

curfew continues: Bombs flung at M.P.'s house

Racial tension continues in Trincomalee despite repeated impositions of dusk-to-dawn curfew. Two bombs were flung at the house of Trincomalee's Tamil M. P. Mr. R. Sampanthan in the early hours of this morning—Saturday the 11th June. The incident happened around 3.30 a.m. when the curfew was on.

This follows the pattern during the 1977 racial riots when violence occurred in various parts of the country despite the curfew.

These 2 bombs although obviously directed at the M. P.'s house did not find their target because the house is tucked away from the road. One bomb hit the

roof of the M. P.'s sister's house which was closer to the road, and the other hit a coconut tree.

Suspicion that these acts of violence have been perpetrated either by the members of the armed forces or by thugs in connivance with them has been strengthened by repeated such incidents

during the hours of the curfew.

Earlier, the Sub Post Master of Uppuveli—Mr. S. Sivanandam was shot at by unidentified men who also set fire to his house. He was admitted to the Trincomalee Hospital.

On Wednesday night again, while the curfew was on,

bombs were flung at the houses of Palanjivel and another Tamil bank employee. Hand bombs were flung also at another business centre in Ehambaram Road.

Other incidents in the Trincomalee District included the killing of a Tamil youth—Rasathurai at Mullipothanai, and the setting fire to a fishing wadiya belonging to a T.U.F member—K. Rasathurai.

VIEWPOINT

Minister of Fisheries Festus Perera said something the other day that to all intents and purposes sounded very reasonable. In a public call addressed to the militant Tamil youths he said: "What are your grievances? Tell us". Very reasonable and very conciliatory. But it also reminded us of the man in the old Tamil saying who listened to an all-night rendering of the Ramayana story and popped the question at dawn: Now how was Rama related to Sita?

Dear Sir, the grievances of the militant Tamil youths are no different from the grievances of the vast mass of Tamil people in this country, and those grievances go back to a quarter century! The only difference is in the style of expression: the youths express their grievances rather violently! As to why they do that, they have possibly some good reasons too. They found their elders and their accredited leaders have been trying to tell various governments at various times what the Tamil grievances were, through various means (but all peaceful means), in Parliament, out of Parliament, in courts of law, at public meetings, through Satyagrahas, through agitations, through protests, through the Press—FOR OVER 20 YEARS, since 1956.

Twenty years you must admit dear Sir, is a long long period for any people to keep on talking of their grievances, particularly when there was no one to listen or understand. It was like throwing an old tennis ball on a blank wall and seeing the ball keep coming back to you. And those twenty years dear Sir, no one breathed a word of Tamil Eelam and there were no "Tigers" anywhere on the scene.

In fact Sir, the Tamils have been talking of their grievances long before you came into active political life. Elected Tamil leaders like S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, Dr. E. M. V. Naganathan, C. Vanniasingham, S. M. Rasamanickam, N. R. Rajavarothayam and S. Kathiravelupillai have been talking nothing else all their political lives but stating the Tamil grievances; all of them have now departed to the Valhalla Beyond, without getting an audience in the South, interested enough or sensitive enough to what they were trying to say.

You talk of Violence Sir, NOW, as if Violence was something that the northern youths had introduced into

this non-violent land for the first time now. You could not have failed to know what happened on that fateful morning of June 5, 1956 when the elected representatives of the Tamil people sat down to a peaceful protest at Galle Face Green. They were not asking for Eelam, were they? Did they do anything that any apostle of Non-violence would not have approved, did they? And what a violence was unleashed on them; and that by a pro-government mob, while the Police was asked not to interfere!

That was the beginning of Violence directed at the Tamil people. Riots broke out in the Gal Oya valley, the fruits of the first State-aided colonisation scheme. Nearly 150 Tamils were killed. Then came 1958, then came 1977 and thereafter the self-respect of the Tamils had been shattered at every turn every year. Beginning as refugees in the south, they are now becoming refugees in the north as well. What is Tamil self-respect worth now? On the northern roads Army men can hit you on the head with impunity and thugs can do the same in the south. To whom does one complain? Tamil youths are no longer safe even in the security of their homes, let alone the roads. To whom can they complain? Tamil undergrads are not safe in Peradeniya, Tamil commuters are not safe in trains and buses, and Tamil lives are not safe anywhere anytime.

Dear Sir, and you ask these homeless youths what their grievances are? While we concede that your intentions are honourable, it would hardly help to ask this question when your own government has only last week invoked certain provisions of the Public Security Act which virtually sanctions GENOCIDE. Can you blame the youths if in their exaggerated sense of fear, they imagine that any old heap of old tyres found in Jaffna is preparation for their own funeral pyres?

You could not have forgotten 1971, Sir, when the Sinhala military machine mowed down the very flower of Sinhala youth. To take young lives away when all their future is before them, to nip young ideals in the bud however misguided they are, is the worst crime a society can perpetrate on itself. It will take any nation a long long time to survive that shame, and the retribution that invariably follows.

New posters on the Jaffna walls

Posters calling upon the people to take up arms against the repression of the State have appeared overnight on the walls of Jaffna.

They are signed by the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE), the group headed by Uma Maheswaran.

Some of the posters run: Repression of the Sinhalese State intensifies: the armed road is the only salvation. Let the Tamil nation totally immerse itself in its struggle against injustice.

The significance of these posters, say political observers, is that they have come up hot on the heels of the Police announcement of the capture of two youths belonging to Uma's group at Vavuniya after two Air Force personnel were shot dead there on 1st June, and a breakthrough leading to a lot of information about the group and the arrests of some of its members. The posters, these observers think, is the group's reply to show that the movement is in no way broken-backed.

Saturday Review SRI LANKA

Disposal of dead

bodies without inquiry: C. R. M. expresses alarm

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The CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT OF SRI LANKA has pointed out to President Jayawardene that the recently gazetted regulations under the Public Security Act permitting the disposal of dead bodies by armed forces in the North without postmortem inquiry will "create again the excesses of 1971 when similar powers resulted in deaths under torture, indiscriminate killings and

executions without trial by the security forces which usurp functions of courts in determining who is a terrorist and who is not and leading to slaughter of many never established to have been involved in insurgent activities."

Here's the text of the telegram sent by CRM Secretary DESMOND FERNANDO to the President:

"The Press reports today 4 June 1983 that Emergency Regulations are being promulgated to per-

mit disposal of dead bodies by armed forces in the North without postmortem inquiry. According to the report a Government spokesman said the morale of service and Police personnel is low because under normal circumstances if they shoot down a terrorist they have to face an inquest, remand and other constraints. Another report says that the Government wishes to ensure that servicemen and policemen doing their duty under difficult circumstances are "in no way harassed by the law"

"As CRM wrote to then Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike at that time "just as much as a democratic Government has certain obligations in exercising its powers in relation to the general body of citizens it also has certain obligations even in dealing with persons who have broken the law or are alleged to have broken it. It must guarantee that all such persons are dealt with by due process of law and in keeping with fundamental principles of justice...for otherwise a Government would be flouting the principles of justice that are vital to democracy in the very act of claiming to defend democratic institutions."

Who is a terrorist and who is not

"Working Committee of Civil Rights Movement which met today expressed deep alarm at these reports. It recognises that Government has serious problem of maintenance of Law and Order in the North and is not unmindful of fact there have been killings of servicemen, policemen politicians and innocent bystanders with which it is the responsibility of any Government to deal. It is however precisely at such times that excesses are likely to be committed by security forces who have already demonstrated their propensity to retaliate indiscriminately against civilian population.

"Granting of such powers will create again the excesses of 1971 when similar powers resulted in deaths under torture indiscriminate killings and executions without trial by the security forces which usurp functions of courts in determining who is a terrorist and who is not and leading to slaughter of many never established to have been involved in insurgent activities. Revocation of this horrifying regulation was one of main demands of CRM at its inception in 1971.

International Covenant

"Working Committee also points out that International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which Your Excellency's Government has signed specifically provides that the right to life and right to protection from torture cannot be derogated from even at time of emergency threatening the life of the nation."

Tamilnadu writers' protest over Nithi & Nirmala

MADRAS: THE TAMIL WRITERS PERAVAI of Tamilnadu, India, has condemned the detention, under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, of Sri Lanka writers M. Nithiananthan and his wife Nirmala Nithiananthan and the torture inflicted on them. It has also called upon the Government of Sri Lanka to release them immediately.

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After six years of United National Party rule, Sri Lanka is once again near the incendiary situation of 1958! Let's hope to God that no one, from any side, will provide that little spark that is all that is necessary to set the country aflame. The politicians of all parties, should be especially careful about their utterances in this grave situation.

This is the same advice I gave the politicians (through the "Sun" of July 20, 1981) before the racial clashes that broke out shortly afterwards. I wrote; "As one who has been a keen observer of the political scene for nearly three decades and who believes in a united Sri Lanka, what I can see is that the Sinhalese and Tamils are fast drifting apart. This is a dangerous trend that all those who believe in a united Sri Lanka should do everything in their power to arrest before it is too late.

"As for the politicians, of all sides and shades, they could do very well by Sri Lanka in the present tension-ridden atmosphere by keeping their mouths shut about race and creed and language.

Drop those motions

"On the same line of thinking, I would suggest that the two no-confidence motions before Parliament (one by Dr. Neville Fernando against Opposition Leader Mr. A. Amirthalingam and the other by the opposition against the Government) be allowed to lapse. What good would the debates to the country except to poison the atmosphere some more through mutual allegations and recriminations?

"Even if the politicians want to go through with the two motions, I would urge that the debates be not broadcast alive. (This had been suggested by some Government MPs). The need of the hour is sane thinking and saner action....

Blessing or a curse?

"Sri Lanka's diversities of race and creed could be a blessing or a curse. It is up to us to decide what it shall be"

It turned out to be a curse—after the inflammatory statements made in Parliament on Dr. Fernando's motion.

After all the damage had been done, several UNP MPs were asked by the Government to withdraw certain statements they had made. All withdrew, except Dr. Fernando who could not have brought that motion without the blessing of Government leaders. Poor man, he was sent into the political wilderness!

Once again a grave situation has arisen. It is useless blaming the militant Tamil youths for this situ-

ation: they are not the main cause of it but the symptom.

Perhaps these comments by James Berry Motley, a senior research fellow at the National Defence University, Washington, D. C., published in a recent issue of "Span" magazine, on "Combating Terrorism" would give us some insight into the working of the minds of the militant youths.

a community that foster personal insecurity which, in turn leads to a search for identity—usually racial, ethnic or religious—that cannot be changed by changed economic conditions. The principal manifestations of this violence occur in areas that have multiple cultures or races....

"A third factor can be credited to Frantz Fanon, a psychiatrist who served the National Liberation

the people", as the authorities say, but also because of the type of people recruited to the intelligence services and their inability to create confidence in the people who may come forward to give evidence.

This brings me to the suggestion made by some opposition political parties, human rights organisations and others — a suggestion I fully endorse

Riots: It is not Tamils alone who will suffer

One of the key factors that have led to extremist groups in various countries to resort to violent means to advance their causes, Motley says, is an "outgrowth of efforts towards "modernisation." The majority of the nations of the world are undergoing a progress of drastic social, economic and political change. As a result, there are groups that experience pervasive feelings of relative deprivation—the gap between their expectations and their capabilities—and they resort to terrorism as a form of political protest."

Another factor that has contributed to the current wave of terrorism worldwide he says is the "ethnicity explosion." Closely related to the problem of modernisation this factor stems from rapid socio-economic changes within

Front (FLN) in Algeria and wrote a revolutionary book entitled 'The Wretched of the Earth'. Fanon's writing has increased the acceptability of terrorism as a strategy, in as much he endorsed violence as having a positive impact on individuals and raising national consciousness. His basic theme is that violence mobilizes an oppressed people and binds them together into a new nation"

Motley notes that "usually the violence is directed against people who have no personal connection with the grievance motivating the terrorist act" and asserts that the first element in US counter terrorist strategy is "good intelligence on terrorists and their plans" —something badly lacking in Sri Lanka, not only because of the "non-co-operativeness of

— that the Prevention of Terrorism Act be repealed and a truce be called with the militant Tamil youths.

Some people in the Government appear to have got very angry over this suggestion, but then this Government did something very similar in connection with the Janata

Vimukthi Peramuna members who were punished by the courts under the Criminal Justice Commissions Act for attempting to overthrow Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government by violence in 1971. The Act was repealed and all the youths — all Sinhalese — who were in the prison were released.

There is support for such a course of action in the present situation from an expert of the calibre of Dr. Janne Knutson, founder and executive director of the International Society of Political Psychology. She has emphasised that "Terrorists consider themselves 'freedom fighters' rather than criminals. It is a rigid governmental view of terrorists as criminals that often drives them to violence. Furthermore, terrorists derive psychological benefit from public acknowledgment of their political concerns and are usually able to accept a non-violent resolution once they attain this acknowledgement."

I urge the Government in all humility, to give some thought to the suggestion, however outlandish it might sound to many of its members who have been brought up in the Dutugemunu tradition. For if there is a repetition of 1958, it is not only the Tamil people who are going to suffer.

Journalists, not journalist

The omission of an "s" in last week's column appears to have upset some journalists. The sentence should have read "This question is directed in part at the Sinhala-wallah journalists... (and not journalist, as it appeared in print).

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Thamil Eelam is inevitable says M.P.

(Extract from the Hansard of 25th May 1983)

Mr. V. Yogeswaran-Jaffna:
Mr. Deputy Speaker, though I did not want to take part in the Debate, I think certain Statements made by the Hon. Minister of Industries and

Scientific Affairs should not go unchallenged. Before I start I want to congratulate the Hon. Member for Matugama, who made a good speech (interruption). He is a very senior politician, but up to now I have not had the privilege of

being in the same House with him. I must congratulate him.

Now every Tamil who has been arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (1) confesses and (2) is found with obscene literature. Every Tamil arrested under the Pre-

vention of Terrorism Act is found with a "Playboy" magazine, a "Fiesta" or some sort of obscene magazine. Obviously this is something psychological. I must ask the Hon. Minister if the Police found these magazines when they were arrested, how did they come into your possession? Is this how your Police Force is conducting investigations? Before they report to the Hon. Minister of Defence they report to the Hon. Minister of Industries. This is perversity of justice. Obviously they are introduced and given to you. If they are really productions in a case, they would never have been tampered with. That is how investigations are done. I am a lawyer. The Hon. Member for Nallur is a lawyer. You are not a lawyer. Every Tamil arrested, what does he possess? Obscene literature!

(A member) He is a law student.

Mr. V. Yogeswaran

I think these introductions must stop. Nobody is going to take them seriously.

The Hon. Member for Nallur dealt graphically with what has happened. A soldier was shot and killed. Yes. What did you do? You followed a scorched-earth policy there. 169 houses were burnt. Do you expect the people in that area to give you any co-operation, any help, any information? If you think so, you are living in a world of your own (Interruption) I am not living in a

world of my own. I am living in a very practical world. That is why I ask for a separate state. I know that it is coming. You may not know that it is coming. I am one hundred per cent certain that it is coming, because of the way you are going. No force on earth can put these two nations together again. Hon. Member for Ramanathapuram on the Floor

separation is written on the wall. However you may shout, there will be a Tamil nation and there will be a Sinhala nation in this country, before long (Interruption). You shout, but I will tell you. What did you do? You burnt their houses, looted their goods. I feel sorry for the army personnel there. I feel really sorry for the army personnel there. I know some of them. But I have no sympathy for the people who send them there to pull chestnuts out of the fire for them. For your political mistakes, for what you have done wrong politically you have sent those poor army personnel there. There are nice, clean boys.

(Mr. Deputy Speaker)

Order please! Your five minutes are over.

(Mr. V. Yogeswaran) Do not do that, I tell you. What have you done? You have alienated the whole Tamil race. You ask for a solution. If you do not accept the Referendum, if you do not

(Continued on page 10)

Wheaton College, U. S. concerned about alumna Nirmala

Students, members of the Faculty, alumnae and trustees of Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts, U.S., have expressed concern to President Jayawardene, Prime Minister Premadasa, Foreign Minister Hameed, American Ambassador, John H. Reed and Sri Lankan Ambassador Ernest Corea over the fate and treatment in prison of Nirmala Nithiyanthan in a massive letter writing campaign over the past one and a half months. Nirmala is an alumna of Wheaton College.

The Dean of Wheaton College Darlene L. Boroviak has sent the Editor, 'Saturday Review' a copy of the following letter addressed to Ambassador Reed:

May 25, 1983.

John H. Reed,
NFA / INS

Department of State,
Washington, D.C. 20520.

Dear Ambassador Reed:

As you know, we at Wheaton College are very concerned about our graduate, Nirmala (Rajasingam) Nithiyandam. We consider her to be an important member of our extended Wheaton family and hope that she had been and will continue to be accorded her basic human rights in the treatment she receives. We are particularly concerned about Nirmala's health since

she suffers from a severe case of asthma and the absence of proper medical treatment may endanger her life. We hope this has been taken into consideration in the treatment she is receiving.

I know that Nirmala's trial is scheduled for June 6. We

will be monitoring this closely and are prepared to offer Nirmala and her lawyers any assistance she may need. Any information you can provide about this will be most welcome.

Sincerely,

Darlene L. Boroviak
DEAN OF THE COLLEGE



Ootru Organisation not involved

Mr. M. Villavarayar, Acting Secretary of Ootru Organisation, Centre for Development Studies, Mari Amman Lane, Thirunelvely South, Jaffna writes:

"7th June, 1983.

The Editor,
Saturday Review.

Dear Sir,

KANDARMADAM REHABILITATION.

We refer to the news item appearing on page Twelve (12) of the 4th June, 1983, issue of your paper

regarding the above, wherein it has been stated that a meeting of the various money collecting societies is being arranged at the Thirunelvely Office of the Ootru Organisation.

We wish to inform you that the Ootru Organisation is not sponsoring any such meeting nor will any such meeting be held in the Offices of the Ootru Organisation. The Ootru Organisation is also not involved in the collection of any funds for the

above purpose.

While making the above position clear, we sincerely wish the various Organisations collecting funds would pool their resources and would launch a form of rehabilitation work of a permanent benefit to the victims. Individual members of the Ootru Organisation may make their services available in their personal capacities according to the schemes launched & the expertise available.

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Coomaraswamy & Huxley-2

The Dance of Shiva

Continued from last issue

The intellectual content of Coomaraswamy's letters are a secret pleasure. Great thoughts pile upon great thoughts. I was delighted to read in one of Helen Chapin's letters to Coomaraswamy, her rendition of the story of Urashimo Taro to him. It is a beautiful story that we taught our children during the Japanese Occupation of Malaya (1941-1946). But what I most joyously read in the Huxley-Coomaraswamy correspondence was Coomaraswamy, the story teller, narrating to Huxley the story of the Eye-Saint (Kan-Appan). It is a story which most Tamilian Saivites are very familiar with—the legend of Kannappanayanar, the mystic (Tunnan, his real name), who gave his eye out of love for Siva, as told in the *Periya Puranam*. Manikkavacakar's remarkable words, *kariappan oppator anpinmai*, run in G.U. Pope's excellent translation.

Coomaraswamy was full of praise when Huxley's book was published. He wrote to Helen Chapin, for example, "I find Huxley's *Perennial Philosophy* just out, his best so far." Yet we can detect a certain reserve, a fear of the possibility of superficial, forced equations in his implicit warning against triteness, "the general agreement that one must be 'a good, sweet child,' and the disavowal of interest in mere literary parallels.

Kannappa Nayanar

Story

A letter written with reserve by Coomaraswamy to Huxley bears out these suspicions regarding Coomaraswamy's stand:

I do not approach the great traditions as you seem to do, to pick and choose in them what seems to be "right": all coercion repels me, but who am I to pass judgement upon those who must use force, and are only at fault if they do so incorrectly. No way can be judged in isolation without regard to the environment it presupposes. On this point there is a very good Indian story of a Brahmin who maintained the service of a Siva Lingam, to which he made offerings only of flowers, water and chant. It was in the deep woods. One day he found a hunter, who filled with devotion likewise, had



Chola Nataraja bronze, Ceylon-Polonnaruwa period

By **Dr. S. Durai Raja Singham**
Malaysia

in his own way placed on the Lingam pieces of raw flesh of his prey. The Brahmin was infuriated, abused the hunter, and threw away his offerings. Suddenly Siva appeared, and graciously accepting the hunter's offering, pointed out to the Brahmin that the hunter's devotion had been no less than his own, and that he, the Brahmin, had given way to anger. We cannot judge of what is "right" for others, but only of what is right for us.

Like D. H. Lawrence, Gerald Heard and Christopher Isherwood, Huxley read Coomaraswamy's classic, *The Dance of Siva*, and he was deeply influenced. But in what way? Huxley put his understanding of the Siva Nataraj into the mouth of Dr. Robert in his 1962 novel, *Island* (166-170):

Through time

and out of time

There was silence. Murugan yawned ostentatiously. The old priest lighted another stick of incense and, muttering, waved it before the dancer, waved it again around the cosmic love-making of Shiva and the Goddess. Very quietly Dr. Robert began to talk about Shiva-Nataraj, the Lord of the Dance. "Look at his image," he said. "Look at it with these new eyes that the moksha-medicine has given you. See how it breathes and pulses how it grows out of brightness into brightnesses ever more

intense. Dancing through time and out of time, dancing everlastingly and in the eternal now. Dancing and dancing in all the worlds at once. Look at him."

Scanning those upturned faces, will noted, now in one, now in another, the dawning illuminations of delight, recognition, understanding, the signs of worshipping wonder that quivered on the brinks of ecstasy or terror.

Dance of Endless

becoming

"Look closely," Dr. Robert insisted. "Look still more closely". Then, after a long minute of silence, "Dancing in all the worlds at once," he repeated. "In all the worlds. And first of all in the world of matter. Look at the great round halo, fringed with the symbols of fire, within which the god is dancing. It stands for Nature, for the world of mass and energy. Within it Shiva-Nataraj dances the dance of endless becoming and passing away. It's his lila, his cosmic play. Playing for the sake of playing, like a child. But this child is the Order of Things. His toys are galaxies, his playground is infinite space and between finger and finger every interval is a thousand million light years. Look at him there on the latter. The image is man made, a little contraption of copper only four feet high. But Shiva-Nataraj fills the

universe, is the universe. Shut your eyes and see him towering into the night, follow the boundless stretch of those arms and the wild hair infinitely flying. Nataraja at play among the stars and in the atoms. But also, "he added," also at play within every living thing, every sentient creature, every child and man and woman. Play for play's sake. But now the playground is conscious, the dance-floor is capable of suffering. To us, this play without purpose seems a kind of insult. What we would really like is a God who never destroys what he has created. Or if there must be pain and death, let them be meted out by a

God of righteousness, who will punish the wicked and reward the good with everlasting happiness. But in fact the good get hurt, the innocent suffer. Then let there be a God who sympathizes and brings comfort. But Nataraja only dances. His play is a play impartially of death and of life, of all evils as well as of all goods.

Surely this last, "Play for play's sake... play impartially of death and of life, of all evils as well as of all goods." could not have been written if Huxley had truly understood Coomaraswamy's *Shiva*.

Surely Coomaraswamy states that,

the reason of His (Shiva's) dance lies in His own nature, all his gestures are own-nature-born (*svabhava-jah*), spontaneous, and purposeless—for His being is beyond the realm of purposes.

This could not have been too well understood by Huxley who brings *Shiva* into the world (the realm of purpose) and equates 'play for play's sake' with the indifferent, almost malignant Force about which Hemingway and Stephen Hay speak. Surely Huxley could not think of "insult" and call for a "God of righteousness" if his *Shiva* were Coomaraswamy's *Shiva* whose "very form is Grace" and whom Coomaraswamy, quoting the *Unmai Vilakkam* (v. 32, 37, 39), describes in the following terms:

The Supreme Intelligence dances in the soul... for the

purpose of removing our sins. By these means our Father scatters the darkness of illusion (*maya*), burns the thread of causality (*karma*), stamps down evil (*mala, anava, avidya*), showers Grace and lovingly plunges the soul in the ocean of Bliss (*ananda*). They never see rebirths, who behold the mystic dance.

To merge himself into the vision of Coomaraswamy. Their modes of being the forms that sculptured their minds, defined their selfhoods and timbered their instruments of perception—were too different.

The four armed bronze image of Nataraja of modest size which took aesthetic shape under the patronage of the great Tamil Chola rulers in the middle ages never failed to cast its ineffable spell on cultured circles of the West. It is a standing wonder in the field of art appreciation in modern times that this image, the product of abstruse Tamil metaphysical concepts intended for purely ritual use drew unstinted praise from top-ranking masters of western art. An image of Nataraja was seen in the second decade of this century by the world-renowned French sculptor Auguste Rodin, greatest name after Michelangelo and a friend of Coomaraswamy. The sight threw him into ecstasies and he recorded his impressions in a charming prose poem of a thousand words in French. It reads more like the effusion of a Saiva devotional singer than the eulogy of a modern western master—sculptor.

Sculptor Jacob

Epstein

Jacob Epstein, the American sculptor domiciled in England, next in originality and power to Rodin struck a transcendental note thus, "The large rhythms conjure up vast aeons of time and the movements have relentless magical power." In his comprehensive work on western dance Lincoln Kirstein (New York, 1935) observes, "Siva Nataraja is the Lord of Dancers and King of Actors—His theatre is our cosmos. In the multiplicity of steps he is both dancer and audience. Whatever the remote ethnic origins of Siva's dance were, it has come to represent the clearest symbol of the activity of a creative god. The image of his rhythmic play is understood as the source of all

(Continued Overleaf)

The U. K. Comparison -

Continued from previous issue

Stolports

Short Take - off and "Landing airports"

For improved air services with Europe, Britain depends on its 7 major airports owned by the British Airports Authority and also on its 23 Municipal Airports owned by Local Authorities. These Municipal Airports handle Inter-City Flights as well as flights to Europe across the English Channel.

One of the most dramatic developments now being planned are the Stolports (for short take-off and landing airports). It is planned to use 50

seat De Havilland Canada Dash Seven Aircraft which needs a runway of less than 2,500 feet, flying at very slow speeds and taking-off and landing at a comparatively steep angle. This aircraft has a range of 400 miles and can handle up to 100,000 tons of freight a year and the take off speed is only 75 mph.

For developing countries like Eelam it is not only easier and quicker, but also considerably cheaper in terms of both initial

capital and running costs, to build small airstrips to use small, short take-off and landing transport aircrafts for improved communications, both internally and with the Indian Sub-Continent. The De Havilland Canada Twin Otter, of which 800 have been sold, is one of the great pioneering aircraft of the Developing Countries in the past 30 years or so. By carefully tailoring the size of aircraft to the traf-

fic available, it is now possible for almost any air service to run profitably. The miniature airports for these planes would require less than 100 acres of land area.

It is likely that, as aviation throughout the developing countries expands, the greater part—perhaps as much as 70 percent—of the anticipated market for about 6,500 "third level" aircrafts worth \$1.25 billion by the end of this

century will come from the developing countries. Perhaps a joint venture with the Indian Government would be a valuable enterprise creating jobs and saving billions in foreign exchange. The local authorities in U.K. are sending their higher ups to America in search of joint ventures. India is much closer to Eelam and the air-transport infrastructure is an expanding market in the third world.

POLICE WATCH COMMITTEES AND THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY OF THE POLICE FORCE.

Under the 1972 Local Government Act the number of Committees that a Local Authority is required to appoint was reduced, but the relevant authority must appoint an Education Committee, a Police Committee and a Social Services Committee. There are also likely to be a Finance Committee and committees dealing with various services administered by the Authority (for example Housing, Planning, Parks, Roads & Sewers), and probably a general purposes Committee and an Establishment (Staff) Committee and ad hoc Committees constituted for special purposes. There may be joint Committees of two or more Authorities. All Committees of the Council other than the Finance Committees and Statutory Committees whose composition is prescribed by law may co-opt outside members provided that two-thirds (2/3) of the Committee consists of members of the Council. This numerical limitation does not apply to sub-Committees.

Focus of local loyalty

An important aspect of the Local Government system in U.K. is that a county is not only an area of administration but it is also a focus of local loyalty, culture and identity. An English County with its history and geography would be a part and pattern of England and the English mind. And so on for Wales and Scotland. Each county should have its own legal identity, its own Lord Lieutenant, its formal boundaries, its boundary signs and hence significance as a postal address, and its own colour on the map.

Policing in Britain has historically been regarded as a local and not a central Government service. Worries

Accountability of the Police

about the relations between the Police and the Public led to the appointment of a Royal Commission under Sir Henry Willink in 1959. It considered two major issues, the most suitable size of force—local, regional or national—and the question of public accountability. The report of the Commission was followed by the Police Act, 1964.

stables compulsorily in the interests of efficiency. They are also dismissible for a breach of disciplinary regulations, after a hearing before an independent person. The Chief Constable himself appoints and promotes other ranks and is the disciplinary authority.

Disciplinary procedure is judicialized, and the Chief Constable must not sit if he

Secretary (Home Minister) are: A two-part Police Authority with the A Greater London Council Police Committee and Police Committees of London's 32 Boroughs (Urban Districts); Magistrates to be removed from the Police Authorities and replaced by locally elected representatives with an option to co-opt community representatives: powers to policing

would have a number of sub-Committees, to cover specific areas such as Finance, Recruitment and Training; day to day Police operations being placed under the control of London Boroughs.

The way in which money is raised to pay for the Police would stay as before, nearly half raised through local rates and the other half paid by the Central Government. All Police Officers would become employees of the Police Authority similar to the employment of social workers, Housing Officers etc., by local Authorities, with employment, protection and compensation for accidents or injury at work.

by P. Varothayasingham

London

Until then Chief Constables in charge of Police Force had been responsible for their administrative efficiency to the local Watch Committee (or Police Committee in Scotland) from which they drew a half of their funds to operate the Police Force. Also the actions of the Police had to be justified in that the propriety of their proceedings has to be accepted by the Courts.

In 1973 the number of Police Forces was reduced from 125 to 47 in England and Wales and from 33 to 20 in Scotland. Each Police Authority is composed in the same way: Two-thirds (2/3) of its members are local councillors and one-third (1/3) are lay Magistrates. The Police Authority appoints a Chief Constable, a Deputy Chief Constable and Assistant Chief Constables, subject to concurrence of the Home Secretary. The Authority may, with the Home Secretary's approval, retire a Chief, Deputy or Assistant Chief Con-

is in effect a party to the proceedings or a witness. Complaints against the Police are independently investigated by a Police Complaints Board. None of the members of this Board may be or may have been a Policeman.

The Greater London Council (GLC) has just drawn up (March 1983) proposals for the creation of a London Police Authority which, over the next few months will be open for Public debate at a series of meetings throughout Greater London. The object of these proposals is to bring Police under greater local democratic control and to bring Londoners closer to decision making. All Londoners have been invited to write in for more information on the proposals and to send in their comments as well as attending meetings to put their point of view. These proposals also have the full support of the Labour Party.

The key features of the proposed new Police Authority to replace the Home

policies without interfering with individual arrests: maximum control to be devolved, to Borough level in order to meet differing local needs.

The Police Committee of the Greater London Council

The Dance of Shiva

(Continued from page 5) cosmic motion, action and tension. The purpose of his dance is to release the innumerable souls of mankind from the snare of illusion. Theatre of his dance as well as the centre of the Universe is within the human heart. He danced the world into being and his dance keeps it alive"

Little wonder that Romain Rolland said that Coomaraswamy's work on the Dance of Shiva made him think of "the journey of the spirit across stellar space, even to the deeps of the planetary

void, among the Islands of the cosmos, the nebular spirals, the countless Milky Ways and through the millions of creations which sweep along down Space and Time". (Bombay edition 1948, p.9).

Huxley has in his broadcast "Speaking Personally" a recorded interview (Zansdowne Recording Station, London) said, "We have never produced anything as comprehensive as the Dancing Shiva, the little bronze statue... It is a shame we do not have good symbols to remind who we are."

Neither Feast nor Famine!

An Indonesian Army General called on me with the Deputy Director General of the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics when the writer was stationed in Jakarta in the early seventies. He was a University graduate and was interested in matters outside the Army. His request was for me to advise him whether he and his family were eating too much. He brought full details of the food consumed by the family the previous week. I asked him to wait for a few minutes so that the necessary computations can be made. Soon a staggering figure of about 4000 calories per caput per day was produced. He was swept off his feet as the All-Indonesian average figure was around 2,000 and there were millions without adequate food for below the national average of 2,000 calories. Here we have a feast every day in well-to-do households and a continuous famine among millions in the same country. The good General said it was not fair on his part to consume so much food and he was going to reduce his food and change his food habits. If more would follow him in the Third World we can reduce part of the famine in this region. In many third world countries one-third or less of the population consumes more than half the available food.

National Food balance accounts

To ensure adequate food for all, there should be sufficient food at the national level and an equitable distribution system. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations has been developing an integrated computerized system of compiling and maintaining, in the form of food supply / utilization accounts so that national governments are aware of the total supply & their utilization at national level and would be in a position for taking meaningful steps to adjust the supply position. These accounts are known as national food balance accounts. The total quantity of food stuffs produced in a country, added to the total quantity imported and adjusted for any change in stocks that may have occurred since the beginning of the reference period, gives the supply available during the period.

On the utilization side, a distinction is made between the quantities exported, fed to livestock, used for seed, put to industrial and other non-food uses or lost during storage and transportation, and food supplies available for human consumption at the retail level (ie. in the form food leaves the retail shop or otherwise enters the household). The per caput supply of each food item available for human consumption is then obtained

by dividing the food supplies available for human consumption by the population actually partaking of it. Data on per caput food supplies are expressed in terms of quantity and also in terms of nutrient elements (calories, proteins, fat, minerals & vitamins).

It has to be noted that quantities of food available relate as those reaching the consumer but not necessarily consumed - these are generally lower due to wastage in storage in the household preparation & cooking, plate-waste etc. The figures represent

indicate:- 99 (1966 - 68), 93 (1969-71), 77(1975-77) and 73 (1978-80). Though there has been much talk of expansion of livestock products, there has been no increase in per caput as the above figures indicate. To be fair by those making efforts for livestock product expansion, it has to be said that unlike crops, this expansion takes considerable time to make its impact felt. We have thus to fall back on vegetable sources to meet the calorie requirements.

So far we have dealt with

grams of protein per caput per day are 47.4 (1966-68), 46.7 (1969-71), 43.5(1975-77) and 44.1 (1978 - 80).

We thus see we are not making any progress leaving aside the target of 60 grams. It is stated that of the recommended 60 grams at least 10 grams should be from animal sources and these figures according to FAO are 9.0(1966-68), 8.8(1969-71), 6.8(1975-77) and 6.5(1978-80). The figures given by the Dept. of Census and Statistics are higher and obviously FAO has revised them. It would be seen that we have a long way to go to rectify the quality of food to meet adequate nourishment. As animal food are more expensive than vegetable foods the remedy seems to achieve the minimum 10 grams of animal proteins and go all out to meet the deficit proteins from vegetable sources.

Looking ahead, what we need is a society where there is neither famine nor feast. In centrally planned economies there is equitable distribution of food. They may or may not

hope to purchase an adequate diet in the foreseeable future without some form of assistance". This is the crux of the problem. In this country the rationing scheme which was in operation for over three decades ensured a reasonable cereal consumption for the entire population. It is to be seen whether the food stamp scheme is as good. There is no point in telling people that they are the opportunities to earn and buy the needed food-thing just does not work. There will still be some people without adequate financial means to buy the needed food. These are the people Lester Brown has in mind.

If the wealthy people eat for all their need but not for their greed some food will be available in the market for the other people. The question then arises how the extra food can be purchased by the needy-if the quantity is sizable this should normally lower the prices which may enable the low income groups to purchase.

PERSPECTIVES

By
Nagamuttu

only the average supply utilization for the population as a whole and further surveys / studies are needed to determine the corresponding figures for different populations groups, different socio-economic groups, ecological zones & geographical areas within a country

What does the national food balance sheet indicate for this country? According to the FAO, the average per caput per day calorie intake has been 2291 (1966-68), 2324 (1969-71), 2116(1975-77) and 2249 (1978-80). The recommended figure varies according to each authority ranging from 2300 to 2400. Thus at a national level there is a shortage in the food requirements. Perhaps there may not be much difficulty in finding the extra food at national level but there may not be the demand by some households due to various factors such as the inability to find the money for the purchase. Generally in our countries, food demand is less than the requirement.

Household food intake

Most of the calorie intake is met from vegetable sources. The average for the last ten years indicates that rice contributes a little over 40 percent and wheat flour and coconuts provide about a sixth each and non-vegetables (meat, eggs, fish, milk) provide less than 5 percent of the calorie intake. Calorie intake from animal products is disappointing as the following FAO figures

the need of adequate food at the national level. What is the position re-household food intake? Adequacy at a national level is not necessarily an indicator of sufficiency at the household level. In our system where price is affected by supply, overall supply has to be well above average per capita requirement if the price is to be within the reach of the majority of the population. Hence inadequacy at the national level, which is our case from the food balance sheet, can indicate serious deprivation at the household level. Only a household consumption budget survey would indicate the percentage of households without adequate food.

A world authority on food and agriculture statistics Dr. P.V. Sukhatme estimated that proportion of families undernourished in this country during 1948-49 was a little over one-third. Marga Institute in one of its studies to determine a poverty line for Sri Lanka and to examine the distribution of poverty in the island, reported in May 1978-49 percent of the households were subject to absolute poverty in 1973. 'Under nourished' and 'absolute poverty' do not mean the same thing; however some idea of households without adequate food could be gauged from these two reports. Let us hope that the situation today has improved.

Let us look at the quality of food whether the people are taking sufficient protein. FAO figures of the number of

If wealthy people eat only for their need and not for their greed, there will be food for other people....

reach the level internationally laid down for adequate nutrition but the fact remains that whatever food is available for the Governments is equitably distributed. This is not the case in the other countries. Even in a very wealthy country like USA, 10 percent (about 20 million people) receive aid through the food stamp programme. Although such programmes help the under-nourished, one writer states he is not sure whether such programmes are intended to eradicate hunger or would help families to feel "less hungry".

A well known food authority Lester Brown states, "among the low-income groups in the developing world, few can

Third World countries should have national food policies which seek to assure all citizens access to food supply-a supply that is reasonably priced, relatively safe, adequate in quantity and nutritious. For those citizens who are economically incapable of gaining access to an adequate food supply themselves, some food assistance has to be given. Each country will have to work out its own method. Affluent people in these countries who consume more than their needs can help the Governments in cutting down their food consumption so that we will have a society without famine or feast.

Taking a close look at Non-Violence

It is becoming increasingly clear that the Tamil people in Sri Lanka will not be given their right to self-determination without a struggle. There is a school of thought which holds that the path of non-violence is best. It is only a fool or a madman who will choose violence if he can achieve his objective non-violently. But it is necessary to be sure of one's ground before deciding on ways and means as it involves the lives of all our men, women and children.

The example of Mahatma Gandhi, the apostle of non-violence is put forward. It is claimed he was able to extract independence from the mighty British Empire through a non-violent struggle. We will do well to look at this a little more closely. Gandhi first tried non-violence in South Africa. Apartheid regulations, was promptly jailed, where he made a pair of flip-flops for General Smuts, the man who put him there.

I don't know with what feelings Gandhi looked back on his work in South Africa. He lived long enough to see Apartheid flourishing there. South Africa is on the aggressive, attempting to extend apartheid to South West Africa (Namibia)—a Trust territory which she is keeping in defiance of the whole world and trying every trick to make it a permanent Apartheid territory. She now actually attacks neighbouring African States.

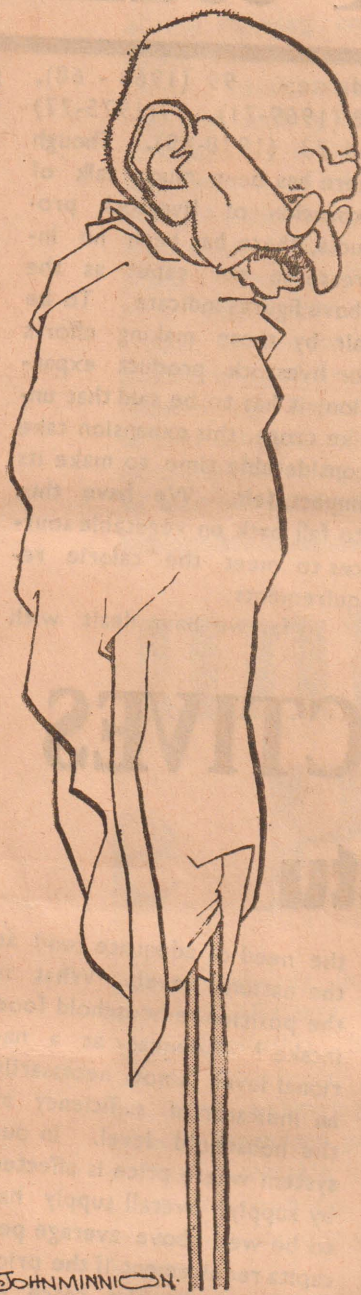
A 30-year campaign

The Western Capitalist Countries have invested so heavily in the rich natural resources of South Africa that they give it covert if not overt support. It is claimed South Africa has its own atom bomb, for which it needed the support of Western atomic powers. South Africa has become a rich giant capable of buying people and support while trying to extend the boundaries of Apartheid country.

So much for the success of non-violence in South Africa. What about India? Happily India is not South Africa and the Indians had already started agitation for Swaraj. Gandhi stepped into the scene and soon won the hearts of the masses. His transparent sincerity, honesty and simplicity attracted them. But perhaps what influenced them most was that he was a deeply religious man. This was Gandhi's most potential weapon and at the same time his weakest point as a politician. Gandhi was aware of his unipueness in this regard when he said: Most religious men are at least politicians. I who wear the garb of a politician am at heart a religious man.

His strategy of conducting the national liberation struggle on non-violent lines stemmed from his religion. He was influenced by the Jain sect who would kill nothing and actually went about with mouths covered to prevent accidental killing of live things. Gandhi did not go to such extremes and once permitted a calf in the Ashram to be put to sleep because it was in insufferable pain. But he was adamant that his non-cooperation movement should remain non-violent and whenever he felt the masses, who were straining at the chains tying them down, might swerve from the non-violent path, he would call a halt to the whole campaign.

Gandhi carried on his non-violent campaign for more than thirty years in India. What did he achieve? It is claimed he brought the mighty British Empire to its knees in India. Let us get the facts straight. India was given independence because of the world situation after World War II, when the British decided it could no longer rule its far flung empire as it did before and decided to give independence to partners who would preserve their interests even after independence. Sri Lanka is a



JOHN MINNICHON

The claim that India won independence through non-violence may be laid to rest. What else is claimed for non-violence? One of the cardinal articles of Gandhi's faith was the removal of untouchability of certain castes in India. Indeed it is a matter of utter shame that man should consider another untouchable just because of his birth. There are untouchables in the world but not on account of their birth! Gandhi throughout his life preached against untouchability and practised it much as an individual can practise it. He called them Harijans (Children of God), adopted one as his daughter, did the work usually done by them (washing latrines) and in every way sought to remove untouchability. Did he succeed? It is true some relaxation was made in some places but the curse of untouchability remains as a blot on the fair name of India to this day. Untouchability, though on the surface it appears as a religious question, in reality it is a socio-economic problem and till the structure of Indian society is changed it cannot be removed.

To get back to the central theme of this note—Non-violence—to comprehend non-

doing so in the future are less as we are now in an era when there are powers willing to provide arms to suppress liberation struggles.

Before I leave the subject of liberation struggle I do not want to give the impression that because I decry the value of non-violence in obtaining it, I advocate the use of guns in national liberation struggle. I have always maintained that guns must definitely be a low priority for freedom fighters.

For every gun they produce, the authorities can produce a hundred, not only on their own resources but also from 'friendly' countries opposing freedom fighters anywhere in the Third World.

Defining

Violence

Freedom fighters must carry on their struggle in the territory of their choosing with weapons of their choosing non-co operations, strikes, boycotts etc. Each area will have to work out ways best suited to itself. In the final stages, if and when necessary guns will have to be used, by then the freedom fighters would have so integrated with the people that they would move among the people like fish in the ocean.

A further dimension in the consideration of violence and non-violence arises. Violence can be caused to an individual not only by another individual but also by society. A lively school boy of 14 years of age was bitten by a rabid dog last year and died one of the most agonising deaths possible. Who struck this boy at the threshold of his life? Not the violent dog, itself the victim of the bite of another rabid dog. It is the local Council which killed the boy by not enforcing its regulations regarding stray dogs. Every time a human being dies of a preventable disease, it is the result of an act of violence on the part of a society which so orders its ways that it permits the death of millions of its citizens.

Gandhi's India is to this day the classical example of great wealth at the very top and grinding poverty for millions of its citizens, malnourished and blinded and killed by preventable diseases, which have been prevented in much younger countries like Australia.

What part does non-violence play in the picture? Violence is not fun and no sane man will use it if there is an alternative. But non-violence should not be allowed to be-

by

Kumar

Good example of this manoeuvre and independence was about the same time almost thrust into the unwilling hands of D. S. Senanayake.

War against partition?

India was special. It was the brightest jewel in the British Crown and had nurtured England for centuries. It could not be lost. There was a non-violent movement for Swaraj led by a man called Gandhi, who seemed to be an All India figure. His power had to be broken. Fortunately for them religion came to their rescue.

The Muslim League was formed, which Nehru called "The spoilt child of British Imperialism". Mr. Jinnah an Indian Barrister most at home in London was called upon to lead the movement to divide India in two—India and Pakistan an act of folly of the greatest magnitude for which India is paying to this day.

In fairness to Gandhi it

must be stated that he was opposed to partition to the last. If like Abraham Lincoln he had gone to war to prevent partition he would have caused much less misery and death than what ensued as a result of partition. America has recovered from the effects of the civil war fought to prevent partition. India is still paying for having shirked it (the recent tragic disturbances in Assam are an aftermath of partition). Who caused the greater violence, Lincoln or Gandhi? Lincoln who used violence to prevent greater violence or Gandhi, who retreated and joined Jai Prakash Narain for Sarvodaya work?

Gandhi intensified his exhortation for Hindu-Muslim Unity at his open air evening prayer meetings and a Hindu, maddened by the way Hindus were being slaughtered by Muslims after partition, assassinated him, because in his frenzy he believed Gandhi did not see the suffering of the Hindus at the hands of the Muslims.

violence it is first necessary to clear our minds on what is violence. Is violence only the assault on a person by hitting him or shooting him with a gun? What about the action taken in self-defence? If a man comes to attack me and I drop him with a karate stroke, which breaks his leg, is that objectionable violence? When dealing with attack by guns action in self-defence becomes more urgent. Again, is not breaking the law an act of violence? It may be claimed that it is non-violent satyagraha but the authorities will treat it as violent action and deal with it accordingly. Non violent demonstration will be dispersed using violence if necessary and the leaders locked up.

The satyagraha strategy is for another lot to try again and be met with more violence. This can't go on forever and we are back in square 1. There is not a single country in the world which has liberated itself through non-violence. The chances of

[Continued next page]

LETTERS

Should the Govt. waste good money on the Palmyrah Development Board?

Gandhi
and
Bhagat
Singh



Bhagat Singh

Chundikuli,
6th June, 1983.

The Editor,
"Saturday Review"
Dear Editor,

In your issue of June 4, under the caption 'S. NADESAN, Q.C. SHOCKS A NON-VIOLENCE AUDIENCE', the report quotes the speaker as suggesting that Mahatma Gandhi was all praise for Bhagat Singh. The report goes on to say that later on I made a slight qualification! The report is somewhat misleading.

To correct Mr. Nadesan I had quoted what Gandhi had written in 'YOUNG INDIA' (April 16, 1931): "No doubt Bhagat Singh had shown a spirit of bravery and sacrifice, but the deed was to be condemned". He had added: "We should learn to detest deeds such as political murders, no matter how high the motives might be. In India at least political murders can only harm the country."

Yours in service,
K. Nesiah.

The Editor,
Saturday Review.

Sir,

Mr. Velautham should be congratulated on the uphill task of defending his kinsman Mr. Nadarajah who is making every effort to pull the Palmyrah Board out of the red. Katpaham sales outlet in Colombo is running at a loss of Rs. 5000/- a month. Low wine centres which were established last year have been wound up. The jaggery centres are running at a loss and will soon become a liability on the Board. A budgetary provision of Rs. 375,000 was made in 1982 to set up a Palmyrah Research Institute at Pallai but nothing was done about this project in 1982. An experimental station at Keerimalai was set up by the Industrial Development Board ten years ago in 1973 and considerable progress was made in the manufacture of improved jaggery. The IDB handed over this stat-

Lakmahal
Amman Road,
Jaffna.
03-05-83.

ion to the Palmyrah Board for management but for some reason or other this centre is not functioning now. Perhaps Mr. Velautham might be able to throw some light on this subject.

It is common knowledge that the Thikkam factory complex owes its existence to the M. P. for Udupiddy. A word about the FAO workshop held recently in Jaffna. It was run like a wedding reception and the decorations alone cost Rs. 15,000. Garlands galore. The Minister of Regional Development was not present. Not even a message from the Minister was read. Five thousand members of the Palm Products Society were present on invitation. There was a chorus of protest against the proceedings being conducted in English. That was the only "sound" of success one heard at the workshop.

The Export Development Board spokesman lamented that the Palmyrah industry has not got off the ground and strongly appealed to the private sector for their assistance.

Certainly it was not a call to the investors to put their monies in the waste paper baskets which were prominently displayed at the Exhibition in the lobby of Veerasingham Hall.

If Mr. Velautham had been present at the workshop he would have heard delegates complaining that in their field inspection tour, they were shown only buildings. The idea of setting up a Research Centre was mooted by the Sivabramaniam Committee in 1971 and it is not something new. Mr. Editor, whether you are in an ivory tower or in the crown of the palmyrah palm, nothing can be achieved at the rate at which the trees are cut down daily. The question is: Should the Govt waste Rs. 2 million a year in the Palmyrah Board? This money could profitably be used by the Jaffna Development Council to initiate plans for a housing scheme for the depressed section of the community.

Yours faithfully
N. P. Harindra
Retired Agricultural Instructor

Protest marchers in Ottawa meet Canadian M. P. s

Over 400 participants took part in a massive protest and demonstration in Ottawa, Canada last week condemning the Sri Lankan Government's actions against Gandhian and atrocities committed by armed forces against this movement. Having delivered a memorandum to the Sri Lankan High Commissioner, Mr. R. C. A. Vandergert, the demonstrators marched to the Canadian Parliament where they were met by various parliamentarians. The organisers inform "Saturday Review" that the demonstration was a total success.

German protest over Human Rights Violations in Sri Lanka



More than six hundred Tamils and Germans went on a protest march in the West German capital Bonn on the 21st of May. The demonstration was organised by the exile Tamil Groups to protest against the Prevention of Terrorism Act

and the burning of several hundred houses in Jaffna.

Big wall posters appeared in all parts of Bonn city explaining the human rights violation in Sri Lanka and requested the Germans to boycott Sri Lanka as a tourist spot.



Section of the International Spartacist Tendency in Germany participated in the demonstration.

Protest marchers were provoked by a man who was trying to take photographs of the demonstration and individuals participating in the demonstration. He was caught with his camera and handed over to the Police to whom he identified himself as a diplomat working in the Sri Lanka Embassy in Bonn. The Tamils accused him as a person spying for the Sri Lanka Government. German Police later released him and was told to get away from that place. As the tension mounted up several hundred riot police was brought

to guard the Sri Lanka Embassy and the demonstrators were requested by Police to proceed with a meeting hundred meters away from the Embassy.

The demonstrators used a loud speaker to convey their message to the Ambassador. In his speech the Tamil Youth demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Sri Lankan armed forces from Tamil Eelam. He further demanded that all the citizens of Tamil Eelam who were arrested and detained by the Sri Lankan Police and Army should be released immediately. He requested the Germans to boycott Sri Lankan Tea and to stop visiting Sri Lanka for holidays.

A close look at Non - Violence ...

[Continued from Page 8]

come the sacred cow before which we all must kneel. National Liberation struggles deal with matters of life and death for millions of people and every care must be taken

to see that the weapons used are effective. To announce at the outset of a struggle that it is completely non-violent and will never use violence is to give great comfort and cheer to an opponent fully armed. He will use his weapons with abandon knowing that no physical harm will

happen to him.

My submission is that if freedom fighters had opponents who were like Gandhi the weapon of non-violence would be excellent. But alas! the leaders they have to deal with could not care less for non-violence.

Time had stopped still for the villagers of Siruppiddy, just eight miles from the bustling Jaffna town. They were still suffering as slaves in a callous feudal society. For nine long hours of arduous work under the scorching sun in the fields of the upper caste owners they received a mere pittance for wages; the women labourers got still less. The beggarly meals they received such as a piece of bread and a bowl with plain tea were served on makeshift palmyrah leaves and dirty coconut shells. If they dared demand a more "civilized" treatment, they were assaulted by their masters.

Such was the life of the eighty five "lower caste" families in Siruppiddy, just under the "upper caste" farm lands. But reaching the point of despair, they began to work on the 30th of May, 1982, demanding better pay and more humane treatment. The indomitable struggle continued for about six months. Because the rocky ground they inhabited was uncultivable these families were pushed into hunger and poverty. The price of their radical struggle for rights, was the loss of their only means of subsistence.

It was at this time that "SATURDAY REVIEW" voiced the aspirations of these families through its columns. (See

At Siruppiddy: Overcoming

THE CASTE PROBLEM

by building Self - reliance

SR September 18, 1982) One of the groups that responded to our call and took up the struggle of these families was the Jaffna Diocesan Human Development Centre.

Seeing that the caste difference was closely fused with the class disparity in Jaffna, that it was the economic dependence of the "lower castes" on the jobs from the "upper castes" that perpetuated their slavery, the Human Development Centre strove to create an alternate means of employment that would make these families more self-reliant. So in collaboration with the Janasakthi Community Centre of the villagers, the Human Development Centre began the

'JANASAKTHEE ENTERPRISE' — a soap factory.

The Management and functioning of this factory is deeply influenced by the Christian-Socialist ideals that the Human Development centre is committed to. The ownership of this factory is not in the hands of any particular individual or organization, but is the collective responsibility of the villagers themselves. Though the initial capital was funded by the Human Development Centre and the Janasakthi Community Centre, the profits do not go to these organizations. The profit is invested in the Fixed Deposit in the Bank to be used for the Education, Health facilities and

other social service projects of the villagers.

The management of the factory too is collectively in the hands of the representatives of the workers, and the representatives of these social organizations. The decisions of the Management are not shaped by the whims and fancies of any influential individual, but collectively reached by the Board, in the interests of the villagers.

Hence the whole project is not 'profit centred' but 'people centred'. That is, it doesn't

Here both the males and females are given employment in equal proportions, and the wages are not influenced by sex differences. All workers work for eight hours and wages are given on the basis of 'hard work' and 'soft work'. A female employee is a member of the Board of Directors.

The profits of the venture are also to be used in a radically new way. Part of the money will be given as bonus to the workers. The rest is to be used for the Education of the villagers. Hitherto they had access to only one small government school that had classes only up to the 5th Standard with one female teacher; they had no access to the bigger colleges in the neighbourhood because of their caste identity. This lack of education too had perpetuated their domination by the upper caste. But now, apart from providing them formal Education, the volunteers of the Human Development Centre are creating a deep political awareness among the villagers enabling them to 'demythify' the forces that are governing their daily life.

Apart from making a direct

by a Staff writer

make the workers passive instruments for the impersonal goal of accumulating riches, but it correctly recognises that it is Man who is the end and that work is but the means to contribute to his well-being. So the workers here are not forced to drudge for long hours in the stuffy factory to serve the insatiable demands of the cold goddess 'PROFIT'.

The factory is also 'quality centred' and not 'quantity centred' — which is another of those evils of western capitalism. It is seen that the quality of the products is not lowered for the sake of maximising the profit.

The factory has also transcended another feature of a class-society — the domination of the women by the males.

assault against casteism which is the chief contradiction in the Jaffna community—the project has also created a model socialist society at Siruppiddy. But the cakes of 'JANASAKTHEE SOAP' are not intended to be exhibited in glass cases, but marketed. This is where the rest of the Jaffna community can give their patronage, encouragement to the project and also become part of this noble enterprise.

This model socialist society should certainly not be a remote oasis in the materialistic desert of Jaffna. It is hoped that the ideals that influenced the project would pervade the whole community, radically transforming the social structure of the peninsula one day.

Thamil Eelam ...

(Continued from page 4)

accept the mandate the Tamils gave, have another Referendum in the North and the East. Ask them, "Do you want to be free or do you want to be slaves?" If they want to be slaves, keep them slaves, If they want to be free, give them the State of Tamil Eelam and let them be free.

(Mr. Ranil Wickremasinge) You lost to the terrorists. You are controlled by the terrorists.

(Mr. V. Yogeswaran)

Withdraw the notorious Prevention of Terrorism Act. Every newspaper in the world has condemned you, has called

you names, has heaped on you infamy of the worst kind. Withdraw the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Do not torture the poor prisoners. Keep them in prison. Do not keep them at Panagoda and assault them for 24 hours a day. It is a disgrace it is a disgrace to all. If I do that I would be ashamed to call myself a Hindu. If you do that, I do not think it is in keeping with Buddhism. Do not do that. Do not torture those poor boys. Transfer them to prisons. Give the Tamil people the right to self determination. Withdraw the army forthwith.

Thank you, Mr Deputy Speaker.

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QUALIFYING GOOD WRITING

It is a declaration of war against the Tamil people, says 'Shan'

Speaking at a meeting held to commemorate the memory of Comrades Kandasamy and Somapala at the New Town Hall, Colombo on June 7, N. Sanmugathasan, General Secretary of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation, declared that the recent action of the Government to permit the disposal of dead bodies by armed forces in the North without postmortem inquiry or legal proceedings in a court of law was an open license to the armed forces to shoot and kill without fear of consequences. It was a virtual declaration of war by the Government against the Tamil people.

'Political bankruptcy'

After a lot of talk by several ministers about a political solution of the problem, the government has resorted to the military solution. It is only an expression of the political bankruptcy of the government, Mr. Sanmugathasan said.

The national problem in Sri Lanka has probably reached its worst crisis today. Treating a political situation in the North as a question of law and order, the government has sent a virtual army of occupation of several thousands which has intimidated and terrorised the people of the North while killing quite a few and pulling under fire hundreds of houses and shops. Under the obnoxious Prevention of Terrorism act, which has been condemned by enlightened opinion both here and abroad including the International Commission of Jurists the government has arrested, tortured and kept in detention scores of people who include christian priests, doctors, university lecturers and members of the Gandhian Movement.

Now, an all island Campaign has been started by the U.N.P. to set the Sinhalese people against the Tamils. This has already led to dangerous communal tension in certain

areas and also to arson and death. The U.N.P. is trying to offset its political debacle in the North by fanning another communal blood bath in the South, he said.

On a day when we commemorate the memory of two Martyrs of the working class movement—one a Tamil and other a Sinhalese we must warn the working class that communal disunity has been the biggest weapon of reaction against us. The working class is the first victim of communal frenzy.

That is why we appeal to all workers and progressives to fight back com-

munalism and to give no quarter to it. The U.N.P. is the common enemy of both the Sinhalese masses and the Tamil masses.

It is only the unity of the working class and the revolutionary forces from among the Sinhalese and the Tamils that can isolate the hated U.N.P. and lead to its defeat.

The 1971

insurrection

Repression has never solved any political problem. State terrorism against the Tamil people has only further estranged the Tamil people from the government which has lost all

vestiges of support in the North. Only once in the recent history of our country has such draconian powers been conferred on the armed forces as those promulgated under the Emergency Regulations concerning the disposal of dead bodies. That was during the attempted insurrection by the J.V.P. in 1971.

We condemned the conferring of those powers on the armed forces then. We condemn it now. Even those who have broken the law or alleged to have broken it are entitled to be dealt with by the due forces of law. The Armed forces cannot be given the

right to decide who is a terrorist and who is not. Otherwise we would have the repetition of all the horrifying excesses of 1971. In fact, the prime minister went round the country telling us that the U.N.P. would not follow in the foot steps of the then government in 1971. But it is precisely that what are

In these troubled times Mr. Sanmugathasan said, it is the basic minimum duty of the working class and revolutionary movement to unitedly demand that the state of emergency and the Prevention of Terrorism act be withdrawn and that all those arrested and detained under this act be released; and that a political solution be found for the problem of the Tamil minorities.

It happened last week

DIVULAPITIYA: Three Indian tourists too were assaulted when thugs looted and burnt two houses and vehicles of the proprietor of a Match factory here.

UNOFFICIAL CURFEW: Unofficial curfew was imposed by Police in places like Trincomalee, Polonnaruwa, Kegalle, Peradeniya and Panadura to contain communal incidents occurring in these areas.

NEGOMBO: Kanthasivam (25) from Gampola, died of injuries sustained when the textile shop in which he was an employee, was attacked by thugs with a hand bomb. He died in the General Hospital, Colombo.

AMPARAI: 22 Students belonging to the Hardy Institute of Technology, Amparai, took refuge in the neighbouring town of Kalmunai after being threatened by students from outside of bodily harm and murder. The students complained to the principal of the Technical Institute before leaving the Institute. These students come from Jaffna, Vavuniya, Trincomalee and Mullaitivu Districts.

KOLLUPITIYA: Tourists from India, who bought goods at the Duty Free shop, Kollupitiya were attacked and robbed of their purchases by thugs. The tourists lodged a complaint to this effect at the Police Station.

JAFFNA: Ministers Mr. Nissanka Wijeratne, Mr. Festus Perera and Mr. Mohamed attended the funeral of the UNP candidate in the Jaffna Municipal election, Mr. Tilakar, who was killed by unknown youths in Jaffna. Tight security precautions were taken. The Northern Army Commander Brigadier Balthazar and DIG Mr. Rajaguru were in charge of the security while the Ministers were in Jaffna.

4 Tamils killed in racial violence

Four Tamils were killed during last week's communal violence. One was killed when a shop in Negombo was attacked with petrol bombs, another died when he was stabbed in Trincomalee and in Ratmalana a Medical Practitioner was killed when his house was attacked; a fourth died in Kurunegala in the course of a Police firing on a mob.

SOLDIERS DESERT

The 'Island' (7 June) reports that over 40 soldiers of the newly formed regiment, the Rajarata Rifles have deserted their posts in protest because four of their colleagues who were involved in acts of arson and looting in Jaffna on 18 May after the local polls have been dismissed. These soldiers were dismissed after an official inquiry where they were found guilty of certain offences.

TRIAL PUT OFF

The trial under the Prevention of Terrorism Act against Fr. A. Singarayar, Fr. Sinnarasa, Fr. S. T. Jeyatillakarajah, Dr. S. J. Jeyakularajah, N. Nithiananthan and Mrs. Nirmala Nithiananthan has been put off for July 14 by Colombo High Court Judge Robert Silva.

Tamil Eelam cause canvassed at international conference

The TAMIL EELAM cause was vigorously canvassed recently at Paris at a conference of International Organizations representing oppressed people all over the world.

At the conference—where representatives of liberation organizations from El Salvador Guatemala, Palestine and other countries participated THE TAMIL EELAM LIBERATION CON-

CIL (France) focussed attention on the oppression, the Tamils in Eelam face. The TELF also met the delegates individually and briefed them about the Tamil Eelam liberation struggle

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

LOCAL GOVT. STALEMATE IN THE NORTH

Local bodies in the North are in a pickle as none of the newly elected TULF heads or members have yet assumed office nor have they sent in letters of resignation to the Elections Dept. This has led to a stalemate: only the administration goes on now.

The question that now intrigues political observers is what happens on 16th June, when these local bodies—Valvettiturai, Point Pedro and Chavakachcheri Urban Councils and the Jaffna Municipal Council—hold their first meeting? Will the members turn up or will they get cold feet?

The Tamil United Liberation Front retained power in all 4 local bodies at the 18th May polls. It was an almost clean sweep for the TULF: only in Pt. Pedro did it concede 2 seats to the United National Party which received just 27 votes.

Pre-election pressure

from militant youth groups led to almost all the candidates withdrawing before the polls and a very low voter turnout (about 8 per cent). These withdrawal letters are not legally valid.

The TULF's Working Committee which was due to meet last Sunday (5 June) at Batticaloa to decide what it should do about the local bodies in the North, did not meet. The high command is reported to be in favour of revising the list of candidates.

If the stalemate continues observers think the people will be forced to set up ward committees to carry out the functions of the elected members.

The present uncertainty has also set a poser for the Government: this kind of situation has never cropped up before and new legislation may have to be passed to deal with it, political observers point out.

Police photograph funeral procession of dead Tamil youth

Shops were closed, schools boycotted and streets flew black flags as thousands attended the funeral of **Ponnambalam Sithamparanathan** at Pan-nakam on 6th June. TULF Secretary General and Opposition Leader A. Amirthalingam, Jaffna MP V. Yogeswaran, DDC members and youth front leaders filed past the bier of the dead youth.

Sithamparanathan died in the Anuradhapura Government Hospital after sustaining injuries, following the attack on Air Force personnel at Vavuniya.

His body was brought to his village from Anuradhapura on the 5th night by relatives who went in a private car to Anuradhapura. The body was finally released by security forces through the efforts of Tamil parliamentarians. Armed protection was given up to Vavuniya to the relatives who returned with the body.

Police photographed the people who participated in the massive funeral procession which marched through the main streets to the Chulipuram Thiruvadinalai Cemetery. The Army patrolled the whole area.

At Peradeniya: Petrol bombs, intimidation

Anti-Tamil feeling again seems to be running high at the University of Peradeniya, with Science Faculty students boycotting classes to protest the suspension of 2 Sinhala students involved in anti-Tamil activities.

Once again, Tamil students—who returned to the Campus less than a fortnight ago—are being intimidated. On Thursday night (9 June) 2 petrol bombs were flung at the rooms of some Tamil students in Marrs Hall. Last Saturday night 3 Tamil students were assaulted

at Arunachalam Hall: the assailants wore polythene masks to hide their identity. On Sunday 2 Tamil Engineering students were the targets of a similar attack at James Peris Hall. Tamil students, SATURDAY REVIEW learns, have been warned to keep away from lectures or face the consequences. The warnings have been backed up with fire-crackers.

With the exams approaching, the Tamil students are in a dilemma. They can't afford to quit the Campus at this stage but

reportedly pro-UNP Sinhala students seem to be determined to make things so hot for the Tamil students that they'll flee the Campus again, as they did in May.

University high-ups too, SATURDAY REVIEW understands, have no sympathy for the Tamil undergraduates. One of the top-runners was overheard saying he doesn't favour keeping the Tamil students in the Campus. He is reported to have added the Campus will not be closed down even if a Tamil student is killed.

Infringement of Fundamental Rights: Another Policeman Promoted

Sub Inspector V. Ganesanathan of the Kollupitiya Police, who helped disperse a protest demonstration, has been promoted to the rank of Inspector Class 11 with immediate effect.

This leap-frog promotion—within 24 hours of a Court decision—is a reward for the good work he did in dispersing a procession led by an Opposition politician who has been awarded damages by the Supreme Court on the ground that her fundamental rights had been infringed.

Announcing the promotion made by the Acting IGP S. S. Joseph, a Defence Ministry communique issued on Thursday (9 June) says "the work done by Mr. Ganesanathan in dispersing a procession conducted by Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardena on 8.3.1983 has been gone into and it

had been decided that he should be given a special promotion."

Mrs. Goonewardena, a one-time Parliamentarian and veteran Lanka Sama Samaja politician, petitioned the Supreme Court alleging that she was subject to inhuman and degrading treatment at the hands of the OIC of the Kollupitiya Police Station when she went to the Police Station to get the release of a cameraman. According to the petitioner, the cameraman was taken into custody by the police when he was taking pictures of the police snatching the banners carried by demonstrators on March 8, International Women's Day.

A three-judge bench of the Supreme Court unanimously allowed Mrs. Goonewardena's application on Wednesday (8 June).

Holding that her fundamental rights had been infringed, Justices B. J. C. Ratwatte, Percy Colin Thome and J. F. A. Soza ordered the State to pay Mrs. Goonewardena compensation of Rs. 2,500.

In February this year, the Supreme Court held that the Gampaha SP P. Udugampola had seriously violated the fundamental rights of a Buddhist monk, Ven. Ratnasara Thero, by seizure of leaflets published by the Pavidhi Handa against the Referendum. The Court ordered the SP to pay the monk Rs. 10,000 as compensation and Rs. 2,100 as costs of the case.

On a Cabinet directive, SP Udugampola was promoted to Class 1 from Class 11 and the Government paid the compensation and the costs awarded by the Supreme Court.

Gamini: A breach of privilege charge

An article written by free-lance Sri Lankan journalist Gamini Navaratne and published in the **Bangkok Post** figured in Parliament on Tuesday (7 June) when a question of privilege was raised.

The Minister of Justice Nissanka Wijeyeratne described the article—titled "Jayawardene takes on the Judges"—as a breach of

Parliamentary privilege. He said it dealt with the Parliamentary Select Committee set up to inquire into the conduct of two judges. The whole tone of the article, he said, and particularly the following lines were a breach of privilege: "Sri Lanka will inquire into charges made against two judges by a junior judicial officer who recently retired

in disgrace. Observers say the judges may not stand much of a chance unless there is a sufficient public outcry to stay Jayawardene's hand."

Deputy Speaker Norman Vaidyaratne said the matter would be looked into. Gamini Navaratne is the regular Political Correspondent of the Saturday Review.