

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

Vol. 6 No. 30 15th August 1987

# Repression Moves South

Repression, like charity begins at home. State Repression began on a massive scale in 1971 in the South when the then United Front Government (among whom were alleged leftists) unleashed their State apparatus, killing at least 15,000 young Sinhala boys and girls—the cream of the rural Sinhala youth.

Up to 1987, till the Indian peace keeping force came to the North and East, the chauvinist Sinhala State apparatus massacred thousands of innocent Tamils in the North and East.

## 50 Cent Fund

We have finally paid off Mr. Lalith 'Athulathmudali' Minister of National Security, his pound of flesh. A cheque for Rs. 608.50 was sent on 6th August, being the balance of the legal costs of Rs. 1,525 awarded to him by the Press Council in a complaint he filed against the SATURDAY REVIEW.

We have to pay another Rs. 525 as legal costs in a second complaint. We will by that also, as soon as we collect more 50-cent donations from our dear Readers. That is a promise.

Several villages in the Eastern province were denuded of their population.

Even today there are several hundreds of refugees from the Trincomalee area who are in Jaffna.

Now that the Indians have moved into Sri Lanka, the process of repression has been reversed.

Insurgency and repression—which mutually feed on each other—have once again moved to the South.

We quote from the "Daily News" of 12th August,

"The Joint Operations Command" is opening a 'Forward Headquarters', at Embilipitiya to deal with the subversive threat in areas covering the districts of Matara, Hambantota, Moneragala and Ratnapura. During the recent rioting excessive subversive activity surfaced in the deep South and parts of the Moneragala and Ratnapura districts bordering the Southern Area. Governmental sources said that following the peace accord it was necessary that the authorities responsible for National Security should rethink the command control structure and re-orient it for

operations, particularly in the South".

The ten year old Government of President Jayewardene has spawned deep resentment and bitterness in the Sinhala South, especially by shutting off the safety valves of democratic protest.

Today's Sinhala rebels are the product of the Government's open economy.

When the Prevention of Terrorism Act was passed in Parliament, very few voices in the South raised their voices in condemnation.

The Act was against the Tamil militants in the North and East and that was another country as far as the Sinhala South was concerned.

Today the State's guns are turned southwards.

The State's helis and bombers will carry out sorties there.

Only now the people in the South will realise the ordeal that the people in the North and East experienced all these years.

Like chickens, the P.T.A. has gone home to roost.

But we do not gloat.

As fellow-victims, we know what the P.T.A. is all about.

## Mind Your Step

One nightmare is over.

Are we going to see another nightmare begin?

Internecine feuds have erupted again. The Liberation Tigers say that some of their militants and militants of the EROS group have been killed by rival militants.

This is exactly the situation the Tigers fear.

The North and the East have been battered so badly that they cannot undergo any more suffering.

We appeal to all the militants to keep the peace. Our people have suffered far too long. Municipality has taken this step.

Rehabilitation is our first priority.

It is very gratifying that the Jaffna Municipality is moving in the correct direction, though there is some disconcerting signs of deviation from the correct path. We do not like to elaborate on this point at this stage. We reserve our comments.

The most commendable point is the Municipality's plans for re-zoning in the Town.

But under the guise of re-zoning nothing should be done to alter historic landmarks.

Any such attempt can lead to bitterness.

We hope the Municipal Commissioner will act with prudence and caution.

## TO THE FUTURE

The Boys have finally surrendered their arms, as per J. R. - Rajiv Accord.

It has been a painful process, painful after the many sacrifices made by them in the past decade.

But the Boys have done their job. They have defended the honour and dignity of the Tamil people.

Now they must think of other strategies. Besides the stupendous task of rehabilitating the victims of State terrorism, the Boys must also think of their future.

What are they doing to do now.

Sulk at home, after losing their arms?

Or march shoulder to shoulder to a bright future where they could be the leaders of a renaissance?

The world, that is the North is at their Feet. Take it, Develop it. Make it a Paradise.

It can be done if the Boys have the will and courage.

Forget the mistakes of the past. Take care not to make any mistakes in the future.

The future of the Tamil people is what the Boys make of it. May God help them.

—GAMINI NAVARATNE



The Eleven youths from Vadamarachchi released on 13th August after their detention during Operation Liberation.

## Commissioner, Get Moving

The Jaffna Public Library was burnt down in 1981 by State Terrorists.

95,000 volumes in one of the best libraries in South Asia were destroyed.

The international community came to our help and donated several valuable volumes.

The Jaffna Fort Army Camp started sniping away and shelling away and the staff of the library had no alternative but to request that the library be shifted elsewhere in the interests of their safety.

That was done and branch libraries were opened up.

The opening up of branch libraries was a very welcome step.

But unfortunately the distribution of the books has been so dismembered so that the concept of the library as an organic body has been lost.

But there is an even more serious thing that has happened which has not been revealed up to this time.

The staff managed to retrieve part of the books at great personal risk. No one can blame them for what happened in the process. Several thousands of volumes were left behind in the library.

The militant groups managed to recover them. They did a magnificent job. All credit to them.

It is now for the Jaffna Municipality to get in touch with them and retrieve the books.



# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF  
GAMINI NAVARATNE

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## STCF Helps MARR

The representative of the Save The Children Fund, Mr David Walker, has come forward to help the Mannar Association for Relief and Rehabilitation (MARR) in its rehabilitation programme for the families of 40 widows in the Mannar District.

Fifteen families of fishermen will be selected under the Self Employment Scheme to process Dry Fish. Rs.3,000/- will be given to each of them on a Revolving Fund basis. Another 15 families will be helped to set up grocery shops in their villages. The balance 10 families will be helped to supply meals to hotels and eating-places.

The Secretary of MARR, Mr. Sinclair peter, is in contact with TRRO,RRR and other funding agencies for more funds to rehabilitate another set of widows in the Mannar District. He has also contacted the officials of the Indian Red Cross, who are now in Jaffna, for relief aid to affected people in the Mannar District..

MARR has appealed to the general public and social service organisations for donations to help particularly the affected widows in the Mannar District.

The success of the Indo-Lanka Peace Accord still hangs in the balance. On the one hand, the LTTE leadership says it is being forced to accept an Accord that is not a final solution; on the other hand, the weeks of state-owned buildings and vehicles testifies to the depth of Sinhalese opposition to the Accord. For the Sinhalese, the transition from rhetoric to reality has been as shocking and as abrupt as a do- using with cold water. Promised victory in the war against the Tamils, then promised an unyielding stance against the Tamils, Tamil Nadu, India and the whole world if need be, their sense of being let down by the Government has been immense. But the end result was a predictable one, given that Sri Lanka was taking on much more than just the Tamil guerillas. In the end, no nation can continue to live in a world of make-believe: hopefully in Sri Lanka reality has won.

For Sri Lanka's 8 year old President, the events of the past four years have been tragic, but self-imposed in many ways. Accused of genocide by the Tamils and weakness by the Sinhalese the man who at the time of his great electoral triumph in 1977 promised to be the saviour of the nation from both the economic doldrums and ethnic fratricide, now promises to end his term of office villified by those who voted him in and to whom he, in turn, played hostage to until it was almost too late. But when confronted with the inevitable he has finally shown himself capable of rising to the level of statesman even if necessity did force his hand, risking himself and his place in history for the sake of the national interest.

In 1977, J.R. Jayewardene promised to usher in a new era in which people would no longer be suffocated by government. But history may judge that his more important accomplishment lay in the ending of communal poli-

tics. With one stroke, President Jayewardene has created a situation in which, for the first time since the dawn of communal politics in the 1920s, it is in the interests of those in power to tell Sri Lankans some hard truths about their island, its geography its multi-ethnic Population and its limitations. Thus, this Government can no longer survive by harking back to no longer relevant visions of Dhammadipa

Government needed a success to counter its series of domestic political failures. The Sri Lankan conflict provided a route to one And indeed, were it not for Indian strong-arm tactics it is unlikely that we could ever have dragged ourselves out of our conflict. When the minimum demands of one side exceed the maximum that the other side can reasonably envisage itself as conceding, a "shot - gun

sible not to have brought India into the picture.

The bringing about of a national consensus on the future implementation of the Indo-Lanka Accord should remain an important aspiration for national-minded Sri Lankans. For to the extent that a Sinhalese-Tamil cleavage exists, India will retain an enormous leverage over Sri Lanka. At any moment, India will be able to destabilize Sri Lanka by using Tamil discontent. This may not seem to be a threat today when Sri Lankan and Indian interests coincide: it may, however, be a threat tomorrow when they do not.

To bring about a national consensus it is initially necessary to bring about a Sinhalese consensus. For Without one there is a limit to what a government relying for its support on a predominantly Sinhalese voter base can do in reaching out to the Tamils. It is therefore imperative that the Government share some degree of power with the opposition parties in the future implementation of the Accord instead of continuing to freeze them out of power as it has done for the past ten years. Thereafter, the Tamils, representing the militant and moderate groups, should be included in a national government. Not only would such a government be most suitable for the implemen-

# BITTERNESS MAKE-BELIEVE REALITY

Sihadipa and Dutugemunu. To the contrary, the Government's very survival in the months that lie ahead will depend upon a rational exposition of reality.

On the other hand, even were the Government to fall in the coming months to opposition parties that mobilize Sinhalese support with communal slogans the next government that is formed will be no better able to get away from the truth. For it would immediately have to confront the reality of the Indo-Lankan Accord and the presence of the Indian army in the Northern and Eastern provinces. The Indian troops who entered Sri Lanka with Sri Lankan and world approval are unlikely to leave should the Accord be dishonoured by Sri Lanka. Thus, in signing the Accord, President Jayewardene has tightly bound his successors, both within and outside his party, with a fait accompli.

The Accord, however, was only made possible by the temporary convergence of interests of the governments of India and Sri Lanka in settling the conflict. There is no guarantee that this convergence of interests will continue. This time the Indian

wedding" is the only solution.

To complicate matters still further, the disruptive impact of party politics on inter-ethnic relations was nowhere evident moreso than in the communal politics of Sri Lanka. Thus, in 1957, J. R. Jayewardene campaigned for Sinhalese support by opposing the settlement negotiated between Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and the Tamil political leadership. Today, Mrs. Bandaranaike opposes a similar agreement arrived at by President Jayewardene for apparently on

by

Jehan Perera

better reason. Her support could make all the difference, both in the present and future.

In these circumstances there were two possible options. The one resorted to was for India to intervene to break the deadlock caused by the inter and intra-communal divisions. The Indian air drop closed the door to the Government's military option. But as a result, President Jayewardene was able to achieve in 1987 what prime Ministers S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in 1957 and Dudley Senanayake in 1965 were unable to. Indian support and coercion made all the difference.

However, the better option would have been for the Sri Lankans to have resolved their differences on their own. The fact that external Indian intervention was constructive this time is no guarantee that it will be so the next time around. Had the major Sinhalese-dominated political parties united to form a coalition government, then one party could not have undercut another in appealing to Sinhalese chauvinism, and it might have been pos

tation of the Accord, it would also be the best protection against injurious future foreign intervention in Sri Lanka's domestic affairs. President Jayewardene is well positioned to accomplish this task of re-unification. In the meantime the Tamils must do their utmost to reach a consensus amongst themselves. Or else Inter-Tamil fratricide, highlighted in the past by LTTE TELO and LTTE-EPRLF infighting, may bring about further years of tragedy upon the people of the North and East.

The Indo-Lankan Accord is not perfect. It was the result of compromise: except it was the compromise that brought peace. The Accord however contains some shortcomings. Over the past two years, the issue of contention around which the domestic opposition to a negotiated peace crystallised and led to deadlock was that of the merger of the Northern and Eastern provinces to form a single autonomous "Tamil Homeland". The Accord's resolution of this issue is satisfactory to neither the

(Continued on page 11)

## S. R. Editor's Refugee Relief Fund

The following are the latest - donations received :

Mr. A. Sivananthan, London	pounds	100.00
Miss. T. Sivasubramaniam	pounds	25.00
Anonymous		50.00
A. well - wisher		2,000.00
Mr. K. Paranjothy, Seychelles		1,000.00
Mr. A. Gnanapragasam Seychelles		750.00
A. Well wisher		200.00
Mr. Rajendram, In Memory of the late Dr. Sinnathamby		1,000.00
Anonymous		25.00
Dr. E. S. Thevasagayam		5,000.00
Mr. R. Thambiturai		250.00



# COLOMBO SCENE

He had to leave Jaffna in a hurry after the so-called 'Operation Liberation' by the Security Forces in the Vadamarachchy area. His house was demolished at Karaveddy and his father, mother and two sisters fled the area and were now living in Jaffna as "paying guests" with some of his distant relatives.

His plans like many a youth in the North, was to get a visa to India and from there to proceed to Europe, though he had no experience in trans-conti- mental travel.

During his brief stay in Colombo to get his papers cleared, he visited the public Library in Colombo.

At the entrance he was asked to produce his Identity Card which he duly did. The Security men then asked him whether he is a member of the Library to which he replied he was not and questioned the men as to why the library should be restricted to 'Members only' contrary to accepted norms. The Security personnel then promptly telephoned the Police saying that a "Kottiya

was giving trouble". The unfortunate chap was taken by the police and placed in a cell. Later the usual visitors came - CID, NIB etc., etc.

It took him 12 days to sort out the 'modalities' for his release including Rs. 5,000/- to certain parties.

Who said Sri Lanka is not a Paradise?

A well-known Sinhala Trade Union Leader, who has been noted for his sympathy to the 'Tamil cause', was recently on leave for three months on medical grounds. However, before he could submit a medical certificate for his long absence, he was issued a vacation of post notice by his Ministry.

On receiving the vacation notice, the spirited Trade union leader met the officers concerned and produced the Medical Certificate issued by the General Hospital, Jaffna. What followed was

a matter of concern for everybody in the medical profession.

The officer questioned the Trade Union leader as to why he should produce a Medical Certificate from Jaffna. The leader politely said that he fell ill while in Jaffna and therefore had to get a certificate in Jaffna. The officer said

by **Cheran**

"You cannot fall ill in Jaffna." "What can I do, Sir" "illness is not selective as to place and residence, mine was connected with the spinal cord" replied the Trade union leader. "Anyway, I see no procedures to re-appoint you. It is very hard to believe that a Sinhalese could fall ill in Jaffna and produce a medical certificate from there. Sorry" said the officer.

Until recently only deaths due to gun-shots, landmines

and bombs were the accepted patterns but one could not certainly think of a Sinhalese affected by ordinary illness in Jaffna!

My girl and I decided to spend a Saturday evening by the beach.

We knew no-other sites except Kollupitiya, Bambalapitiya and Wellawatte. (Even if I knew other scenic locations, I would not have dared to go into other areas).

Wellawatte, Bambalapitiya and Kollupitiya - the Tamil ghettos - could not be 'habitable' in the evenings. The reason is everybody's guess.

You could almost run into a closed-circuit TV which eventually spread the message to the Traditional Tamil Homelands. So, we selected an afternoon and settled ourselves in an uncomfortable corner, comfortably enjoying, of course, under an umbrella.

To, our dismay, two cops suddenly barged into the scene. My heart beat accelerated probably equalling the rhythm of a 50 calibre - machine gun which we were wont to hear in the North.

"You can do any damn thing. We don't care. But the recent court order stipulates that nothing be done under an umbrella, you know" said one cop while the other snatched my girl's umbrella.

In a sudden right about turn, they vanished with the umbrella, leaving us in the very hot sun.

Long live love!

As I was not at all conversant with the Sinhala language, I was deliberating as to where I should get a phone call to Pettah from wellawatte. I selected a Tamil owned, Tamil conducted Transport organisation which had an office closeby from where I was. I was informed that I could get a call. After I had finished with the call, I asked the bulky man at the counter what the charge was. He showed me a money box in front of Lord Muruga and instructed me to put Five Rupees. "Usually, I told him the fare is three rupees." No matter, this is how we charge" said he. Muruga!

## Novel English Day Presentation

"Welcome aboard Eagle Air Lines".....

This was the novelty of the English Day presentation at Chundikuli Girls' College on 20th July, 1987. An entertainment which lasted three hours.

The Welcome Song by the "Air Hostesses" was followed by the welcome address by Niranja Sothirajah, pre-

sident of the English Union 'Air Hostesses' Veronica Ethirveerasingam and Rohini Navaratnam compered the Day's programme. The audience had just to fasten their seat belts and relax. No one was worried about, the bombing, shelling or rifle fire

The "Flute Family" the first item was well received, followed by two choral

recitations-"A Fable" and "Father William" The opera "Adventure on the moon" was acclaimed as the star performance of the day. It comprised students from years 5, 6, 7, & 8 who enjoyed themselves as much as the audience.

Admirable work had been done in training girl artistes to perform the difficult role of the political conspirators and assassins in "Julius Ceasar" which was acted with commendable enthusiasm. The fiesta ended with a Musical Drill which displayed co-ordination of movement and rhythm.

Mrs Jeyaveerasingham, the Principal' affirmed that English take its rightful place in the school curriculum. She also informed the gathering that Science and Social Studies will soon be taught in English after school hours.

The Chief Guest, Mrs. Pararajasingham stressed the importance of the "hidden, curriculum" in the society, which, if implemented, will pave the way for the development of the students of today and future leaders.

The function came to an end after the distribution of prizes to the winners of the various competitions.

The Secretary of the Union, Miss Rajalanthi Mau-

rice proposed the Vote of Thanks.

— Well-wisher

## Marxist Doctrine Omnipotent

Lenin, in his writings, emphasised that "the Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is comprehensive and harmonious, and provides men with an integral world outlook irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction, or defence of bourgeois oppression. The genius of Marx consists precisely in his having furnished answers to questions already presented by the foremost minds of mankind. His doctrine emerged as the direct and immediate continuation of the teachings of the greatest representatives of philosophy, political economy and socialism."

The causes of revolution lie fundamentally in the material conditions of the life of society, in the conflict between the productive forces and production relations. This conflict finds its expression in a clash between large masses of people, classes, which rise to the struggle under the influence of objective causes that do not depend on the will of separate individuals, groups or even parties. The Communist Party organises the actions of the masses, directs the masses, but does not attempt to make a revolution "for them" with its own forces.

For a basic study of the theory and practice of socialism, read the book "Lenin and Asia" by Attorney-at-law T. Duraisingam, a founder member of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, who was recently endowed by the Party with an award, placing on record its appreciation of the services that he has rendered to the Party and the movement in various fields—especially his pioneer work in publication and promotion of Marxist—Leninist classics and other literature.

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

Price Rs. 10/-

Council for Socialist Studies  
31 Wilson Street, Colombo 12.

## To My Sinhala Friend

Dear Friend,  
I love my friends,  
My siblings,  
My neighbours,  
My relatives,  
My Sweetheart,  
And,  
I love you too,  
But,  
How can I be dumb,  
And inactive,  
When your Government  
torture  
And kill,  
My kith and kin.  
In the face  
Of your violence,  
I become violent,  
But,  
You say  
I am terrorizing you.  
I obey,  
My inner voice,  
I do  
What it tells me.  
Am I a terrorist  
Just because  
I trot a gun?  
No, I'm not.

I bear the yoke,  
Of your ancestors,  
I protest,  
"I can't, I can't."  
My mode may differ,  
But,  
The load is heavy,  
If you please,  
Give me a hand  
Or stand aloof  
Let me free  
Myself.

Am I a terrorist  
Just because,  
I trot a gun?  
No, I'm not

I trot a gun,  
I wage a war,  
I love my country,  
I love my people,  
Above all,  
I love you too.  
Don't call me by names  
If you really care  
Give me a hand.

— Kandiah Shriganeshan



# AI REPORT ON SRI LANKA (MAY 1987)

3

(Continued from last issue)

"On 3rd September, 1986 the Special Task Force, Batticaloa carried out a cordon and search operation in my village and the neighbouring villages of Sethukkudah, Vailayiravu and Veechchukkal-munai. About 320 persons of the age group of 15 years to 45 years were taken into custody.

We were all put into three trucks and taken to the Kallady Camp. Those taken there were ordered to walk in front of a building which had cement grills we were asked to stand in front of the grill and some persons fully covered from head to foot in a sack with two holes cut out for their eyes stood behind the grill and made certain remarks as we passed in front of them. I later came to know that they were informants.

We were taken to the Camp at about 4pm and by 6pm all excepting myself and five others were released and asked to go back to their homes."

He then described conditions in Kalladdy Camp in which those held for interrogation were kept.

"That night (3 September 1986) we were put into an open building, at one end of the building were five cells. Three cells in front and two cells at the rear. All cells had iron gates. The two rear cells were about 8' X 8'. Of the cells in front two cells were about 4' X 7' and the other about 6' X 7'.

During my stay in the camp I came to know that about 25 persons were kept in each of the rear cells and five persons in each of the front small cells and 12 to 15 persons in the larger front cell. On the next day I was put into the front cell which was 4' X 7'. There were five of us in this cell. It was impossible for us to lie down, while sleeping each person had to lie on a part of another's body. During my stay all meals were served inside the cell. The empty plates were given to us and the food served with a spoon through the grill. A basin of water was placed outside the cell and we had to wash our hands through the grill. The floor of the cell had no covering and we had to sleep on the bare cement floor. In the mornings each person was let out for about 10 minutes. We had to perform our ablutions within this time. At about 4 p.m. we were let out once again for about 10 to 15 minutes.

Any request to answer a call of nature in between was met with assaults."

After several days this man was taken for interrogation and torture in a place that he, like several other former detainees, described as being located at the back of the camp.

"On the third day I was taken out for interrogation. The place I was taken to was a building at the rear of the camp. This building consisted of a room about 10' x 15' and a lean-to in front. In this room was a table and a chair for the Inquiring Officer - in front of him was a nylon rope which was hanging from a beam. On the table and floor were clubs of satin wood, alkathene pipes - one inch in diameter and about 2 feet long. Three of us were taken into the room, I was taken up for interrogation first. The other two

my back and my two thumbs were tied together behind me with a thin nylon rope. Thereafter the nylon rope hanging on the beam was passed through the thumbs that were tied together and the rope was tied to the hanging rope. Then two persons pulled the other end of the rope and I was lifted up suspended in mid air, my thumbs and shoulders bearing the full weight of my body. I was in extreme agony. When I was suspended about three feet above the ground the other end of the rope was tied to a bar on the window. The nylon rope cut through the flesh of my thumbs and blood started pouring. Then the Officer interrogating started questioning me as to whether I had connection with any terrorist organisation. I denied any connection. Then they started assaulting me with clubs. One person rubbed chilli powder on my

detainees repeatedly being tortured by being suspended from the thumbs and having chilli powder rubbed into their bodies. In a sworn affidavit he stated that while in Welikande camp in June 1986.

"On one occasion, while a prisoner was being lifted above in the aforesaid manner (pulled upwards and hung by his thumbs tied with a shoe-lace behind his back) a sound was heard which I assumed was resulted by the dislocation of the arms. He was then helped by a soldier to be brought down and he tried to put the arms in their places. He shouted in agony saying that his arms broke."

A 23-year-old man who was arrested on 18th August 1986 by STF men from the Santhiveli Camp described how he was tortured by similar methods:

red on sensitive parts of the body or they were forced to inhale the fumes of burning chillies. One former detainee whose torture testimony was quoted above described how, in September 1986 in Kallady Camp, he was so treated after been suspended by his toes:

"In a little while I was in a dazed semi conscious state. They then let me down. My eyes were forced opened and chilli powder was put into my eyes, nose and rubbed on my body. When the chilli powder was put on the bruises I screamed in pain. Then they brought a small receptacle in which there was some embers. They put chilli powder into it and I was forced to inhale the smoke. Though I was suffering from pain the officer interrogating kept on questioning me and if I failed to answer I was dealt a blow. Then one person started tapping me all over my head with the club. I still kept on shouting that I have not helped any terrorist. After a while they ordered me to stand up. I tried to stand up but, due to the pain on the sole of my feet I was unable to do so and I fell down..."

This man was released after several weeks. He was never charged and was kept apparently without any evidence of involvement in armed Tamil groups having been found against him. He described his condition after torture: "I was unable to get up or move for seven days. I was released from the camp after 21 days. I am presently unable to use my hands or walk without a limp. My shoulders and joints have been sprained." He was hospitalised after release.

Another man, 27 years old, was arrested in late December 1985 and interrogated in Kallady Camp, where he was hung from his thumbs tied behind his back. He described how his wounds, rubbed with chilli powder, later became infected:

"Those standing by started assaulting me on the sole of my feet, on my ankles and on my knee with wooden clubs. I shouted in pain but, they kept on assaulting me. It started bleeding from my thumb as the nylon rope cut through the flesh of my thumbs. Blood started pouring from my thumbs, ankle and knee. Thereafter chilli powder was rubbed into the wounds. I shouted in pain. As I did so the end of a club was pushed into my mouth.

(To be continued)

## CONDITIONS IN KALLADY CAMP

were asked to stand close by and watch."

### BEATINGS WHILE THE VICTIM IS SUSPENDED

Common methods of torture reportedly used are to hang the victim from a rope by the hands or thumbs tied behind the back and beat him (referred to by the interrogators as 'helicopter training') or to hang the victim upside down and beat him. The same man whose testimony is quoted above stated that he was suspended from his thumbs, which were tied behind his back with a thin nylon rope;

I was ordered to strip off all clothes and stood naked in front of the Interrogating Officer. I was then asked whether I helped (ed) the terrorists. I said 'No.' He said that I had helped the terrorists and I was assaulted by three persons with clubs. The blows struck on all parts of my body. I was also hit by those persons who were wearing leather boots. I was questioned repeatedly as to whether I had any connection with the terrorists.... This went on for about 15 minutes and I was suffering from pain all over my body. Thereafter I was asked to bring my two hands behind

mole organ while others kept on beating me. This went on for about 15 minutes. Then the ropes were untied and I fell crashing down on the floor. The flesh on both my thumbs were crushed and I was bleeding profusely and I was in great agony."

The same victim described how he was later hung by his toes and was beaten while hanging in that position.

"Then a rope was tied round my toes bringing them together and the rope hanging from the beam was passed through this and I was hoisted with my head hanging down. There were six persons who went on hitting me on the sole of my feet with clubs and the alkathene pipes in relays of two at a time. When one pair assaulting me were exhausted the other pair took over. This went on for about half an hour.

The use of the same method of torture has been described by detainees from various other STF camps in the East. One man, who was beaten after arrest in Mannampitiya Army Camp described how, after being transferred to Welikanda Army Camp, Polonnaruwa district, he witnessed other

"At about 11.45 a.m. I was taken to a mango tree, my hands were taken behind me and my thumbs were tied together. A rope was passed through the two thumbs and I was strung up on the tree. Thereafter five members of the S.T.F. two of whom had iron rods and three of whom had clubs assaulted me all over the lower part of my body. Two officers kept on questioning me."

In the afternoon he was similarly treated being suspended upside down while being beaten on the soles of his feet. This apparently resulted in injuries to his feet, knees, buttocks and forearms. Amnesty International has copies of hospital medical reports made on 28th August, shortly after his release, which recorded the injuries he had suffered in the period he was in STF custody.

There were: "Assault Wounds  
- 8 days ago  
- R foot  
- L knee  
- R arm"

"Infected wounds  
- R foot  
- L knee  
- R forearm"

### THE USE OF HOT CHILLIES IN TORTURE

Many detainees have complained that while under torture chilli powder was smeared



# 10 YEARS OF JR'S RULE

On July 22, 1987, the President of Sri Lanka, Junius Richard Jayewardene completes 10 years of power; the longest single spell by a politician in that country.

Here is a list of the succession during the near-40 years of independence:-

Don Stephen Senanayake  
(UNP) 4½ years  
Dudley Senanayake  
(UNP) 1½ years  
Sir John Kotelawala  
(UNP) 2½ years  
S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike  
(SLFP) 3½ years  
W. Dahanayake (interim)  
(SLFP) ½ year  
Dudley Senanayake  
(UNP) — 4 months  
Mrs. Bandaranaike  
(SLFP) 4 years 8 months  
Dudley Senanayake  
(UNP) 5 years  
Mrs. Bandaranaike  
(SLFP) 7 years 2 months  
J. R. Jayewardene  
(UNP) 10 years

While from the very beginning of independence until now all Sinhalese politicians with one exception—Dudley Senanayake—had demonstrated a desire for power, it remains paradoxical that it was the latter, the reluctant "Hamlet of Ceylon politics" who was called upon to serve three terms in office: he was in fact the first Prime Minister to complete the full 5-year tenure permitted under the constitution. He also remains on record as the only head of Government who tried consciously to eschew opportunistic policies. It was perhaps not coincidental that his was the only period in post-independence history when Tamils chose to join the mainstream politics.

Two Prime Ministers, D. S. Senanayake and S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike died in office (the former falling off a horse and the latter shot by a Buddhist monk), while the others quit prematurely or were voted out of power. The process of entrenching themselves in power beyond the allotted term began with Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike who added to her years in office by the simple expedient of changing the constitution and gaining time. J.R. Jayewardene did the same but in a more imposing style.

When the history of the post-independence period of

Sri Lanka comes to be written, there can be little doubt that, irrespective of how longer President Jayewardene continues in office (or is permitted to continue), his years in power will emerge in dark contrast against the rest of the period—a blood-soaked chapter in the life of a country which had for long earned the happy reputation of being a Paradise Isle; a debilitating phase in the life of the majority Sinhalese people, who despite occasional bouts of mob violence against the minority Tamils, had been known for their spontaneity, warmth, hospitality and friendliness; and of course a period of unmitigated tragedy for the Tamils, who, oppressed by the very State to which they were expected to owe allegiance, decided either to fight back or flee the country.

## 1977 — A GOVERNMENT BORN IN VIOLENCE

If one were asked to epitomise the ten years of Jayewardene rule from 1977 to 1987 in one word, that word cannot be anything other than VIOLENCE. The very induction of the government with its stunning, unprecedented electoral victory in July 1977 (United National Party—141: Sri Lanka Freedom Party—8: Tamil United Liberation Front—18) was characterised by violence, in which SLFP workers and supporters, apart from getting "pulverized" at the polls, were also physically pummelled by UNP storm troopers who were intoxicated by their overpowering victory. Curiously, within one month of Jayewardene being installed in power, that same flow of violence changed course sharply and metamorphosed into anti-Tamil rioting, resulting in the killing of over 300 Tamils (the official figures given were around 100), the destruction and looting of Tamil-owned property on a devastating scale, and the displacement of 120,000 Tamils of whom 50,000 plantation Tamils of recent Indian origin became permanent refugees in the (then) safety of the North-East Reporting the violence in its issue of September 5, 1977, under the headline—SRI LANKA—THE BEAST IN MAN, Newsweek said: (Kai Bird with Barry Came in Hong Kong and Mervyn de Silva in Colom-

bo) "I have seen the beast in man", said one official describing the scene. "I have seen men burnt alive and women raped and houses set ablaze". Seven leading British citizens wrote to the Times, London (September 20, 1977):-

### Race Conflict in Ceylon

From Sir John Foster, Q.C., and others Sir, A tragedy is taking place in Sri Lanka: the political conflict following on the recent elections is turning into a racial massacre. It is estimated by reliable sources that between 250 and 300 Tamil citizens have lost their lives and over 40,000 made homeless. Limitation on travel is making it hard for correspondents in Sri Lanka to let the world know what is happening.

The Tamils are a community of over two million who flourished under the British, but have suffered discrimination since. They have now lost confidence in their treatment by the Sinhalese majority and are calling for a restoration of their separate national status. Which they had for many centuries before the British came. At the last elections, the Tamil party advocating a separate state gained over-

violence has become a daily way of life. Their children are born and bred in an atmosphere reeking with violence. The Sinhalese children are doing no better. They are growing up in an environment which is militarising the human mind; breathing the miasma of irrational fears, fears of the very extinction of the Sinhala race! It has been a period of relentless unceasing violence, all ten years of it; an age of turbulence weaving new and newer patterns all the time, making the spirit of violence hovering over Sri Lanka increasingly complex.

### THE SEVEN FACES OF VIOLENCE

Violence today wears seven faces in Sri Lanka:-

(1) Sinhala mob violence against Tamil civilians. This has a 30-year history, beginning with 1956.

(2) Sinhala State violence against Tamil civilians. This trend which began in 1961 under the rule of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike following the non-violent Tamil political agitation of that year has now under Jayewardene reached the proportions of near-genocide.

(3) Tamil militant violence against the State. This assum-

by

S. Sivanayagam

whelming majorities in all Tamil districts. This, no doubt, triggered off the murders, which are said to have been committed either by police acting without orders or with the connivance of the police.

At a time when the West is awake to the evils of racialism, the racial persecution of the Tamils and denial of their human rights should not pass without protest. The British have a special obligation to protest, as these cultivated people were put at the mercy of their neighbours less than thirty years ago by the British Government. They need our attention and support.

Yours faithfully,  
JOHN FOSTER  
DAVID ASTOR  
ROBERT BIRLEY  
LOUIS BLOM-COOPER  
JAMES FAWCETT  
DINGLE FOOT  
MICHAEL SCOTT

That was a 10-year flash back. After 10 years, the violence is yet there in an even more virulent form. Mr. Jayewardene is there, armed with the powers of an Executive President and enjoying the kind of authority that rarely comes the way of a leader of a democratic government. To the Tamils living in the North-East,

ed organised form and strength under the rule of Jayewardene,

(4) Sinhala State violence against Tamil militants. No one complains about this, least of all the militants themselves.

(5) Tamil militant violence against Sinhala civilians. This is a comparatively recent development, but not a surprising one, given the backdrop of Sinhala mob and State violence against Tamil civilians which failed to arouse either the Sinhala or the world conscience.

(6) Sinhala dissentient violence against the Sinhala State. This is a new tendency, spewed by Jayewardene's own authoritarianism.

(7) Sinhala State violence against Sinhala dissent. One sees in it only the tip of the iceberg, although it had been a consistent feature of the Jayewardene rule. But this may well prove to be in the future the crowning finale leading to the end of the Jayewardene era.

The question may well be asked: How much of this violence is a part of a historical process that President Jayewardene inherited and how much of it is his own individual contributory share? Let us try to delineate the

strands of contemporary history. The linkage between a leader and the historical process could be linked to the pilot and his plane. The pilot flies mostly on his instruments; the human intervention and skill matters most in the take-off and the landing. When Jayewardene assumed power in 1977, his very take-off proved ruinous.

Even as the rioting began to spread in the second half of August, (as Prime Minister then) Mr. Jayewardene addressed the Parliament on 18th August. He said:

"Mr. Speaker, I do not think this is an occasion to quarrel or an occasion to be flippant. Innocent lives have been lost, public property damaged and there have been cases of arson and violence not only in the Jaffna peninsula but also in various parts of the Island. What we have to consider is not even the cause of what happened (1), but how we are to stop this conflagration immediately and effectively. We have taken the first action that we could. We have declared a curfew in the whole of the North Central Province commencing from 4 p.m. today; a similar curfew has been declared in the Kurunegala district and in the Matale District as well as in the town of Panadura...

"The reason for this conflict I do not know (!), but to find it out the Government has decided to appoint a Commission of inquiry immediately. . . .

"When acts of this nature are committed it does not matter who committed the acts (1) Whether such an act is committed by a Sinhala or a Tamil or by a member of the UNP or the TULF or the SLFP is irrelevant (1) Suitable action will be taken against any person, whoever he be, who breaks the laws of the land, (Prolonged applause).

"I thought I should give you an account of what is happening. As I said, in Panadura, a curfew has been declared in Jaffna no curfew has been declared because the Honourable Leader of the Opposition (A. Amirthalingam) said it will be wise if a curfew is not declared and now Jaffna I understand is quiet. . . . By and large, Jaffna is quieter than many of the place I referred to...

Surprisingly, Mr. Jayewardene proceeded to list various incidents of violence in different parts of the country, in which practically all victims were Tamils, by way of loss of lives and loss of property. Having done so, Mr. Jayewardene continued:





"So, that is not in any way a happy story for me to unfold. We should all be sad that innocent people are being killed and their property looted. You see from this account that outside Jaffna all the shops and all the persons injured have been Tamil people. There is I think, the case of one Muslim but all the others have been Tamils. I do not know who is doing this. There may be individuals who are arrested and they will be dealt with according to the law (Applause). But whether there is a plan behind it I do not know. I cannot say and the Commission of inquiry may be able to help us. But it is obvious that there are people who, one may call, criminal minded people, who take advantage of a situation like this they feel that if they attack Tamil boutiques they will not be in trouble with the people around them and they will take advantage of that circumstance to loot Tamil shops and boutiques.

#### WHO WANTS A FIGHT?

Mr. Jayewardene departed at this point to address specifically Tamil leaders and the Tamil people. He said:

"I would like to impress upon the Honourable Leader of the Opposition that I am not going to deal now with their demand or agitation for a separate State. We are one nation, and this Government is elected to govern the whole island. (Prolonged applause) You yourself want me not to shirk my responsibility for the portion which you think is part of the Tamil Eelam, I do not intend to, because to my mind all citizens of this country, to whatever race they may belong, whatever religion they profess, are citizens which this Government has been elected to protect. (1) Prolonged applause. I intend to do that without casting any aspersions on any political views they may hold. However, if I may advise the Honourable Leader of the Opposition and his colleagues, please be careful in your words when you use them in the Sinhala areas. (1) I understand that speeches were made in Colombo which under the normal law would be considered seditious and inflammatory. (Cries of Shame, Shame) The vast majority of people in this country have not got the restraint and the reserve that Members of Parliament, particularly those in the front ranks (1) have been used to. They become restive when they hear such remarks as that a separate State is to be formed; that Trincomalee is to be the capital of that State; that Napoleon had said that Trincomalee was the key to the Indian Ocean;

and therefore Trincomalee is going to be the capital of the State of Eelam.

"Whatever it is, when statements of that type are made and the newspapers carry them throughout the Island, and when you say that you are not violent but that violence may be used in time to come, what do you think the other people in Sri Lanka would do? How will they react? If you want to fight let there be a fight; if you want peace let there be peace. (Prolonged applause). That is what they will say. It is not what I am saying...

On superficial reading, the speech does not seem to damage the man who spoke the words, except perhaps that concluding flourish. But there are several hidden messages in it, which although expressed in the English language, carry a load of meaning only to the Sinhalese and the Tamil people. It has the cleverness of a Mark Antony oration and the craftiness of a Machiavelli. The speech was intended (as all subsequent speeches of J. R. Jayewardene, and like all speeches of

the responsibility of the Sinhalese people to see that sedition is punished? How can it not matter to the Prime Minister of a country, (as he says) not to know who has committed the acts of violence? Why is it irrelevant to find out whether it is a Tamil or a Sinhalese who has committed a murder? In which case what was the need for a Commission of Inquiry to be announced even while the rioting was going on? How come Mr. Jayewardene refers to "Sinhala areas" in his speech, when the Sri Lankan government vocabulary does not admit anything called "Tamil areas"? Can there be "Sinhala areas" without "Tamil areas"?

If the history of relations between the Tamils and the successive Sinhala governments has been a series of missed opportunities, as many observers have commented, it was Mr. Jayewardene who had the best opportunity in 1977, and possibly the last one. He had a steam-roller majority in Parliament; he did not have to fear opposition from his traditional rivals of the SLFP who were absolutely demoralised.

## 10 YEARS OF JR'S RULE

all Sinhala Prime Ministers since 1956) to: (a) Appease the Sinhala constituency; (b) Threaten the Tamils with dire consequences if they did not behave. It was a double-edged threat, that of attack by Sinhala mobs on Tamils in the South and repression by the armed forces in the North-East (where no Sinhala mobs are available!) A perceptive comment on this was made by a Western commentator, Martin Woolacot, who writing in the Guardian, London in August 1977, said: The central problem of Sri Lankan politics is well illustrated by the fact that Mr. Jayewardene in spite of his large majority, and although he was faced with a situation that Sinhalese were clearly the aggressors, still felt it politically necessary to warn the Tamils."

There are several questions that emerge that need answering by independent commentators. In a country that has its laws on sedition, law officers to prosecute, law courts to decide, and a government to enforce the laws, how does it become

Almost all the plantation Tamils had voted for him, as well as the indigenous Tamils outside the North-East. Even the TULF leader A. Amirthalingam who had come to Colombo with a mandate for Tamil Eelam was safely ensconced in the chair of the Leader of the Opposition. What was Mr. Jayewardene waiting for? His own party manifesto had stated: "The United National Party accepts the position that there are numerous problems confronting the Tamil-speaking people. The lack of a solution to their problems made Tamil-speaking people support even a movement for the creation of a separate state. In the interests of a national integration and unity so necessary for the economic development of the whole country, the Party feels such problems should be solved **Without loss of time.** (this writer's emphasis). The party when it comes to power will take all possible steps to remedy their grievances in such fields as (1) Education (2) Colonization (3) Use of Tamil language (4) Employment in the Public and semi-pub-

lic Corporations. We shall summon an All-Party conference as stated earlier and implement its decisions." How does one explain Mr. Jayewardene's shilly-shallying therefore? Was it a lack of political will, as charitable academics would prefer to interpret it, or was it sheer political deceit? Mr. Jayewardene's track record over the past ten years would seem to suggest that it was the latter.

#### MAJORITY TYRANNY

History never waits for Prime Ministers and Presidents. There is a "Take it or leave it" relentlessness about all historical processes. As it turned out, history began to overtake Mr. Jayewardene, and with him the Sinhalese as well as the Tamil people. To the Sinhalese, the opportunity has been lost. To the Tamils the die has been cast. The more Jayewardene tried to preserve Sinhala interests at the expense of Tamil rights, the stronger became the Tamil militancy. Nations, like individuals become oppressors in mind when they lack not "political will" which is an evasive concept — but a keen sense of justice. Writing on the "Tyranny of the Majority" in his book DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA (described as the "first philosophical book ever written on Democracy"), Alexis de Tocqueville said:

"I regard it as an impious and detestable maxim that in matters of government the majority of a people has the right to do everything, and nevertheless I place the origin of all powers in the will of the majority. Am I in contradiction with myself? There is one law which has been made, or at least adopted, not by the majority of this or that people, but by the majority of all men. That law is justice. Justice therefore forms the boundary to each people's right. A nation is like a jury entrusted to represent universal society and to apply the justice which is its law. Should the jury representing society have greater powers than that very society whose laws it applies? Consequently when I refuse to obey an unjust law, I by no means deny the majority's right to give orders: I only appeal from the sovereignty of the people to the sovereignty of the human race...

"(So) when I see the right and capacity to do all given to any authority whatsoever, whether it be called people or king, democracy or aristocracy, and whether the scene of action is a monarchy or a republic, I say: the germ of tyranny is there, and I will go look for other laws under which to live...

If the Tamil in Sri Lanka today has become either a refugee or a militant, it only means that, each in his own way is looking "for other laws under which to live". Every law and every Constitution in Sri Lanka since Independence has gone against the Tamils, both by commission and omission. The 1948 Constitution made no provisions concerning citizenship. That was an omission. The Ceylon Citizenship Act, 18 of 1948 deprived one million plantation Tamils of their nationality and citizenship. The Ceylon (Parliamentary Elections) Amendment Act of 1949 deprived the same people of their franchise, thereby making them both stateless and voteless. These were both acts of commission and a violation of Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which says "Everyone has the right to a nationality". In 1956, the Official Languages Act made Sinhala the only official language, violating, as did the previous laws, Section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution which provided. "No...law shall make persons of any community or religion liable to disabilities or restrictions to which persons of other communities or religions are not made liable; or...confer on persons or on any community or religion any privilege or advantage which is not conferred on persons of other communities or religions." While Prime Minister D. S. Senanayake and Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike disregarded this very minimal protection given to the minorities, Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike went one better by sweeping it away altogether under the new Republican Constitution that she enacted in 1972. That constitution enshrined Sinhala as the only official language, and gave "foremost place" to Buddhism, thereby conferring premier status upon both the language and the religion of the majority Sinhalese. The 1978 Constitution promulgated by Jayewardene brought more subtlety. It accorded Tamil the status of a "national language," on paper, while giving nothing away to Tamils in practice. But the clever Mr. Jayewardene, unlike the brash Mrs. Bandaranaike, was in a position to tell a dupable world that he had made "concessions" to Tamils! Academic researchers who base their knowledge more from dusty bookshelves than from empirical study, have been faithfully recording this point in Mr. Jayewardene's favour.

#### THE PREVENTION OF TERRORISM ACT

Mr. Jayewardene who has been ruling Sri Lanka under



continuous, uninterrupted State of Emergency for the past four years (since May 1983) has however proved to be the worst law-maker for the Tamils. His crowning "achievement" has been the Prevention of Terrorism Act. LAWASIA report (*Democracy in Peril. Sri Lanka: A country in Crisis, Report to the LAWASIA Human Rights Standing Committee, by Patricia Hyndman, Senior Lecturer in Law, University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia, Secretary, LAWASIA Human Rights Standing Committee*) observes:

"This legislation (The Prevention of Terrorism Act) was enacted in 1979 as a temporary measure and entitled The Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act. In July 1982, the Act, despite the indications of its temporary nature still contained in the title, was made a part of the permanent law of the land. This step gives cause for considerable concern as the legislation (hereinafter, for the sake of brevity referred to as The Prevention of Terrorism Act) contains provisions which are in conflict with several of the Articles of The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights to which Sri Lanka is a signatory.

"Any Government undeniably has an extremely difficult task when dealing with intransigent militant groups bent on achieving their aims through violent methods. However, removal of the causes, the grievances which are seen to provide a rationale for the violence, is the only effective way to resolve the problem in the long-term. Further, on the practical side, there is a good deal of evidence, both from experience within Sri Lanka and elsewhere, which suggests that harsh legislation of this kind does not in fact assist in combatting insurgency.

"In Sri Lanka it seems clear that support for the militant groups has grown in the northern and eastern provinces as more and more has been heard about the ill-treatment of those held in detention under the authority of The Prevention of Terrorism Act.

"Under the legislation, those "connected with or concerned in any unlawful activity" become, without any further justification, subject to the exercise of very wide powers "Unlawful activity" is a concept which receives an extremely wide definition and embraces comparatively minor offences. The powers conferred by this legislation have been used almost exclusively against Tamils. They permit arrests, without warrant, of

suspects, search of premises and vehicles, seizure of documents, the taking of persons "to any place" for interrogation, the taking of measures for identification, and the restriction, of these persons movements and activities.

"The Act brings within its ambit even actions committed before its enactment, although, at the time the acts were committed they may not have contravened any law then in existence... Section 9 provides that suspects under the Act may be detained "in such place and subject to such conditions as may be determined by the Minister" and that detainees may be held without trial for successive periods of three months up to a maximum of eighteen months. Detainees are often held, not in ordinary prisons, but in army camps, and sometimes in Police stations. Even when charged and awaiting trial, and during trial the Secretary to the Minister may order the detained to be held in any place and subject to any conditions he directs.

"The Act provides for prison terms which range from

are equally frenzied (particularly in references to neighbour India) would seem to be a manifestation of a sad decline in moral sensibility; and a grievous blot on Sinhala society which despite occasional violence in the mass, has produced generations of men with refinement, poise, grace and good humour in all professions, and in a variety of callings. This writer who has over a period of twenty five years worked in Colombo, and associated himself with several men and women of the Sinhala community in the fields of Journalism, Literature, Advertising, Broadcasting, Tourism promotion, is appalled at the shocking degeneration, in thinking of a growing cross-section of persons manning these fields today. This is a distressing phenomenon, the blame for which should be placed fairly and squarely at Mr. Jayewardene's door.

On the 3rd April, 1979, during the second year of rule of President Jayewardene there took place a debate, if it could be called one, in the Parliament of Sri Lanka: A Minister in Mr.

With the diminutive Opposition consisting of the TULF and the SLFP boycotting the proceedings, it became an all-Government show of verbal pyrotechnics. The motion was nevertheless pressed to a vote, and good it was for the soul of everybody that it was done, because it demonstrated effectively how few of Mr. Jayewardene's Members of Parliament to whom he attributed "restraint" and "reserve" could be depended upon to detach themselves from the spirit of rancour and abuse that prevailed in the House those two days. The House divided with 121 Members voting for the motion, and two declining to vote. It is worth recording for posterity the names of the two who declined. One was Minister for Rural Industrial Development and Plantation Tamils leader Mr. S. Thondaman, and the other, a Sinhalese, the Deputy Minister of Justice Mr. Shelton Ranaraja.

What transpired during the two days of proceedings could best be described as "verbal terrorism". At least two of the Members of Parliament speculated on the pos-

was sustained as could be seen, not merely be deed, but by word and thought. But this itself was part of a vicious cycle in which unjust laws bred resistance: even when non-violent, was put down with violence and this in turn breeding counter-violence; and counter violence sought to be met with tougher laws. On the 22nd May, 1978 the Government introduced the "Proscribing of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and Other Similar Organisations Law, No. 16 of 1978" In its pathetic belief that a law is substitute for wisdom, the Government limited the period of the proscription to one year. One year later, on the 21st May, 1979, it was found necessary to bring another Bill, amending the earlier Act by substituting in Section 15 the words "two years" in place of one year."

But when it was discovered by July the same year that the exercise was becoming profitless, it was decided to replace the earlier law proscribing the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam by a wider one — the Prevention of Terrorism (Tempor-

## 10 YEARS OF JR'S RULE

five to twenty years, and life imprisonment for accused persons who are convicted. There is no requirement that detainees be brought before a magistrate upon detection . . . .

Eight years after the passage of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, it has now been proved by experience that if the Act was intended to curb violence, it has not merely failed to do so; it has spawned even more violence. But there is more to it in violence than the gun and the bomb. During his ten-year dispensation, Mr. Jayewardene has not only intensified it, he has perpetuated violence and institutionalised it. There is an all-pervasive aura of disquiet in the whole island, let alone the killings in the North-East and the fear of bombs in Colombo. The Sri Lankan mass media has been actively disseminating violence in thought, word and spirit. It can be said without hesitation that in no other country in the world, democracy or otherwise, will one find language being used with such barbarous intent as in the political columns of the daily Press in Colombo. The fierceness of editorial expression, sometimes bordering on hysteria, along with reader responses which

Jayewardene's Cabinet, Mr. Cyril Mathew, Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs, had moved a motion condemning the Leader of the Opposition Mr. A. Amirthalingam (the first Tamil to hold that office) and his wife Mrs. Amirthalingam for statements alleged to have been made by both of them while they were on a visit to India. Two years earlier, speaking as Prime Minister on 18th August 1977, Mr. Jayewardene said: (read above) "The vast majority of people in this country have not got the restraint and the reserve that Members of Parliament, particularly those in the Front ranks have been used to..." The total absence of "restraint" and "reserve" in the language used by Mr. Jayewardene's "Front rank" Minister Mr. Mathew on this particular day and in the country's highest forum, the Parliament, will surely rank among the worst displays of verbal violence in any forum in the world. (*Hansard, Vol. 4, No. 13, 3rd April 1979*).

Two years later, on the 23rd and 24th July, 1981, there took place in Mr. Jayewardene's Parliament an unprecedented bizarre occurrence. The ruling Government party decided to move a vote of no-confidence on the Tamil Leader of the Opposition!

sibility of killing Mr. Amirthalingam and suggested ways and means of how best it could be done. One suggested the traditional punishment meted out to traitors by the Kandyan Sinhalese kings: rope two arecanut trees together, tie his legs to the two trees and cut the rope, so that he would be torn into two. Another member came out with a more ingenious idea. He said:

"Even during the time of the Sinhalese kings the kings of every country, when there was war, they had to fight back. Even King Asoka, before he came to that prestigious position of world history, was a person who fought tooth and nail for his country, for his people and prevented wars. Now, Sir, if you take it in that stride, what should we do to this so-called leader of the Tamils? If I were given the power, I would tie him to the nearest concrete post in this building and horse-whip him till I raise him to his wits. Thereafter let anybody do anything he likes — throw him to the Beira (lake) or to the sea, because he will be so mutilated that I do not think there will be life in him.

### VIOLENCE BY WORD AND THOUGHT

The spirit of violence during the Jayewardene rule

ary Provisions) Act. By continuously misguiding himself into thinking that if one law does not work, a more tough one will, he believed that he was assured of success this time. This belief was fortified by his faith in some measures he had already taken. On July 11, 1979, he had appointed his kinsman, Brigadier T. I. "Bull" Weeratunga, then Chief of Staff of the Sri Lanka Army as "overall Commander of the Security Forces in the administrative district of Jaffna," and on July 14 issued the following imperial decree:

It will be your duty to eliminate in accordance with the laws of the land the menace of terrorism in all its form the island and more especially from the Jaffna district. I will place at your disposal all resources of the State. I earnestly request all law-abiding citizens to give their co-operation to you. This task has to be performed by you and completed before the 31st December, 1979."

On the same day the Cabinet decided to clamp down a state of emergency in the Jaffna district, and the President invoked provisions of the





Public Security Act which gave the Police and the armed forces the power to dispose of dead bodies without an inquest. This resulted in the indiscriminate arrests and torture of Tamil youths and the disappearance of another three within the first twenty four hours of the expected gazettement of the "disposal of dead bodies without an inquest order. Unfortunately for the Brigadier, in his urge to dispose of dead bodies without inquests he jumped the gun, and even before the gazettement of the order was notified, the bodies of two Tamil youths, Inbam and Selvam, were discovered in the Pannai causeway, badly mutilated and showing evident signs of prolonged torture. The inquests were held and several unsavoury facts came to light. Referring to the reign of Army and Police terror in Jaffna during this period, Amnesty International in its memorandum to the President (1980) said:

"Various methods of torture have been used by both the police and the army in the period immediately after the emergency declaration, including suspending people upside down by the toes while placing their head

gadier left the place! and so, understandably was President Jayewardene because Tamil militancy was gaining a bigger motivation. The vast mass of the Tamil people both within as well as the growing numbers of expatriates in India and in the West were beginning to accept armed struggle as the only option that remained. This of course left Mr. Jayewardene facing a defiance that he had hardly expected from a people who for generations had produced meek, obedient quill-drivers in Government departments and studious Tamil youths with text books always tucked under their arms and whenever set upon by Sinhala mobs in the South had offered no resistance whatever, but only fled.

If any State could virtually declare war against its own citizens, and in a part of its own territory (Jaffna) and do it unashamedly, that happened in Sri Lanka in the year 1981. Today, six years later, it is continuing to happen. But also, it is a more ferocious, but a pathetic scenario. In early July as this is being written, here

Tamil youth groups denounced the TULF for going along with the elections—they viewed the DDCs as toothless and TULF cooperation as a sell-out. On 24 May, a UNP candidate was assassinated and the army went on a rampage of looting and torture. And then, on 31 May, an unidentified gunman fired some shots at an election meeting, and the tense atmosphere exploded into State-sponsored mayhem. With several high-ranking Sinhalese security Officers and two Cabinet Ministers, Cyril Mathew and Gamini Dissanayake (both self-confessed Sinhala supremacists) both present in the town, uniformed security men and plainclothes thugs carried out some well-organised acts of destruction. They burned to the ground certain chosen targets – including the Jaffna Public Library, with its 95,000 volumes and priceless manuscripts, a Hindu temple the office and machinery of the independent Tamil newspaper Eelanadu, the house of the MP for Jaffna, the headquarters of the TULF, and more than 100 shops and

room occupied by a Cabinet Minister!

#### FURTHER ATTACKS ON INDIAN TAMILS

If the Jaffna calamity cum fiasco took place in May–June, July brought that crazy reversal of Parliamentary traditions that we have already told you about—the Government motion of no-faith on the Tamil Leader of the Opposition. The inflammatory speeches made on that occasion were soon printed and distributed widely in the Sinhalese areas, and these led to new tensions in August, resulting in rioting in several areas, particularly Ratnapura and Negombo. The victims were mostly Tamils of Indian origin. On 17th August, a state of emergency was declared and a government communique stated: "Within the last ten days, seven deaths by violence, 196 incidents of arson, and 35 incidents of looting have been reported by the police. . . . It has also been reported that there has been damage to estates and estate property, particularly in the Ratnapura district. The Hindu

dom. It was stimulated, and in some cases organized, by members of the ruling UNP among them intimates of the President. In all 25 people died scores of women were raped, and thousands were made homeless, losing all their meagre belongings. But the summer madness, which served the dual purpose of quietening Tamil calls for Eelam, that is, a separate state, and taking the minds of the Sinhalese electorate off a deepening economic crisis is only one of the blemishes on the face of the island. Since Jayewardene came to power four years ago, a system of what his critics call "State Terrorism" has brought an Ulster-style situation in the Tamil-majority areas of the north and east. . . ."

President Jayewardene had preempted this kind of criticism. Adroitly, he side-stepped freeing himself of all personal blame by issuing an ecclesiastical censure on his own partymen. Addressing the executive committee of his party on 4th September, Mr. Jayewardene poured forth this anguish He said:

"I speak more in sorrow than in anger. Recent events throughout the island. North, Centre and South show that the religion we profess does not seem to influence for the good some of our people. I regret that some members of my party made speeches in Parliament and outside that encourage violence and murders, rapes and arson that have been committed. . . . I must have reasons to be proud of the party of which I am the leader. If I cannot it is better for me to retire from the leadership of this party and let those who believe that the harming of innocent people and property that has happened recently is the way to solve the problems that face this multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-caste society, take over the leadership of the party.

In fact, there was an urgent need to polish up images and do some political interior decoration, because the Queen was coming. Queen Elizabeth was to be special guest at the government's celebrations to mark 50 years of universal franchise in the island in October. Confident as he probably was, that Leader of the Opposition Mr. Amirthalingam had been sufficiently "softened up" by the barrage of abuse and threats that his Partymen launched on him in Parliament, he invited him for face-to-face talks. To use diplomatic language, Mr. Jayewardene was setting in motion fresh initiatives to settle outstanding problems of the Tamil community.

(To be continued)

## 10 YEARS OF JR'S RULE

in a bag with suffocating fumes of burning chillies, prolonged and severe beatings, insertion of pins in the finger tips and the application of broken chillies and biting ants to sensitive parts of the body and threats of execution. After these and other methods of torture had been applied, statements were extracted and recorded".

On the 31st December 1979, Brigadier Weeratunga duly reported to Mr. Jayewardene that as envisaged in the Presidential decree of July 14, his mission was accomplished. As his reward today, he is in charge of another mission—the Sri Lankan High Commission in Canada. That Mr. Tissa Weeratunge had failed in his mission is no longer a debating matter in 1987. But it is certainly a moot point whether President Jayewardene should have chosen to present a Brigadier with a black record as "quid pro quo" for the consistent kindness shown to his country by an aid-giving liberal democracy such as Canada! A posting in Pakistan, for example, would not have been thought too inappropriate because soldiers of fortune are not unknown in that country. Jaffna was in an angrier mood by the time the Bri-

is President Jayewardene completing 10 years of rule this month, trying to invade his own territory (Jaffna) by land sea and Air!

What happened in 1981? Writing in the summer of 1984, Nancy Murray, a member of the Campaign against Racism and Fascism, and of the Council of the Institute of Race Relations says:

"By 1981, the Liberation Tigers had killed perhaps twenty policemen, many of them notorious torturers. In April and May of 1981, following the Neerveli bank robbery, twenty seven men were arrested, and at least twenty-two of them, according to an Amnesty International report, tortured in a number of ways and then chained to walls at the Elephant Pass army camp and elsewhere for six months at a time. Against the background of relentless state repression, Jayewardene's effort to defuse the situation by calling elections for District Development Councils was probably doomed from the start even if he had not aroused Tamil suspicions by sending up a contingent of 300 specially-trained Sinhalese policemen to oversee the election proceedings in Jaffna.

"The run-up to the elections was predictably violent

markets. Four people were killed outright. No mention of this appeared in the national newspapers. not even the burning of the Library, the symbol of the Tamils' cultural identity.

"The government delayed bringing in emergency rule until 2nd June, by which time key targets had been destroyed. On 4th June, emergency rule was extended throughout the country, and lifted five days later. Meanwhile, the government had no intention of postponing elections, despite the fact that the signs were hardly auspicious. it was determined to win at least one seat in Tamil territory. On the morning of polling day, TULF leaders were arrested; and they were released with no explanation given. After the elections, several of the ballot boxes were tampered with, and some were never produced for counting. But in spite of this, TULF won all the seats. . . ." (The State against the Tamils, Sri Lanka Racism and the Authoritarian State institute for Race Relations London, 1984)

Footnote; Senior Tamil polling officers were replaced a few days before the elections by Government party supporters from the South. Six ballot boxes were found missing, one of which was later discovered in the hotel

of August, 21st, reported: "Several thousand Indian estate workers had to trek through snake infested-jungles and cross high hills to escape persecution by organised armed gangs of hoodlums over the past 15 days, according to eye witness reports. The refugees presented a pitiable sight, dragging their weary feet with children in arms and little bundles of clothes slung over their backs". An Indian journalist, S. Venkat Narayan of *India Today* was detained by the police at Kaha-watte and his camera impounded. A few days later an Indian national from Tamil Nadu, S. Dhanapathi, who was a member of a pilgrim Party to the Hindu holy shrine of Kataragama in the south-east of the island, was axed to death, by Sinhalese hoodlums, while he was waiting for a shave in a barber shop. On August 21st, President Jayewardene imposed a Press censorship.

British journalist Brian Eads who visited Sri Lanka wrote in *The Observer*, London, of 20 September:

"... It is clear that subsequent violence in July and August, which was directed against Sri Lanka Tamils in the east and south of country, and Indian Tamil tea estate workers in the central region, was not ran-



# FOR THE RECORD

30.7.87: Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi told newsmen after his return from Sri Lanka that President Jayewardene had made a request to him for the deployment of an Indian Peace-keeping force and for transport facilities to ferry Sri Lankan troops from the North to the South. He had agreed to do so. Peace-keeping Indian forces have been deployed in Jaffna and other areas. The BBC quoting Derek Brown, reported that about 3,000 Indian troops have been despatched to Jaffna for deployment in Palaly, Kankasanturai and Vadamarachchi area.

In another development Sri Lankan troops carrying white flags and arms stepped out of their camp at Vasavilan and had a tete-a-tete with militant sentries. They exchanged biscuits and other goodies saying "We are no longer at war, so we can go home".

31-7-87: Manicam Logasingam, Selliah Sumathiran, Kanagaratnam Nakiram, three undergraduate students of the University of Jaffna, out of the eleven who were taken into custody by the Security Forces at Vadamarachchi during "Operation Liberation" and detained at Boosa, were released. Representations in respect of these students had been made to the Minister of National Security by the University authorities to obtain their release.

The Indian peace-keeping forces were prevented from moving towards the peninsula by people who squatted across the roads at Tellipalai Kadduwan and Achuvily and were forced to return to base. They had, with

the permission of the Tigers, come up to Tellipalai from where they were turned back. This move was made in connection with the forced delay in Tiger leader V. Prabhakaran's return to Jaffna and the demand to hand over arms.

President Jayewardene has apologised to Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, the people and Government of India and to the World on his behalf and on behalf of the people of Sri Lanka for the attempted assassination of the Prime Minister in Colombo, just before his return to India after signing the Accord between the two countries. The High Commissioner for India in Sri Lanka, Mr. J. N. Dixit, in a release has stated that Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike the Leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, the Leader of the Opposition have indicated their opposition to the presence of Indian Troops in Sri Lanka and requested the Indian Prime Minister to have them recalled.

Finance Minister Ronnie De Mel had asked Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister of National Security, to resign forthwith over the attempted assassination of the Indian Prime Minister on 30th July. He said that the breach in the security arrangements necessitated the Minister accepting responsibility for it and as such he should not continue to hold the portfolio any longer.

1-8-87: The Indian Peace Keeping Forces in the North have set up a camp at Vadamarachchi. After they had moved in they went about the area meeting the people and listening to their grievances.

The Food Minister, S. Ramachandran of Tamil Nadu had talks with Velupillai Prabhakaran, the Leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The LTTE Leader pointed out to the Minister the difficulties the Tamil will be faced if the militants surrendered their arms to the Sri Lankan Government in accordance with the agreement between the two countries.

Thirty six Indian troop carriers were involved in the transfer of Sri Lankan troops in the North to the South as well as ferrying soldiers from India to various points in the North. At the same time two Indian destroyers are patrolling the coast line to prevent the smuggling of arms.

2-8-87: Principal roads in Jaffna remain blocked for the third day to prevent Indian Peace-keeping force from entering the town. Ariyakulam, Windsor theatre and Sivan Kovil junctions were obstructed by women and children. Indian correspondents who arrived at Palaly on 30th were present at Ariyakulam junction spoke to the persons taking part in the peaceful protest.

Velupillai Prabhakaran, leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam who had left for New Delhi to the invitation of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi for

talks returned to Jaffna. He travelled in an Indian Air Force plane with his wife and children and the other members of his delegation arrived at Palaly on Monday at 4.30 p.m. on 3-8-87. He was then taken to Suthumalai by road escorted by nearly 600 soldiers of the Indian peace-keeping force, where he was met by Mahataya Deputy Leader and several others.

Consequent to the Sri Lankan Accord about 6,000 soldiers have arrived both in the North and East. In camps which were manned by Sri Lankan soldiers there is now a preponderance of Indian soldiers. The Sri Lankan soldiers are being ferried in large numbers to the South daily.

Indian peace-keeping forces in camps at Mannar, Vavuniya, Batticaloa, Amparai and Mullaitivu are going into the grievances of the people in these areas and seeing ways and means of ameliorating their condition.

Asst. Government Agent, S.P. Balasingam and Assistant Director of Social Services both lost their left leg in a landmine blast at Vadamarachchi. They had gone to Kankasanturai on official duties in respect of the departure of the Indian food supply vessel. The mishap occurred while passing the army camp at Valvettipurai. One of the wheels of the car in which they were travelling was punctured and they were forced to leave the car for it to be attended. Mr. Balasingam and Mrs. Siva-

sithamparam strayed a few paces away when the hidden land mine exploded.

Sri J.N. Dixit, the High Commissioner for India in Sri Lanka stated at a press conference that some time must lapse for the surrender of arms by the militants. The surrender should not be worked out in a straight jacket. He added that his Government was firmly convinced that the militants would surrender their weapons. The Indian peace-keeping force were presently deployed in areas where they were most needed and this deployment will take some.

Addressing a mammoth gathering at Marina Beach, Madras in the company of the Chief Minister, M.G. Ramachandran and other ministers of the Tamil Nadu Government, Rajiv Gandhi, the Indian Premier explained the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement to the people. He stated that nearly one third of the Tamil speaking people of Sri Lanka will have a Government similar to that of any other Indian state. He added that contrary to fears voiced by the militants and those who are dependent on them, the surrender of arms would in no way be inimical to their security. The fears were baseless. He appealed to the militants to accept the terms of the agreement in toto.

3-3-87: Jaffna returned to normal to-day. Crowds not seen in the streets for some years, thronged the areas which were shut out to them. There was a carnival atmosphere in town. Shops were open and brisk business was conducted. In Kankasanturai a few miles from Palaly, army camp there were crowds of pedestrians and cyclists trekking their way to old huts which had been deserted through fear. Many houses were destroyed and without human habitation.

## Free Yourself Scientifically

(Continued from last issue)

Examples were given in the preceding paragraphs of great historical events which contradict simplistic traditional beliefs such as the universal moral law (Karma) and divine intervention in human affairs.

The powerful, the aggressive and the exploitative men and nations have always prospered or prospered long enough to discredit the retribution theory. With the spread of education and science, men began to question their faith in divine protection, divine justice and divine retribution. They questioned the validity of pietistic religious doctrines expounded by Bakthi Margas, the belief in divine love and omnipotence, the belief in Karma and rebirth, in heaven and hell.

These are questions to which educated young people demand scientific and rational answers and not various restatements and interpretations of the old doctrines. Their present sufferings have awakened an intellectual enquiry which is not satisfied with religious doctrines handed down on authority by Bakthi Margas. The religions of India have taught ways of wise discernment, Gnana Margas, for people in such situations. The present generation is intellectually mature enough and educated enough to grasp the ways of the wise. They should therefore be laid bare to them so that they will have an exposure to alternative philosophies.

The principles of scientific rationalism as a way out of stress, which are spelt

out in this paper, are not new ideas but an assemblage of selected theses propounded by the sages of India and the philosophers of Europe. Selections are made from the Rig Veda, Upanishadas, Samkya Yoga, Carvaka philosophy, Advaita Vedanta, early Buddhism and the eclecticism of Aurobindo, as well as from Spinoza, Bergson, Hegel and Sartre. The selections are fitted into a new picture of the world which could assuage the perplexities of modern scientific mind rational minds.

These principles point a way to liberation from stress of all kinds such as fear, yearning, anger, hate and sorrow, (a) by a true understanding of reality, that is, by scientific perception of the world and by rational inferences (b) by application

of such true understanding to one's thinking, emotions and actions, (c) by discarding unscientific notions and fond illusions such as the existence of persons as one's self and other selves (d) the realisation of the impermanence and valuelessness of all things and (e) by the realisation of a state of equanimity of mind in all circumstances which is an essential condition of freedom from stress. Such a mental poise enhances men's capability and skill in thought and action,

"Yoga is skill in works" says the Geeta.

The present social crisis is a challenge and an opportunity for mental advancement from a pietistic complacency to a true understanding of the world and a victorious life of freedom.

### Notice

A Seminar on the subject "Liberation from Stress through Scientific Rationalism" will be held at the Evelyn Rutnam Institute, Campus Lane, Thirunelveli, on 28th August 1987 at 9-30 a.m. A fifty-page document on the subject by Mr. S.R. Asirvatham is available on payment of a documentation fee of Rs.25. at the Institute till 20th August. Admission to the Seminar will be open to all persons who pay the documentation fee.

Director  
Evelyn Rutnam Institute



# Israelis Treat Palestinian Women

## Harshly

The Israeli authorities' harsh treatment of Palestinians in the occupied territories is not confined to men. There is growing evidence of maltreatment and torture of Palestinian women as well.

The increasingly harsh approach adopted by Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin towards Palestinian civilians in the occupied territories has been highlighted by three recent incidents. Unusually, the targets of the Israeli authorities' wrath in all three have been women, and in one case the victim's suffering shocked even Israel's fairly hardened public into protesting.

Ghada Arbiya, who had given birth to a boy less than a month before and suffered from a severe heart condition, was expelled from the Gaza Strip as an 'alien' on 13th March 1987. The authorities took the step even though

she had been bedridden since her confinement and an Israeli doctor had certified that the move would endanger her life.

Mrs Arbiya, whose parents are Palestinian refugees living in Dubai, had married her cousin, a resident of the Gaza Strip, in 1985, but never received permission from the Israeli military government to live with him there. Having meanwhile lost her right to reside in Dubai, she appealed against the expulsion order, requesting permission to stay at least until her health improved, but this was refused.

When the Red Cross and the Egyptian embassy attempted to intervene on her behalf, the Israeli authorities responded by arresting her husband for allowing her to remain in the district illegally. After two days in detention, he agreed to leave with her for Egypt.

Another young mother, Amal Abd al-Karim, has been put in a similar position by the very same Israeli government that is currently campaigning so hard for the right of Soviet Jews to family unification.

Having married an inhabitant of the Gaza Strip in 1983, she was never given a residence permit. Although the couple twice appealed to the authorities for a family unification permit, Amal was allowed to stay only as a visitor and is now awaiting expulsion. She gave birth prematurely to a boy in March and although the child is poorly and in intensive care, the military government insists that she must leave immediately.

press conference on 19th March 1987 in Jerusalem, was to say: 'We don't care, you're no different from a man'.

During her prolonged questioning at Jerusalem's police head quarters, she was severely maltreated. According to her lawyer, the interrogators kept banging her head against a wall and made her stand upright for hours outside in the cold with a sack over her head. They also punched and humiliated her.

military court instructed the warders to send her for a medical examination right away, but even that order was not carried out until 14th March. By then she had miscarried.

Israeli officials have expressed doubt as to whether Naila Ayash was ever pregnant, although she has undergone gynaecological tests confirming it, but others have been more supportive.

by

Elfie Pallas

What can happen to unwanted Palestinian women who stay was illustrated by the case of 26-year-old Naila Ayash, who had returned to the occupied territories after studying in Bulgaria for six years. When she was arrested on 19th February 1987 and accused of having belonged to a hostile organisation abroad for three months during 1983, she told her interrogators that she was pregnant.

Their response, as her husband told journalists at a

When she started to bleed profusely, vomited and was racked with pain, she asked to see a doctor, but this was refused for several days. A week after her arrest, a man was brought to her cell who introduced himself as a doctor but did not examine her. The next day, a blood-streaked urine sample was taken from her, but the police surgeon later stated that it was never sent for a laboratory test.

On 1 March 1987, the judge of Ramallah's Israeli

A newspaper advertisement signed by 150 Israeli Jewish women expressing their horror at her experience appeared a few days after the press conference, and her lawyers are hoping for international support now.

Meanwhile, she remains in jail, although she has retracted her initial confession to the crime of 'membership', saying it was extracted by torture.

Courtesy: Third World Network Features

## A Tale Of Two Cities

In the City to the South, while the bombers bombed and the soldiers swarmed far away yet not at all far away, the mood seemed perfectly ordinary. In the morning, the crowds filled the streets early, on their way to work or shopping. The din of the motor traffic was terrific already long before 7 A.M.

In the City to the North, at the same hour of the day, the mood also seemed ordinary—for the city to the North. The streets were eerily empty; the shops all shuttered; nothing stirred save the odd pedestrian scurrying for shelter. There was no motor traffic at all. It was the whine of shells and the chop of helicopters which pierced the morning stillness.

In the City to the South, the people scanned the morning papers and read of the City to the North. They read of numbers. Numbers of troops. Numbers of terrorists (as they called those who, politics or tactics notwithstanding, at the time were the only defenders of the City). Numbers of aircraft. Numbers of square miles of territory regained. Only numbers—and false ones at that.

In the City to the North, the people read in some of the same papers of the same numbers, and of the campaign

under way to liberate them. They looked around themselves and saw no sign of numbers. They saw their streets, littered with debris, scarred with craters, unrecognizable. They saw their houses, aflame or in smouldering ruins. They saw one another, crouched and terrified, or broken, or lifeless.

In the City to the South it was the National Crisis which was on everyone's lips. A valiant army was fighting to preserve the unity of the nation. It was locked in civil war with would-be secessionists. The task was agonising, and bloody, and deeply to be regretted, but it had to be done. The fate of the country hung in the balance.

In the City to the North, what concerned the citizens was some thing altogether simpler. Survival. The idea of "country", whatever one's views on separatism, seemed utterly fantastic. The world had contracted to the perimeter of the tight little peninsula, cut off from the outside and besieged. There was not so much a task as a necessity, to preserve one's family and oneself.

In the City to the South, when word arrived of foreign planes dropping parcels of food for beleaguered civilians, the people waxed indignant. They talked of invasion and sovereignty, of power imbalance and regional hegemony, of patriotism and protest. They shouted.

The writer is a Harvard Law Student who has been interning in Colombo since early June on a Human Rights Fellowship. He spent last week in Jaffna.

In the City to the North, when strange planes appeared in the skies one day in June, the people held their breath fearing they beheld terror in some hitherto unimagined form. When they saw the air fill with little parachute like children's balloons, the fear gave way to incredulity, then to delirium. The world had not forgotten them. They talked of destruction and salvation, of those who meant them harm and those who brought them succour. They cried.

When, finally, the men in power took the Two Cities

and the world by surprise and signed an Agreement which, whatever its wisdom, fairness, or feasibility, stopped the slaughter, the City to the South took to the streets—in anger. AN-all-too-human reaction. They massed and surged, spending their rage wherever they found convenient objects—on buses, on buildings, on shops. Faces were contorted in fury, voices hoarse with defiance.

The City to the North also took to the streets—in sheer spontaneous exuberance and joyous relief. A human reaction. Husbands and wives and children, friends and lovers, walked in wonder and gratitude the familiar streets of their town, boldly and freely and without concern, for the first time in years. Faces were sunny and broad, voices cackled with glee.

The Two Cities, the One to the South and the One to the North, at one time, and not so long ago, belonged to the same world of experience. However great the political antagonism, however pronounced the cultural differences the men and women of both cities alike worked, studied, raised families, built lives, wrestled with frustrations,

and struggled to realize hopes and ambitions.

The Two Cities now belong to different worlds. They have been terribly Sundered. The City to the South has gone about its business. Its folk have been harassed, and inconvenienced and disturbed by the intensified security measures and the atmosphere of apprehension and uncertainty. Apart from one horrible explosion, they have remained physically untouched.

The City to the North has suffered War. Its folk have been terrorized daily—shelled, bombed, shot. They have lived on intimate terms with violent death and body-rending injury. Their children know more about the identification of bullet casings and the field range of artillery than other children know about multiplication tables and spelling. Not one family in The City to the North has escaped loss and suffering, often grievous loss and suffering. The human toll is staggering.

It may no longer even be possible to cross the chasm of experience which now separates the Two Cities. One thing is certain—the only conceivable crossing is from South to North. The City to the South must make the leap, to understand and to atone.

(Continued on page 11)



# GCSU President Speaks Out

There are several progressive Sinhalese trade unionists, Human Rights activists and left politicians who have been described as 'Sinhala Kottiyas' and traitors by the chauvinist elements in Sri Lanka, notably the proscribed Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP).

For the observers, who have been following the chauvinistic line of JVP since the notorious 5 lecture Campaign during the 1971 insurgency—15th was on 'Indian expansionism' through estate workers—It was not a surprise at all.

Last week, on the eve of destruction in Colombo, some of the members of the JVP reportedly went into the General Clerical Services Union (GCSU) building and report-

edly threatened the staff there. In fact, they wanted the GCSU to have a General Strike against the Peace Accord:

A couple of months ago, a JVP publication had a photo of Mr. Gunasena Mahanama, the President of the Government Clerical Services Union on its pages and titled it 'Colombo's Tiger Leader.' Apart from Gunasena Mahanama, there were several others in the hit lists of the JVP. Most of them are either supporters of the Tamil struggle or Human Rights activists

Recently, I had an opportunity to meet Mr. Gunasena Mahanama. Gunasena Mahanama who comes from a left-oriented family, has

been involved in the working class movement in Sri Lanka, since 1959, when he became politically active as a campus student around educational issues. As a result he was prevented from completing his degree.

He continued his activity in the Trade-Union movement and since 1964 has been in the General Clerical Service where he has played a leading role in the Government Clerical Services Union (GCSU). He has served on the Executive Committee since 1970. He was elected as Assistant Secretary in 1971. He functioned as Deputy General Secretary from 1972-1977; as General Secretary from 1977-1986 and was elected as President in 1986.

During this period the G.C.S.U. was involved in many major struggles to improve wages and conditions as well as to defend itself from the increasing attacks by the Government to introduce anti-democratic and anti-union legislation.

'The UNP Government cannot solve the ethnic problem unless seem high pressure is brought to bear by India' Mr. Mahanama told me. 'They want to keep all the left activists under detention. There fore more and more repressive laws were being promulgated. Some Draconian laws used against the Tamil people, are now being applied against us,' he added. Asked about their stand on the ethnic issue, he said

it was imperative that the 'war' against the Tamils should be stopped' We have always supported and envisaged self-determination for the Tamils and we have made this clear on all our actions and publications.' 'Unfortunately, the media in Colombo did not give adequate publicity to left-oriented events. You know the Sinhalese people are treated on Government versions of the happenings in the north and east' Mahanama further said.

"This Government being capitalist thrives on chauvinism, cannot solve any of the day to day problems"

Their agitational campaigns scheduled for 30th July had to be postponed because of the rioting in the Capital.

## Bitterness, Make-Believe....

(Continued from page 2)

Tamils nor Sinhalese, and for valid reasons.

Thus, the Accord has nothing to say about Tamil Homelands. It does say, however, that the Northern and Eastern provinces will obtain a single provincial council. But within a year a referendum is to be held in the Eastern Province alone at which the people of the province can, by majority vote, decide whether they wish to detach themselves from the merger with the Northern Province. Since about 60% of the Eastern Province's population is non-Tamil, it is probable that a detachment will actually take place leaving the Tamils in control of only the Northern Province and with no official recognition of a homeland.

However, the obtaining of the benefits of a Tamil Homeland in Sri Lanka does

## A Tale..

(Continued from page 10)

There is one thing, however, which the City to the North should do regardless, and that is to tell its story—scream it, if need be or words fail.

Until now the Tale of Two Cities has been a Tale of One City, the One to the South a Fairy Tale.

The City to the North must wrest the telling to itself, so that the Tale of Two Cities is at last heard and understood, both by the City to the South and by the rest of the world.

not require merger. To the contrary, the demand for merger has diverted attention away from the issues of central relevance to the Tamils, such as their physical security, right to self-government, preservation of their identity as a people, and the economic development of their areas. It is the satisfaction of these interests that constitutes the core of the homelands demand. They should not be traded off for a merger that lacks the substance to make the concept of homelands a real one. Size is a hollow substitute for power.

Under the provincial government, the Tamils will have the dominant position in the Northern Province, the major influence in the Eastern province, and some voice in some of the other provinces. To develop as a nationality it is not necessary for a people to be contained within a single region. Neither the Ibos in Nigeria nor the Bengalis in East Pakistan benefitted from autonomy in a near-homogeneous region under a hostile Central Government.

On the other hand, the Chinese in Malaysia, despite discrimination, have maintained their identity, participated in self-Government at the central and regional levels, and gained more than their proportionate share of economic prosperity while enjoying physical security except for one brief period. An important feature of the Malaysian Scheme of devolved government is that, unlike India, provincial boundaries are not drawn on ethnic lines, and thus no state is singled out for ethnic discrimination.

The difficulty in Malaysia, as in Fiji, is the near 50:50 split between majority and minorities. This is an unstable arrangement in which each side has no incentive to co-operate with the other instead of seeking to win outright.

Indeed, such would have been the position in the Eastern Province under the "December 19" proposals which would have made the Tamils almost 50% of the population with the Muslims and Sinhalese making up the balance half.

The present three-way split between the Tamils, Muslims and Sinhalese is better designed for a co-operative relationship to develop.

A basis of the Tamil demand for merger concern the vulnerability of the Tamils of the Eastern Province. From a population position of about 55% in 1921, the Tamils have been reduced to about 40% of the population of the province at the present time. On the other hand, colonization of the province by Sinhalese settlers has boosted the Sinhalese position from about 4% in 1921 to 26% today. The apprehension of the Tamils is that the Muslims who form about 32% of the province's population might find it more advantageous to form electoral alliances with the Sinhalese. Together, they would then form an unbeatable majority that could freeze the Tamils out of power, employment and land. The basis of this fear is that 65% of Sri Lanka's Muslims live outside of the Northern and Eastern provinces, and among the Sinhalese. The interests of the Muslims are

clearly tied to those of the Sinhalese. They turn, may influence the voting patterns of the Muslims in the Eastern Province, especially since Muslim leadership has traditionally come from the Western Province. Further, the central Government would be well positioned to make attractive offers to the Muslims of the Eastern province conditioned upon their cooperation with the Sinhalese.

The validity of these Tamil anxieties are, of course difficult to ascertain in advance. But at the outset, it can be predicted that the Muslims will share the same concern as the Tamils in respect of both land settlement and physical security. It is not in the Muslim interest to permit excessive Sinhalese colonization that would change the population composition of the province to their own detriment. Muslim feelings on this matter are captured by the following statement by M. Ashraff, the leader of a newly formed political party intended primarily to advance the interests of the Eastern Province Muslims.

"The lands which we have been occupying in the Amparai District (in the Eastern Province) for 40-50 years, the jungles that have been cleared by Muslims, have been bulldozed (by Government authorities) and these people are being thrown out."

Neither is it in the interests of the Muslims to have the Sri Lankan military running amok unable to distinguish between Tamils and the Tamil-speaking Muslim at has happened not infrequently.

In addition, it is possible to do better than merely

speculate about the future. By analyzing the results of the general elections of 1977 it can be seen that, at least up until the recent past, neither the Sinhalese, Tamils or Muslims of the Eastern Province voted as monolithic blocs. To the contrary, they have divided their votes upon party lines, and not upon ethnic ones. Thus, in the province, the TULF won only 28% of the vote even though Tamils make up 40% of the electorate. The Muslims, Sinhalese and a substantial number of Tamils split their votes between the UNP that went on to form the Government and the major opposition party, the SLFP. A reasonable extrapolation from past voting patterns, therefore, suggests that a scenario of inter-party alliances, rather than inter-ethnic alliances, is the likelier one in the province.

Under the Accord, the Tamils have no guarantee that the merger will last beyond the referendum. Nor have they obtained any recognition of Tamil Homelands. Further, the creation of a merged unit, although temporary, has succeeded in alienating the Sinhalese. It has tarred the devolution of power with a communal brush, and hidden its primarily democratic aspiration of self-rule to all provinces, including the Sinhalese-dominated ones. But ultimately, the surest guarantee for Tamil that a settlement will work well would be support for devolution by the Sinhalese themselves. Tamil autonomy would be best guaranteed when the Sinhalese-dominated provinces are as eager to preserve their autonomy from

(Continued on page 12)



# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA



The freed Police Commandos

## Bitterness, Make...

(Continued from page 11)

central Government interference as the Tamils are.

It is still not too late for re-negotiations to take place. With the approach of the referendum in the Eastern Province tensions are bound to increase. Perhaps that would be an opportune moment for reconsidering the entire structure of devolution.

In exchange for dropping the merger demand, the Tamils could demand that additional powers be granted to the provincial Governments. For instance, the backbone of genuine autonomy is the financial power, most especially the taxing power. To make the provincial Governments dependent on central Government hand-outs by withholding from them the power to tax or to a guaranteed share of public revenue is to make them politically accountable to the centre rather than to the provincial electorate. Specifically for the Eastern Province, a further power that could be demanded would be colonization on the basis of existing population ratios and not upon national population ratios, as envisaged in the Accord for major Colonization Schemes.

In the longer term, the system of Government that Sri Lanka should set for itself is a genuine federalism that goes beyond India's quasi-federalism. By a remarkable vision, today's problem was foreseen and a solution proposed 50 years ago by Leonard Woolf who spent

seven of his happiest years in Sri Lanka. His last and most productive posting was in Hambantota which was the setting of his classic novel "The Village in the Jungle." Recently discovered in the archives of Rhodes house at Oxford is a proposal Woolf put forward in 1938 in his capacity as a Labour Party advisor on "Imperial Questions." Woolf's solution to Sri Lanka's ethnic mix was as simple as it was novel to British political tradition—"a federal solution on the Swiss Model."

Under the present Accord, the devolution of power is being conducted within the limits of Sri Lanka's unitary constitution. In it the balance of power is weighted at the centre. The Sri Lankan formula means that the central Government retains the right to overrule the provincial Governments on any matter should it so choose. By contrast, in a federal system, each Government is legally independent within its own sphere. Thus, there are certain things a central Government may not do without the concurrence of the regional Governments, such as amending the constitution or dissolving the provincial Governments.

Woolf's reasoning regarding the applicability of a federal framework for Sri Lanka is no less valid now than it was then; "The Sinhalese," he argued, "have used and will use their majority against the interests of the Tamils."

Unlike in India with its diverse regional, racial, religious and linguistic loyalties, the cross cutting cleavages

in Sri Lanka are few, enhancing the possibility of an abuse of the quasi-federal system by a communal majority. It was with this concern in mind that Woolf noted that "The Swiss federal canton system proved extraordinarily successful under circumstances very similar to those in Ceylon, i.e., the co-existence in a single democratic state of communities of very different size, sharply distinguished from one another by race, language and religion."

Neither the unitary constitution nor the present provincial boundaries should be regarded as sacrosanct. Thus, the boundaries of the Eastern Province, which was created in 1832 along with four other provinces by the British for administrative convenience, were subsequently changed twice in 1873 and 1987. While a federal system based upon the existing nine provinces is possible and feasible, economic logic and political development might at a later date provide an impetus towards the reduction of the provincial units to five, one of which could be a merged unit of the Northern and Eastern provinces. This could happen when ethnicity is no longer the primary issue of political mobilization on the Island.

To conclude, the Indo-Lanka Peace Accord as it stands at present is a major accomplishment to the extent it brings about an end to the bitter conflict in the north and east. But it is not a final solution. We should use the building blocks made available by the Accord to reach beyond it and build a more permanent peace and a more prosperous country.

## Landmine Blows Up Indians

By a strange quirk of fate Major Dilip Singh head of the 8th Battalion (Engineers) of the Indian Peace Keeping Force who was born at the Jaffna General Hospital 34 years ago, died at the same hospital on 12th August.

Major Singh along with more than 20 others was engaged in clearing the landmines around the Fort area at about 9 the same morning, when the incident took place at a spot between the Jaffna Telecommunication building and the Sivan Temple.

In fact many of the soldiers had taken part in the 'pooja' at the temple before they set out on their job. In the blast Major Singh's deputy, Mohinder Rao (42), also lost his life. Two other soldiers were injured, one of them seriously. A militant of the Liberation Tigers of

Tamil Eelam among those who were assisting in detecting the mines, was also injured.

The group had found 10 mines in the area which they diffused and were on their way to another section, when Major Singh accidentally tripped a mine which exploded with a loud noise and hurtled all of them on to the

ground. All of them were immediately rushed to the hospital. Major Singh died on admission.

The Traders' Association has requested all shops to fly black flags to honour the two Indian officers who with their comrades had come to save the Tamil speaking people of this country.

## Indian Population's Agony Continues — EROS

The leader of Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students (EROS) along with thirty of his 'comrades' returned to the North on the noon of 11th August by an Indian air force plane.

They were met at the airport by members of the Peace-keeping force and by the local leaders of EROS. According to All India Radio Mr. Balakumar will supervise the handing over of arms by his Organisation.

Mr. Balakumar in an interview to Indian correspondents before explaining for Jaffna indicated that his group will begin surrendering their weapons in a day or two and their future security will be entrusted completely in the hands of the Indian peace keeping force.

However, in an interview to a Tamil daily on the 12th August, Mr. Balakumar

stated that even after the surrender of arms in the North and East, their struggle will continue in the up-country areas.

It will be correct to say that the hardships of the Tamil speaking people have been a trifle eased but the agony of the Indian population still continues. As such even if we lay down arms in the North and East, we shall be in the forefront of the movement for the liberation of the people in the upcountry areas.

He added that the Indian government is determined to implement the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord to the letter. As such it will be futile on our part to thwart their plan by not giving up our arms for we shall be held responsible for its failure.

## PLAN FOR REHABILITATION JAFFNA DISTRICT

Those who were affected during the period 01.10.1986 to 10.08.1987.

- (1) rehabilitation of commercial and residential premises
- (2) rehabilitation of movable property
- (3) assistance for economic rehabilitation
- (4) assistance to most affected families
- (5) assistance to injured or disabled
- (6) rehabilitation of affected children
- (7) rehabilitation of affected places of worship
- (8) assistance for loss or damage to vehicles
- (9) assistance for loss of livestock
- (10) assistance to fishermen for losses.

Forms detailing the particulars to be furnished will be available at the offices of Assistant Government Agents from 19th August '87. All institutions and individuals affected during the period 01.10.1986 to 10.08.1987 are requested to obtain the relevant forms from the Assistant Government Agent's Offices and return them duly completed on or before 2nd September, 1987.

Those who were affected during the period 01.01.83 to 30.09.86 and who had completed the rehabilitation forms last year need not fill the forms now.

V. M. Punchalingam

DISTRICT SECRETARY AND GOVERNMENT AGENT, JAFFNA DISTRICT

The Kachcheri,  
Jaffna.