In the last sentence of this paragraph he says "He actually took me...for all of one day". I think he is talking about the President. Certainly the President asked him to get into his car and I was also taken in the same car because I had an appointment in Katunayake.

Chairman: He must have met the President as a journalist. Had you known of him as a journalist prior to that day?

A: I had read some of his articles appearing in the Manchester "Guardian".

Examination - in-chief contd.

Q: The last sentence of PIC says "He actually took him... for all of one day". That means the President?

A: Yes, I did not take him.

Q: The next sentence says (reads) "I sat in the back...was Gamini Dissanayake" (Minister of lands and Mahaweli Development). Is that correct? was Gamini Dissanayake present?

A: I cannot recall whether he was there but there were one or two people with us:

Q: What is this "huge limousine" he has referred to?

A: This is the President's car. We were going to Katunayake for a tour of the Air Lanka Catering Services facilities. This was I think around 11-00 or 11-30 a.m. after the Cabinet meeting.

Q: He also says in the sixth paragraph (reads...)

"In the seat in front... for some hours".

A: I cannot remember the particular spot where I sat. That could be correct.

Q: He says that he travelled for some hours?

A: I remember I went to Katunayake and took part in the function and came back on my own, for I had some other meeting at 3.00 o'clock,

Q: You travelled with him in this car from Clombo to Katunayake?

A: Yes.

Q: He goes on to say "Because of their friendliness..... indiscreet." Is that correct?

A: I do not think we were over-friendly with him, I had no reason to be. I think the President showed him undoubted oriental politeness. I do not know whether he misunderstood that. I cannot remember any one being indiscreet.

Q: In the next sentence he says "But the gravity of..... further indiscretions".

Chairman: All of you in the car were aware that he was a journalist? Yes. Though David Selbourne studied law, he never practised law. He is a free-lance journalist.

Examination-in-chief contd.: In that article there is no other reference to you? The biggest error concerning me is that in 1982 I was not the Minister of National Security and was not handling any problem relating to this.

Q: In the article itself, there is no reference to you?

A: No.

Q: Your complaint is mainly with regard to paragraph 5?

A: In my letter to the SR I have said (reads.....) (Counsel marks as p4, the Complainant's letter which was p4 published by SR dated 26th October 1985).

Q: But in the article itself, there is no other reference to you and your complaint is mainly with regard to paragraph 5?

A: Yes.

Q: In the 3rd paragraph he says "we were greeted..... misfortune to hear".

Q: You say that it is completely false?

A: Yes. We were never on first name terms. I do not know whether I can be indiscreet.

Q: The main complaint is that he said you were going to smash heads. You say you never said that?

A: No, the question never arose. I was Minister of Trade and Shipping at that time. No body was asking me questions about the present-day problems and the Tamils. On 23rd March 1984 I became Mi-

nister of National Security. If I had spoken the most obnoxious nonsense about the Tamils in 1982, he would certainly have published it before 1985 whereas he has published this only in October 1985.

Q: After this 1982 meetings, he has written articles in the local papers?

A: No, not in the local papers but in the international papers.

Q: In PIA "This articles of a speech at seminar.....". "David Selbourne..... expelled from Sri Lanka in 1982". That statement that he was expelled from Sri Lanka, is that correct?

A: I think I read in a newspaper that he has been expelled. He also says "He also spoke..... by over 400 people. This is a reproduction of an article published in" Canada. It is from a speech at a seminar?

A: Yes.

Q: After 1982 and during this period 1982-1985, did any other article of his appear in the local papers?

A: I cannot remember.

Q: But in the foreign press, he has written about Sri Lanka?

A: Yes. If my memory is right he wrote some angry articles about Sri Lanka soon after he was expelled.

Q: You say this article is completely false as far as it refers to you?

A: Yes, it is utterly false.

Q: And it is defamatory?

A: Yes.

Q: And it has harmed your reputation?

A: Yes.

You have never stated that you will smash heads or will be smashing heads?

A: No.

Q: Thereafter you wrote to the SR stating that these statements are defamatory and wanted a denial in the most emphatic terms?

A: Yes.

Q: You also stated in that (reads.....)

A: Yes.

Q: Thereafter have you refreshed your memory with regard to that note?

A: Yes, I can say on Wednesday 28th July 1982 was the Cabinet

meeting. After that I had to go to Katunayake. The note shows that what we were discussing matters related to Air Lanka and how Air Lanka had made progress. There is nothing to show the Tamil question was discussed in my presence. If I remember in July 1982, that was not the question that was uppermost in my mind. May be today, people might ask me that question but certainly in July 1982, we were not concerned about that but of the impending elections we were to face.

Chairman: Do you know why he was expelled from Sri Lanka in 1982? I do not know. When I made inquiries after this whether he had made accusations against me, I must mention that he had not said anything about me in any of his articles. This was the first time he had ever done it. The inference that I can draw is that he sought to blacken my character as Minister of National Security in the world specially in the Western countries. Many of my friends in the United Kingdom told me that they were shocked when they read this article.

Examination-in-chief contd.

Q: Since that date you have never met him?

A: No. I do not think he writes to the 'Guardian'. He is supposed to be teaching at Ruskin College.

Mr. Sittampalam: I have had on instructions from my client Sir. The Editor who came here left quite suddenly saying that he would be back. In the circumstances I would not wish to hazard any question unless I am really instructed. If the

allegations made by the Minister are really to be dealt with, I will have to get the proper information. I really have to meet this man and ask him to explain his position to me. I am therefore asking for a date.

Mr. Gunaratne: It is idle for him to say that he has no instructions. At that stage, he did not say that he did not have instructions. I am objecting to any date being granted. On the last date when Mr. Navaratne came he said he has not received notice but he came ready for trial because he had left Jaffna long before the letter reached him and the trial opened that day. So, it is idle for him to say this now. He should have said so at least before the commencement of the inquiry. After the evidence has been led for him to say that a postponement is required is idle. I am objecting to it.

Mr. Sittampalam: I did make this statement at the very beginning. I did say that these were the circumstances, he came to give instructions, having come, he then had to go back and he has sent a message from there. May I appeal then to the Minister here that this man who does have influence over those elements there be given a chance. I am told he does manage to smoothen certain things.

Chairman: The fairest thing is for us to give you a short date and the complainant costs for today. I am not acceding to the request of Counsel objecting.

(To be Continued)

Khemadasa Celebrates 50th Birthday

The Premasiri Khemadasa Felicitation committee has planned a programme of activities to mark the 50th Birthday of Premasiri Khemadasa.

Khemadasa, a celebrated and versatile personality in the sphere of Sri-Lankan music is credited with pushing back horizons in several areas of musical expression.

On 14th January there will be a seminar on Premasiri Khemadasa's contribution in various fields of music at the Sri Lanka Foundation Institute. From January 15th to 17th January a drama festival is being organised.

Premasiri Khemadasa film week featuring films with music directed by Khemadasa will be on from 18th to 24th January.

Khemadasa is expected to conduct a Grand concert at the BMICH with reputed musicians from G.D.R. the USSR and India on 25th January.

His concert "Peoples' Choir" will be performed at the Sugatha-

dasa Stadium, by singers from all the Trade Unions on 26th. On the same day a short film on Premasiri Khemadasa will also be shown.

Professor Returns Home

Prof. V. Karunanathan, Professor of Surgery and Visiting Surgeon, Teaching Hospital, Jaffna, went, to the United Kingdom for three months on sabbatical leave. He has been offered a World Health Organisation (WHO) - sponsored scholarship through the University.

While in UK, he developed cardiac illness and complications and underwent an abdominal operation with resection of bowel. Although he could have been looked after medically and socially better in the UK, he returned to Jaffna to assume his duties.

Note by Editor:- The SATURDAY REVIEW Salutes the professor.

SRI LANKAN ETHNIC CONFLICT

Excerpts from a paper read at a Seminar held in Norway last October.

The Human Rights Factor

While discussing the ethnic conflagrations in Sri Lanka it has become, within the last 3 years, almost a convention to refer to the 1983 riots as the most decisive and epoch-making event in the history of the ethnic struggle. With perhaps a heavy consciousness of the grim tragedies that took place in 1983, there has virtually been a lexical exhaustion to describe it - terms like "holocaust" have very often been used.

The post-1983 events showed that it was not so much of a holocaust or a deluge. More things were yet to come; it was a watershed, a turning-point. Looking back at the July 1983 riots in clinical historical terms, its significance lies in that it was the year in which the Tamils in Sri Lanka learnt conclusively that they cannot lay claim to any area as their unquestionably legitimate areas of residence except those they have been used to describing as their 'traditional home lands'; they had to abandon their residences in other areas and seek refuge in the 'traditional' areas in large numbers. 1983 therefore constitutes a landmark in the history of the ethnic conflict in establishing the fact that it was to the North and East that the Sri Lankan Tamils could fall back. This would even apply to the plantation Tamils, for not only in 1983, but even in mid and late seventies, the displaced and the superfluous in the plantation area had to seek shelter in the northern and eastern districts.

The history of the post-1983 phase is, from the Tamil point of view, also the history of their attempt to hold on to those areas with political sanction, and constitutional acceptance.

The current situation could be summarised thus; At the political level, negotiations are being conducted for a political solution through the good offices of India. It is understood that the anxiety on the part of India to solve this problem has become the most important motivating factor in the continuity and effectiveness of the negotiations. It is generally accepted now that the Tamil United Liberation Front, the open political force that used to represent the Tamils in Parliament and is now a proscribed party, is no more representative enough to pledge the Tamils to any settlement that has got to be implemented at the mass level.

It is now made clear that without the participation and sanction of the militants, no implementation of any agreement is possible.

As for the militants' situation, the E.N.L.F. (Eelam National Liberation Front) which was the umbrella organisation of all the major militant groups, is no force, and it is the L.T.T.E (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) led by Prabhakaran which is the major force, with (E. R. O. S. (Eelam Revolutionary Organisation) and E.P.R.L.F. (Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front) coming next.

At the military level, negotiations seem to have no relevance at all. While talks and negotiations for talks are going on, the Army attacks have been severe in the East, especially Trincomalee and Batticaloa, and air attacks all over the North and East have now become frequent phenomena. However, it is generally agreed that the militants have

by

Prof. K. Sivathamby

now grown into an important military force, so much so that, within the Jaffna Peninsula, they have been able to contain the Army without allowing it to move freely outside its barracks. Outside the Peninsula, the movements of the army have been restrained. There have been instances of open battles between the army and the militants in certain areas in North and East. An important feature of the current situation is that due to the activities of the armed forces especially the attack on civilians and air attacks, there has been a forging of ties between the people at large and militants, for it is the militants with their sentry-system and with return-attacks who save the people from military attacks.

This is creating a new and interesting situation in the relationship between the militants and the people. With the war becoming a total one, the affiliations of the people are no more in doubt.

Humanrights violations continue to increase with large numbers of Tamil youths, especially from the eastern part, being sent to the Detention Camps in Sinhala areas.

The number of disappearances of Tamil people after arrests is very high in the East. The problem of the violation of human rights is no more confined to the Tamils alone. Some Sinhala youth too have been arrested. There had been a spate of such arrests in recent times, number of them allegedly suspected to be of marxist persuasion have been questioned and quite a number of activists have been detained. There is an uneasy silence about these arrests in the Sinhala areas. The State media do not refer to them.

In reviewing the current situation, the most important feature one has to highlight is the character of discussion on the nature of the settlement. It is said that the maximum the government could give is Provincial Councils only. The minimum Tamil demand is for a bringing together of all traditional Tamil-speaking regions of Sri Lanka, namely the North and East. It has already

been expressed on the moderate Tamil side that the quantum of devolution should have relevance to the real needs of the Tamils, who have borne with a new found political fortitude all the losses of life and the disruption.

This, of course, has also led to the discussion on the constitutional position of Muslims in the country—whether they should have a separate terrain for them in the Ampara district or not. This also raises an equally important question about the place of the Muslim in the Tamil-speaking areas, for there are, besides the southern part of the Eastern Province, other areas like Mannar where Muslims live in substantial numbers. As things stand (September, October 1986) there seems to be no chance of a major break-through. With the distinct possibility now of Sri Lanka becoming eligible to receive American assistance against "terrorism," things can only worsen.

This situation has arisen out of the impact of the events that have taken place since 1983, the date by which the Tamils had to confine themselves politically to the Northern and eastern parts of the country.

The 1980s marks the beginning of an increasing involvement of militant youth organisations in obtaining a political solution to the plight of the Tamils. The militants came into the main stream of political life due to the collapse of the parliamentary system, especially the collapse of faith in electoral system—first in 1981 there was mass-scale emasculation of the electoral process in the Elections for the District Development Councils which the TULF had accepted as politically enough at that time.

In fact, it has been claimed that the 1983 riots was a reprisal to the killing of the 13 soldiers in Jaffna by the militants and understandably enough the state began combing-out operations in the north and east immediately after the 1983 riots. Looking back, it is now becoming increasingly clear that there was a two-fold attack by the government made in these areas (a) in relation to getting rid of the militants; and (b) directed towards the problem of the Sinhala settlers in the North and East.

The following constitute some of the important efforts undertaken by the state to gain full control over the Tamil areas: (1) The entire Sri Lankan Tamil region kept under continuous night-curfew, with intermittent day and night curfews, sometimes on for 61 hours at a stretch. The districts affected by these were Jaffna, Kilinochchi, Mannar, Vavuniya, Mullaitivu, Trincomalee, Batticaloa and the A.G.A's Divisions of Thirukovil and Akkaraipattu. This went on from late 1984 to June 1985. (2) Full surveillance of Tamils in the non-Tamil areas, especially in Colombo and the up-country. (3) Declaration of Security Zones and Prohibited Zones. On 29-11-84 Jaffna and Kilinochchi were declared Security Zone districts. People could not enter or leave the Zones without informing the Government. Following were some of the regulations imposed in the Jaffna district. (a) Ban on all private motor vehicles and even pedal cycles. The only public transport available was the bus service and that too on certain routes only. (b) Rationing of fuel, but fuel was not brought into the zone. (c) Legal ban on the flow and direction of traffic from within the area. No



vehicles could enter the Jaffna town after 8-30 a. m. (4) The entire prohibited Zone covered the littoral area within a limit of 100 metres landwards and 5 miles seawards from Mullaitivu to Mannar along the north-eastern, northern and western coast. This meant that fishing, which was the main economic activity in this region, ceased immediately. There was even the legal necessity to obtain a certificate of residence.

Because of the security zone and the prohibited zone regulations, there arose an acute food and fuel shortage and virtually a breakdown in the health services. The agrarian sector too suffered. Equally significant is the disruption of the school system where some of the important schools in the areas had to be closed.

In the non-peninsular regions of the North, and the East the military undertook the following operations (1) Driving the Tamil villagers from their traditional habitation, as for instance Thennamaravady in the east coast. (2) Mass evacuation of entire Tamil villages in the heart-lands of Tamil areas of Vavuniya and Mullaitivu, to enable Sinhala settlers there to continue. The villages of Kokilai, Nayar and Kumulamunai in the Mullaitivu districts were affected in this manner. The number of such refugees exceeded 20,000 at the end of 1984.

One of the most oppressive actions undertaken by the army and continued even now is the 'Cordon-and-search arrests' which, it was told, was undertaken to bring to book the militant youths who are at large. These operations led to mass indiscriminate arrests of youths between the ages of 17 and 25; the operation was done in such a manner that quite often males from 14 to 35 were also arrested. Most of these arrested youth were sent to Sinhala areas for detention, and thus arose the Boosa Camp.

Added to all these measures of direct oppression there was during this time open statements made by Ministers about maintaining population levels in all parts of the country at or near the national ratio of the ethnic groups. There was also the militarisation of the Sinhala settlers who were given basic military training and units of home guards were formed in the border areas.

A highly specialised Special Task Force was established in 1984 to take charge of the security operations in the eastern province. This unit, combining within it the severities of both the army and the police, has been accused of being re-

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sponsible for the "disappearances" of many Tamil detenus.

There was unrelenting continuity of these activities and there occurred in late 1984 and mid 1985 two events which changed the character of the ethnic violence.

In December 1984 the Dollar and Kent Farms in the Mullaitivu District were attacked by the militants and the Sinhala 'peasant settlers' there were made to leave. There has been an argument over the character of these settlements, for it is told that in August 1984, these two farms which were originally Tamil owned were taken over for the Prisons Department for rehabilitation of prisoners. It was also later brought out that, other than prisoners to be rehabilitated, there was also some dry-zone settlers. The militants' position was that these were places where trained Sinhala ex-convicts were being settled to eject the Tamil villagers of the area. This was the heart land of the Tamil Vanni.

The other major event was the incident at Anuradhapura.

It was common knowledge at that time that this was the response to the killing of about 70 Tamil civilians at Valvettiturai arrested after a cordon and search arrests and huddled up in a small community centre room and blasted.

From this time onwards, the game of reprisals has been taking a severe toll. During the early part of 1985, hundreds of unarmed civilians were reported killed in retaliation for attacks on Security Force personnel or Sinhala civilians. "An estimated 75 Tamil civilians were killed on 9-5-85 in Valvettiturai allegedly in retaliation for the killing of an Army Major. 48 passengers on a ferry boat from Delft were killed allegedly by Navy personnel on 15-5-85 in retaliation for the killing of 146 Sinhala civilians including woman and children by armed Tamil groups the previous day; and over a hundred civilians were killed in and around Vavuniya in retaliation for a landmine explosion at the Vavuniya Army Camp on 16th August."

Events of this type brought the ethnic violence and its post 1983 manifestations to the door-step of every home in Sri Lanka, and understandably there was some political pressure for a settlement.

With India acting as mediator, here was a ceasefire arranged

between the militant's organisation and the Sri Lankan Government. Even though the terms of the ceasefire was never officially announced by the Sri Lankan Government, it had taken action to restrict the Army to barracks, to lift the curfew which was in force in districts in the North of Sri Lanka and to lift restrictions on fishermen. There was also the release of some detenus. According to the terms of the ceasefire published in India it was to consist of four phases during which negotiations would lead to political settlement and a cessation of hostilities.

Consequent to this ceasefire, talks were held in Thimpu in Bhutan from 18th July to 13th August, 1985. The second round of talks at Thimpu took place in September 1985 and there was a complete breakdown of the talks; this resulted in the deportation of some of the spokesmen for the militants by the Indian Government (this was later withdrawn). It was in this atmosphere that a Committee to monitor the cessation of hostilities evidently agreed to by both parties as part of the cease-fire agreement started functioning on 16.10.85; the jurisdiction of this committee even covered reporting of conditions in prisons and detention camps. Predictably enough, the C.M.C.H could not work for a long time, but its efforts brought to light the enormity of the problems such a process had to confront. With the resignation of the two Tamil members

recommended for appointment to that committee by the militants, over an incident in Jaffna in which helicopter shooting had taken place at the time the committee visited Jaffna, the committee effectively ceased to function.

Perhaps the most staggering of all the post-1983 state action is the beginning of the attacks from the air—first it was explosives thrown from helicopters, later shooting from helicopters and finally full-scale bombing. Jaffna was first bombed on 20.2.86 at Thavady. With this air attack, the lines that existed between the militants and the people began to disappear fast and there arose a situation that without the militants, it would be difficult for the people to save themselves. Attacks continue even now and the most recent one took place a week ago in Sampalivu in the Trincomalee District. Bombings, it is claimed, are undertaken to clear up the areas of the militants. However, in terms of casualties, virtually all had been civilians.

All these have developed a sense of despondency among the people about the credibility of any move towards a solution. When there was ceasefire, there were no talks; and now when there are talks, there is no ceasefire. To the average Tamil this presents an air of unreality and it is this feeling that constitutes the psychological base for the current no-go state in the attempts to bring about a solution.

(To be continued)

Jaffna University Students Salute Pathirana

Here is the text of a statement issued by the students of the University of Jaffna on the killing of Daya Pathirana:-

"The killing of Comrade Daya Pathirana came to us as a rude shock. Daya Pathirana, one of the leaders of the Independent Students' Union (ISU) of the University of Colombo had very cordial relations with us.

The ISU and the Students' Assembly of Jaffna had close and warm ties. In fact, the progressive

role played by the ISU through leaders like Daya Pathirana, regarding various issues ranging from the National Question to Students' rights cannot be easily forgotten.

When the Political detenus at Welikade started a Hunger Strike in September, 1986, the ISU stood firmly with us. Daya Pathirana was in the forefront, organising Solidarity Meetings and Sympathy Moves at the University of Colombo.

We owe much to him in the name of Justice and Humanity.

We are proud to salute him."

The Best Of Both Worlds?

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

The leader of the Opposition and the SLFP, MEP, CP members of Parliament jump to call the 1983-Referendum Parliament illegal. Allegedly, our Parliament was extended on a fraudulent Referendum according to the Commissioner of elections. This fact was known during and soon after the conduct of the Referendum and was highlighted by many public spirited men, the Centre for Religion and Society, the Civil Rights movement etc. In fact, what baffled all right thinking men was why did not the Commissioner declare the Referendum null and void at that time?

The question however I raise now is what moral right has Mr. Anura Bandaranaike and Opposition members in Parliament to call the Referendum Parliament 1983 illegal and still continue to remain in that Parliament, draw all allowances, and enjoy the fringe benefits of office without resigning their seats and demanding a general election. Are they not acting like those in power and trying to have the best of two worlds throwing the voice of the people to the dogs?

Just as the present government and its leaders will go down in history for having killed democracy, the Opposition of today SLFP and all other leaders, will go down in history as having let down and betrayed the people.

Kelaniya D. E. Wickremasinghe

Disappearances

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

There appears to be some confusion, (not in our minds), with regard to 'disappearances'.

True enough, some have left for Germany and Timbuctoo, and some informants have got enlightened on lamp post, but does that mean that there were no other disappearances, in hundreds of course. Have there not been eye witness accounts of arrests, burning alive, etc? Does not the Nallanayagam case prove, that there could have been several more instances. Did the Government investigate and if so make public, reports regarding several inhuman, deplorable, barbaric, brutal acts: the Welikade massacre, the Kumudini boat massacre, the Gurunagar massacre, the V.V.T massacre, the Batticaloa massacre,

the Vavuniya massacre and other massacres including that of Fr. Bastian and Fr. Wincenslaus.

Jaffna T. Thayaparan

Chop-Logic

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

A kills thousand B's but C kills D and E kills F. Therefore A does not kill B's (particularly when B's relation cannot give evidence for the relation will also be killed). Is it Inductive logic, Deductive logic or Oxford logic?

Will A. I. please note.

Jaffna C. D. N.

LETTERS

Object Lesson

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

When language riots erupted in Tamilnadu recently with students and others going on a rampage stoning and setting fire to buses etc., the Madras Police Commissioner issued orders to his men to "shoot all rioters" on sight. More than 17 persons were shot dead and thousand who had participated in these protests had been arrested statewide.

Not only in India but in any country in the world where the rule of law reigns supreme, orders are promptly issued by the Government in power to shoot at sight on rioters, looters, arsonists and others who go on a rampage during times of civil disturbances and national emergencies.

When there was an earthquake in Mexico City sometime back the Mexican Government issued orders to the National Guardsmen to shoot at sight all looters and others who may try to exploit the situation to their advantage.

Unfortunately for us, specific orders to the police and security forces to shoot on looters, rioters, arsonists, rapists and murderers on sight are never issued by the Sri Lanka Government during times of communal riots and post election violence which have turned out to be a regular occurrence here. The strongest measure the Government will adopt is to impose a curfew which usually has a counter productive effect; while all the law-abiding citizens stay indoors during curfew hours, the thugs and hoodlums roam the street freely and engage in violent and destructive actions.

The Madras Police Commissioner's impartial courageous and commendable action issuing a specific "shoot all rioters" order to his men should serve as an object lesson to our Government on the subject of "how to maintain law and order" during communal riots, post-election violence and other civil disturbances.

Kandy C. Sugumar

The Crux

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

It is very appropriate at this juncture that Mr. Jehan Perera in his article "Re-Unite or further divide" in the SATURDAY REVIEW of 20th December '86 gave expression to his ideas on the unitary form of the Sri Lanka Constitution.

The polemics of the so-called legal experts regarding the Unitary Constitution is irrelevant to the prevailing situation in this Island consisting of a heterogeneous population. After all, a Constitution exists for the people and not the people for the Constitution. If there is a need to change the Constitution of a country to satisfy the reasonable aspirations of the people or a com-

munity it should be done without any delay, so that the citizens of the country can live amicably in their motherland.

A Constitution need not be considered sacrosanct. Several countries have changed their constitutions or made adaptations to certain Articles or Sections to accommodate the needs of a changing society. India too has made several alterations in its Constitution. Times are changing. A Constitution that might have been suitable some years ago, may prove to be inadequate for a subsequent generation. It has therefore to be changed.

Regarding the present Sri Lanka Constitution of 1978, a consensus should have been reached by all the sections of society in Sri Lanka. One of the major communities has not accepted this Constitution. The vote of the majority community in the framing and enactment of a Constitution has no meaning in a democratic set-up. The minority communities should also accept the Constitution. This is the crux of the matter.

A discerning politician should see the writing on the wall and act accordingly. Procrastination and wild chauvinism will not pay in the long run. Let it not be said that the body politic has become too sick to respond to any treatment.

Chankanai P. P. Sabharatnam

APPRECIATION

DAYA PATHIRANA — A TRIBUTE

Mr. Daya Pathirana who was murdered recently by a group of unknown assailants was known to me as a Student Union Leader for the last few years. As a teacher-trade unionist involved in the upliftment of the education of the poor millions of children in Sri Lanka, I first met Mr. Pathirana for the first time at an Educational Seminar organised by University Students.

Mr. Pathirana was one of the most active student leaders I ever met during my trade union career of 20 years. He was a brilliant product of Mahinda College, Galle. He entered the faculty of Science of the University of Colombo some years back. During the university career, Mr. Pathirana devoted his time and energy to lead the university students on the correct path on various issues which affected the whole society. He played a prominent and leading role among the students of Sri Lanka in all their agitational activities on various crucial issues affecting the University students and the whole student population of Sri Lanka, during the last 5 years.

During the 1983 July Anti-Tamil pogrom and after that Mr. Pathirana played a decisive role among the university students to create racial amity. His unprincipled stand on Sinhala-Tamil unity ultimately led to his untimely death. Mr. Pathirana died for a noble cause. He was a victim of racist forces. The university students have accused

a political group regarding this brutal murder.

Mr. Pathirana was only 27 years old when he died. His death signals that murderous racist groups are haunting the South to create racial disunity. The university students who associated with Mr. Pathirana must play a decisive role to educate the University students and the rural youth of the dangers of racist politics.

Sri Lanka is a poor Third World nation. Mr. Pathirana in his short span of life has clearly shown the cream of educated youth of Sri Lanka what role they should play to uplift the condition of the poor millions in Sri Lanka. It is true that this cost Mr. Pathirana his own life. But the ideals and policies Mr. Pathirana stood for can never be defeated. In the long history of the human races, dark forces have devoured their noble sons. In Sri Lanka during the post-independence era university students have sacrificed their lives fighting against oppression. Mr. Daya Pathirana joins this select band of martyre who selflessly sacrificed their own comforts for a common cause. He joins the heroic band of university youth of the Third World gripped in poverty, who fought the emancipation of the poor billions of their fellowmen and women.

H. N. Fernando
General Secretary,
Ceylon Teachers' Union

The 'Tiger' and Army sentries at the temporary dividing line—close to the Town Council building of Kankasanturai—were cordial to one another. Less than hundred yards away from the Army side, stood three armoured vehicles. On the 'Tigers' side from the Town Council building up to the Kankasanturai junction, the entire area was dotted with militants.

Mr. Vincent Perera, M. P., Felix Dias Abeyasinghe, Attorneys-at-law Mark Fernando and Abdul Rahman were waiting for the arrival of 'Tigers' with garlands in hand.

So the time has come:

TIGER - LION TALKS

Some ostriches in the Government have got their heads out, hitherto buried in the sand.

Christmas and New Year appear to augur well for the Country, especially the North when this delegation headed by Mr. Vincent Perera landed at Palaly Airport on the eve of Christmas—24th December.

It may be placed on record that this is the first time that a Govern-

ment delegation had a 'tete-a-tete' with a militant group - Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Jaffna.

The Government delegation had talks with the Area Commander of the LTTE, Mr. Kittu and others of the group consisting of Captain Rahim. The talks appeared to be very cordial but no statement was issued to the Press. Official government sources stated that the talks were of an 'exploratory nature'.

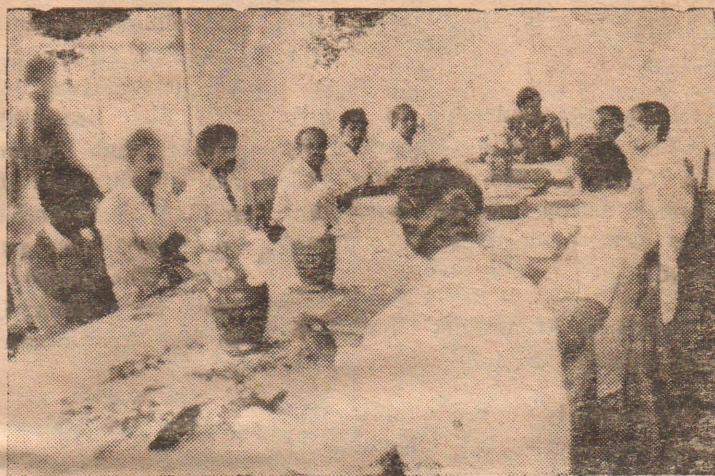
The militant group—the LTTE, with Kittu

as the spokesman is reported to have stipulated the condition for further talks—viz. the release of nearly 3,000 innocent Tamil reported to be in preventive detention under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Captain Kotelawala appears to have been the real live wire for this first ever rapport in Jaffna. Later, the Government delegation left for Colombo after having tea at the residence of the former chairman of the Kankasanturai Town Council Mr. K. Jeyabalasingam who played a mediatory role in releasing the two captive soldiers earlier.



Smiling Vincent Perera, M. P. (left) and Captain Kotelawala flanked by Kittu and Rahim.



Direct talks in progress.

NADESAN, Q.C. — A TRIBUTE

Mr. S. Nadesan, QC, the eminent lawyer, Senator and gifted and dedicated champion of human rights, died in the early hours of Sunday morning after a brief illness. He was in his 83rd year.

Mr. Nadesan applied his intellect and passion for justice to an amazingly wide range of human rights issues throughout his life. Beginning his legal career in the 1930s, he was noted for his incisive logic, relentless pursuit of facts and skilful and dogged advocacy. He was elected to the Senate in 1947 as an independent, and was a founder member of the Civil Rights Movement in 1971. He was President of the Bar Council from 1970 to 1972.

In a long career of 55 years at the bar, Nadesan was associated with a number of famous and important cases, such as the Abdul Aziz trade-union trespass case, the challenge to the Press Council Bill of 1972, the Fundamental Rights Applications against the banning of the *Aththa* and *SATURDAY REVIEW* newspapers, and the challenging of the contention that the Supreme Court judges were deemed to have vacated office. Amongst his most recent and successful cases were the 'Pavidi Handa' fundamental rights case, the Kalawana Constitutional issue, and the defence of the Kalmunai Citizens Committee President, Paul Nallanayagam.

He was colossus in a vanishing breed of lawyers who excel in every sphere of the profession. Nadesan was equally at ease, and equally a master of his field, whether applying his extraordinary talent to a criminal trial, a tax case, a constitutional issue, a trade union dispute, a complex commercial arbitration, or a case involving internat-



ional human rights standards. This versatility marked his career from its beginning right up to his last days.

Mr. Nadesan was himself charged and acquitted—in 1980 with breach of Parliamentary Privilege, for a series of articles he had written on this subject in 1978. Ironically, he had been a member of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament which had

drafted the original Parliamentary Privileges Act in 1953.

Mr. Nadesan had a unique record as an independent senator, having been a member of the Upper House from its inception in 1947 to its abolition in 1972, with a brief interruption. In the Senate he was associated with social and labour legislation and with issues relating to the national question. He made particular contributions to the question of minority rights and of citizenship for the plantation workers, both of which were seen by him in the context of national unity and national harmony.

Perhaps the most impressive of his many remarkable Senate speeches is that made, courageously, in the month following the April 1971 insurgency. It reflects Nadesan's passion for social justice; in it he eloquently identifies the economic and social problems which agave rise to the frustration of our country's youth, for which he says the older generation of which he is part must take the blame. It also reflects his deep concern for human rights; its plea to a beleaguered government not to dismiss out of hand allegations of excesses by the army and police, but to publicly commit itself to investigating them once conditions permit, is extraordinarily skilled and compelling.

Among his most valuable writings are his dissenting report as a member of the National Flag Committee (1950) his still extremely relevant article on *Regional Autonomy*, originally published in the *Sunday Observer* in 1957, and, in his post-Senatorial days, his book on the principles of Constitution-making and the 1972 Constitution, and report on the 1980 *Strike and its Aftermath*, written for the Civil Rights Movement.

A number of Nadesan's cases in the superior courts are extremely important social documents, as they place in the public domain important evidence and issues which are otherwise inaccessible. His life is a chronicle of the age, as much as the values for which he stood were such that he has been called 'the conscience of our times'.

Although a fierce and aggressive fighter he was a man of great gentleness and warmth. He was well-known for the simplicity of his life-style, his famous fruit and vegetable diet and the long, reflective walks which he took across the length and breadth of Colombo—often dressed in a pair of baggy shorts and carrying his papers in a shopping bag.

Many will mourn the death of a great human being.

— Manel Fonseka
Civil Rights Movement

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

ADIEU MOHANDAS!

When the well publicised and well orchestrated Operation Tiger was executed in Madras, the famous Malayalam daily "Malayala Manorama" of 9th November led with the head line on its front page "Lankan Tiger hunt in Tamil Nadu". Despite the usual head line, what intrigued the Tamil militants was the tone of the news story.

"Under the leadership of a MALAYALEE Director-General of Police (CID), K. Mohandas, the well-planned actions on the Tamil militants were successful" (emphasis added).

'Malayala Manorama' hailed K. Mohandas as a hero.

Subsequently, the Malayalam daily was burnt in Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu (See the SR of 6th December).

Mohandas is not alone in his business. It is rumoured, in Lankan Tamil circles, that one professor of Madras University, (he too is a Malayalee) was agitating for stern actions against 'Jaffna Tamils'!

K. Mohandas had been very close to the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. At certain times, with former Secretary to the Tamil Nadu State, Antony, he had reportedly run Tamil Nadu in toto. So trusted by M. G. Ramachandran and so articulate in his actions (sometimes M.G.R. only would have known) Mohandas

played a very delicate and secret role.

According to certain militant sources, he had been a "traitor." When Uma Maheswaran and Prabhakaran were engaged in a street brawl, of course, with guns, in 1984 the Tamil Nadu Police had arrested almost the entire lot of Tamil militants and within minutes after the arrest Mr. Jehanathan, the then First Secretary at the Sri Lanka High Commission in Madras was brought in to identify the militants. Jehanathan was searching some particular persons at that time. The photos of all the militants were promptly handed over to the Sri Lankan High Commission.

How Mohandas connived in that business was now an open secret.

The recent developments in Tamil Nadu coupled with M.G.R.'s eccentricity in handling the militants paved the way for a set-back—at least temporarily—to the militants.

Now, comes the news that Mohandas has been sent on compulsory leave. In fact, Mohandas has been trying to move out from his present station in a graceful manner. According to reports reaching here, he had planned everything to move out two months back.

So the courageous, skilful Malayalee Shicari is going. Let the Tamil Nadu Police aspire for another, even better D.I.G!

—A Special Correspondent

TAMIL IMPERIALISTS!

The Tamil campaign for more power would not end if they took control of a part of the Island of Sri Lanka.

First they would want their own state, then the whole Island. Then they would annex Southern India, where 55 million Tamils already control the state of Tamil Nadu and then their sweep would take in all of India, Singapore, Malaysia and Fiji.

And some of the Tamils are even talking about taking Australia.

—Ven. Palipane Chandananda Mahanayake of the Asgiriya Chapter, to the Globe and Mail, Canadian daily.

SKY KILLER

In a New Year's eve shooting spree by helicopter in Kurumbasiddy, Vasavilan and Kadduvan, a 15 year-old girl Arasakesari Jamuna, of Kurumbasiddy had her brains blown out. A 11 year-old boy, Ramanathar Krishnakumar, who was a witness to this tragic blood-bath died of shock on the bench of the Tellippalai hospital where he had been admitted. These areas had been subject to 'heli' attacks for three days previously by a helicopter stationed at the Palaly camp.

ARRESTED

2 members of the Coordinating Committee of Vavuniya were arrested by Security Forces on 31-12-86 at Konthakarakulam. Those arrested were the President, Mr. Gnanasundaram (43) and Secretary, V. Krishnappillai. Earlier 3 of the 5 members arrested had been released. The President of the Vavuniya Citizens Committee, Dr. C. V. Pararajasekaram has taken steps to obtain their release.

Women Harassed

A complaint has been lodged by the President of the Batticaloa Citizens' Committee, Mr. Sam Thambimuttu, that women in the areas around Kallady and Urany in the Batticaloa

District have been harassed by members of Commando units on patrol duty. Women conducted a satyagraha at the Office of the Asst. Government Agent, Akkaraipattu in protest against such harassment.

50 - Cent Fund

(Continued from page 1)

This week there has been an unusual flow into the 50-cent fund. Perhaps, it has something to do with the season of goodwill which also reveals that the Tamil people have much hidden resources!

Thanks to their generosity, we have been able to send a cheque for Rs. 175/- this week to the Minister as part of his pound of flesh.

With this remittance we have paid, in instalments, a sum of Rs. 456.50 against the total amount of Rs. 1576 awarded to the Minister

as legal costs by the Press Council in the first case.

We are eagerly awaiting the Press Council order on the second plaint filed by the Minister. The inquiry was completed on 5th December 1986.

If this order too goes against the SR, which is a non-profit making organisation, we will be in deeper financial trouble.

We urge our dear READERS to stand by with us, whatever the outcome.

We are comforted by Selbourne's parting remarks in his letter "continuing power and blessings to you and your staff."

Happy New Year to you, Minister Lalith!

Revolutionary Party of the New Type

Lenin believed that the main task was not only to explain the world but, chiefly, to remake it. He exhaustively studied the life and struggle of the classes, maintained close contact with the working masses, painstakingly charted the strategy and tactics which brought the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat to victory and personally directed the revolutionary battles of the workers against capitalism.

Creatively developing the ideas of Marx and Engels and taking into account the experience of the Communist League and the International Workingmen's Association founded by them, Lenin evolved a comprehensive teaching of the Revolutionary Party of the new type, of a Party that is the vanguard organisation and the principal weapon of the proletariat, without which it cannot overthrow capitalist rule, seize power and build socialism. He organised and reared such a party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

To gain a basic knowledge of the principles underlying the workings of the Revolutionary Party of the new type, read the book "Lenin and Asia" by Attorney-at-Law T. Duraisingam, one of the founders of the proletarian party in our country.

Sinhala, Tamil and English Editions of the book are available at bookshops.

Price Rs. 10/-

**Council For Socialist Studies,
31, Wilson Street, Colombo 12.**