

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

Vol. 3 No. 47

12th January 1985

# NORTH NEEDS AID-URGENTLY

Dear Readers:

We at the SATURDAY REVIEW bow our heads in shame that we have not been able to do enough, so far, for the suffering people in the North and the East who have been caught up in a tragic situation unprecedented in the post-independence history of Sri Lanka.

After all, they also are Sri Lankans—still.

The situation in the “refugee camps”—mostly schools, kovils and churches—to which many thousands of people have been forced by the inhuman laws of the “Dharmista” Jayewardene Government to flee to, is really tragic.

Most of the “Tamil leaders” seem to have deserted the people at this most critical hour. So, it seems, even most of their deities.

We appeal to all, both in the North and the South, who are human beings, to contribute in whatever way they can to help these hapless people who unwittingly have been embroiled in a huge network of political intrigue and political subterfuge.

The solution to the National Question—and the end to all the misery—is there for all sane people to see. But insanity seems to pervade the highest quarters in this “Thrice Blessed Island”.

There must be an end to this insanity; otherwise, the entire nation will suffer.

We once again appeal to all people of goodwill, all who are human beings, irrespective of their race and creed, to contribute to the relief of the unfortunate people in areas of the Northern and the Eastern Provinces who are being starved of not only food but even firewood and drugs.

Contributions in cash and kind could be made to the SATURDAY REVIEW office at 118, Fourth Cross Street, Jaffna, to be channelled to the organisations and individuals engaged in relief work.

Cheques should be drawn in favour of New Era Publications Ltd.

—Editor

P.S. Even before this appeal was prepared we received a donation of Rs. 742.50 from a Reader in Colombo 6 who wishes to remain anonymous. It was his first salary cheque. We thank him for this splendid gesture which, we hope, would be emulated by other Sri Lankans.

The first donation of Rs. 1000 to the SR Refugee Relief Fund is by the Editor of SR. The second, a cheque for Rs. 100, is by Mrs. P. Kanagarajanayagam.

## Editor on Bike!

The Management of the SATURDAY REVIEW has bought the Editor a bicycle to travel in “No Man’s Land” because the office car has been effectively “grounded” by the Emergency Regulations.

## DAMN LIES

Sri Lankans in the South continue to be fed on a diet of lies, more lies and damn lies on events in the Northern and the Eastern Provinces.

Most of the Colombo-based newspapers continue to publish these lies without bothering to make even a cursory check.

We should like to warn the Jayewardene Government that this exercise could be counter-productive.

We should also like to repeat our invitation to journalists from the South to come and see what is happening in a part of Sri Lanka which many Sinhalese claim to be theirs.

The North is burning. The fire could, before long, spread to the rest of the country.

To the Sinhalese people in the South, we say, awake to realities before it is too late. Do not live in the cocoon of an ephemeral false world. Your main enemy could be yourself.

## HA! HA! — 1

This is from the Sunday Observer of 6th January 1985:

An army patrol in Jaffna discovered the bodies of Eight Tamil boys and a girl—all of them residents of Killinochchi. All the dead bodies had gun shot injuries and there was evidence that the dead girl had been raped before she had been shot.

According to official reports, the boys and the girl were victims of terrorist brutality.

Sometime earlier they had been lured to join the terrorist movement and when they had attempted to escape from the movement after having been disillusioned with the nature of the work they had to engage in they were all lined up and shot dead.

Official sources say that acts of terrorists brutality in the North is on the increase.

“This is the sign that the terrorists are getting desperate in their attempts to get more youths to join” them”, intelligence sources said.

## HA! HA! — 2

This is from the Daily News of 7th January

Eight terrorists were killed and five captured after a gun battle early yesterday with troops near a Catholic Church at Vankalai, in the Mannar district, the Ministry of State said on 6th January.

The Ministry said the soldiers had later found 36 sticks of dynamite, a quantity of spent and live 9 mm ammunition, several spent and live shotgun cartridges, eight hand grenades terrorist leaflets, books, cassettes and tapes.

The official release said that a patrol passing the Church on Saturday night had been fired at.

But a Reuter news agency despatch from Colombo, quoted a government spokesman as saying that the forces had surrounded the church on information that it was being used as a guerilla base.

The agency quoted local residents that the priest attached to the Church was missing after the raid.

## HA! HA! — 3

The Sun of 24th December, under the headline “Terrorists Terrorise the Tamils: Jaffna Under Siege”, said that “hardly a stone’s throw away from the hallowed Kandasamy Kovil”, a youth with a “self-loadnig rifle” (S.L.R.) had shot and wounded a shop-owner from whom he had demanded “kappan”.

We personally went to the area and checked up to find that there was no such indecent.

The Sun, of course, is living up its reputation. Remember the heading “Sun’s Damn Lie” in our issue of 28th April 1984?

## The Only Government - Censored Newspaper in Sri Lanka

Fresh censorship has been imposed on all media, effective from 10th January, on all matters relating to security affairs.



## Saturday Review

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# NP UNIONS DENOUNCE STATE TERRORISM

The undermentioned trade union organisations and regional branches of trade unions, functioning in the Northern Province denounce the imposition of the brutal emergency rule and the brazen acts of terrorism against the civilian population in this province by the Government, through its Armed Forces, and strongly condemn, in particular, the following inhuman acts committed in this region:

Killing and maiming of, as well as causing injuries to, several innocent workers and civilians, including members of our trade unions, in recent times, under the pretext of eradicating "terrorism".

Especially the firing at and killing of several postal employees on duty at the Murunkan Post Office on 4th December 1984, as well as causing injuries to, or killing of several other employees in the co-operative, transport and health services.

Enactment of various acts and promulgation of Emergency Regulations from time to time, so as to cause unbearable hardships to the daily life of all sections of the population and prohibiting the means of earning of tens of thousands of fisherfolk and other daily wageearners, thereby driving their families to the brink of starvation, as well as evacuating several thousands of families from their residences situated in the so-called "Prohibited zones", especially consequent to the regulations promulgated on 29th November 1984.

Continued and increasing presence of the armed forces and the use of them to humiliate, harass, intimidate, terrorise and torture the civilian population as well as in arson rape, looting and destruction of properties.

Mass arrests of several hundreds of ordinary civilians, especially youths, by rounding up areas of resid-

ences and work-places, and the forcible removal to detention camps in the South-merely to find on whether any of them may be so-called terrorists.

Our Trade Unions also denounce the failure of the Government to find a political solution to the National Question, by the complete denial of the recognition of the right of self-determination of the Tamil speaking people in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

Our Organisations accordingly demand the Government to forthwith:-

**Withdraw the entire Armed Forces from the Northern and Eastern Provinces End the Emergency and virtual Military rule in these provinces and restore civil administration.**

**Pay adequate compensation to the dependents of those workers and others**

killed and to those maimed or injured by the armed-forces.

**Release all persons arrested and kept in the custody of the Armed Forces and withdraw all repressive laws including the Prevention, of Terrorism Act.**

**Settle the National Question, without further delay on the basis question of the recognition of the right of self-determination of the Tamil speaking people in the Northern and Eastern Provinces and in a manner acceptable to them.**

Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions, Kooduravu Coliyar Thozhil Sangam, United Federation of Labour, Ceylon Mercantile Industrial & General Worker's Union (G.M.U) - Northern Region Ceylon Teachers' Union (N.R.), Public Service Trade Union Federation, All Ceylon Tamil Teachers' Union, Govt. Clerical Service Union, Sri Lanka Post & Telecommunication Employees Union, Sri Lanka Jathika Pravahana Sevaka Samithy, All Ceylon Tamil Pothu Thathimar Sangam, Cement General Workers' Union, Ceylon Trade Union Federation.

## WANTED SPEEDY ACTION

The newly formed "Mass Movement for Human Rights" has forwarded to President Jayewardene a resolution unanimously adopted by its general council "deeply regretting the non-implementation of the decisions of the All Party Conference" and requesting him "to find a speedy political solution to the problem that would guarantee the basic rights of the Tamils."

Another resolution requested that parents be informed of persons taken into custody by the Armed Forces and be permitted to contact them.

The President of the Movement is Mr. V. Rajasundaram while Mr. S. Thevarajah is the Secretary.

## CALL FOR WORKING CLASS UNITY

The Workers' Party of Ceylon, founded in Colombo on 9th December, has set as one of its main tasks the "uniting of the forces of the working class, with the aim of liberating all sections of the working people from exploitation and oppression in any form, in alliance with other sections of the exploited and oppressed people of this country."

This is stated in the manifesto of the Workers' Party issued under the names of Mr. Keerthi Seneviratne, Chairman of its National Committee, and Mr. Bala Tampoe, the Secretary.

The manifesto adds: the Workers' Party realises that it is essential to unite the forces of the working class, without distinction of language, race, creed, caste or sex, in order to combat capitalist exploitation and oppression effectively,

and to end the subjection of the national minorities to discrimination and oppression in various forms.

"The denial of equal rights and opportunities to the national minorities and the refusal to grant even a limited degree of regional autonomy to the Tamil-speaking people (Tamil and Muslim) in the Northern and Eastern Provinces, on the basis of recognition of their democratic right of self-determination, have, on the other hand, led to a movement for a separate state in those two provinces and violent confrontation between groups of Tamil-speaking youth and the armed forces in those parts of the country.

"Likewise, the denial of citizenship rights to the majority of plantation workers of Indian origin, and their subjection to discrimination in employment, education and social welfare generally, as well as to re-

ated racial violence, has resulted in their alienation and sense of isolation from the rest of the people of this country.

"Having long outlived its mandate to govern, the UNP Government's attempt to suppress the separatist movement in the Northern and Eastern Provinces and to destroy the armed groups in those two provinces have resulted in increasing bloodshed on both sides. This makes a peaceful political settlement of the serious grievances of the Tamil-speaking people in those provinces, particularly in regard to land settlement, higher education for the youth and employment, virtually impossible.

"In this grave situation, the Workers' Party calls upon the working people in every part of the country, to unite their forces in oppo-

sition to the disastrous course which the UNP Government has been pursuing at their expense, with continuing repression of democratic rights and civil liberties, and futile bloodshed of the armed forces and the people they are being used to terrorise and suppress.

"At the same time, the Workers' Party invites all those who realise that an independent political organisation of the working class is necessary to unite the working people from North to South and East to West, for struggle in their common interests, in the perspective of the seizure of political power by the working class and its allies and the creation of a Socialist society in Sri Lanka, with aid and assistance from the international working class, to join the Workers' Party or to support it in whatever way they can."



# Stop The Carnage: MIRJE

The Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE), in a Press Release issued under the names of Mr. Charles Abeysekera, President, and Mr. Indika Gunawardene, Secretary, states:

MIRJE has been active during the last five years seeking to provide inter-racial harmony on the basis of justice and equality in this country.

MIRJE has also continued to stress the need for a negotiated just political solution, as it is convinced that the ethnic problem cannot be solved by increasing military action or by repressive laws.

MIRJE therefore welcomed the negotiations that commenced at the end of last year, even though the format of the negotiations did not involve all the political forces of the country whose consensus would have been necessary for an acceptable solution.

MIRJE regrets that the conference has ended with no acceptable solution. The proposals for district councils, provisional councils and a council of state that had emerged out of the conference have been rejected by many organisations and individuals claiming to represent the Sinhalese, by political parties like the SLFP and found to be inadequate by the TULF.

In the absence of the schedules which are referred to in the draft

bills, there is still some doubts about the specific functions of these proposed units.

However, it is obvious that the proposals do not go far enough to satisfy the aspirations of the Tamil people for regional autonomy; neither do they appear strong enough to protect the fundamental rights of the Tamils, including their linguistic rights. In this sense, the proposals were not a solution to the problems which the conference was called upon to deal with.

The proposed laws might have offered a structure of decentralisation and devolution which could, through further honest negotiations, be invested with sufficient powers to be, at least, a solution of transition. It is unfortunate that the Government has now decided not to proceed with further negotiations.

MIRJE is convinced that the results of an abandonment of the search for a political solution will be disastrous for the country. The past few months have seen a tremendous escalation of military activity, on the part of both the State Security Forces and the Tamil militants.

The Security Forces have behaved with great ferocity not only towards militants but also towards the Tamil population at large.

Incidents at Mannar, Vavuniya, Mullaitivu and in numerous parts

of Jaffna appear to indicate that the Security Forces conceive of the Tamil population as enemies.

The general Tamil population is also being subjected to new harassments in the form of security zones, prohibited zones, surveillance zones and inordinately long curfews.

As far as MIRJE can gather, economic life in the North is being seriously disrupted by these measures and the people are facing shortages of food.

On the other hand, the incidents on the Kent and Dollar farms and at Naiaru and Kokkilai indicate that the Tamil militants, who had so far confined their attacks to the Security Forces, are also moving against non-combatant civilians. Whatever the explanations may be for these specific acts, MIRJE must deplore the fact that increasingly, non-combatants of both sides are becoming unwilling victims.

Any interruption or cessation of the search for a political solution can only make matters worse and result in new levels of brutality and carnage.

MIRJE would therefore strongly urge:-

1) All those Sinhala groups and individuals who have stood out against a political solution to reconsider their positions; any

insistence that devolution should not move beyond the district and the powers given to the DDCs is to ignore the present reality, to ignore the developments of the last two years; any insistence that Tamil militancy must be crushed before political negotiations take place is to ignore the real nature of the militancy and the political causes which have given it birth and sustained it.

2) The State and the Tamil militants to deescalate the present level of violence and refrain from actions against non-combatants.

3) The State to organise its law and order operations so as to cause no more inconvenience to the civilian population.

4) The Government, all political forces and mass organisations to reinforce and strengthen the drive towards a negotiated and just political solution.

5) The Government to initiate a new stage of political discussions that will involve all the political forces in the country, including the Tamil militants.

MIRJE must sadly point out that the only alternative to a political solution is further carnage further loss of the democratic rights to which we have been accustomed, further brutalisation of our people and the strengthening of the authoritarian trends that are already evident in our society.

## 'HOW ABOUT A LITTLE COURTESY?'

Mr. W. K. Wickremasooriya of Ettambagoda, Panadura, has sent the following letter to the Minister of National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali:

I have heard enough about the brutality, arrogance and atrocities of the military against the innocent Tamils in the pretext of combatting "terrorism" but it was only yesterday that I, as a decent Sinhalese held my head down on seeing for myself just a part of their brutality which in the North and the East can be easily imagined by any average Sinhalese on the face of their observations in Colombo.

On 4th December, in the early morning, I was travelling in a private bus from Panadura to Pettah. At the entry point of the Colombo municipal limits near the Dehiwela - Wellawatte bridge, we were stopped by the soldiers at 5 a.m. for checking of identity cards. A soldier who was fully armed pointed his fingers from left to right and screamed "Themela - Aiya Kavuruth Innawatha?" instead of calling for identity cards decently.

Is this how your soldiers check identity cards of the passengers? Does not it sound that you are branding all the Tamils as Tigers.

Or do your soldiers expect that Tamils should not travel about or rather live among the Sinhalese? Cannot your soldiers who are among the Sinhalese? Cannot your soldiers who are massacring innocent civilians and camouflaging that they are all terrorists confine their brutality at least to Tamil-speaking areas if at all you have hardly any control over them? At least let there be some decency in Sinhala areas so that whatever they say can be believed by us fools.

For instance, your soldiers can quietly check the identity cards of the passengers and leave them off whatever community they may belong to. Otherwise

by such brutal shouting and identifying people as Tamils they are throwing a wrong impression in the minds of other passengers as if the government itself considers all Tamils as terrorists.

Let there be no further aggravation.

Will you please instruct your soldiers to exercise barest the minimum of courtesy if at all they refuse to be decent beings?

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# 'PREPARE SINHALA MASSES FOR POLITICAL SOLUTION'

"If the ethnic problem is to be solved, we must recognise the right of self-determination of the Tamils, withdraw the Army from the North and East, repeal the Prevention of Terrorism Act and release all those detained under it, grant a general amnesty, withdraw the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution and arrive at a political settlement on the basis of granting regional autonomy to the Northern and Eastern Provinces", states Mr. N. Sanmugathasan, General Secretary of the Ceylon Communist Party in a press statement on the All-Party Conference fiasco.

The statement adds: "The APC was expected to evolve a set of proposals which could be a viable alternative to the demand for a sep-

arate state of Eelam. What the President has proposed is simply an extension of local government but which is highly centralised and financially tied hand and foot to the centre. The proposed provincial councils do not have the right even to run a school or hospital or have jurisdiction over a court in their area. The whole point is that the government is not willing to recognise the right of self-determination of the Tamil people.

"The representatives of the Tamil people have declared their willingness to accept any viable alternative to Eelam. They have also indicated that any genuine form of autonomy along the lines of Annexure 'C' to which President Jayewardene gave his assent when

he went to New Delhi in November 1983 for the Commonwealth Leaders' Conference, would be acceptable. Under these proposals, the Tamils can co-exist with the Sinhalese inside a single state but with regional autonomy and the right to run their own affairs in the Northern and Eastern Province. But the autonomy must be real.

"The leaders of the Government and of all Sinhala political parties must prepare the Sinhala people for such a reasonable solution instead of, as is being done now, rouse further communalism.

"In this connection, we must condemn the vicious, communal anti-Tamil hysteria and jingoism

that is being generated in the country today. It is almost reminiscent of Hitler's campaign against the Jews. True, the concentration camps and mass deportations are not yet here although the beginnings are discernible.

"Even small children are being encouraged to collect for the National Defence Fund which is nothing but asking the people for money to buy arms and ammunition to kill the Tamil people. That is what it boils down to. One wonders what happened to the first Buddhist precept "I shall not take any form of life". I suppose it is meaningless asking this question at a time when Buddhist monks are dis-robing to join the Army!"

## CHURCH AND SOCIETY

(Extract from speech by Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere)

The purpose of development is man. It is the creation of conditions, both material and spiritual, which enable man the individual and man the species to become his best. This is easy for Christians to understand.

But though the Church—as a consequence of its concentration upon man—avoids the error of identifying development with new factories, increased output or greater national income statistics, experience shows that it all too often makes the opposite error.

For the representatives of the Church and the Church's organisations frequently act as if man's development is a personal and "internal" matter, which can be divorced from the society and the economy in which he lives and earns his daily life. They preach resignation: very often they appear to accept as immutable the social, economic and political framework of the present-day world. They seek to ameliorate intolerable conditions through acts of love and kindness.

When the victims of poverty and oppression begin to behave like men and try to change those conditions the representatives of the Church stand apart.

My purpose today is to suggest to you that the Church should accept the development of peoples means rebellion. At a given and decisive point in history, man decide to act against these conditions which restrict their freedom as men. I am suggesting that, unless we participate actively in the rebellion against those social structures and

economic organisations, the Church will become irrelevant to man. Unless the Church, its members and its organisations, express God's love for men by involvement and leadership in constructive protest against the present conditions of man it will be irrelevant totally.

For man lives in society, he becomes meaningful to himself and his fellows only as member of that society. Therefore to talk of the development of man and to work for the development of man must mean the development also of that kind of society which serves man, which enhances his well being, and preserves his dignity.

Thus development of peoples involves economic development, social development and political development and a determination for change. For the present conditions of men must be unacceptable to all who think of an individual person as a unique creation of a living God.

We say man was created in the image of God. I refuse to imagine a God who is poor, ignorant, superstitious, fearful, oppressed, wretched—which is the lot of the majority of those he created in his own image.

Therefore, all this means that kindness is not enough, pity is not enough, and charity is not enough. The men who are suffering from poverty, whether they are in the Third World or in the developed world, need to be helped to stretch themselves; they need to be confidence in their own ability to take control, and to use it themselves for their own purpose.

People cannot be developed.... they can only develop themselves.

## RAVI WAS A MAN!

*So Ravi too has gone—  
with his bulky barrel - chest  
his crystalline dialectical mind  
his unswerving sturdy heart—  
a waste of dynamic potential.*

*A flame of wrath rises  
from the depths of my being  
enveloping the whole Universe.  
Visions of children, fathers, mothers  
spilling into the streets  
marching to the authorities  
avenging a Martyr's death  
blaze on my feverish brains.*

*But the earth keeps rotating  
serenely, majestically, as ever.  
The crowds distract themselves  
with their titillating pleasures.  
The commenorator goes into raptures  
over the West-Indian's dashing sixers  
The reviewer's flesh grows erect  
at the actress' Hollywoodian breast.  
And the earth keeps revolving  
Serenely, majestically, as ever.*

*So have they all died in vain—  
all our brilliant young men  
all our selfless dedicated men  
Have they all died in vain?  
As blood flows upon blood  
visions of the promised land  
recede farther and farther  
into the darkening horizons.  
Where is the new society  
That this stream of young blood  
was supposed to fertilize?  
Where are the new History books  
that this ink of young blood  
was expected soon to rewrite?  
Were they empty stage - rhetoric?  
Are we then just playing games  
— a war game with live men —  
while History abandons us  
deposits us in the ashtray of Time?  
With the imported fire - power  
of our opponent  
and the selfish power-struggles*

*of our own men  
it is Biafra - not Vietnam  
dominates my dreams.*

*But as moths continue kissing  
the luminous crimson flames  
though what warmly attracts them  
is what coldly kills them,  
we'll continue sacrificing our lives.  
For deep down within us  
there's an irresistible principle  
that will always be restless  
if we put up with injustice:  
the principle that defines us Men  
distinct from beasts, plants, stones.  
In the act of losing ourselves  
for this sublime moral need  
we discover our humanity.*

*We may not achieve our Canaan  
but we'd have proven ourselves Men.*

— SURESH

Mr. R. Ravisekaram was arrested near the Kachcheri on 4th January about 6.10 p.m. He reportedly committed suicide immediately.

## UK Scholars' Assn.

A British Scholars Association consisting of Sri Lankans who have been students and also those who have been trained in the United Kingdom, was formed at a meeting held recently at the British Council in Colombo.

Mr. M. I. Hamavi Haniffa was unanimously chosen President. His name was proposed by Mr. Justice P. Ramanathan and seconded by Mr. Desmond Fernando.



# WHERE WILL THIS TRAGEDY END?

(This is a translation of a political round-up in the 6th issue of the new Sinhala Weekly Janahanda.)

Mr. Lalith Athulathmudalie, the Minister of national Security addressing Parliament on 28th November 1984, stated that the Government had received information that Tamil militants who had set up camps in India are planning to establish an Eelam State on 14th January and that in order to prevent such a development it has become necessary for him to impose new repressive regulations.

The fact that a number of Sinhalese and Tamils lost their lives is no secret. None of us could be happy about this fact.

If one states that the democratic rights of the people of the North have in reality disappeared, no reasonable person would conclude that it is an exaggeration. Today in Jaffna no one can even ride bicycles without the permission of the police. In order to enter or leave Jaffna one has to obtain a permit. Without police permission no one could keep a guest in one's house. During the prohibited times, it is not possible to take even a patient, in a serious condition, to the hospital.

Even in a country like Chile, where there is military regime repressive laws such as these have not been enacted.

One section of Mr. Athulathmudalie's speech would evoke special attention. His statement to the effect that "people living in the North should leave the area and take a holiday in another part of the country" was flashed in big letters in the front page of the Lake House newspapers. But it did not explain what the National Security Minister was trying to get across by making such a statement. According to the normal tenets of interpretation usually adopted by the man in the street, it appeared to say that "We are going on a rampage of the North, so get the hell out of it and save your soul". If that was what the Minister meant where are we infact heading?

In the present climate that is prevailing in the country, is it possible for tens of thousands of Tamils living in Jaffna to leave their belongings and households and go away to another area with the hope of living there in peace and harmony?

It has become a common attitude to treat every Tamil man or woman as a Tiger or Tigress. How

many Tamils who show no interest in politics and who devote all their energies to their work or their studies have been taken into police custody? Even if they were released after being held in custody for several days and subjected to various forms of harassment, would their experience help to bring about unity and understanding between the communities?

Will these repressive laws affect only the people in the North?

by

The CRITIC

The newspapers have reported instances in the South where the Army had asked passengers to alight from vehicles and checked their identity cards. Those who did not possess their identity cards have been subjected to threats and harassment.

A statement made by the Chairman of the media Committee coupled with certain posters that had been put in Colombo indicates that we are on the threshold of an even more difficult and repressive period. It is difficult to believe that these posters could have been put up without the permission of persons at the very helm. The posters seek to show that there is a tie up between "the terrorists in the North and the extremists of the South"; the object of the exercise is to brand people with Left leaning ideas as extremists and thereby create a climate for the repression of people with leftist and progressive ideas who dare to criticise government policies.

After the President of the Media Committee said that a statement made by one Uduwarage Henry Perera proves that there is a link between "terrorists in the North and extremists of the South" what reliance could be placed on the communiqués issued by this Committee as well as the Government which appointed it?

Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna had stated that Uduwarage Henry Perera was expelled from their party even before 1977. The attempt to lay the blame on the JVP for his actions is, to say the least deceitful. The Government is aware that this person does not belong to any leftist party worth speaking about. They do not know that they should disband their intelligence services.

What is the real object of the Media Committee's insane efforts to slander progressive elements of this country? Anyone who critically looks at the political situation today would find the answer quite obvious. The object of the Media Committee is to silence anyone who seeks to expose or even mildly criticise the anti-democratic measures of the Government in the North and East.

Would it not be correct to say that Government Communiqués which states that "20 terrorists died in a battle with the Security forces" or "30 terrorists were killed when they tried to escape", etc. without mentioning the number of civilians who lost their lives, create wear psychosis amongst people who have been used to lead relatively peaceful lives? Is the Government pursuing a shortsighted policy of obtaining the support for their policies by whipping up war hysteria?

We boast of a great history and a civilisation and therefore it is unworthy for us to endorse these policies of the Government.

The National Question cannot be solved by sticks, swords and guns. If the majority of Sinhala people are not persuaded to understand present-day realities and without seeking to arrive at a practical political solution to the problems of Tamil speaking people, we would find ourselves in an even more tragic situation.

Today millions of rupees are being spent on "defence". Can we afford to squander such colossal sums of money? How many Sinhala and Tamil people have lost their lives? How far can this go on?

Ven. Wellawatte Gnanabiwansa, Thero addressing a seminar on the National Question on 21st November 1984, stated that what we should adopt today is not the stance of Dutugemunu but that of Gajaba. That is to say that the Sinhalese who constitute the majority nation has the responsibility to find a political solution to this question. As he stated, there must be an immediate ceasefire, all parties involved in the fighting should immediately begin negotiations and thereby seek a peaceful solution to this problem.

We must abandon the policy of talking about a peaceful solution while at the same time pursuing a military solution.

Although certain Government statements alludes to an imminent Indian invasion the Indian Government has already stated that this is a baseless allegation. In any event, we must all recognise that no one can be happy about an Indian invasion actually taking place, or the continuation of policies that could lead to such a development.

We need not specifically spell out the adverse consequences of such a development. For decades there would be no peace or stability. Therefore all sections of people in this country are duty bound to do whatever in their power to seek a peaceful political solution to this problem.

## THE Library is for Burning

We reproduce the report of S. Parthasarathy, which appearing in a recent edition of The Hindu

The "security forces" have to their credit a hatrick performance. First it was the Jaffna Public Library destroyed in 1981. Then came the burning of Hartley College Library earlier this year followed by the burning of the collection of 500 odd books belonging to one Nagamani Vijayaratham in Point Pedro.

He (Principal of Hartley College) wondered whether the Government would with a sense of remorse arrange for assistance to restore and

reconstitute the 100 year old library burnt down by security forces on September 1.

This raised the question of what compensation the Government paid for the wanton destruction, again by security forces, of the Jaffna Public Library in 1981 on the eve of the election to the D.D.C. The information showed that it had not heeded the recommendation of Lionel Fernando committee that Rs. 10 millions be paid by the State for re-building the Library and the President instead had just allotted just Rs. 7 million from his relief fund for the purpose.



# MINORITIES MINUS SAFEGUARDS

The Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

Reference the news item on "Statutory Minority Rights..." appearing in the SR of 17th November. Sir Charles Jeffries in his book "Ceylon - The Path to Independence" says: "The Soulbury Constitution had entrenched in it all the protective provisions for minorities that the wit of men could devise".

Subsequently, Lord Soulbury in his forward to the book "Ceylon—a divided Nation" by B. H. Farmer has said: "Nevertheless—in the light of later happenings—I now think it is a pity that the Commission did not also recommend the entrenchment in the Constitution of guarantees of fundamental rights, on the lines enacted in the Constitutions of India, Pakistan, Malaya, Nigeria and elsewhere".

As for the so-called guarantees in the Nigerian and Pakistan Constitutions written in by the departing masters, the little said the better!

As to what protection the Soulbury Constitution provided the minorities and how effective they were is well-illustrated by the "Kodiswaran Case". Mr. Kodiswaran, a Tamil in the Executive Clerical Service, declined to sit the proficiency exam in Sinhala and his increment was stayed in 1962. He thereupon sued the Government on the ground that the Official Language Act of 1956 transgressed the prohibition against discrimination provided for in Section 29 of the Constitution. The trial judge upheld the plea. But his judgement was set aside by the Supreme Court on the ground that a public servant cannot sue for his salary.

Mr. Kodiswaran appealed to the Privy Council, which set aside the Supreme Court's decision and directed that the Supreme Court should now rule on the constitutional question. The Ceylon Government disposed of the case by abo-

lishing once and for all appeals to the Privy Council—a remnant of colonialism!

The Republican Constitution of 1972, authored by no less a person than Dr. Colvin R de Silva, a champion of the underdog, said goodbye to the so-called safeguards for minorities in the original Section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution, thereby ending a fallacy!

N. Deva Rajan.  
Jaffna.

## GOOD MOVE

The Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

May I convey to you my appreciation for having thrown open the columns of your paper to accommodate contributions from children on the National Question. (e.g. Miss Ramani de Silva in the issue of 17th November. After all, they are the coming generation to shoulder all responsibilities.

The experience of the Tamils, especially after the holocaust of July 1983, has been very bitter indeed. And when the Government is still labouring hard for the safe delivery of its own solution, and the Buddhist Clergy had been discreetly silent all these years, and the Catholic Clergy compassionate enough to voice their sentiments about human rights directly and exclusively to the Pope at the Vatican but preferred to maintain silence here in Sri Lanka, it is really great of Miss Ramani de Silva to have openly come forward and decided to usher in peace and goodwill in her own way by writing to the children of Jaffna.

It may be noted that Jesus Christ made three significant statements about children.

"Suffer the little children to come to me and forbid them not; for such is the Kingdom of God"

"Thou hast hid these things from the more prudent and hast revealed them unto the babes"

"Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise".

N. Kanaganayagam  
Karainagar

## AN APPEAL

The Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

The Tamils of Sri Lanka who helped to win freedom from the British, do kindly urge the President and other Sinhalese brethren to give them a Federal Constitution, so that they may live in peace with the Sinhalese and promote their higher education and economic progress, as they like, and point out that our ethnic problem can be solved only by replacing the present unitary Constitution by a federal one and the earlier we do the better for Mother Lanka.

V. Rasanayagam  
Vasavilan

## FROM THE BIBLE

The Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

"Take the impurities out of silver and the artist can produce a thing of beauty; keep evil advisers away from the King (President) and his Government will be known for its justice".

This is a verse I came across while reading the Bible (Book of Proverbs, Chapter 25, Verses 4,5)

When at a time like this where the President is pulled in many directions and struggling to bring out a just solution, the above quotation may help him.

S. F. Xavier  
Vaddukoddai

## TONGUE CONTROL

The Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

There has been, and is, a lot of talk about arms control. But the arms keep on piling up! And it might keep on piling up until it goes completely out of control and destroys its creators, the human race itself!

# LETTERS

What is, therefore, more urgent and, in fact, more necessary is to control the arms itself is tongue control.

It is the tongue that has been and is causing great damage than any arms. It is more often than not the tongue that is the cause for the use of the arms. So let us think of and get about controlling the tongue first.

Arul  
Colombo 13

## POOR PEOPLE!

The Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

What has happened to poor Mr. Premadasa and Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali? Have they been banned from appearing on T.V?

They used to appear frequently for half the time during news telecasts. Now we rarely see their faces on T.V.

Do you know the reason?  
K. Kathiravelayuthan  
Karaveddi

## IF....

If a child lives with Criticism, he learns to Condemn,

If a child lives with Hostility, he learns to Fight,

If a child lives with Ridicule, he learns to be Shy,

If a child lives with Tolerance, he learns to be Patient,

If a child lives with Encouragement, he learns Confidence,

If a child lives with Praise, he learns to appreciate,

If a child lives with Fairness, he learns Justice,

If a child lives with Security, he learns to have Faith,

If a child lives with Approval, he learns to like Himself.

If a child lives with Acceptance and Friendship,

He learns to find Love in the world.

Sent by V. T. Sivalingam,  
Kolinochchi.

## EMANCIPATION

Shall we get our freedom  
Through massacre and robbery?

Is it heroic to kill the cat's paws?

Will God bestow his grace upon us?

Do terrorism and callousness bring light?

Dictators rest in soft pillows.  
We, the kins shed blood  
We became enemies to serve politician's ends  
I don't think we do have Personal grievances.

He, too, has parents as I do  
Who treasured him as the apple of their eyes

He too, tasted the honey of love as I did

He, too, has a lover who devoted his life to him.

Rose buds like children he has as I do

They can't bloom without the farms

Siblings and friends have a place in his heart

As I have.

Though we realise  
We are too of a drastic order

Though we may meet in hell  
We are ashamed of facing each other

Amidst the garden of Eden  
I plead for thoughtfulness.

— RENUKA

## FOR SALE

Original 'KNIGHT' PIANO with damp chaser & seat. Contact Mrs. P. Durayappah, 'Malar Vasam', Eachchamoddai, Chundikuli. T'Phone: 22417.



# JR VS MATHEW

For the record, we are publishing the full text of President Jayewardene's letter addressed to former Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs, Mr. C. Cyril Mathew on 24th December and Mr. Mathew's reply.

Dear Mr. Mathew.  
A copy of your communication to Ministers, Members of Parliament and others dated 18th December was sent through a messenger and delivered to me on 21st December.

I spoke to you on the telephone on 21st December about a matter concerning Seruwila but you did not mention that you were making your views public and sending this copy to me. If you had I would have invited you to meet me.

I think that your public criticism of the All-Party Conference proposals now before the Cabinet or decision is a violation of the rules and conventions of Cabinet Government. On previous occasions you have pointed out to me and your colleagues in the Cabinet these rules, and cited passages from Sir Ivor Jennings's book on Cabinet Government when you thought that these were violated.

Since you are familiar with these principles of Cabinet Government and you have deliberately broken them yourself, I presume you have decided to cease to be one of my Ministers.

I have, therefore, appointed Mr. Denzil Fernando, M.P., as Minister in your place.

I regret very much that you should have taken this step which I did not expect from you, to whom I have

extended many lattitudes to express your views, though they caused much embarrassment to me, to your colleagues, and to the Party.

I am, Yours sincerely,  
J. R. Jayewardene

Your Excellency

I have to acknowledge receipt of your Excellency's letter of 24th December 1984.

Your Excellency has taken exception to my making public my views on the APC proposals.

The APC proposals were made public by Your Excellency even before they were made available to the Cabinet of Ministers. Even up to date these proposals have not been placed before the Cabinet. "Your Excellency will remember that at the Cabinet Meeting of 12th December, the Prime Minister categorically stated that the APC proposals were only those emanating from the APC and were neither those of the Government nor of the United National Party and Your Excellency and the entire Cabinet agreed with the Prime Minister.

"I have made my views known to the Rev. Priests, Ministers, Members of Parliament and Your Excellency, by my letter of December 18, 1984.

"Your Excellency had explained to two groups of Members of Parliament the APC proposals and also placed these proposals at the APC on 14th December, thereby laying them open to the public to express their views. Accordingly I have expressed my views

in my letter of 18th December and am entitled to do so in the public interest as Your Excellency had already placed the matter for the views of the public. It was no longer a matter for the Cabinet or the party only.

"I was not present at the Cabinet meeting of 19th December due to ill-health. Your Excellency's statement at that Cabinet meeting that the APC proposals were to be placed before the Cabinet reached me only on the evening of 21st December, by which date I had sent my letter to Your Excellency and others.

I am unable to understand how my letter could be considered as a breach of Cabinet convention because I had not said anything against any Cabinet decision or Government policy.

It is regrettable that Your Excellency has thought it fit to take the action referred to in Your Excellency's letter without calling upon me to explain my conduct. Had such a step been taken, I would have placed the above facts before Your Excellency and thereby would not have given Your Excellency the opportunity to draw the erroneous presumption that I had decided to cease to be one of Your Excellency's Ministers.

"In appointing Denzil Fernando M.P. as Minister in my place, Your Excellency has on the basis of this incorrect presumption decided to remove me from the post of Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs in Your Excellency's Cabinet.

Yours Sincerely,

C. Cyril Mathew

## 'Naked Military Occupation in North'

(This is the text of a press statement issued by the Ceylon Teachers Union):

This Government which has been crushing the democratic rights and squeezing the standard of living of the people from its very inception has demonstrated that it is now marching towards a naked military occupation in the Northern Peninsula, with the imposing of restrictions on the movements of the civilian population in the Jaffna District.

Putting the most inhuman Pass-Law in South Africa to shame, the government of Junius Richard Jayewardena, has totally banned the use of private vehicles including private buses and curtailed the movements of the civilian population to 2 hours in the morning from 6.00 to 8.00 and 2 hours in the afternoon from 2.00 to 4.00, apart from imposing curfew from 4.30 p.m. to 6.00 a.m. Notwithstanding this, the government has declared a stretch in the sea in the North and the East totally prohibitive.

All these, we are compelled to state have completely jeopardised the very existence of the civilian population in the North. The economic life will be brought to a standstill and the civilian population will be pushed to starvation as most will be deprived of their means to earn a living.

Listing of occupants in house-holds and prohibiting the right to entertain anyone not listed, virtually breaks up family life and on the other hand, the government in effect, with all the newly imposed restrictions has brought the entire Tamil population in

the North under house-arrest. This is a gross violation of the Human Rights charter adopted by the United Nations to which Sri Lanka is also a signatory.

We therefore wish to lay emphasis on the fact that these schemes of this government are not restricted to the North itself. The Trade Union offices that were sealed off during the 1980 July Strike still remain as they are. There is no necessity to write out the long list of opposition meetings that were broken up by government sponsored goon-squads. There was no shame on the part of the government to employ its goondas in trying to quieten the judiciary. This government that tried to implicate the left organisations with the '83 Tamil pogrom is now trying to make the public believe that the left is now in tow with the "Insurgents", through multi-coloured posters. The Prevention of Terrorism Act that was brought in to force at the expense of the North is now being openly used to repress the left organisations. The repression begun in the North will eventually march on to the South.

We therefore call upon all democratic loving organisations and individuals to join together in totally condemning these obnoxious, undemocratic, repressive laws of this totalitarian government while taking this opportunity to warn every organisation and individual that this will only be the opening of a new chapter that will bring the entire country under a bloody dictatorship.



# Saturday Review

## WE ARE AFRAID

### SRI LANKA -- MANNAR BISHOP

## ANOTHER MARTYR

The SATURDAY REVIEW mourns with all beings in Sri Lanka who are the human tragic death of Rev. Fr. M. Mary Bastian, Parish Priest of Vankalai, Mannar on 6th January.

The circumstances of his death are detailed in the statements made by the Bishops of Jaffna and Mannar, published below. (The official version appears on page 1, under the heading "Ha! Ha! -1")



Rev. Fr. M. Mary Bastian

The son of Mr. Vaithiyampillai Manuelpillai and Mrs. Rasiah Mary Theresa of Ilavai, Fr. Bastian was born on 11th December 1948.

He was educated at St. Sylvester's Kandy, St. Henry's Ilavai and St. Patrick's Jaffna.

He spent the minor seminary days at St. Martin's, Jaffna, and studied philosophy at St. Paul's Seminary, Trichinopoly, and theology at St. Paul's, Trichy and the National Seminary, Kandy.

He was ordained at St. Mary's Cathedral, Jaffna on 25th April 1975.

He began as Assistant Pastor at Mannar and later served at Madhu Church. From 1977 to 1981, he was Pastor at Manipay Mission, after which he was appointed to Vankalai.

He had been a very active social worker in Jaffna and Mannar Dioceses and a preferred person to give seminars to Catholic youth groups.

In Mannar Diocese, he was involved in the Human Development Apostolate: rehabilitation of the 1977 and 1983 refugees in various parts of Mannar.

When "men in khaki uniform" ran amok in November 1984 in Uyilankulam-Murunkan area killing about 200, including the Rev. Jeyarajasingam (who was killed near Thallady along with two others), he took the trouble to collect the corpses and made arrangement to bury them.

*Statement by the Bishop of Mannar on the Recent Killings at Vankalai.*

We deplore the killing of the Catholic priest, Rev. Fr. Mary Bastian, parish priest of Vankalai, on the early hours of Sunday, 6th at Vankalai Mission House by the security forces. Fr. Bastian, aged 36, a dedicated pastoral worker, was deeply involved in the upliftment of the poor people in the Diocese of Mannar. The Catholics of Mannar and I bemoan this cruel, inhuman and unthinkable act against a man of God, as we hopefully await the release of his body for sacred burial.

We strongly protest against the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation and other government mass media for beaming out false news that arms and ammunition were found in the Catholic Church of Vankalai and that the Church was used as a base to attack the security forces.

We also condemn the killings of innocent civilians in the village of Vankalai:

We strongly object to the unprecedented entry into the Convent of the Holy Family Sisters at Vankalai by the security forces.

The Catholics of Mannar and I, together with my priests, condemn all forms of violence and earnestly request the Government to protect the lives and properties of the innocent citizens of Mannar. We are afraid that this sort of actions

He was fondly called as 'Basti' by the priests, not only of Jaffna and Mannar Dioceses but also his Sinhalese friends of Kandy Seminary.

He was the brother of Anton and Joe (USA), Anne Fatima (UK), brother-in-law of Mr. P. Ratnasingham (UK), Barbara (USA) and nephew of the late Mr. and Mrs. Sam Alfred of Jaffna.

A mass was held at St. Mary's Cathedral, Jaffna, on 9th January presided by the Rt. Rev. Deogupillai, Bishop of Jaffna. It was attended by a very large gathering which cut across religious and racial boundaries.

His body was never found: we presume it went directly to Heaven.

of the security forces will escalate, as the signs are clear, and we request His Excellency the President to see that this does not happen again.

Sgd. Thomas Savundaranayagam  
Bishop of Mannar.

Bishop's House,  
Mannar, Sri Lanka.  
7. 1. 1985

THE STATEMENT OF THE BISHOP OF JAFFNA AND THE BISHOPS CONFERENCE ON THIS INCIDENT HAVE BEEN HELD OVER FOR LACK OF SPACE.

### A DAY OF THREEFOLD SIGNIFICANCE

2016 { th New Year of Our Divine Seer Thiruvalluvar who gave his immortal Thirukkural to the world.

110 { th Birth anniversary of Nobel Prize winner Dr. Albert Schweitzer who drew the attention of the world to the philosophy of world affirmation in the Thirukkural of Thiruvalluvar.

Thai Pongal Day of the Tamilians.

May I wish your readers, the three supreme aims of life-Virtue, Wealth and Happiness of Thirukkural on this auspicious day.

A. N. YOGANATHAN  
Founder - President,  
The Divine Thirukkural Society  
& Y.M.D.A.

Library facilities are available for members to take latest Tamil and English magazines for home reading. Please write for full particulars with a self-addressed stamped envelope to: The Librarian Y.M.D.A., 10, Thiruvalluvar Avenue, Kanderamadam, Jaffna.

### UNDERLYING MOTIVATIONS BEHIND GRANDILOQUENT DECLARATIONS

Lenin was always able to reveal the deep-going roots of events and the underlying motivations of classes, parties and governments. He disclosed the class interests behind their grandiloquent declarations. And this method invariably enabled him to bring out the truth.

For the mustering of the creative potential of working people and for a knowledge of the forces underlying social progress, exceptionally great is the importance of ideological and political education. For this purpose read the book "Lenin and Asia" by Attorney-at-Law T. Duraisingam, a veteran member of the revolutionary movement in our country.

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

Price Rs. 10/-

Council for Socialist Studies,  
31, Wilson Street, Colombo 12.

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