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# Saturday Review SRIANKA

Vol. 2 No. 22

June 4, 1983

#### It happened this morning: UNP man in Jaffna shot dead

Almost 12 hours after iser of the pro-governnouncement over the Sevaka Sangamaya radio on Friday evening one of the UNP candid that tough measures are ates at last month's Jat the Public Security Act to deal with the situation in the North, a leading shot dead.

Thilagan, an Organ- where he worked.

the Government's an- ment trade union Jathika to be introduced under fna Municipal elections, was shot dead on Saturmorning round day about 6.15 (4' June) by UNP-er in Jaffna was two youths on bicycles near the entrance of the Jaffna General Hospital

Defence Ministry spokesman quoting

The armed forces and the police in the North are to be given legal immunity from judicial proceedings wide-ranging powers 'search and destroy'.

These regulations, to be gazetted under the Public Security Act, will come into force any moment now. A press censorship too is to be enforced in the North.

regulations will empower Assistant Superintendents of Police to determine whether or not deaths occurring in their areas of operation. After receiving clearance from the Secretary to the Defence Ministry, an ASP can approve the disposal of a body without a postmortem inquiry.

According to a Defence Ministry spokesman, this provision would give an armed serviceman in the North immunity from being called upon to face criminal proceedings in respect of his duties in suppressing terrorism.

The Ministry spokesman has told the SUN (4 June) "the security forces were faced with a problem of adjusting their military campaign to suit a fictitious notion that there was no 'war' on despite security officers being attacked and killed by the terrorists.

"Under such circumstances soldiers were compelled to react as during a war particularly in their role of

fighting armed terrorists who had no compunction about killing servicemen or members of the public. In view of this it has been felt that the Police and servicemen in the North should be given the freedom of the battlefield rather than having their morale sapped through conflicts with legal niceties. This is not a peace time situation and the Police and services must be provid-

#### Australian here to study inquests should be held into deaths occurring in their Human Rights violations

South Wales and representative of the others has International Commislia, Mr. Tim Moore is due in Sri Lanka today to study Human Rights violations in the country.

Mr. Moore who had timed this visit to Sri Lanka to enable him to cover the trials of the two Catholic Priests, Rev. Sinnarasa, Lecturer

than, Mrs. Parliamentarian Nithiyananthan decided to proceed with his visit sion of Jurists in Austra- despite the possibility that the trials may not begin as scheduled on Monday June 6th.

Mr. Moore, according to our correspondent in Sydney, has intimated to the Sri Lanka High Commission authorities in Australia the purpose of Fr. Singarayar and Fr. his visit and has been University given a visa. Mr. Moor. Nithiyanan- is also due to visit Jaffna

ed with adequate safeguards when attempting to control the problem."

A press statement issued by the Department of Information after Minister of State Anandatissa de Alwis addressed Colombo editors on Friday states: "Certain regulations under the Public Security Act will be enforced in the northern area to deal more effectively with terrorism. At present the Armed Services are under restraint because in any incident that may result there can be inquiries by coroners which may before law courts.

disadvantage, in that terrorists can shoot and disappear at will and Armed Services are unable to retaliate even in self-defence. In order to free the services of these disabilities security regulations will be published. They will remove the obligations to have coroners' inquests following any shooting incidents Armed Services."

AND REAL PROPERTY OF THE PARTY Gandhiyam leaders Mr. S. A. David and Dr. Rajasunderam along with 12 accused (barring Uma Maheswaran) in the Kilinochchi Bank Robbery Case and the 4 accused in the Pulmoddai Rural Bank even lead later to trials Robbery Case were trans-This ferred to Welikade Jail on puts the services at a great Friday afternoon, 3rd June.

#### Letting them into a secret!

headline said. Under the MAJOR FIRE, the government-controlled Daily

SATURDAY REVIEW News reports in its issue is glad to report that alof Friday June 3: At though the Daily News Vavuniya town two hours and the Vavuniya police after the killing of two were unable to ascertain airmen, a number of the cause of the fire, this shops were gutted. The paper has ascertained it. cause of the fire has not It was a case of spontbeen ascertained, police aneous combustion!

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#### Saturday Review SRI LANKA

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#### EDITOR

S. Sivanayagam

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# Sending telegrams

# to the President

We give below a substantial portion of the 'Eelanadu' Editorial Comment on June 1st, 1983. The "Eelanadu" is an independent Tamil Daily published in Jaffna:-

"We reported yesterday how a 25 year old youth of Valvettiturai was dragged into the Army Camp and shot to death. It is shocking enough that it happened. It is even more shocking to find that the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation has not even reported the incident; possibly because the news was not favourable to the Government. But of course when supporters of the ruling party meet with the same fate the news is reported within hours or minutes. How can the public have confidence in the communication media when they indulge in such partisan reporting?

It goes against all newspaper ethics when some Colombo dailies also indulge in such prevarication. One prominent newspaper in fact has given this news the kind of niggardly treatment that is given to an uneventful accident. How discriminatory!

The North is "TER-RORIST" territory, if a resident of the North gets killed this is considered a very ordinary incident; it apparently shows how vigilant the army is,

Jaffna but if an army man gets killed or a Policeman or a government supporter or a hanger-on gets killedthe ruling dispensation apparently thinks that it is as bad as the killing of a thousand members of the

"Although this state of affairs has continued from June 1981, one fears that it is only now the Government has begun to put into action its plan to root out 'TERRORISM' as it understands it. To make people live alongside the armed forces is like placing cotton wool close to the fire. With strong 'cnolakam' breeze now beating in Jaffna one does not know how many fatalities the people are in for? Can a solution to this be found through sending telegrams to the President? We are not indulging in any pettifogging; nor is this, the time for it. Are not leaders who are unable to put a stop to this sorry state of affairs morally bound to give up their offices?

"There is a lot of talk of "POLITICAL SOLUTIONS and other universal panacea like "ECONOMIC DEV-ELOPMENT". One is reminded of the words of the only dictator England had, Oliver Cromwell who said: "PRAY TO GOD BUT KEEP YOUR (GUN) POWDER DRY".

"A Government that is planning to root out "TER-RORISM" once and for all may think that talk of "political solutions" may be the best way to distract people's attention. The gory incident that happened at Valvettiturai the other day has proved however the kind of solution Government that the favours.

"We are not unaware that cabling the President is probably one of the first steps to be taken-but it is like trying to pierce with a blunted chisel.....

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At last the Government appears to be coming round to the view that a purely military approach is not going to solve the National Question. When the nearly 1,000 Army garrison at Gurunagar has to barricade itself in fear of the militant Tamil youths, it should be clear to the hot-heads, within the Government and outside, that it might need the entire Sri Lanka Army to contain the situation in the North should a widespread insurrectionary situation arise!

The down-to-earth Minister of Fisheries, Mr.Festus Perera appears to have grasped the situation in the Peninsula better than any previous ministerial emissary. The suggestion he has made to the Government should be followed up seriously.

However, any attempt to bypass the elected representatives of the people in implementing its plan of action is not going to succeed. The Government will be repeating the same fatal mistake made by the previous regime — acting through brokers who have no abiding links with the Tamil people.

Until the Government unfolds its plan, let me pose a few questions to those Sinhalese who take pride in their race, religion and language—quite justifiably, I concede—and are determined to preserve and foster them.

How many Sinhalese non-government organizations are there outside Sri Lanka (i.e. apart from diplomatic missions) to espouse their cause, especially to counter the so-called "smear campaigns" of the Tamil expatriates and their foreign allies? Not a single? Why?

How many powerful Sinhalese non-government organizations are there in Sri Lanka to fund Sinhalese youth who are keen to set up in agriculture and industry? Again not a single?

The next time

it happens...

How many Sinhalese who eagerly study alien languages have bothered to study Tamil, an ancient living language, the language of a people who are in their very midst.?

How many Sinhalese have bothered to read Tamil literature, at least in translation?

How many Sinhalese have sold land to Tamils(in preference to members of their own community)' thereby enabling Tamil people to "colonise" 'Wellawatte Kotahena and other places in the "Sinhalese areas"?

How many Sinhalese patronise Tamils shops hotels and bars in Sinhalese areas when they should really go only to Sinhalese establishment if they are that conscious about their racial dent ty, superiority, etc.

# POLITICAL CAUSERIE

by Gamini Navaratne

(This question is directed in part at the Sinhala wallah journalist who cannot do without liquor shops run by Tamils, especially on Poya days).

These questions are asked not in anger but sorrow. So many Sinhalese talk so much about their race, religion and language but few of them seem to be doing anything tangible to advance their own cause, the majority contenting themselves with directing their venom at the Tamil people.

TO GO NORTH, THEY ARE NOT GOING TO COME BACK — UNLIKE IN 1958, 1977 and 1981.

THEN THE PHYSICAL SEPARATION OF THE TWO RACES WILL BE COMPLETE AND EELAM WOULD HAVE BEEN BORN!

Already plans are on to form an Eelam Government-in-Exile, to move in when the time is opportune With genocide out of the

of the events leading to the 1958 holocaust. Why rake up old wounds at this particular juncture when the media should act with the utmost care and restraint?)

Is all this the work of some people in the Government who are intent on the advice of some leaders or on their own, on distracting the people's attention from the worsening economic situation, which is affecting all communities alike by unleashing violence Racial riots would be a

'More violence
has been
directed at
the Tamil
people since
1977, than at
any other
period since
independence

Or are there foreign agricles intervening in the political situation, taking vantage of the racial diversities, to promote their own interests.

Some people tend to review the National Question in the context of the growing great power rivalry in the Indian Ocean region. In their review, India is also a great power in relation to Sri Lanka because of its size and is very much interested in developments in the island, especially in the North. The strategic port of Trincomalee is often mentioned in this connection.

I was born a Sinhalese Buddhist and am very proud of it. (Incidentally, this is what my mother told me!)
I was lucky not to have been born north of Vavuniya, for I have seen enough of the travails of the Tamil people.

But the way many Sinhalese people including a number of leaders in the Government, have been acting in the past six years, I am reminded of that old saying, "Sinhalaya modaya kavun kanta yodaya." (The Sinhalese are fools; they are adept only at eating oil cakes)!

## Force the Tamils

from the South, and that is the

sure way to

create Eelam

The Sinhalese as a nation could do very well for themselves, and stand up to competition in every sphere from the other communities, if they are more united and work with greater purpose instead of getting carried a way by communal slogans raised by designing politicians whose sole ambition is to gain power and remain in power.

I should like to tell the Sinhalese that the best guarantee against the division of Sri Lanka — the best way to blunt the demand for Eelam — is to allow the Tamils in their midst to live and work in peace. They are our hostages!

I say this as a warning to those Sinhalese, within the Government and outside, who believe that by driving the Tamil people away, through violence, they would have solved the National Question.

MARK MY WORD, THE NEXT TIME THE TAMIL PEOPLE IN THE SINHA-

question, because of the likelihood of foreign intervention, not all the President's forces will be able to avert the division of the country. (Even Hitler did not succeed in exterminating the Jews and I do not believe that we still have a Hitler in our midst).

Signs of a

confrontation

At no time in the past two decades have the two races being drawn so far apart as now, mainly due to the fact that more violence has been directed at the Tamil people since 1977 than at any other period since independence. I see signs of a confrontation between the two races, possibly leading to civil war. The recent incidents at Peradeniya are a particular pointer that subtle moves are on, underground, to set the Sinhalese against the Tamils.

( I find some Sinhala newspaper giving detailed accounts good excuse to carry on with emergency rule, even suspend the Constitution and Parliament, as in Pakistan.

#### Because I Am A Journalist

I write the way I write
Because I am a Journalist
I do not owe an explanation
But I do wish to get the record straight
For there appears to be much misunderstanding
Among a small coterie:
They can't distinguish between a concubine
(Member of the kept media)
And a porcupine (the kind that
Stings when necessary!)

In the "Dark Days" of 1970—77
There arose a great leader
Who fired the People's imagination
With visions of a brave New Lanka,
A Land flowing with milk and honey.
Where people can lead a life of peace,
Where Liberty and Justice shall prevail
In the true democratic spirit.

After 34 years in the wings (Continued overleaf)

# Degrading incidents at the Colombo

Mombo medico writes:

ovit is with great sorrow /et I bring to your notice degrading incident which dok place at Bloemfontein Histel where Colombo Medi-(a) Students reside. Having titnessed the barbarous be-Saviour of some of the Medical Students, I hang my head in shame on behalf of the noble profession which they and we are supposed to join some time soon.

" It all started on the 18th of May 1983. Some Medi-Sal Students from the majority ounity. had broken open or room of a Tamil student, spinsacked it, robbed money, and in the process defecated there as well! This poor Tamil student resorted to legitimate action-he made a complaint to the police. This complaint was the immediate provocation for a general attack on the rooms of all Tamil Students, the following day 19th at about 10.30p.m., which involved breaking of doors and smashing up about 10 push bicycles. The Police intervened and the situation was brought under control around 1.30 a.m. The Tamil students thereafter left the Hostel.

"The Vice Chancellor and Dean visited the hostel on the 20th and warned these notorious elements that they would close down the hostel if the Tamil Students vacated

## **Medical Hostel**

the place. But the threat remained only in words and was never implemented. With no other course open, the Tamil Students having discussed matters among themselves decided to return to the hostel on the 24th. When they went back they were confronted with slogans daubed on the walls like "Don't "held classes", Don't come bake", "Go back to the Jaffna". (These were the exact slogans, involving the murder of the English language as well).

"Seeing these slogans and the hostile environment only about six out of fifty eight

Why the world?

Tamil students opted to return to their rooms. They also found some rooms looted. One Student lost medical text books & articles worth around Rs. 6,000/-. The V.C. & the Dean tried to resolve this stalemate by suspending one Sinhala Student, a ring leader behind these uncivilised acts and a Tamil Student who was actually the victim of the initial incident which sparked off the crisis.

"Now the group behind this chaos at the hostel has told some Tamil Students that they could return to the halls provided five Tamil Students

whom they specified, including the one victimised by the V.C. did not come back. These were apparently those with whom they had personal grouses. The Sinhala Students who was asked to quit the hostel by the authorities however continues to occupy his room.

"Poor Hippocrates the father of medicine surely must be wriggiing in his grave to see future medical practioners behaving in such unethical brutish ways."

#### Seminar on 'Periya Puranam' in Thamilnadu

Mr. S. Sivapatha Sundaram of "Sravasti", 29, Kamaral Avenue, Adyar,

"An organization called Deiva Thamil Manram, a religio literary body in Mayuram, Tamil Nadu, is planning to hold a Conference-Seminar on Periyapuranam on the 19 th and 20 th of December this year. The Head of the Thiruvavaduthural Adeenam is associated with this Conference. One of the highlights of this seminar is Arumuga Navalar and his contribution to Saiva literature. It is well known that he received his Navalar title from the Head of the Thiruvavaduthurai Adeenam, and he was also among the first to publish a critical

"Pilgrims and holiday makers visiting Tamil Nadu during this December will have an opportunity to participate in the seminar and conference.'

Madras 600 020 writes:

edition of Periyapuranam.

#### Kantharmadam: Police action praised

A resolution praising the Jaffna Police for the prompt and lawful discharge of their duties over the Kantharmadam incidents was passed unanimously at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Jaffina - Police Public Relations. Committee held on June 1st\_

### Because I am a Journalist - Gamini

(Continued from page 3)

He got his chance in Seventy-seven To do the wonderful things he always said He would do for his Motherland. After six years at the helm How far are we from the Promised Land!

Of course, there has been DEVELOPMENT: "The results are patent In every part of the country," As the propaganda-wallahs repeatedly say, But the Development has been lop-sided, As the critics continue to insist: The main problems remain unsolved, Many now not knowing how to subsist!

On the other hand, What were promised to be banished .... Bribery, corruption, waste and nepotism .... Thrive as never before! More ominous, the authoritarian trend persists As people's rights are whittled away. We are inside, not outside, Dictatorship's door Say many opponents, Who compare Sri Lanka to Hitler's Germany! Yes, "free and fair" elections are held, But what is the use? they ask, State power remains entrenched In a single hand!

Down the ages, Dissent has been the progenitor Of much reform and progress In religion, science, technology and the arts. The Buddha was the greatest dissenter, Noble hero and reformer, Who pointed the way to Nirvana To countless millions. · But in "Buddhist Lanka", it is now a "crime" To say "No" or ask "Why?" Even venerable heads get bashed For refusing to comply! From vantage positions, From privileged positions, Politicians may indulge in whims and fancies May even victimise opponents, Assassinate reputations; The hapless victims may have none to appeal to! But a wrong is a wrong, whoever does it, And the Journalist's job is to expose it. If necessary, even tell the world.

At times and in certain situations, International public opinion Is a great redeemer. For instance, in Seventy-one, It forced the authorities To curb police and army excesses. Remember, it was the foreign Press That exposed the Manamperi case? At a time when in "Dharmista Lanka" Life is tending to become "nasty, brutish and shot", Jaffna's situation could have been worse If not for international concern. Politicians when in the opposition Crave foreign publicity for the rulers' misdeeds; But once in power, they always say, "Youre tarnishing Sri Lanka's image"! In other countries, Journalists take the lead In the fight for Human Rights. In our country, they take a back seat, Many by compulsion, others by inclination, And Sing the hosannas of the rulers While they remain silent Even as their own rights get eroded! They forget that, between 1970-77, Opposition politicians shouted from the rooftops, "Press Freedom is the essence of Liberty, The source of all other Liberties; Suppress, restrain or control it, Then autocracy rears its head.' Citing US and Indian precedents, prized Then they said "it is a prized privilege To speak one's mind, Although not aiways with perfect good taste, On all public institutions." They were for "the unfettered interchange Of ideas for bringing change, Political and social, Desired by the People." Debate on public issues, they said, "Should be uninhibited, robust and wide-open, That it may well include vehemently caustic, And sometimes unpleasantly sharp, Attacks on government and public officials." For they recognised "the occasional tyrannies Of governing majorities.....' Now it must be perfectly clear To all those who have a ked, Or wondered,

Wiy I write the way I wie. Ne ther pelf nor position Can ever make me change; Nor threats of any kind......

# Coomaraswamy, Huxley & the

# Philosophia perennis

When Coomaraswamy died in 1947, I approached Aldous Huxley for his tribute to the savant to be included in my Homage to Ananda Coomaraswamy (1952). He was kind enough to send me the following:

Unfortunately I never met Dr. Coomaraswamy personally though we exchanged several letters after the publication of my book Perennial Philosophy. It was only through his writings that I knew him and was able to profit by that extraordinary combination of vast learning and penetrating insight which gave to Coomaraswamy his unique importance as a mediator between East and West. Since that time, Huxley's tribute has often been quoted

by writers on Coomaraswamy. In 1961, Huxley visited India for the Tagore Centenary Celebrations and reiterated his tribute in a conversation with Krishna Baldev Vaid. Vaid: Did you come in contact with Coomaraswamy? Huxley: I never met Coomaraswamy; I wish I had. I exchanged letters with him, He was a very remarkable man, of course.

A term coined

by Leibnitz

The letters these two exchanged reflect Huxley's growing interest in Indian philosophy. They were written during the last years of Coomaraswamy's life, and Huxley was working on his book, The Perennial Philosophy termed "Highest Common Factor" book in their correspondence). Coomaraswamy was a foremost exponent of the philosophia perennis, a term coined by the Western philosopher and mathematician Leibnitz, meaning the concept and teachings common to all great religions. Coomaraswamy's many books had a very important influence on Huxley who refers to Coomaraswamy in Perennial Philosophy as an "eminent Orientalist" and lists three of his books (Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism. The transformation of Nature in Art Hinduism) in a list of recommended books for further reference.

Christopher

Isherwood

Coomaraswamy's i de a s found popular expositors in such writers as Aldous Huxley, and in Gerald Heard and Christopher Isherwood with whom Huxley had established a little Ashram or religious house (Vedanta Center) at Trabuco

Ranch, Trabuco Canyon, Cali-

Huxley, the famous novelist and essayist, was formerly an unbeliever and had a cynical attitude toward everything traditional. Gradually there came about in him a transformation which was reflected in his writings. Later he became a keen student of Vedanta. Gerald Heard is another distinguished English writer who found solace in Vedanta. Christopher Isherwood was once a leading figure among the young playrights, novelists and poets of England. In 1939, during the war, he left England to reside in Southern California and became deeply interested in the philosophy in Vedanta.

Huxley's admiration for Coomaraswamy is evident when one reads his comments, especially his comments on Coomaraswamy's Hinduism and Buddhism:

I have been re-reading your little book and would like to tell you again how much I admire it for depth and compact density of substance and for a kind of Gnomic quality of expression. It is unmatched in its class.

Both Coomaraswamy and Huxley shared common interests in art and in the philosophia perennis. Their involvement in art is well enough known to need mention here. It is self-evident from

to an end. The differentiation of styles is nothing but an example of the working of the principle that "nothing can be known but in the mode of the knower."

Mulling over the distinction Coomaraswamy makes here, I felt convinced that an assiduous student of comparative art will reap rich rewards in pinning down the distinctions between the eastern and western conception of art, and more importantly between the eastern and western



Ananda Coomaraswamy



Aldous Huxley

obviously they will be having bigger and bigger wars indefinitely—an Inevitable Progress.

Coomaraswamy welcomed this project of Huxley's and replied:

Your Common Factor book if it really deals with dogmatic equivalants, and not merely with the general agreement that one must "be good, sweet child, should be valuable. I have myself collected an enormous amount of 'parallels' and cited very many in my articles; in fact, generally spea-

whatsoever.

There have been, of course, Isevera books complled along these lines. Coomaraswam, himself wrote "The Common Wisdom of the World" for the Munshi Jubilee Volume:

During many years, I have collected from Eastern and Western sources parallel passages in which identical doctrines have been enumerated as early as possible in the same term, and often indeed in the same idioms an making use of etymically equivalent words: It at all with a view to the

'If speople can't

discover some

philosophy on

which they can

agree, then obviously

they will be having

bigger and bigger

wars' ..... Huxley

## by S. Durai Raja Singham Malaysia

the number of books each has written on the subject. Yet, althoughHuxley assures an identity in their conception of art, it is obvious from their correspondence that Coomaraswamy discerned an essential difference. Huxley, after reading Coomaraswamy's Transformation of Nature in art, wrote enthusiastically,

I have been reading with great interest your Transformation of Nature in Art. What a mysterious business Art is.

Coomaraswamy quickly redefines Huxley's epithet:

efines Huxley's epithet:
I can't agree that "art" is
mysterious, that is no more
mysterious than anything
else. ART is a kind of knowledge about how things,
which it has been decided
are desiderate, can be made.
It is mainly modern aesthetics that has thrown a veil
of "mystery" over "art"
just as modern sentimentality has made a fool of prudence (so to speak) by
treating it not as a means

"modes of knowing", by comparing Coomaraswamy and Huxley as artists and art

In their concern for a "summa of the Philosophia Perennis", we again note similarity with difference. Huxley wrote,

I am compiling an anthology with comments of the Highest Common Factor in the various religious traditions, Hindu, Buddhist, Taoist, Sufi and Christian, setting down under appropriate heads and in a framework of explanation and substance of the perennial philosophy. The book is very easy to arrange and write and promises to turn into a kind of Summa by many hands-and what hands very often! Apart from all other considerations, such a book seems to be about the only contribution to world peace that one can make. If people can't discover some philosophy on which they can agree, then king, I dislike to expound any doctrine (such as that of the single essence and two natures, or that of lila) or any symbolism (such as that of "light" or the "chariot" or the "symplegades") from single sources only. There is however, the difficulty that one cannot, generally speaking, trust existing translations and one does not know enough languages to check on everything.

Common wisdom

of the world

It was Coomaraswamy's own writing that not only supported this work of Aldous Huxley's but also inspired a later work, A Treasury of Traditional Wisdom compiled by Whitall N. Perry and is quoted in the excellent introduction by Marco Pallis:

The time is coming when a Summa of the philosophia Perennis will have to be written, impartially based on all orthodox sources

demonstration of any literary influences, but only in order to show that the doctrines in themselves are cognate in the same sense that the entonyms, e. g. of Greek and Sanskrit, are complete, that is to say, of common origin.

After citing a few examples of these collections. Coomaraswamy concludes, "Any extended list of such dharmaparayas would fill a book."

Writing to Father Columba Cary-Elwes four months before his death on May 8,1947 Coomaraswamy says:

i look at the different religions as "modes" of knowing God (in terms of the "affirmative theology") but think each makes slightly different groups of affirmations for most of which equivalents can be traced in the different traditions (it is a favourite task on my part to do this): but I am not quite sure that they can be combined in any syncretic statement.

(Part II of this article will appear in the next issue)

The U. K. Comparison -

Continued from previous issue

# Armed Forces

The British rules relating o the status of the armed forces presuppose a set of and attitudes Public assumptions towards the roles of the Civil and Milltary powers within the state. The primacy of the civil power is a sociological as well as a constitutional fact. No British Government has been overthrown by military force, sice 1688. No senior officer of the regular armed forces has hever been Prime Minister excoat the Duke of Wellington 7328-30 and 1834. Even n times of civil disorder within the state, the Armed forces must act only under the direction of the civil authority.

The Forces themselves are governed by Military Law set out in the ARMY Act and there is no such thing as Martial Law. The powers and duties of soldiers are different in degree and not in kind from those of the ordinary Officers and men citizen. must exercise their own judgement whether to use force and, if so, how much. The normal courts continue to operate (unless there is an al invasion or loss of con-

trol of of a wide area including the place where local Court sits) and all alleged offences committed during the riots, includes any accusations of excessive use of force by the military, can be tried in these courts.

Serving members of the armed forces are subject to military law as well as the ordinary law of the land. Military law is a readily ascertainable body of rules, collected in the official manuel "of Military Law". It is primarily a body of criminal law contained in statues and subordinate legislative instruments.

In the United Kingdom, certain very serious criminal offences committed by members of the Forces are triable only by the Civil (i.e. ordinary criminal) courts. Other offences are triable by court martial. In 1951, a Courts Martial Appeal Court, composed of High Court Judges, was constituted and given jurisdiction to hear appeal from courts-martial after internal review proceedures has been exhausted, thus was asserted the primacy of the civil power.



Hitler's Nazi officers are being hunted and punished even now

If, in obedience to superior orders, a members of the Armed Forces commits a criminal offence or a civil wrong -for example, wounding a rioter in circumstances where this is not reasonably justifiable-he may incur legal / liability before the ordinary courts. if, on the other hand, he re-

fuses to obey an order because he believes it to be wrong, he may be court martialled. It may be said that the dilemma is unreal because it is not an offence under normal military law to disobey an unlawful command; but since a soldier is a member of a disciplined force conditioned to the habit of obedience, and since moreover, a court martial may well hold the command to be lawful, the dilemma and risk can be very real.

Is it reasonable, them, to assert that obedience to superior orders can never be a defence to the unlawful act in proceedings before the Courts? The Nuremberg War Crimes Trials (convened to try the Nazi War Criminals) proceeding on on the footing that superior orders were in defence thought they might be pleaded in mitigation of punishment. This general proposition is adopted in modern editions of the "Manual Act of Military Law".

When Hitler and his Nazi Party came to power in Germany, books were burnt and the minority Jews were put in concentration camps. There are dangerous parallels today in Sri Lanka to these horrors, of burning books and Army CAMPS. concentration But then Hitler and his Nazi Germany were eventually destroyed and Germany was devided into two parts. The Nazi Officers and soldiers who carried out the orders are still being hunted. A couple of months ago, Klaus Barbie, a German commander in occupied France, who is alleged to have executed a French Freedom Fighter during World War II was arrested in Bolivia, South America, and was brought to France to stand trial for crimes against humanity, committed about forty years ago. So, let there be no mistake here, whether wearing military uniforms or not, whether carrying out superior orders or not, they provide no defence against the laws of humanity, even if it takes 40 years to trace the criminals half way across the world.

## Central and Local Government: The balance of power

BETWEEN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT AU-(COUNCILS) THORITIES

The U.K. is considered a highly centralised country by international standards. Even so, the Local Authorities has traditionally provided services covering the following areas: Education, Social Services, Libraries, Museums, Art Councils, most aspect of transport, Refuse Disposai, Town and Country Planning, Consumer Protection (Weights and Measures) (Food & Druga), Police and Fire Services.

The Local Government System that existed in U. K. before the 1972 Act originated in the Middle Ages, when towns were able to purchase their right to Self government by paying an impecunious crown, for a charter. The latter gave the right of self-Government and self taxation to all living within the town walls or boundary, leaving the surrounding rural areas under the control of the aristocracy. This division between town and country became hardened by the end of nineteenth century into 58 county councils and 82 county boroughs in While England and Wales. these county boroughs looked

THE BALANCE OF POWER after their own local government, in the counties there were partially self governing subordinate bodies; namely 270 non county Boroughs, 535 Urban District Councils and 473 Rural District Councils these last being further subdivided into some 7500 parish Councils.

and art galleries, most aspects of transport (including small airports, highways. parking and lighting), structure plans and national parks in town and country planning (with concurrent powers in most other aspects), refuse disposal, consumer protection services, police and fire services, resitions of the coucil itself or its committees and sub-committees, or official acting under specially delegated powers. The Councils permanent officials unlike senior civil servants, serve the council, and its committees as a whole, not merely the dominent group in those bodies. The

P. VAROTHAYASINGHAM

London

the above system was re-orga- tain other functions exercisable local authority is the chief the 1972 Local Government Act. England was divided into 39 counties with 296 second tier districts; 6 metropolitan areas with 34 districts. Wales was divided into 8 counties and 37 districts. The distribution of functions between the Greater London Council and the London Borough Councils were unaffected by this Act. Further, the relations between central and local government have not been materially altered.

In the present set up, the non - metropolitan county councils are reaponsible for educationl, personal social services, libraries, museums

nised on a two tier basis by concurrently with districts. executive or clerk to the Among the more important matters for which districts have primary or sole responsibility are housing, public health, market refuse collection, and local plans and development control in the field of town and country planning.

In the metropolitan counties (such as London) in the District (Urban) Councils are the anthorities responsible for educa ion personal, social services and libraries. Parish Councils have responsibilities for footpaths, cemetries, swiming baths, parks, open spaces and allotments, car parks and entertainments.

Detailed administrative decisions are made by resolu-

After a series of reports dual housing powers, and cer- top Government Officer of a council (not always a solicitor).

> Then come the Departmental heads such as the engineer & surveyor, chief architect chief of planning, director of education, director of social services etc. with their respec-County tive departments. councillors are elected for a period of four years to represent electoral divisions; all retire together. District Councillors represent wards. The basic rules governing the conduct of the local elections are similar to those for parliamentary elections. The qualifications of voters are almost identical. Meetings of councils are largely concerned with conscideration and ratification

of reports and recommendations by committees and officers. Discussions tend to become more animated when politically concentious issues arise. The growth of party politics in local government is a modern phenomenon.

Local authorities derive their income from three main sources: rates, rentals, transport undertakings, entertainments and other facilities and services, and central govenment grants. Rates are localtaxes, imposed, not on income or wealth but upon the occupation of land and buildings. Rates account for a third of the local authority income and the general grants for a slightly higher percentage. Manufacturing gas and electricity is done by nationalised industries. Distribution of national assistance (social security, unemployment benefit) is done by government departments.

In other areas the central government has created ad hoc series of bodies. Examples are tourist boards, hospital boards, sports councils, river pollution boards, the water boards, nature conservancy. arts council, forestry commission, ancient monuments commission. Local authority joint (Continued next page)

## Sri Lanka has become a land of Yes men

No. 1, Station Road, Katugastota, 27-5-83.

The Editor, Saturday Review, Jaffna.

We believe that all species of animal life have some means of bringing their protests to the surface, when injustice confronts them.

However, it is tragic that we citizens of modern Sri Lanka do not seem to have this privilege. There could be no doubt, that if we survive the current period of obstruction, devastation and a whole lot of undemocratic practices - posterity would condemn the present generation, as a bunch of people who were not fit enough to

There have been no time in previous history of this country, where so many "Yes men" have existed. We seem to accept all the suppression levelled against the intelligence of our people, without a whimper.

Unlike centuries ago, the means of protest we now have, is the free press. It is a shame that the socalled free press, is leading the band of "Yes men"as never before.

However much various ministers shout at the top of their voices, that the country has accepted the policies of this pompous and boastful govt. the large majority of our people do not accept this position when consideration is given to the downright organized thuggery and disobedience to the laws of the land, as seen at the Referendum and at the recent by-elections.

For future historians to describe this period as one where an insignificant percentage of powerful and arrogant people ruled the majority with all the known and unknown undemocratic means, would be most appropriate.

Yours faithfully, T. G. Edirimanna. powers that be were counting votes in the Kachcheri and the babies, children, women and men of Kantharmadam were powerless against the barrel of the gun and the jackboots. It was an uneven fight. At about 9 pm Kantharmadam was dead except for flickering flames, flying sparks, falling embers and smoke.

FIRE! I always thought fire was beautiful. Fire-the Fire Goddess that obeyed Kannagi and reduced Mathurai to ashes. Baptism by fire purifies us. The Tamils tasted

fire in 1958. Then again in 1977. In 1981 we were DDC cracy and got burnt. Otherwise the Jaffna Library & Father David would have been amongst us. The members of Sowmiamoorthy Thondaman's vote bank got burnt The Sinhalese soon after. too got enveloped that time in Ratnapura. And now we wanted the Jaffna Mayorality and got baptised again. Since 1977 it is a case of "carrot & stick" rule. FIRE and then SOPS! What is the fun? It is an utter wastage of national energy.

The Tamil is a pariah not only down south but in his own traditional homeland as well. Where do we go from here . Now the fire. Next time .... ?

" A hen has a home. Its home is The chicken coop. A rabit has a home. Its home is the burrow ... Where is the home Of the Tamil ?.... " adopted from a Palestinia verse).

> Truly, A. Victim.

#### Let us make a united effort build the Palmyrah industry

Padmas Farm, Palaly Road. Kondavil.

The Editor, Saturday Review. Dear Sir.

I am a regular reader of your esteemed journal. In fact I have become so addicted that I earnestly look forward to it on Saturday morning and finish reading every word of the entire publication.

I observed since of late there you had been given wide coverage to Palmyrah development. There were valuable articles by Mr. A. Thevarajan and Mr. Ketheeswaran Loganathan. But what is amazing is the letters written to the Editor by Ex-Chairman and Ex-Directors who had been invoived with the Palmyrah Board letting off steam and indulging in personal attacks against others involved in the management of the Palmyrah Industry.

I would like to take this opportunity of making my own observations and suggestions to improve the Industry.

I am not one who is directly involved in this Industry. But I was one who has been involved in agriculture for the past two and a half decades, having been associated with the three major export plantation crops of Sri Lanka, namely, coconuts, rubber and tea and returned to my home soil in 1974. Since then I am a full time farmer of the North producing large scale nursaries and temperate vegetables in the tropical climate of the North.

Since my coming into contact with the present P. D. B. Chairman, Mr. Nadarajah and Dr. Mohanadas who invited me to help them in sharing my experience both in Sri Lanka and abroad that I took to a study of the Palmyrah Industry. Though I am not expert I am a keen student of the subject.

I should at this stage congragulate the Chairman, P.D.B. Dr. Mohanadas, the F. A. O, Representative, Dr. C. V. Jocabs Senior Adviser F.A.O./ U. N. D. P. projects for the excellent workshop they organised recently. I had the privilege of participating as a delegate.

I think this is the fiirst time in the history of this Industry such a workshop of this nature was held. This created the opportunity of meeting and listening to some of the top scientists involved in this industry both local and abroad, the majority of the producers, manufacturers, consumers, Ministry Officials, Representative of the F.A.O. High Officials of the Export Promotion Board etc. By bringing together of all these expertise to our doorstep it afforded a very representative cross section of these actively engaged and interested in the industry an opportunity of meaningful participation in the discussions.

Though it was a long seminar and workshop (it went on for five days) the first day was given to a lot of pomp and pagent before a fully packed Veerasingham Hall audience with quite a lot of our politicians making political

speeches; except for one M who made a valuable cont bution on the industry, he being a keen agriculturist him-

But when very valuable papers were read by both local and foreign scientists on the 21st evening, 22nd and 23rd, the participants were only a handful. I wonder whether those who are directly involved, at least the Chairman and his entire Board of Directors and his officials followed the entire proceedings. As one who attended the entire proceedings from the opening day to the closing day, I had the privilege of meeting about five Directors (One of them criticised the Chairman downwards and his fellow Directors other than himself.) My observation is that appointments to this Board should be non-political and men who are really dedicated and who have some experience and knowledge of the industry should be appointed and a reasonable renumeration paid for their services.

On the first day of the sessions few ad hoc committees were formed to make recommendations. They were high powered committees consisting of some of the experts in their respective fields. If I remember some of the committees: National Research, Extension and New Planting, Sap Products and Export Promotion and marketing which was headed by Mr. Navaratnarajah of the Export Production Board.

(Continued Overleaf)

#### Thoughts on the Kantharmadam fire

26-5-83

The Editor, Saturday Review, Jaffna.

According to popular authors Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, while the Allies were marching towards Paris, Hitler received reports that terrorists were engaging in intense activity all through the city. Hitler shouted to General Jodl that the Allies must find nothing but a pile the Jaffna Kachcheri.

Jaffna. of ruins. He is reported to have rasped, 'Jodl! Brennt Paris?' - 'Is Paris Burning?

> So the hamlet called Kantharmadam was burning on the 17th of May as a reprisal for somebody else's firing. The People of Kantharmadam didn't mastermind the shooting but they had to face the reprisal.

> From 5 p.m till midnight flames enveloped the area. As the crow flies, it is about a mile from Kantharmadam to

#### local government... comparison: central and British

(Continued from page 6) committees have occurred, in such areas as public health, Port health, police, fire services, harbours, tunnels, airports, water supply, sewerage and burial. Members of the public and the local press are entitled to inspect Council situation that may exist durof the council committees.

esting situation where the central government in the U.K. had avoided clashing with the local authorities over a 'defence exercise, in what may be an election year (1983) The civil defence exercise is designed to cope with the minutes but not the minutes ing a nuclear war. Last year's exercise due to be held in Recently there was an inter- autumn, was called off in July

when many local authorities refused to take part. The Greater London Council then produced a legal opinion that the existing regulations imposed a duty only to plan civil defence and not to carry out the plans.

The government's response was to draft new regulations to bring the rebels to heei. However, those have raised widespread opposition, not only from the 140 or so mainly Labour controlled Councils which have declared them. selves "nuclear free zones", but also from the Conservative-controlled Association of County Councils. Even with the new regulations, some Labour Authorities believe that could still disrupt an exercise. while holding their own antinuclear presentations to be called "Hard Luck". Now the conservative Central Government has abandoned any plans to hold civil defence exercise this year, in spite of new regulations impossing clearer duties on local authorities to plan for civil defence and take part in exercises.

#### The people were inspired y the idea of bringing into existence a democratic repubic where all Tamils will enhuman rights without the sebtest discrimination, where and the Sinhalese would ble to live together in ce, sharing a common nainality and . common loyalty this country. However is notion has been wiped f by immoral and collous eeds, which have not been urtailed by our leaders.

The law as it is applied, the aw as it has been developed over a long period of history and specially the law as it is written and designed by men who impliedly classify races and their privileges in my view is immoral, unjust and intolerable. (Our conscience ctates that we must protest it, that we must ope it and attempt to alter

Tamils and Sinhalese in this country have no common standard of fairness, morality and Ethics and it would be very difficult to determine as to what standard of fairness and justice our leaders have in mind

The Tamils are entitled to live a free life on the basis of fullest equality of rightts and opportunities in every field, of full democratic rights with a direct say in the affairs of the government.

Words expressed by our leaders have become a symbol of ockery amounting to provocation and destruction. The lack of human dignity experienced by the Tamils is the direct result of the policy of Sinhalese supremacy. Sinhala supremacy implies Tamil inferiority. Legislation designed to preserve Sinhaia supremacy entrenches this notion one being Article 18 of the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Sri Lanka which

# A submission on the Sinhala-Tamil problem

gives Sinhala language the official status.

The Prevention of Terrorism Act is believed to be weapon to wipe out all Tamil youths gradually. It does not comply with the basis rule of Evidence. This is in violation of Human Rights and of Justice. The Universal declaration of Human Rights proviues, that all men are equal before the law and are entiit's armed forces to attempt to cow and terrorize the peaceful protest of the people.

They set a scene of violence by relying exclusively on violence, with which to answer our people and their demands. It was clear that the Govt. was attempting to combat the intensity of some people by a reign of terror.

Knowing in advance, that our rulers are incapable of

Violence from our rulers can do only one thing and that is to breed counter-violence. This seems to breed each successive day Therefore, considering the cause and effect relationship, the term 'Prevention of Terrorism' should have been named more appropriately as 'Prevention of counter-Terrorism'. It has been warned repeatedly, that our rulers by resorting continually to rate acts of counter-violence and of force against the rulers in order to persuade the rulers in the only language which the rulers show, by their own behaviour that they understand.

The struggle for Equality and Justice has not been boldly sought by our Tamil leaders. We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. It is a fcat that"Justice delayed is Justice denied!

Considering these circumstances, it is obviously !nsincere and unreasonable for the Tamil Leaders to continue the hypocritic lip service of 'nonviolence' at a time when our rulers met their peaceful demands with force. Ultimately the oppressors may become the oppressed. I am compelled at this juncture to quote Rabindranath Tagore:

"Prisoner tell me who was it that wrought this unbreakable chain?'

"It was I" said the prisoner, "who forged this chain very carefully. I though my invisible power would hold the world captive leaving me in freedom undisturbed. Thus, night and day, I worked the chain with huge fires and cruel hard strokes. When at last the work was done, and the links were complete and unbreakable, I found that It held me in its' grip".

#### T. C. Rajaratnam (Jr.) By

tled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. In it's proper meaning, equality before the law means the right to participate in the making of the laws by which one is governed a constitution which guarantees Democratic right to all sections of the population, the right to approach the Court for protection or relief case of the violation of rights guaranteed in the Constitution.

A man should be free from racial oppression, from the idiocy of appartheid and racial arrogance from police mojestation, from humiliation and indignity.

It is submitted, that our leaders behaved in a way, no civilized group should dare behave when faced with a peaceful, disciplined sensible democratic expression of the view of it's own population. It ordered the mobilization of

progressive democratic moves, so far as the people are concerned, knowing that this group of rulers are incapable of reacting towards us in any way other than by the use of overwhelming brute force, the people who thrive for justice nevertheless decided to go ahead to do what shold be done. We have been conditioned by the history of rulers, since the Independence of Ceylon, in this country to accept the fact that Tamils, when they make their demands strongly and powerfully enough to have some chance of success will be met by force and terror on the part of the group of rulers. This is not something the Tamils have been taught. This is something the Tamils have learnt from their own bitter experience. We have learnt it over since the Independence

counter-violence country amongst people, till ultimately, if there is no dawning of sanity on the part of our ruers, the dispute between the Irulers and the people will be finished and settled in violence and by force. Already there are indica-

violence will breed in this

tions in this country that some people are turning to delibe-

"The struggle for Equality and Justice has not been boldly sought out by our Tamil leaders

(Continued from page 7)

The biggest constraint in this industry had been the lack of funds and the need for a Research Institute. Now that the F. A. O. and the Export Promotion Board had come forward to help, all those who are really dedicated and involved should really round and harness the entire resources available to improve this in-

New strategies should be adopted and the entire objective should be to gear ourselves for an export market, giving priorities to identify some of the immediate problems and establish an Export Market. The concentration should be on Research and Technology, marketnig and production.

Appropriate technology is an urgent necessity to produce

# The Palmyrah industry

high quality and adequate quantity of the products in demand according to consumer preferences of the various European countries.

attached to the Export Development Board in his paper gave a vivid account of the functions of the Board, and the role of Government and the private sector on the Trade in Palmyrah Products. This Board is a very highpowered Board consists of an Export Development Council of Ministers whose Chairman is His Excellency the President. The Palmyrah Board has not got the benefit of the schemes made available by the

The Palmyrah Board should go all out to attract the local and foreign entrepreneurs to involve private sector investment on this industry as a major export industry for the North.

i must congratulate Professor K. Theivandrarajah, Mr.A.S. Navaratnarajah head of the Department of retired U. N. Expert presently Botany, University of Jaffna. This young and energetic Professor with his team of young scientists almost consisting of the entire Department of Botany of Jaffna University had done some keen study of the subjects pertaining to the industry and presented valuable papers at this Seminar.

Professor Paulas Associate Professor of Palmyrah Research from Sri Villiputhur in Tamil Nadu also contributed a valuable paper and showed slides of some of the research work carried out by him. For Improving the plant genetics he has volunteered to give all the necessary help to improve the Palmyrah industry in our

We are also privileged to have among us Mr. Sambandan an expert from India who is here to guide the P.D B. and help the implementation of some of the recommendations

Dr. C. V. Jacobs, Senior Advisor, FAO/UNDP. Minor Exports Corps is another expert who thinks the palmyrah palm has got a good future. Dr. Wagis Alles of the Minor Export Corps Research Station, Matale served in the Committee which made recommendations for the establishment of a National Institute for Palmyrah. They are all willing to contribute their experience and talents to improve this

The outcome of this workshop and Seminar is that it has created an ideal climate and opportunity to tap all the

possible resources both natural and human to the maximum.

I wish the present Chairman of the P.D.B. Mr. K. Nadarajah all the very best to continue his dedicated and hard work to make this Industry as one of the leading export industry in Sri Lanka.

May all those critics who are wasting their valuable time in character assassination rededicate themselves and join hands as one team and make a sincere and honest effort to build up this Industry as one of the finest in this country, in keeping with the policy of this Excellency the President "Export or Perish"

#### S. PADMANABHA

President, Jaffna District Agricultural Producers Association

District Chairman

Agriculture and Fisheries, Lions International District. 306 B.

# news

MADAMPE: Four armed youths are reported to have broken into the Madampe Kudawela Sri Poorvarama Vihare in the early hours of Thursday, 26 th May, and shot to death the 90-year old Chief Priest of the temple, Gunananda Thero. Cash and valuables have been robbed.

PONDICHERRY: The songs of Subramania Bharathi which have been translated into French by an officially constituted committee will be released "soon".

Announcing this at a threeday 18th Kamban festival here Chief Minister Ramachan dran said the territorial administration would provide all assistance to Dr. David Annusamy, Chief Judge of Pondicherry and French scholar, who

had undertaken this work. The Speaker of Pondicherry Assembly Mr. Farrok Maricar, traced the growth of Kamban Kazhagam over the years.

NUWARA ELIYA: Mr. Bandula Seneviratne, a member of the Nuwara Eliya Municipal Council who headed the Independent Group at the recent local elections was shot at by a gunman on Sunday night when he was returning home in his car. The gun shots shattered the windows of the vehicle but the MMC escaped unhurt. Police investigators have found several cartridges and cartridge cases at the crime of the crime.

JAFFNA: The Jafina Passport Office has begun functioning again after a temporary closure for over two months. Mr. N. Subramaniam has assumed duties as Assistant Controller of Immigration and Emigration at the office with five clerks to assist him. A backlog of nearly 1800 Passport applications await clear-

MATARA: Over One Million Rupees damage has been caused by a fire that broke out at the Electrical Store of the Matara Urban Council on the night of Saturday, May 28 th. Sabotage has not been ruled out.

JAFFNA: The Mayor of Jaffna, Mr. Rajah Visuvanathan relinquishes his post on 31-5-83 The Members of the Council and the employees accorded him a farewell by entertaining him to tea on 30 th May 1983. Speaker after speaker paid tributes to the Mayor's integrity and sincerity and his dedication to principles. The Mayor in his reply said, though he was relinquishing office, he would fight from outside for the liberation of Eelam. He solicited the co-operation of the members, and the employees.

## 13-year old girl moves objects by will power!

Polish scientists are baffied by the extraordinary case of a 13 year-old girl who can apparently move objects by will power alone and has a body temperature of 113 degrees Fahrenheit, the evening news paper Kurier Polski reported.

The inexplicable powers of 13 year-old Joanna C. first became apparent last month at her parents home in Sosnowice near Katowice southern Poland when the family were awakened at three in the morning by the sound of objects hurting around the fiat.

Glasses moved about and crashed against walls while matches ignited spontancously and flew through the air, the newspaper said.

Members of the militia

and local officials called in by Joanna's startied parents reportedly witnessed the bizarre carryings on.

In later parapsychological tests under medicel control, Joanna proved snhe could will objects made of wood and metal to move, Kurier Polski added.

Her temperature was registered at 113 degrees Fahrenheit and when doctors attempted to measure her heartbeat on an electrocardiogram, the glass front of the machine shattered into pieces and the recording needle spun wildly.

According to the newspaper, doctors are convinced that Joannas body gives of an energy capable of upsetting gravity, but the origin and nature of the energy remains a mystery.

#### 30 th May, 1983 We publish below, in to, to the letter Sent to President Jayawardene by the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, in connection with the communal disturbances at the Peradeniya campus. The letter is signed by the partys' General Secretary K. P. Silva: Your Excellency.

The growing communal tensions in the country have created a situation that can develop in ways detrimental to the well-being and harmony of the people of this

The events during and after local government elections of 18 th May, 1983, the disturbances at the University of Peradeniya which have led to Tamil students leaving the campus en masse, and similar incidents on other occasions and in other parts of the country are manifestations of this.

The wide-spread public anxiety in regard to these developments was expressed in Parliament, too, on May 25th. The imposition of a state of emergency once again indicates that the government, too, is conscious of the gravity of the situation.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka has asked me to request Your Excellency to take certain immediate and long-range steps in this regard.

1. All victims of arson and other outrages in Jaffna by a section of Army on the night of 18th/19th May and thereafter should be compensated for the injury and damage done to them, and

2. Attempts by racist-minded

# Call an all-party. conference, C.P. tells President

elements, both within and outside the University of Peradeniya to use, the present situation there to end the multi-racial charactor, of the student population at this university and confine it to Sinhalese stu-

3. Special arrangements should be made by the authorities of the University of Peradeniya to see that Tamil students are allowed to pursue their studies in peace and security and, further, that those who were unable to follow lectures owing to these incidents should be provided with opportunities to catch up with the lectures they

Apart from this, our Central Committee wishes to stress the need for fresh attempts to find a satisfactory and permanent solutions to the many

nality in Sri Lanka. Failure ductive, do irreparable damage to do so has been a major to inter-racial relations and cause of internal tension. repeated communal riots and states of emergency, and consequent discruptions of social peace, racial harmony, and the dents should be rejected economy of the country. The country's image abroad has also been spoilt by such occur-

Our Party has always condemned and opposed resort to individual terrorism as a means of solving political or social questions. But we are equally convinced that state terrorism is no answer to this state of affairs.

It is clear that attempts to soive this problem through prolonged military occupation of Jaffna and or the use of the "Prevention of Terrorism Act" have not merely failed but have, instead, aggravated and complicated the problem. Further attempts along these

problems of the Tamil Natio-, lines can only be counter-prothe democratic process, and strengthen fissiparous tenden-

At the same time, the bilateral dialogue between Your Excellency and the leaders of the Tamil United Liberation Front has also failed to produce, any tangibie results from the point of view of either easing or settling racial tensions, let alone moving towards a lasting solution of the problem.

In this connection, our party would like to draw attention to the fact that Your Exceilency's government has not yet given effect to the undertaking made in the United National Party's selection manifesto of 1977 that an All-Parties Conference would be summoned to seek a political solution to this problem.

In our view the need for a political solution of the problem of the Tamil national has become urgent and inescapable Any attempt to avoid this can well lead to most dangerous consequences.

Our Party therefore suggests to Your Excellency that your government should take early steps to summon a conference of all recognised political parties, as well as other organisations of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka, to explore the possibilities of arriving, through the processes of dialogue, at a broad consensus as to the steps, both immediate and long-term, needed to defuse communal tensions and arrive at a political solution to this problem.

Our Party urges Your Excellency and the government to give the most serious consideration to this proposal.

Yours faithfully, for Central Committee, Communist Party of Sri Lanka. K. P. Silva

General Secretary

# Every election ngs violence

tions of 1977, the District lopment Council Elections May 1981 and the Local overnment Elections this /ear (1983) have proved it. Last week's local elections d have been most disturbing to H the Tamil people. There was a helicopter flight to the Kantharmadam election booth twice or thrice; there were c some gun shots in which a ir soldier was killed; even today, p to be precise, it is not known who were responsible forthe shots. Soon after the shots there was a concentration of soldiers at Kantharmadam. In a few minutes, houses were seen burning. Men in civils oo followed the uniformed ders, entered houses and ooth soldiers and these men

Election time has now be-

come a regular source of anxiety and danger to the people of Jaffna. The general elec-

snatched chains, robbed jewellery, removed costly house-hold goods and set fire to these houses.

In May and June, 1981 too men in civils committed acts of looting and arson. They broke open shops, business establishments, liquor booths and looted them and set fire to them! They did not spare even the Public Library of Jaffna. They poured gallons of petrol and set fire to the 95 thousands volumes of rare books and reduced them to ashes!

de facto

#### separation

Immediately after the results of the 1977 July General Elections Sinhala people started assaulting Tamils. This assault took place in Anuradhapura, Kurunegela, Kegalle, Kelaniya, Colombo, Kantalai, Amparai, Trincomalee Mutur, Ratnapura, Kandy and in almost all places in the South more or less at the same time. There were numerous murders of Tamil people; Tamils were axed, clubbed and stabbed to death.

The Tamils are a defenceless people. They have no weapons; no protection from the Government. The Communal Governments had taken away even those few licensed guns that certain Tamils here and there had!

The racial riots of 1956. 1958, again established beyond doubt that it was dangerous for the Tamil people to live in the midst of Sinhalese. The riots of 1980 in Ratnapura, Embilipitiya, Kahawatta, Am-Parai, Vaiaichchenai and other places were also believed to be planned attacks on the Tamils.

The recent forcible ejection of Tamil students from the Peradeniya University and the bloody attack on them was also obviously planned by some section. In all these attacks the Sinhala people had chased "Go to The Tamils saying, your territory, don't come back here ! '

It is the Sinhala people, Sinhala Governments and Sinnow a de facto separation. It has got to become de jure. a Tamil Eelam State.

The Tamils, who once enin peace with the Sinhalese, TULF to give up the demand

own affairs. Their method to achieve this object is non-viohala politicians who have paved lent. At successive elections the way for separation! It the Tamil people had voted is their seeking! There is for the TULF giving it their mandate for the formation of

It is believed the Governtertained the hope of living ment is trying to persuade the

people. On the contrary, at no time ever before were the Tamils so united on the common goal of Tamil Eelam State as now! but there are groups of Tamil people who are divided only on the means of achieving the goal. Even now they look to the TULF to infuse more spirit in the liber-

are really happy to find that there is evolving this attitute: "Let us all join the TULF and put it on a sound footing if necessary even change the course of leadership.'

#### S. Ponniah

Attorney-at-law

have now become disillusioned; their confidence in the Sinhala majority has become shakened! Slogans like "NATIONAL UNI-TY", have now ceased to attract them; they are empty phra-

Looting and arson in Jaffna has convicttced the Tamil people that they should instead of waiting for a government to provide protection for them, organise there own defence corps to protect themselves and defend their properties. Security arrangements must be started without delay.

The Tamil people now adhere to their right of selfdetermination - their right to administer themselves their

for Tamil Eelam State. But the Tamil people feel that the TULF has no right to forsake this demand nor bargain in any manner. Even if the TULF gives up the demand, it cannot bind the Tamils who alone have the sovereignty to make whatever decision. The Tamil people's mandate must be recognised as sacrosanct.

Leaders can

change, but not...

Sinhala Racialism has brought about the division of the people and also at the same time paved the way for Tamil unity! It is not correct to say that the Government had succeeded in splitting the Tamil

ation movement. The recent encounter between the TULF leaders and some militana Tamil Youths have established

Many of the educated and leading Tamils are keen that the differences must be cemented and all sections of the Tamil movement must be brought together under one party leadership. The Tamils are convinced that more than one political party will spell ruin to the Tamil race! Therefore let us all shed our differences and build up the TULF which is the only strong party we have now. Leaders can change but not the party. We

Let us not do violence to Tamil Unity for which the late leader Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam worked day and night. His ideal was that both the Ceylon Tamils and Tamils of Indian origin should stand united in securing independence for the Tamil people. Immediately after the racial riots of 1956 and 1958 Sri C. Rajagopalachariar, the elder Statesman of India, expressed the view that the future of Tamils in Sri Lanka depended on the unity between the Ceylon Tamils and the Tamils of Indian origin.

We are asking the Tamil youths, too, to think and act Cautiously. Let us not destroy each other. Let us give the dissentient Tamils opportunities of correcting themselves; they will all join us soon.

## must awaken from the People Parliamentary drug stupor, says Vimukthi organisation

nisation in a statement signed

'At least in the wake of the massive debacle suffered at J. R. Jayawardena's mini-election our parliamentary left must face reality in an honest manner. Should it continue to tread the comfortable path which the leaders have carved out for themselves their remaining followers too would undoubtedly desert them in the very near future. They cannot be allowed to continue to screen from the masses the basic tenets of scientific socialism and the clear lessons which the history of the world left movement teaches us.

"The real need of our masses is to construct a society

The Desha Vimukthi Orga- bereft of want and injustice. continuous devuluation of par- general election would take Neither the "creation of a liament and the rupee is a by Mr. Nihal Perera, states: strong parliamentary opposi- natural outcome of this situnor the search for "new revolutionary paths in the depths of the Lake of Kotte" appeals to them. Does anyone expect them to get seriously embroiled in the dog-fights of these leaders in their mad scramble to get into Parliament? The fact that the polling percentage in 18 of the most politically active electorate fell below the 1977 national average by 11% clearly manifests their growing weariness of this meaningless game. The boycott in the north was truly historical.

"Today the world capitalist economy is bogged in a severe depression. The parallel and

ation. In an era where the economic rights of the masses are being torn away by the local capitalist rulers at the behest of their true masters, bourgeois Parliamentary democracy which thrives on the competitive game of throwing bones to the masses, has necessarily to evaporate. Thus in the very era that Regina Elizabeth is brought down to celebarate the franchise-jubilee we witness monthly constitutional changes, the Kalawana farce, the enforced Refererndum and the Mahara robbery. Is it not significant that J. R. Jayawardena has said that he could not guarantee that a

place in 1989?

The natural path of our people is the path of mass struggle. Historically it is this path which is ours, and not the path of seeking liberation via parliamentary agents, introduced to us by British imperialism. The Peasant Uprising of 1848 and the Great Hartal of 1953 are mass struggles which form part of our heroic heritage. Our people will undoubtedly awaken from the parliamentary drug-stupor. Those leaders who drag the masses along various gardenpaths as well as those who plan to rule till eternity would then undoubtedly face their Dien Bien Phu.

# S. Nadesan Q.C. shocks a 'Non-violence audience's

"Of course, non-violence is being spoken of even nowadays. But do any of you know that when Bhagavat Singh shot a cruel Superintendent of Police and while he was in prison awaiting execution, Gandhi wanted to personally visit him, and said, "HE IS A COURAGEOUS MAN?" asked ex-Senator S. Nadesan Q.C. on the occasion of the release of K. Nesiah's book, "EDUCATION AND HU-MAN RIGHTS" on the 26th of May at the Trimmer Hall, Jaffna. Both Mr. and the Nesiah chief speaker, Prof. Sandrasekaram had earlier eulogised on Gandhism and nonviolence, and Senator Nadesan's above words in his impromptu comments in the tail-end of the meeting sounded shockingly radical in that context.

#### Mr. Nesiah

#### qualifies it

Later Mr. Nesiah made a slight qualification saying "HE IS A COURAGEOUS MAN, BUT HIS ACTION WAS NOT RIGHT". But Bishop Kulendran rose to his feet to endorse Senator Nadesan's views, saying, "Gandhi's struggle was different. He was trying to drive out a foreign power. But in our case the enemy is right here within our territory, against whom non-violence might not be effective".

The meeting was a very interesting one because the gathering consisted of some of Jaffna's veteran politicians of the 1930 Youth Congress fame, who were now reflecting on their changed attitude towards the politics of the Island.

#### Talk of beatings and burnings

Senator Nadesan further commented, "Some of us who were involved in the Youth Congress are now disillusioned thoroughly with what is happening to the North. A few days back many poor people's cottages were set ablaze at Earlier Kantharmadam. and the Public Library many public and private buildings were burnt. Who can do anything against this?

"But no one has understood deeply the fundamental problems in this country. What is the basic problem? Why is there so much of conflict between these two communities?

"When I came to Jaffna I saw tension everywhere. People were only talking about beatings and burnings that were going on around them. Earlier when I was in the Senate, I too submitted many proposals to prevent such

they would beat back the say? They learnt that this Tamils to India from where they came. They never took office claiming to solve the Tamil problem. Sinhalese leaders would never explain the real problem of the Tamils to their own people. If they do so they cannot come to power. It is power that the Sinhalese leaders

"Now what has happened here? After claiming

#### a Staff Reporter

disturbances. I kept submitting these proposals to the various governments that came to power periodically. I spoke about Education, Employment and Development needed for Those who the Tamils. were in power read my proposals and promised to take action. But nothing happened.

"The Sinhalese leaders came to power promising the Sinhalese masses that

Fifty-Fifty, Equality, and Federalism, the situation has naturally resulted when Tamil Eelam is the claim. present politicians came to power exploiting emotions of the people. inevitably, the Today, country has divided by it-

"What has happened to the men in the Forces? And what did they study when they were young. What did their text books land was a Sinhalese land. and that the Tamils have come here from South India with the Armies that attacked Sri Lanka on and off; most of the Tamils had returned, while the rest remained here. They also learnt that the Estate Indian labourers were the stooges of the British who had helped them to exploit their own land. Sinhalese totally believed all this. So now the Police and the Army are obsessed with the idea that the Tamils, whoever it is, wherever they are, are always the enemies of the Sinhalese community.

So when a member of the Forces is shot in a Sinhalese area they strive to apprehend the gunman rather than burn a whole Sinhalese village. They consider that area as their country. But it is because they think of the Tamils as their enemies that they burn down the whole area whenever there is a shooting incident here.

"The leaders, because of their insatiable craving for

'History has to be re-written.

will dare it?"

but who

power, have distorted the minds of the people. If a solution is to be reached through dialogue the tay books which spread thes false ideas have to be reduced to ashes. But the youth who were patiently waiting for justice from the government are now disillusioned, and have taken to arms in their struggle for justice."

"So history has to be rewritten and attitudes But who dare changed. rewrite history in today's Sri Lanka? Meanwhile an immediate solution to the problem will be to grant regional autonomy to the North. But what can we do to get these rights today's Sri Lanka? What can anyone do?" he said, striking a pessimistic note.

### Navaratnarajah was killed in the

### Army camp — Judicial verdict

Magistrate S. Nagarajah on Tuesday (31 May) at quiry into the death of Kathirgamathamby Navaratnarajah at the Gurunagar Army Camp.

28-year old Navaratna-

A verdict of homicide rajah of Kiliveddy, Trincowas returned by Jaffna malee died while in Army custody at the Gurunagar Army Camp, Jaffna, on the the end of the judicial in- 10th of April. He had been arrested two weeks earlier on suspicion under the Prevention of Terrorism Act in connection with the ambush of 2 Army vehicles on 4th March at

the Umayalpuram culvert, Kilinochchi. Dr. N. Saravanabavananthan, AJMO and Professor

of Forensic Medicine, University of Jaffna, who conpost-mortem ducted the examination said in his medical report that "there were twenty five external injuries and ten internal injuries in the deceased Nava-

ratnarajah s body. contusions in his lungs could have been caused by blows. I am of the opinion that death was due to cardio-respiratory failure, due to multiple muscle injuries and contusions of the lungs. In my opinion adequate treatment from an Institution could have saved his life. (SR, 30 April

#### Sriskandarajah (25) a homicide verdict

A verdict of homicide was returned by the Additional Magistrate Kanagaratnam Kesavan at the Judicial Inquiry into the death ot Ratnasingham Sriskandarajah (25) of Karainagar whose body was brought by Army personnel to the Jaffna Hospital Mortuary on election night the 18th of May. Sriskandarajah was reported to have gone for a seabath with friends to the Casuarina

beach earlier in the day.

Dr. N. Saravanabavananthan, A.J.M.O., and Professor of Forensic Medicine University of Jaffna, said in his evidence that death was caused by gun shot injuries.

While returning a verdict of homicide, Mr. Kesavan, ordered the Jaffna Police to make further inquiries and submit a report to the Jaffna Magistrate.

#### 'Sivakumaran's death a turning point in the liberation struggle'

"Historically speaking, Sivakumaran's sacrificing his life at 24 for the freedom of the Tamils was a turning point in the Tamil liberation struggle. For more than two decades, several political parties had preached non-violence and constitutional reform as the solution to the problems of the Tamil speaking peoples. Round about 1970 the Tamil people rejected

this path. Sivakumaran's importance lies in his contribution to this changed consciousness" states a press release issued by the EELAM PEOPLE'S LIBE-RATION FRONT.

The EPLF has upon the people of Urumpirai-Sivakumaran's birthplace-to observe, a hartal on June 5 (The anniversary of his death) and the Tamils generally to salute his memory.

# Saturday On the second anniversary of the Jaffna burnings Review SRIANKA Armed Forces attack Gandhiyam farm: Vavuniya shops burnt

Service personnel destroyed the Gandhiyam farm at Kovilkulam, about one and Alf miles away from avuniya town, on Wednesday night (1 June).

The rampaging servicemen who came in trucks destroyed the crops and huts were taken for questioning and set fire to the farm to the Army Camp near

buildings and vehicles. Three tractors and a van were

The orphans who were living on the farm had to flee for their lives and seek shelter in neighbouring homes. 12 farm workers

Eraperiyakulam.

On Wednesday morning the Gandhiyam office in Vavuniya town was smashed up by service personnel and a Gandhiyam van

Karainagar-based Naval personnel carried out an intensive search in Neduntivu (Delft) on Thursday mid-sea, ordered it back to afternoon (2 June) follow- Delft and arrested ing the arrest in Vavuniya of Atputham alias Amirthalingam of Delft in connection with Wednesday's attack on Air Force personnel at Vavuniya.

The Naval personnel stopped the Kurrikattuvan bound Delft launch in

youths who were passeng-

They carried out a house to house search in the Delft Centre and West areas and took away the photographs of some youths and documents.

The State's armed forces continue to wage undeclared war against the civilian population in the North even as top Government spokesmen speak of dealing with 'terrorism' in a civilized, restrained manner instead of exercising the military option.

The latest target of State terrorism is Vavuniya which was set ablaze on Wednesday morning (1 June) exactly 2 years after the burning down of the Jaffna Public Library. Preliminary estimates put the damage at over Rs. 3 million.

Service personnel in Vavuniya went berserk

burning down the market, shops and vehicles and assaulting Tamils after two Air Force personnel stationed at Vavuniya were killed near the Vavuniya vegetable market in a guerilla attack round about 10.30 on Wednesday morning.

> A four-man guerilla group had flung bombs at the Air Force jeep and then opened fire. Airmen U.L. M. Perera and W. A. Gunasekera—who were seated in front-died on the spot, while Airman W. A. Ranjan was seriously injured. The dead bodies were charred by the bomb blast.

Within minutes of the at-

tack, Servicemen who arrived on the scene began assaulting by-standers and passers-by. Shop-keepers hurriedly put up their shutters and school children were packed off home.

A few minutes after the Airmen's dead bodies were removed to the Vavuniya Hospital, the Market went up in a blaze: the clouds of smoke billowing could be seen two miles

Rampaging servicemen had also broken into the Gandhiyam office in Vavuniya town and smashed up the place.

About two hours after the guerilla attack, the Vavuniya Police acting on a tip off arrested Atputham alias Amirthalingam Rama-

nathan and Kumar alias Ponnambalam Sithamparanathan. Both were warded in the Anuradhapura General Hospital under heavy armed guard where Kumar passed away on Friday. A sub-machine gun believed to have been taken away by guerillas who attacked the Anaicoddai Police Station in 1981, was recovered from a shop in Vavuniya.

An unofficial curfew was declared in Vavuniya after the arson and the assaults on civilians. Mail train services between Kankesanturai and Colombo were cancelled on Wednesday and Thursday. Private buses too didn't run.

blitzed town, despite the out of hand.

efforts of Government authorities to bring things back to normal. streets are almost empty except for armed patrols. People fear to step out of their homes as they run the risk of being beaten up by servicemen.

The Vavuniya incidents which occurred just a fortnight after the military rampage and arson at Kantharmadam, Jaffnahave touched off a chain of attacks on Tamil passengers and Indian repatriates in trains on the Northern line and Tamil shops and buildings in various parts of the country. A curfew was declared in Kurunegala on Friday as Vavuniya looks like a the situation was getting

#### Kantharmadam: Work co-ordinated

A Conference of all social service organizations mil Eelam Liberation were being overlooked. Organization (TELO). The meeting to be held at the

the TELO said that he felt are interested in this prothe rehabilitation work ject are invited to attend undertaken by the various the meeting.

social services organiza- are thoroughly disorganiztions and institutions which ed, because they lacked coare involved in the rehabil- ordination. The organizaitation of Kantharmadam tions also lacked a proper which was burnt down by sense of priorities, as the soldiers two weeks back pressing needs of some 45 has been called by the Ta- depressed caste families

He said that the comoffice at Thin- mon representative body nevely on 11th June at that would be elected on 3.30 p.m, will strive to forma the 11th would be a percommon body to draw up a manent one which would constructive programme to look after the interests of continue the rehabilitation affected families during future violence by the sec-urity forces. All organiza-R. Vasudeva, leader of tions and individuals who

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#### dead & truck driven

Sabaratnam Palanivel, a young van driver of Valvettiturai was dragged into the Valvettiturai Army Camp and shot dead on Monday (30 May) round about 4-30

While his body was lying in the camp an Army Truck had been driven over it about two hours later, flattening the upper half of his body and smashing his skull. This incident was witnessed by several of hs relatives and others who had gathered at the camp entrance.

Palanivel who got married less than a year ago had taken some of his relatives in his van to Thondamannar early on Monday morning to catch the Trincomalee bus. After he had seen them off, he had driven back alone to his house in Arthikovilady, Valvet-

Corporal M. Wimalaratne the sentry who shot him claims that Palanivel had stopped his van opposite the Camp, got down and walked towards him. He had warned Palanivel in Tamil, English and Sinhala to halt and put up his hands. Palanivel disregarded his warning and continued to advance. Sensing danger he had fired at Palanivel thrice.

Sumanapala Weerasinghe, a driver attached

to the Palaly Army Camp. told Point Pedro Magistrate K. Kanapathipillai at the inquest that on the day in question he drove his truck to the Valvettiturai Camp behind an army jeep. Only after he had gone to the camp did he learn he had accidentally driven his truck over the head of the dead body which was not covered. It was difficult for a large vehicle to negotiate the spot where the body was lying. To avoid the body he would have had to crive his truck over a load of stones at the spot. "I am sorry for this incident and ask for pardon" he told the Magistrate, adding he had been pulled up by his officers.