

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

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# STOP THE MILITARY APPROACH, SIR!

"NERO is fiddling while Rome is burning."  
We said this in the SATURDAY REVIEW well before the July 1983 Holocaust.

Few people took heed of our warning.  
President Jayewardene's United National Party Government carried on as if it could not care less.

After the apocalyptic disaster, there was much heartburning and much heart-searching all round. Again, a situation is developing in the North which could lead to catastrophic consequences.

The participants at the so-called Round Table Conference, who are talking about Second Chambers, seem to be totally unaware or unconcerned about events in the North.

Otherwise, their deliberations would have been imbued with a greater sense of urgency.

They should realise that a MILITARY SOLUTION is out of the question, as the Co-ordinating Officer for the North, Brigadier Nalin Seneviratne himself has acknowledged.

They should get on with the task of finding an early political solution—if they have any feeling or love for the land and the people of Sri Lanka.

They should realise that delay on this score could be disastrous.

They should, in fact prevail on the Chairman of the Conference, President Jayewardene, to take a more liberal view of the whole situation, give up his high and mighty attitude of imposing solutions from above or military solutions from below, and get on with the task of settling the most pressing problem that is having adverse consequences on people of both the North and the South.

Or will NERO continue fiddling, allowing Sri Lanka to burn again?



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This is a special censorship that applies only to the SATURDAY REVIEW of all newspapers in Sri Lanka.

In addition to the constraints imposed on us by the censorship, the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution, approved by Parliament on 6th August 1983, states under Article 157 A (1): "No person shall, directly or indirectly, in or outside Sri Lanka, support, espouse, promote, finance, encourage or advocate the establishment of a Separate State within the territory of Sri Lanka."

**PEOPLE'S ACTION COMMITTEE**

The response to our suggestion that a People's Action Committee be formed to defend the interests of the people of the North can only be described as "tremendous."

We propose to convene a meeting before the end of September to decide on its structure.

**Tension Up-country**

Consequent to the arrest of youths in the Up-country tension is reported to be prevailing in Bogawantalawa, Maskeliya, and Hatton areas. Labour Unions have requested that those arrested should be questioned in the respective areas and not taken outside.

# Saturday Review

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GAMINI NAVARATNE

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## 'SHOT - PHOBIA' IN JAFFNA

The following are excerpts from the report for 1983 of St. Patrick's College, Jaffna, read by the Rector, the Rev. Fr. G. A. Francis Joseph at the prize day on 8th September:-

"It has been my lot to listen to the tales and wails of many a parent, and I cannot but sympathise with them. Pardon me if I echo some of their feelings which I am sure all of you do share with them.

"Uppermost in the mind of every parent, nay of every person, is the fear for the security of the child, especially of the grown-up child. It needs extreme courage to send a child to school these days; and it is with an act of complete trust in the Divine Providence that the parent takes the risk of sending the child to school, realising only too well that the life of the child is in constant and proximate danger at every turn of events, and posing the one and the same question in various forms: Will my child reach school safely? Or have I to search for the child by the way-side or 'elsewhere'? Will he return home safe and sound? Or will he be

only brought back home to see me dead?

"This basic feeling of insecurity and uncertainty is transferred into a fear which is intense and pervasive, and ultimately is resolved into a phobia—"Shot-phobia" to be precise.

"This sense of insecurity and uncertainty and of fear is not only felt by the parent, but also by the child himself. The condition is chronic and continuous, with the child being always tense and worried, easily upset and preoccupied with future calamities.

"What irks me most is not the feeling of insecurity or uncertainty, and fear or phobia the parents and the children experience, but the paralytic effects these unhealthy emotions will have on the children themselves.

"The emotions play a role of major importance in the child's life. As such, they become important driving forces in his life. If they are to be powerful forces for good in the child's life, they must be good emotions. As emotional patterns settle into habits and become driving forces for good or poor adjustment, the child's future will be sealed.

"Most parents know this, and consequently they want to guarantee their children a happy childhood. They also recognise that happiness cannot exist if pleasant emotions are dominated by the unpleasant—especially fear, hatred, anxieties and frustrations.

"Unfortunately most children in the North now grow up in environments that tend to stimulate the development of the unpleasant emotions. They are emotionally starved of the pleasant emotions, like affection, comradeship, joy and happiness. They have no relaxation nor leisure. They cannot enjoy an evening's outing, a stroll in the park or a ride along the streets. They cannot relax burying their worries, watching a movie in a theatre, or letting off the pent-up emotional steam in a playing field.

"The seriousness of the effects of such emotional starvation will be felt not only by the child concerned but also by the community

at large. Unless satisfactory outlets are provided for the release of emotional tension and until the fear-provoking stimuli—objects, situations and persons, are removed, the child's physical well-being will be adversely affected; his mental efficiency, especially the areas of memory, concentration and reasoning, will be impaired, and consequently his school-work will suffer; his outlook on life will be warped and his adjustments to people will be unfavourable.

"Maladjustments resulting directly or indirectly from emotional deprivation and starvation will undoubtedly range from general unhappiness to anti-social behaviour, rebellion against authority, juvenile delinquency and adult criminality. "Lord, spare us from this impending calamity" is our fervent prayer.

"There is a growing sense of satisfaction among the staff and administration that our students are becoming more and more responsive to advice and admonishments, and are able to act with a greater sense of responsibility, initiative and integrity.

"In spite of the troubles and turmoil in the country, and the consequent confusion and chaotic state of affairs and the resultant stress and strain on the minds of our youth, our students are able to sift the wheat from the chaff and act with a remarkable sense of sound judgement.

"Their attendance at school and at examinations, and their participation in school activities and functions go to prove that they are emotionally stable and intellectually mature.

I attribute such satisfactory results chiefly to the fact that we, at St. Patrick's, maintain that frankly Catholic atmosphere which always filled our halls of learning, and that we continue to give our children a solid moral and religious training...."

The Most Rev. Dr. B. Deogupillai, Bishop of Jaffna presided at the prize-giving.

The Chief Guest was Mr. Cyril N. Lawrence, Managing Director, of Mackinnon Mackenzie group of companies and President of St. Patrick's Old Boys Association, Colombo.

## Kural Gems

THIRUKKURAL NO.384  
(Aranilukka...)

"He alone deserves to be called king who never swerves from Dharma, who puts Adharma out of his kingdom and whose military honour is unsullied".

Translated by C. Rajagopalachariar

THIRUKKURAL NO.547  
(Iraikakum...)

"The King protects the whole world and justice protects him if unfailingly administered."

Translated by V. R. Ramachandra Chettiar

THIRUKKURAL NO.548  
(Ennpathathan...)

"The inaccessible, unconsulting and unjust king sinks low in status (rank) and estimation and perishes by himself."

Translated by M. S. Poornalingam Pillai  
(Compiled by V.T.K)

THIRUKKURAL NO.388  
(Muraiseethu...)

"The King who rules justly and protects is looked up to as God by his subjects."

Translated by M. R. Rajagopala Iyengar

THIRUKKURAL NO.390  
(Kodaiali...)

"He is a light among Kings who has these four excellences:- munificence, gracefulness, justice and care of commonweal."

Translated by M. S. Poornalingam Pillai

## WORDS OF WISDOM

"A politician thinks of the next election; a statesman of the next generation. A politician looks for the success of his party; a statesman for that of his country."

—J. F. Clarke—

"He serves his party best, who serves his country best."

—Rutherford B. Hayes—

"Nothing is politically right, which is morally wrong."

—Daniel O'Connell—

"Let us honour our opponents for the same honesty of purpose and patriotic motives that we claim for ourselves."

—Mahathma Gandhi—

"National injustice is the surest road to national down fall."

—Gladstone—

"A politician is an arse upon which everything has sat except a man".

—E. E. Cummings—

(Collected by Jupiter)

This article on the tribulations of Sri Lanka's Judiciary was published worldwide through the GEMINI NEWS SERVICE, London, in May 1983, and reproduced in the SATURDAY REVIEW on 25th June, 1983, appeared shortly before the apparently UNP-sponsored demonstrations opposite the residences of three Supreme Court Judges.

We reproduce it yet again because its relevance to the current situation when the highest judicial officer in the land, no less than Chief Justice Neville Samarakoon, is under siege.

All the bother is over a speech Mr. Samarakoon had made at an awards ceremony of a private tutory in March this year.

We endorse every word that Mr. Samarakoon uttered - particularly the words relating to the in famous Job Bank Scheme, the July 1983 holocaust, the high cost of living and the "paying of a hell of a lot of money to keep him (President Jayewardene) in poverty" - because he was uttering the TRUTH. Truth hurts and it hurts most badly those people

who think they are the personification of all the eternal verities

Our one regret is that the Chief Justice had not spoken more often and more loudly about the ills that have beset our land, particularly about the President who is personally and morally responsible for most of these ills

Parliament meets on 20th September to decide on the fate of the Chief Justice, who is due to retire in October.

It would in truth be deciding on the fate of Sri Lanka itself.

Our plea: Let not anyone degrade Sri Lanka any more in the eyes of the world  
Amen.

# J. R. TAKES ON JUDICIARY

A battle is shaping up in Sri Lanka between President Jayewardene's Government and the Judiciary. The Chief Justice has protested to the President, who appointed him, against "the erosion of the independence of the Judiciary". Critics accuse the President of dictatorship, but he asserts his commitment to democracy. Gemini News Service reports:

For the first time in Sri Lanka's parliamentary history, a Government has decided to move against the Judiciary, which has always been known for its sturdy independence.

The chosen instrument is the United National Party-dominated Parliament.

A Select Committee will inquire into a charge made against two Supreme Court judges by a junior judicial officer who retired recently in disgrace.

If the evidence warrants it, then Parliament will impeach the two judges.

Relations between the Government and the Judiciary have been uneasy since this

Asian Island switched from parliamentary government on the Westminster model to Presidential-style rule in 1978.

The courts were put in a subordinate position without the power of judicial review of executive action.

Using its more than two-thirds parliamentary majority, the government has pushed through tough legislation, some with retrospective effect, which have whittled down further the powers of the courts.

Chief Justice Neville Samarakoon, a Jayewardene appointee, has protested to the President against the "erosion of the independence of the judiciary through executive actions".

The International Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International have also protested. The most glaring instance of government interference with the judiciary was the invalidation by, resolution of parliament, of a court decision that an ad hoc court appointed to probe ex prime minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike's conduct during her

1970-77 regime had no power to do so.

The special court found Mrs. Bandaranaike guilty of "abuse of power" and parliament stripped her of civic rights for seven years.

One of the Judges was K. C. D. Alwis, a junior judicial officer, who was hand-picked by Jayewardene and promoted to the court of Appeal and second highest court.

Later, a petition filed in the Supreme Court, alleged that De Alwis had a transaction with a mayor whose conduct was also being probed by the special court.

Chief Justice Samarakoon and Justices D. Wimalaratne and Percy Colin Thorne. In

three separate judgements, held that his conduct was "improper", the last two being extremely strong in their condemnation.

De Alwis, having retired recently, petitioned the President alleging that these two judges were "prejudiced" against him, and so the select committee was appointed.

When opposition protested in parliament that the government's action was "anti constitutional", the government replied that "the judiciary is only an extension of parliament and was subject to its control.

One pertinent question being asked by critics is why De Alwis did not raise any objection to the presence of

the two judges on the bench that inquired into the allegation against him. On the contrary he participated fully in the proceedings.

It will be weeks before the select committee completes its probe.

Observers give the two judges little chance of escape ... unless a public outcry is strong enough to stay Jayewardene's hand.

But with all other power centres in Sri Lanka... opposition political parties, trade unions, student bodies, the Buddhist clergy and the press ... already tamed or cowed, by constitutional means (legislation) for unconstitutional

(Continued on page 10)

## 'NOT GUILTY'

In a minority report, Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, M. P., and Mr. Anil Moonasinghe, M. P., two Opposition members of the Parliamentary Select Committee appointed to inquire into a speech made by the Chief Justice, Mr. Neville Samarakoon, at the annual award ceremony of a private tutory said that none of his statements constituted improper conduct or conduct unbecoming of the holder of that office.

The nine-member committee, chaired by Prime Minister Mr. R. Premadasa, in the majority report, held that further action against the Chief Justice was warranted.

The minority report said the Chief Justice was entitled to make the statements he had made "and even as the majority report admits he has not violated any law passed by Parliament.

"We are of the opinion and recommend that no further action be taken".

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# Jaffna People Go to Bed on Time Now

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

The people of China have successfully learnt to transform an adverse situation to one of optimum benefit, as has been illustrated by their harnessing of the Hunang-Ho, once the "Curse of China", to better agricultural purposes and to enhance production. The waters of Huwang-Ho which once destroyed the adjacent lands, now serve to make them flourishing and more fertile and productive. This is a practice worthy of emulation by all people.

Although one cannot be complacent or happy about the current political impasse and the prevailing uncertainty of a political solution to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. One cannot fail to appreciate certain beneficial aspects of our social life that have emerged recently hitherto unheard of in the history of Jaffna.

First, the essentially orthodox and conservative Jaffna woman, who seeks privacy behind the traditional cadjan curtain, has now become endowed with more political consciousness, picked up enough courage to parade the Jaffna streets, with placards in hand and present a petition to the Government Agent for the release of her children. This is not to be construed as encouraging "terrorism" or by whatever name it may be called. This is definitely a step forward towards progress, irrespective of the reasonableness or otherwise of the demand.

Secondly, more and more people appear to have become religious-minded overnight and

invoke the blessings of the deities to ensure that their children are not misled or weaned away from the traditional path or become victims of any calamity from any quarter. Most of the parents are on tenter-hooks till their children return from schools or elsewhere. They have also learnt to restrain themselves from irresponsible gossip which invariably involve them of their children in disastrous consequences.

Thirdly, certain areas in Jaffna notorious for their illiteracy, ignorance and backwardness and for their regular uninterrupted drunken brawls on highways and bylanes have subsided in to quiet and orderly areas. Now there is not a hum in these areas where once boisterousness was ruling the roost. The foreign liquor shops put up their shutters in time and no amount of cajolery or persuasion will make them change their minds. People return home in time and save quite a good part of their wages, to the delight of their spouses and kids. There is now comparatively more peace and harmony on the domestic front, although no law-enforcing authority makes its presence felt.

The lights are off early and people go to bed in time so that they can wake up in the small hours of the next morning, fresh and fit to attend to their work. Much fuel is thereby saved and consequently a substantial slice of the foreign exchange now accumulates. Inevitably, a life of discipline is introduced.

Finally, the Marxian theory of force stands vindicated as

against all theories dealing with the origin of state, whether capitalist or socialist. All other theories such as patriarchal, matriarchal, historic or even the social contract theory of Rousseau stand discredited.

V. Mahalingam  
Nelliady.

## BROKEN PROMISE

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

There is never ending repetition of development, rehabilitation, Mahaweli and Dharmista. Even if we accept that development is being registered and that Mahaweli is flowing in other ways, no one, specially the displaced people consequent to the disturbances of July 1983, can even tolerably agree that rehabilitation has made any significant impact.

# LETTERS

An year is past and most remain in hovels, hopeless, with cruel memories. They are mental cases unable to appreciate the orchestra being conducted in the political sphere. Families are wearied and the children remain without proper care and education and they remain convinced of Karma, the passive victims of political ambition. Those who still remain in employment compulsorily contribute to the rehabilitation tax nullifying the value of the little clothing they received. In the face of vexatious annoyance, these victims are forced to believe that they were punished not to be rehabilitated but handicapped.

Like the aerial bomber, the bureaucracy does not know its kill. I wish to illustrate the raw deal meted out to these people with a single case. In a suburban town, three petty trades

owned by the same individual, which yielded a marginal income for the sustenance of the family, were totally wrecked by savage mobs in whom ethnic hatred seemed bone-bred. This individual being the tenant, placed matters before REPIA and was at first promised in writing that he would be rehabilitated in the same business in the same premises. But later a revision was made, the premises being divested to a claimant, who was actually involved in the attack and was arrested by the police! In fact, the threatening posture of the accused had been reported to the police one month prior to 25th July 1983. No compensation has been paid. This is, in short, is the true story.

The displaced people in gruesome poverty and misery are ashamed to infer that all talk of rehabilitation is to appease other countries and those who remain destitute can only imprecate

achieved any meaningful solution acceptable to all communities.

After the July 1983 troubles, India offered its good offices in the belief that it can exert pressure on Sri Lanka to solve the problem amicably, this maintaining its dominance and supremacy in the south Asian region. But its exercise has become futile and it has no alternative but to watch the developments helplessly.

When the July riots broke out, India should have taken up the matter in the United Nations and should have tried to find a solution through the UN instead of sending its diplomats to Sri Lanka. An APC under the auspices of the UN would have had the expected impact and may have served to find a solution in a reasonable time.

Sri Lanka has also made a diplomatic blunder by accepting Indian diplomacy to solve the ethnic problem. Has India the right to mediate in the internal problems of Sri Lanka? India thought so and has now seen the failure of its efforts.

It is still not too late to take the matter to the UN.

N. Babu

Kotahena.

## CTU APPEAL

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

The Ceylon Teachers' Union firmly declares that the National Question of Sri Lanka cannot be solved militarily. The Tamils of the Northern and Eastern Provinces have always been prepared to live peacefully along with the Sinhalese. It is up to the majority community to create an atmosphere to solve the debatable issues peacefully.

Therefore, we urge the Government to take the following steps to pave way for a political solution:

(a) Release all political prisoners.

(b) Withdraw the Armed Forces from the Northern and the Eastern Provinces.

(c) Accept the right of Tamil people for self-determination.

H. N. Fernando

(General Secretary

Ceylon Teachers' Union)

Colombo.

the heavens and be content with the wrath expressed in the stanza:-

"The Mills of God grind slowly  
Yet they grind exceedingly small  
Though with patience He stands waiting  
Yet with exactness grinds He all"

July Victim

Kandana.

## TO THE UN

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

With the recent developments in Jaffna, it is quite clear that the situation is getting worse and Tamils have become an oppressed ethnic group who have no security for their lives and properties in their own mother land. The All-Party Conference has so far not

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# 'Full - Fledged Autonomy'

The first National Congress of the Sri Lanka Communist Party (Left) was held in Jaffna on 2nd - 3rd September, presided over by a five-member Presidium. The political report, organisational report and the Constitution that were submitted at this Congress were adopted unanimously after debate and discussions, states a press release from the Party headquarters.

The Political Report states: "The United National Party and Mr. J.R. Jayewardene who came to power in 1977, on the instruction and advice of the Imperialist capitalist forces, have submerged the country into severe economic crisis. Deliberate political oppression is let loose on all sections of people in different forms. The National Question has been complicated by the exploiting classes in this social set up. Keeping the National Question unresolved by whipping up communal tension to the forefront, they have been strengthening the neo-colonial methods behind the scenes.

"In these circumstances it is essential that the entire people of this country and anti-UNP forces should re-

alise the long term objectives of the UNP-JR and their imperialist masters. Therefore it is necessary to organise a powerful mass movement that is capable of ejecting the UNP from the seats of power.

"To fulfill this requirement, all anti-UNP forces should unite under a common programme. The Sri Lanka Communist Party (Left) wishes to point out that this unity should reflect the aspirations of the entire people and that would provide vast and quick improvement of the present situation.

"Our country is an underdeveloped third world country underfoot of neo-colonialism. The principal contradiction in our country is between neo-colonialism and its local colleague U.N.P. on one side and the vast majority of people of Sri Lanka on the other side. The effects resulting from this chief contradiction are reflected in different degrees in other contradictions. Without resolving the chief contradiction no solution can be found for other contradictions.

"Knowing the truth of this it is necessary to make

it clear towards resolving the chief contradiction. Hence puts forward two stages of a programme of work in keeping with Lanka's prevailing situation. One is based on long-term plan. The second is immediate.

"Our Party's long-term programme is people's democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class. This is in essence will contain all aspects of new democratic revolution. long term program policies, practice, and tactics, reaching the target through different forms of struggles by carrying forward broad peoples struggles with strong organisations.

"Before reaching this long-term objective, it is our duty to rescue immediately our country and people from the threat they are facing. It is necessary to put forward an immediate program of work. This programme will be a democratic program.

"All forces that are interested in the country's and peoples interests should join together. Patriotic, progressive, democratic forces, parties, organisations and individuals, including the national bourgeois forces represented by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, should be united.

"The target of this programme should be based on genuine lessons learnt from past experience towards establishing genuine democracy.

"Our party asserts that such a common programme should contain the following as important points:-

"There shall be a new Constitution adopted where the basic rights of the entire people would be protected. People should be ensured of an employment necessary for life and have a better standard of living.

"An independent national economy should be built with agriculture as base and industry as guiding factor. Diversified developments should be made with the assistance of the public, co-operative and private sectors relying on our country's strength and efforts. At the same time, foreign aid and investment may be invited that are not detrimental to our national independence, national economy and that do not contain any ulterior motive.

"The entire people of this country should have their democratic rights guaranteed. Provisions should be made to ensure individual freedom, press freedom, freedom of expression, freedom of criticism, freedom to form unions and freedom to strike. In education and religion also there should be genuine freedom.

"The National Question that has developed to the stage of threatening the nation's independence and integrity could be solved by setting up more than one regional autonomous area and inner autonomous bodies of autonomous towns and villages. These autonomous bodies should have the right to decide on matters of education, employment, colonisation, and regional security of the nationalities that come under respective autonomous bodies without any discrimination. All nationalities should be assured of their economic and cultural development through these autonomous bodies.

"The Tamil nationality living in the Northern and the Eastern Provinces should have full fledged autonomy and they should be given the opportunity to decide whether they wish to have one or two regions for them.

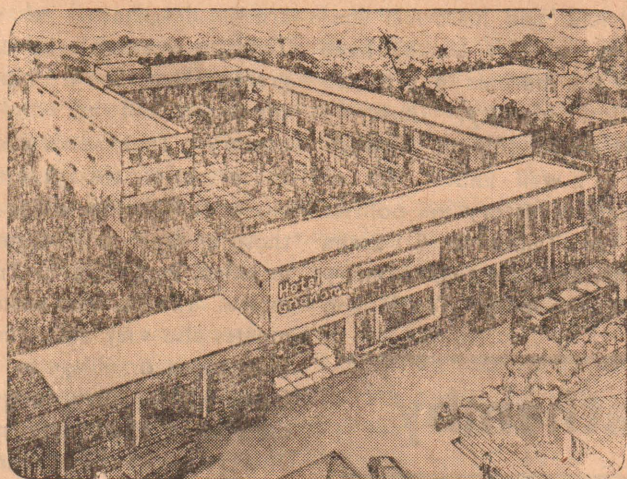
"The so-called "depressed caste" Tamils coming within these autonomous bodies should be given special inner-autonomous organs to enable them to rehabilitate.

"People of Indian origin, most of whom are plantation workers, should be given a suitable autonomous set up that would assure to protect the rights won by them hitherto through arduous struggles and implement without discrimination all rights enjoyed by other Sri Lankans.

"In areas where Muslims live predominantly, possible autonomous organs should be established to enable them to develop their economy and culture".

The party elected a fifteen-member Central Committee. Mr. K. A. Subramaniam has been elected General Secretary.

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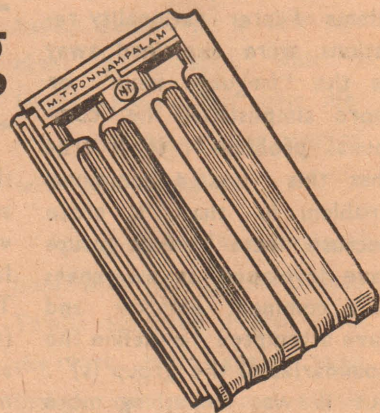
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Ever since each of the two major communities of this island began fighting against the deculturising effect of the socio-educational policies pursued by the British, by falling back on their feudalistic, religio-cultural roots, the characteristic feature of politicization has been the polarisation of the Sinhala-Buddhist and Hindu-Tamil groups. The mode of Sri Lanka's apprenticeship to parliamentary democracy (representation on the basis of ethnic and social groups) helped to consolidate this division. At the start there was a sharpening of the ethnic differences at the level of the emerging bourgeoisie, which they later, with the extension of the franchise, transmitted to the masses, at which level it became 'race riots'. The history of the constitutional reforms of

tool is therefore necessary to understand this process the concept of nationality is more suitable. But the unconscious impact of the Western concept of the nation-state did not permit the politicians and the analysts to view the problem in that light. The preoccupation with the nation of "the language issue" also hid from their view the 'intra-communal' differences found especially among the Tamils. Except for a few (Arasaratnam, Wilson and Jupp), others failed to highlight the significance of this situation found among the Tamils and indicate how it had influenced the formulation of the strategies adopted and solutions suggested by both the protagonists and the antagonists.

Even though there has been a general acceptance of the fact that the Tamils of Sri

group under the leadership of Kumar Ponnambalam, son of its founder President G. G. Ponnambalam.

However it is at this time of dissensions and defections that the TULF has emerged as the voice of the oppressed Tamils. It is important to note that it is the national situation that has helped it to emerge as the main opposition group in the parliamentary politics of this country. It is also of interest to note that the unilateral accommodations made by the ruling parties on the status of the Tamil language (both the SLFP and the UNP) have not been accepted as agreeable solutions because the TULF had not accepted them.

There is also another dimension to this problem which exhibits the internal contradictions within the Tamil 'community'. The defection

It is significant that progressive opinion in this country now realises the need for a radical change in the attitude towards this problem and that the Tamils of Sri Lanka should be taken as either a nationality or a nation, having the inalienable right of self determination. This would therefore be an opportune time to analyse the character of the social composition of the Tamils of Sri Lanka such as an analysis of the social formation would highlight the basic factors of Tamilian social organization which are very often understood only in terms of traditional images like culture traits. Besides it would also throw light on the different socio-economic interests found among the Tamils, which have an important bearing on finding political solutions to their problem.

towns. There is a Chetty population in Jaffna town; this settlement is not directly connected with the above-mentioned migrations.

A closer look at the social organization of the Sri Lankan Tamils reveals that, inspite of ethnological homogeneity they would, in terms of geography, economic organization, social structure and level of development fall into two distinct groups-

(a) The Tamils of the Eastern Province (mostly referred to as Batticaloa Tamils and

(b) the Tamils of the North.

Here again, the second group has a further division - (i) The Tamils of Vanni and of Mannar district and (ii) the Jaffna Tamils.

An attempt will be made in this paper to go into the socio-economic foundations

# Social Composition

this country, viewed in this light could also be seen as the history of the attempts made to determine the political status of the Tamils within a unitary Sri Lankan State. The interaction of the socio-economic motivations, the political demands and the ensuing constitutional adjustments has led to the emergence of language and religion (more language than religion) as the main planks in the process of decolonization.

Most of the academic attempts made to grapple with and elucidate this problem, have considered it sufficient to describe the events and delineate the trends. Thus the more deep-seated problems of inter-nationality relations were explained away as the "language issue" or more simplistically the "communal problem". It is true that this was a communal problem in that it arose because these "ethnic groups have developed an awareness of a common identity and have attempted to define the boundaries of the group(s)". But it was something more too, for each of these groups had also mobilized themselves for political action and were becoming politically significant. It is at a stage like this that a community transforms itself into a nationality. A better conceptual

Lanka have genuine grievances regarding their rights as full fledged 'nationals' of Sri Lanka, there has been no unanimity of political opinion or action among the Tamils at any given moment or over a given situation. The closest ever the Tamils in this island came to closing their ranks was when the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) was formed in 1972 with the coming together of the Federal Party (FP), the Tamil Congress (TC) and the Ceylon Workers' Congress (CWC) led by S. Thondaman, along with the Tamil M. P. in the United National Party (UNP), K.W.Devanayagam. But with the formation of

of C. Rajadurai, the first M. P. for Batticaloa from the ranks of the TULF and the defense be made for his cross over to the UNP that, among other things, his action would help the Tamils of the Eastern Province to develop themselves, is an indication that labelling the Tamil issue as just a language issue or communal problem would not be enough. The lukewarm attitude of the Tamils of the districts of Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Mannar and Vavuniya to the issue of standardization and the provision of district quotas in University admissions - an issue which has more than any other factor led to the rise of a mili-

The word "Tamil" refers to the language and its users. The South Indian usage includes the Muslims too (quite often they are referred to as Tamil Muslims). But in Sri Lanka, Muslims have a separate identity. The F. P. therefore has been trying to popularise with very limited success, the term 'Tamil-speaking peoples'. The religio-cultural traditions and historical conditions of Sri Lanka have given the Muslims a separate political identity. Thus we are left with only the 'Tamils'.

It is a well-known fact of Sri Lankan history and politics that the Tamils in Sri Lanka are divided into two primary groups - the Indian Tamils and

of each of these groups of Tamils and to indicate the relationships they have with each other. It will also be shown how inspite of the group rivalries there is an overriding urge for unity and solidarity which brings them all together as a nationality.

The "Indian Tamils" living in the plantation areas are the descendants of those Tamilian workers who immigrated from South India in the latter half of the 19th century. Their social customs and practices, though essentially of the Hindus, differ from those of their co-religionists in Jaffna, Batticaloa or Trincomalee. The customs and ceremonies also vary according to their caste or village in India from where they originally came some 150 years ago. The system of recruitment of labour at the Tamilnadu end, the physical isolation of the group here in the plantations, and the type of labour organization both in regard to their work and their trade-unions and all their political isolation from the Sinhalese people among whom they worked, have cumulatively helped to preserve their separate identity and to maintain the caste continuities as they had operated in the places of their origin. As had been pointed out by Jayaraman "Adi-Dravida groups such as Pallans and Paraiyans

by

Prof. K. Sivathamby

the UNP Government in 1977 and with the inclusion of Devanayagam in the Cabinet and later with the absorption of Thondaman into the Cabinet (the political basis of this alignment has never been made clear), the TULF ceased to be a "front" in the original meaning of the term; it is now a combination of two parties - the F. P. and the T. C. the latter split into two over the choice of candidates in the elections of 1977 with a dissenting

tant youth movement in Jaffna is also very revealing. If along with these, we take the utterances of S. Thondaman that he has joined the government in order to work for the alleviation of the conditions of the neglected Up Country Tamils, it becomes clear that the Tamil problem is not just a language issue or a communal problem. We need to go beyond the limits of ethnicity to understand this problem in proper perspective.

Sri Lankan Tamils. The term 'Indian Tamils' refers mainly to those plantation labourers brought from South India in the 19th century and to their descendants, the bulk of whom are yet on the plantations; a small percentage of that group has migrated to urban areas and have become merchants or monthly-wage earners. This term also includes the South Indian merchants especially the Chetties, who had established themselves in Colombo and other provincial

have emigrated in large numbers and constitute more than half the emigrants to Ceylon. Vellalans, Kallans, Ambalakkarans, Agamudaiyans and other non-brahmin caste groups form the bulk of the other half. In traditional caste ranking the Adi-Dravidas (Pallans, Paraiyans etc.) come much below the non-Brahman caste like Vellalans, Kallans, Ambalakkarans, Agamudaiyans etc. The Brahmins are at the top of the caste hierarchy. It has also been shown that there exists in the estates a definite relationship between the traditional caste hierarchy and the estate occupational hierarchy. "Generally, upper non-Brahmin castes such as Vellalag, Kallag, Agamudiyag and Konag are found in the higher positions of the occupational group."

It is in this respect that we find a difference between

Finally the festival and ritual occasions provided an arena of caste activities."

It is however, true that there has been flexibility in this rigid structure and that discernible social mobility among the lower groups, though minimal, has been noticed. But even today, "inspite of these changes, caste has not ceased to be an important organizing principle of the Tamilian estate community". The social organization of the estate population is of great interest because it shows how a capitalist organization can make use of the traditional social organisation to ensure its continuity and further development.

But in the last few years, there have been many changes. The nationalisation of the estates and consequent retrenchments and displacements

was a cabinet minister of the UNP government that brought in the legislation, was not with the Indian Tamils. In 1931, "the claims of the Indian Tamils were not considered important to the Ceylon Tamils...."

As for the Indian Tamils, they too did not have a high opinion of the Sri Lanka Tamils. Of the Sri Lanka Tamils, it is only with the Jaffna Tamils that they had contacts and understandably enough "the Tamilians living in estates, particularly persons belonging to Vellalan, Kallan and other non-Brahman castes revealed a strong antipathy to the Jaffna Tamil". The estate Tamils have always regarded the Jaffna Tamil as a selfish person and the Jaffna Tamil in his turn, had looked down on the estate Tamils as a people of low caste.

rights for the use of Tamil in the Northern and the Eastern Provinces. The current constitution has slightly altered the position and this, S. Thondaman thinks, guarantees the right to use Tamil officially even in the estate areas.

A discussion of the causes for the continuing exclusiveness of the Indian Tamils, should, besides referring to the caste characteristics and to the uneven treatment they have received from the governments, which rendered a large majority of them stateless, also refer to the type of Trade Union organization they have had and the leadership it has provided. The historical conditions of the estate Tamil population had given the trade union which had an all Indian Tamil leadership an advantage over the other trade Unions, especially of those of the left

language policy of the present government. Sinhala and Tamil as the national languages of the country with Sinhala as the only official language.

Thus inspite of ethnic homogeneity, the social formation of the Indian Tamils has kept them away from the Sri Lankan Tamils. It could be said that it was only when the demands of the majority were articulated in extremely chauvinistic, ethnocentric terms, denying even the right of habitation in certain areas, that the Indian Tamils and the Sri Lankan Tamils came together in demanding joint political solutions.

As we move away from the Indian Tamils and focus our attention on the Sri Lankan Tamils, who are so named because they have been a part of the population of the country from early times, the important feature that should be observed is that they have been concentrated in two main areas, the Northern and the Eastern Provinces, so much so these two areas are considered the traditional homeland of the Sri Lankan Tamils. There had also been a substantial number of Tamils living in the Puttalam and the Chilaw districts. A perusal of the pre-Donoughmore political history of Western rule in Sri Lanka would reveal the important role played in the political affairs of this country by the Tamils of that region, most of whom by that time had become Christians. But after years of acculturation and assimilation, operating mainly through the agency of the Roman Catholic Church, they have, except in a few pockets like Udappu, which is largely Hindu, lost their identity and have now merged with the Sinhalese.

Today the main traditional homelands of the Sri Lankan Tamils are the North and the East. Here again, even though on common ethnic terms they are taken as Tamils, there is substantial difference between the Tamils of these two areas.

(To be Continued  
Next Week)

# of the Tamils

the South Indian workers who immigrated to the Caribbean and those who came to Sri Lanka. Here in Sri Lanka the traditional social formation was preserved and thus has constituted a problem of the type we do not find in Jamaica and other countries. One can do no better than quote Jeyaraman fully.

The continuity of the caste system is the result of the interplay of certain other factors which may briefly be recapitulated here. First, the relative isolation of estate labourers from the wider Sinhalese society has contributed to the caste system. Further the host society has a caste system of a kind which is not inimical to the continuity of caste system among the immigrant labourers. Second the two important features of the immigration pattern viz, the large scale family immigration and the kangany system of recruitment prevented labourers from attaining anonymity. Third, the productive organization of tea plantation was not so disturbing as to break the traditional images of castes. Fourth the formation of labour gangs under kanganies, particularly under subkanganies strengthened the caste and kinship ties. Fifth, there were informal sanctions such as social boycott and ridiculing in public which maintained caste norms.

have forced the estate worker to migrate to some of the agricultural areas in Jaffna, Mannar, and Vavuniya districts. Working as farmhands under absentee landlords they are as much exploited as they were in the estates, but now live without the fear of communal riots.

The Indian Tamil community has had a closed existence and their very existence in such large numbers in the heart of the Sinhala region had been a source of anxiety to the Sinhala-minded politicians. No sooner the Donoughmore Commissioners recommended universal adult franchise, than the Sri Lankan government of the day had an order-in-Council passed (1931) which resulted in the disenfranchisement of a majority of the Indian Tamils. The Citizenship Act of 1948 and the Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act No. 3 of 1949 effectively prohibited wide electoral participation of the Indian Tamils in the political life of the island.

It cannot be said that, up to the time of the formation of the Federal Party in 1949, there had been any political movement among the Sri Lankan Tamils which brought within its vortex the Indian Tamils. Even on the issue of the Citizenship Act, the Tamil Congress, whose leader (G. G. Ponnambalam)

But with the spread of the ideology of the DMK, many of the estate Tamil youth turned towards the FP. The FP by persevering with its effort to unite all the Tamils had also endeared itself to some of the estate Tamil youth. It could even be argued that the compelling necessity for the Ceylon Worker's Congress (C. W. C.) to close ranks with the Sri Lankan Tamils was due partly to such pressure at its grassroots level. It is significant that the recent attempt on the part of the government to bring Vavuniya, traditionally a Sri Lankan Tamil area within a new revenue district that would make the Tamils a minority within that district was criticised by a spokesman of the CWC, even though its leader is in the Cabinet. However it should also be mentioned that in this district there are many Indian Tamils working as farmhands.

The separation of the Indian Tamil community from the Sri Lankan community could be seen in the fact that Indian Tamils played no active role in the Sri Lankan Tamil struggle over the constitutional status of the Tamil language (in 1956 and thereafter). In fact the Tamil language (Special provisions) Act, which tries to accommodate the use of Tamil within a Sinhala only position, speaks of special

parties. This advantage that the C. W. C. enjoyed could be traced to the fact that the trade unions connected with the Sri Lankan political parties, could not offer a satisfactory solution to the political problem of the constitutional status of those workers. The one exception was the trade union formed by the F. P. but even their trade union has not fared well. The dominant hold the C.W.C. has tends to keep these Indian Tamil workers aloof from the rest of the working-class of this country.

As has been mentioned above, the socio-economic handicaps and the political isolation have not deterred them from falling back on their linguistic identity. Encouraged by the wide publicity given to their problems and the social acceptance consented to by the Tamil parties, the estate Tamils now call themselves the Malakatt Tamilar (Up-country Tamils).

The leadership of the up-country Tamils, conscious of the geographical distribution of their population, i.e. the fact that they have to live in traditionally Sinhala areas, have openly dissociated themselves from the separatist demand of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). The Indian Tamil leadership also accepts the

After Colombo, Jaffna is the only other city in Sri Lanka with a newspaper industry.

Jaffna can boast of one Tamil morning daily, Eelanadu a by-weekly Eelamurasu, the Saturday Review and a host of other publications, including two of the oldest newspapers in the country, the weekly bilingual (English and Tamil) Morning Star, begun in 1841, and the Hindu Organ, begun in 1889.

This is a brief review of the newspaper and periodical Press in Jaffna:-

#### DAILY

**Eelanadu** - Eelanadu Limited 63, Sivan Kovil Street, Jaffna. Estd. 1959. Tamil morning paper with special Sunday edition. Rs. 1.25.

Editor: S. Perumal. Tele: 22389.

#### TWICE A WEEK

**Eelamurasu** - Saye advertising Associates, 140, Navalar Road, Jaffna. Estd. 1984. Tamil paper, Published on Wednesday and Sunday. Rs. 2. Tele: 22437.

#### WEEKLIES

**Eelanadu Varamalar**:- Eelanadu Limited, 63, Sivan Kovil Street, Jaffna. Estd. 1959. Tamil Sunday paper. Rs. 2/- Editor: Sasi Bharathy (S. Sabaratnam)

**Saturday Review** - New Era Publications Ltd, 118, 4th Cross St., Jaffna. Estd. 1981. English, Saturday paper. Rs. 3. Editor: Gamini Navaratne.

### Compiled by R. Cheran

**Morning Star, Vaddukodai** Jaffna Diocese of the Church of South India. Estd. 1841. A Christian weekly published every Friday. Bilingual edition in English and Tamil.

**Hindu Organ** - Saiva Paripalana Sabai, 450, K.K.S. Rd., Jaffna. Estd. 1889. A Hindu bilingual (Tamil and English) weekly. Cts. 50. Tele: 22356. Editor: R. N. Sivapirakasam.

**Pathukavalan** - Bishop's House, Jaffna. Estd. 1876. Catholic weekly in Tamil. Editor: Fr. Anton Mathews,

#### MONTHLIES

**Cirithiran** - S. Sivagnana. sundaram, 550, K. K. S. Rd., Jaffna. Estd: 1963. Literary and Cartoon Magazine in Tamil. Editor: S. Sivagnana-sundaram (Sundar).

**Mallikai** - Dominic Jeeva, 234 B, K. K. S. Road, Jaffna. Estd. 1964. Art and Literary Magazine in Tamil.

# The Press in Jaffna

**Milk White News** - Milk White Industries, K.K.S. Rd., Jaffna. Socio-economic and religious news bulletin in Tamil. Editor: K.S.Kularatnam.

**Sempathakai** - S. Navaratnam, 15/1, Power House Road, Jaffna. Estd. 1978. Revolutionary Mass Journal - Rs. 1-50

**Rajani** - Rajani Publications 248/5, K. K. S. Road; Jaffna. Estd. 1984. One novelette a month in Tamil. Rs. 4.90. Editor: J. M. R. Kuganathan.

**Shanthi** - Sujatha Publications, 50/21, Valravarkovil Rd. Jaffna. Estd. 1983. one novelette a month in Tamil. Rs. 4.50. Editor: Yarloor Thurai.

**Ikkiya Theepam**; Sri Lanka National Co-operative Society Jaffna; Branch: 12, K. K. S. Road, Jaffna. A Journal for the Development of Co-operative System. Rs. 1/- Editor: K. Nadesan. Tele: 23228.

**Katpalam** - Federation of Coconut and Palmyrah Products Co-operative Societies, 330 K.K.S. Road, Jaffna. Estd: 1979. News bulletin of the Federation, Editor: K. V. Nadarajah. Tele: 22713.

**Sothida Malar** - Thirukanitha Nilayam, Madduvil, Chavakachcheri. Estd. 1978. Astrological Magazine. Editor: K. Sathasiva Sarma. Tele: 280

#### BI-MONTHLY

**Naan** - O. M. I. Seminary, Columbuturai, Jaffna.

**Cinthanai** - Faculty of Arts Publication, University of Jaffna. Estd. 1974. A Journal for scholarly writings. Rs. 15/- Editor: Dr. S. K. Sitampalam.

**Ithaya Sangam** - Selvanithy, Pungudutheevu 10. Estd: 1984. Art and literary quarterly. Rs. 3/- Editor: Santhio Amirtharajan.

**Matru** - 'Malalanpan', Navaiady Lane, Tirunelvely, Jaffna. Estd: 1983. A magazine for art, literature and literary criticisms. Rs. 3.50. Editor: Malalanpan.

**Puthusu** - "Puthusukal" group, "Eswari villa", Siruvilan, Illawalai. Estd: 1978. A magazine for art, and literature and literary criticism. Rs. 3. Editor: "Puthusukal" (collective editorship).

**Sanganatham** - Youth Society, Thalaimannarthurai. Estd; 1984. A Literary Magazine. Rs. 3. Editor: Karmegam Nanda.

**Thayakam** - K. Thanikasalam, 15/1, Power House Rd. Jaffna. Estd: 1980. Magazine for art, literature and criticism. Rs. 5. Editor: K. Thanikasalam.

**Thamiloli** - Tamil-oli, Radio Fans Association, 60, Amman Road, Kandarmadam, Jaffna.

For the radio fans and their creations. Editor: S. Umakanthan.

#### ANNUALS

**Inquilab** - Muslim Majlis, University of Jaffna. Estd: 1976. A journal for Art,

Literature, economics and Muslim affairs.

**Kalaiganam** - Educational Society, University of Jaffna. Estd: 1982. Journal for the study of education.

**Kala Manjari** - Faculty of Fine Arts, University of Jaffna. Estd: 1983. Journal for Fine Arts.

**Podhigai** - Students' representatives of Faculty of Arts, Faculty of Arts, University of Jaffna. Estd: 1980. Journal for students' creations and writings.

**Senthalal** - Tamil Manram, University of Jaffna. Estd: 1976. Journal for students' creations and writings.

**Stabiphs** - Faculty of Science, University of Jaffna. Estd: 1976. Journal for students' creations writings.

**Virudcham** - Commerce Students' Union, University of Jaffna. Estd: 1980. Journal for commerce and related studies.

## BATTICALOA'S FRESH WATER LAKE

Nobody in the world be unhappy if we change salt into fresh water. This is possible in Batticaloa. The cost of transforming the etched patch of salt water into fresh water is negligible.

All that has to be done is to control the two exit points at the Road Bridge and at the Sethukudah Causeway. Politicians are not expected to know the economic and far-reaching benefits to our ecology.

Today the places round the suggested fresh water lake are least used. These lands can be transformed into paddy fields. And a lot of agro-ventures would be a success, with fresh water. Now it is all salt water.

The Road Bridge and sethukudah Causeways would control the lake's water and prevent salt water entering it during high tide. This is possible, a top notch engineer told me, and another retired engineer humorously said, "Everything is possible; the politicians are the impossible".

There is sense in what he said. This highly techno-oriented fresh water lake project is bound to attract foreign sympathy. The benefits of a fresh water lake are enormous. Paddy, home

gardens, poultry, bananas, cattle and fresh water in abundance are the ideal ingredients for prosperity.

The proposed lake would have its dangers, as in Kandy. Let us sound a warning. The Government should seal off the lake's shorelines with lands. These lands would be

lake frontage. In Kandy the periphery roads protect the lake. In Batticaloa, the question is different, and the "prevention before cure" has to start. One knows that it is the man with vested interests who is interested in squatting on the shores of the lake.

### by John B. Kumarakulasinghe

necessary later on to construct buildings on a planned basis; in short, to conserve the shoreline strip hygienic and health security reasons.

According to investigation, carried out by the writer, the periphery lands of the lake are going to benefit most. The ecological imbalance would go. The fauna and flora would flourish, as never before.

The lake's shorelines could have tourist attractions, cabanas and tourist halts. The lake could also be a playground for gondolas. The content and quality of marine life would change to man's advantage.

But the reservation of shorelands be done first. Otherwise, "nobody" with the help of "somebody" should squat on the shorelands. They have plans to have a

If the project is through, in the Year of Environment, the world community would contribute its share and the lake would be an inexpensive rarity. But two things must be certain. Technocrats must handle the job and politicians must be asked by the President to keep their fingers with them.

With best compliments

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The feast of St. Sebastian the Martyr was again celebrated this year with pomp and pageantry after an interval of forty long years. I, too, joined the thousands who trekked their way to this jungle shrine.

The bullock cart ride with my parents through Elephant Pass, the camping out, the hunting trips, the open air services in the then incomplete church and, above all, the fervour and the zeal of the poor pilgrims brought nostalgic memories of my youth.

Mass on the 8th. When I reached Pullavelli, I saw only a sprinkling of cars and few hundred pilgrims. I was however, told that the faithful, over ten thousand, would arrive well in time for the vespers on the 7th, and the usual flock were there. The priest, too, had arrived a day earlier.

I managed to meet Anthonypillai, nicknamed "manakan" (student), who was one of the laymen in attendance at the annual feast. According to him this shrine was established

the few survivors had migrated to other areas leaving behind no trace of their whereabouts. The jungle shrine was therefore without any parishioners until the faithful of Gurnagar, who made their annual pilgrimage to Madhu by foot through Poonakari port, began to visit it on their way back.

It is said that quite a number of pilgrims then made this annual visit in July as a pilgrimage cum holiday. The area around the shrine was dotted with sev-

is an inactive period for the fishing families of Gurnagar and therefore they undertake pilgrimages and holidays during this period. The income during the peak fishing season ending in April is lavishly spent by them during the vacation.

It was during the turn of the 20th. century that the Catholic Church took recognition of this ancient shrine. It was due to the hard labour of Rev. Fr. Francis "Pilakot-

The new church building was later completed in 1952 mainly due to the generous contributions of the Gurnagar Parish.

Thereafter the entire responsibility of maintaining the church of St. Sebastian fell on the parishioners of Gurnagar living nearly 40 miles away.

The late Thambiyah Kanakar was the chief layman who managed the July feast. Subsequently, a representative committee of the Gurnagar Parish has taken over the responsibility.

I may not have witnessed any miracles as such at this shrine, but I saw thousands of pilgrims drinking water direct from the many wells there. I inquired from them as to why they cannot at least boil the muddy water before drinking. Pat came the reply. "Why waste time and energy when St. Sebastian is there to look after our health?" Such is fervour of the faithful who attend this feast.

With all its attractions and

## PULLAVELI RE - VISITED

On this second visit, I elected to go a little deeper into the history of this ancient shrine for the benefit of those who have not yet visited it.

The Pullavelli shrine of St. Sebastian is in the Assistant Government Agent's division comprising the newly formed district of Kilinochchi. Today, vehicles can cruise up to this place, which is 40 miles from Jaffna. Those travelling by public conveyance have to get down at Iyakachchi junction and cover the distance of six miles on a bumpy ride in a van or tractor.

The feast commences on 5th July and ends with Holy

In 1801, long before the coming of the British. It is therefore probable that to avoid the persecution of the Dutch a few faithful Catholics had moved into this shrub jungle to practice their faith in safety. It is pertinent here to note that the jungle shrine of Our Lady of Madhu, too, had a similar origin.

Pullavelli in the good old days was known as Puthumadam and in course of time the name got distorted and took the present name of Pullavelli. The few Catholic settlers of Pullavelli in course of time were decimated by disease and wild animals and

ral ponds (kulams) ideal for relaxation and hunting. The Main pond is known as "Patkulam". A dip at "Patkulam" is a must for the young and old to ward off the excessive July heat.

Patkulam served as a rendezvous for the young eligibles and many a marriage of the year can be said to have had its origin at the Pullavelli pilgrimage.

Natukuttu (Tamil folk Drama) was yet another annual attraction of Pullavelli. Today it is dying for lack of promoters.

According to Mooper Swampillai, the period May to July

church that now towers over the palmyrah palms of the arid zone.

This building is said to have collapsed in 1934 and in 1943, under the dynamic guidance of Rev. Fr. S. A. Gnana-pragasam, the foundation was laid for the grand new

church that now towers over the palmyrah palms of the arid zone.

distractions, it is worthwhile visiting this ancient shrine at Pullavelli at least once.

by J. Aloy Ratnasingham

The Editor.  
SATURDAY REVIEW.

I write to tell you how much I enjoyed reading about the discomfiture of the F. P. leaders at the hands of the representatives of the militant youth. While their program in the view of many of us here, is not likely to restore the legitimate rights of the Tamil people and will in the end make their position worse, they are yet to be commended for exposing the hypocrisy and chicanery of the Tamil leadership.

Who are these Tamil leaders anyway? It is they who have consistently supported the U.N.P. and even served in a U.N.P. government in the past. It is they who agreed to a watered-down version of the language rights of the Tamil people under Dudley Senanayake's so-called national government.

But those are small errors compared to their conduct—their conduct and that of their political ancestors, for the last thirty years. Their monumental crime was to have converted a particular

## FATHER AND SON!

and essentially negotiable problem of language rights, employment rights and electoral rights a general problem of territoriality by demanding a Federal constitution for the island based on ethnicity. This, everyone recognizes today, was merely the thin edge of a demand for a separate state. Once the problem of equality for the Tamil people was converted into a demand for territorial and political separation, the only path to follow was the downhill one of increasing hostility, suspicion and conflict. The comparatively minor problems were made into a non-negotiable issue leading into intransigence on both sides. This was further compounded by the absurd proposal put forward by the F. P. to the Constituent Assembly to fragment the island democracy into small regional units, two of which were to be Tamil ones. This was a patent effort to deminish the power of the

Sinhalese and elevate the power of the Tamils, not as individuals but as ethnic units. It was also a foolish and cavalier attempt, because no government—least of all the U.F. government—was even remotely likely to agree to such a self-evisceration.

Did not the F. P. leaders know this? Brilliant lawyers and pleaders that they were, surely they knew that the

### LETTERS

chances of these demands meeting with success were negligible. But that did not prevent them from making these preposterous demands. Why did they ask them, then? Indeed why have the Tamil leadership insisted over the years in making impossible and irrational demands?

One cannot answer these questions without asking ano-

ther. What were the consequence of making these extremist demands? The most definitive consequence was that the entire F. P. bandwagon was finally secure in their position of leadership and parliamentary success. They were able to successfully outflank the Tamil Congress, dethrone G. G. P. and ride the whirlwind of communalism in the North. In the politics of outflanking, one must always be more extreme than the previous leadership and stick to it through thick and thin. Further, any and all circumstances that would lead to a solution of the problems that brought about the conflict in the first place should be avoided, or sabotaged. In addition, one should create an ideology that would make all who speak of moderation and reasonableness as traitors and betrayers.

All of this the present leadership of the F. P. and their immediate predecessors did, and did vigorously, ruth-

lessly and unscrupulously. Indeed it is on the F. P. platforms of the nineteen fifties and sixties that one first heard the idea that those who did not fully subscribe to the F. P., were guilty of treason. This idiotic charge was made against the members and leaders of the Tamil Congress as well as the local leaders of the L. S. S. P.; C. P. and S. L. F. P. Often this charge was followed by violence wrought against the presence as well as property of the non-F. P. types. Public meetings and processions were often stoned and disrupted and at least on a few occasions, houses set on fire. This was the way in which the politics of outflanking manifested itself in the hands of the leaders and followers of the F. P.

The leadership of the TULF really have nothing to complain of: they are really facing their spiritual sons who learnt their most important lessons from the F. P. propaganda. But unlike the F. P., they seem to be more sincere and serious.

Ernest Ambrose  
Canada.

# Up on the Banyan Tree

Owl X came up with an out-size lunch packet that was received from Madras and several newspapers. Having spread the lunch for both Owl Y and himself Owl X started reading the news item in which appeared under the bold headline "PRESIDENT DEFENDS ISRAELI HELP" and raised his eyebrows when he read the following:

"Mr. Jayewardene also told the right wing news paper 'Indian Express' that he would make arrangements for the guerrillas to meet his government representative in a neutral country to discuss the amnesty terms" and asked "what does that show?"

Owl Y: One may interpret it variously. It can indicate that the statesman in Mr. Jayewardene has at long last asserted himself over the politician in Mr. Jayewardene.

Owl X: Why do you say so?

Y: The dispute is really between the militant Tamil youths and the Government at Jayewardenapura. So, if the dispute is to be really settled the parties to the dispute must be made to face each other across a table instead of meeting each other with bombs and guns and shells.

X: What about the Round Table Conference?

Y: President Jayewardene first made mention of a Round Table Conference in his 1977 Election Manifesto but after the Tamils in the Sinhala electorates noted almost en bloc for the UNP, he became confident that the Tamil problem has already been solved.

X: Why do you say so?

Y: In the manifesto he stated that he would hold a Round Table Conference and the decisions reached therein would be incorporated in the Constitution which he wanted to enact.

X: What happened then?  
Y: He quietly enacted the new constitution and forgot everything about the Round Table Conference.

X: How is that?

Y: In 1977 he felt that securing the Tamil votes was necessary; later he concluded that the Tamil votes were not necessary for the UNP.

X: Then why did he think of holding a RTC in 1983?

Y: Because the outside began asking what was the noise and smoke in Sri Lanka.

X: How does the Round Table Conference help?

Y: It helps President Jayewardene's Government immensely. It enables him to tell the outside world that the parties to the dispute are sitting round a table and dis-

Y: President Jayewardene's words are not quite clear; it may mean that he is himself talking steps to meet the militant Tamil youths or it may mean that he is willing to meet the militant Tamil youths and that some one else should move in the matter.

X: So such a meeting may or may not take place.

Y: Everything hinges on Mr. Amirthalingam. If Mr. Amirthalingam would say that it would be better for the Government to deal with the militant Tamil youths direct, the meeting will take place. But if Mr. Amirthalingam gives President Jayewardene hopes of being able to solve Mr. Jayewardene's Tamil problem with some District or Provincial Councils, then Mr.

X: I don't fully understand.

Y: It is human nature to respond to appeals to sentiment. The Sinhalese people - perhaps because they have all lived in an island - respond much more to an appeal to racial sentiment than most other races.

X: Can you give an example?

Y: You will remember that Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike was ousted from Parliament after a Commission made its report; and on that occasion the defence Mrs. Bandaranaike put forward was to refer to her achievement in securing Kachchativu.

X: But Kachchativu was not an item inquired into or reported upon by the Commission.

Y: Exactly. But to refer to her claim to have secured Kachchativu from India has a strong appeal to Sinhalese racial sentiment.

X: In an hour of political adversity, she tried to appeal to the Sinhalese racial sentiment.

Y: That shows the relevancy of an appeal to racial pride for political prosperity.

X: But how do the Tamil politicians make use of the racial sentiment from what you say a different angle?

Y: They make use of a fiction of Tamil Arasu, Eeylom Mavadda Sabal and so on. The Sinhalese make use of the reality of ruling over the Tamils.

X: Then the Sinhalese politicians have a firmer position in appealing to racial sentiment?

Y: What preliminaries are needed to get president Jayewardene's representative to meet the militant Tamil youths?

Y: Here in Sri Lanka, Mr. Amirthalingam should stand aside and in India Shri M. G. Ramachandran and the Indian Prime Minister should do the needful to bring about the meeting in a proper atmosphere.

X: Will not the militant Tamil youths be violent and abrasive?

Y: In regard to that you can leave the responsibility to Shri Ramachandran, who

of all politicians in the world has the finest grasp of human psychology by reason of his successful career as an actor par excellence.

X: Will such a meeting produce results?

Y: Even if it does not produce results immediately, both parties to the dispute will develop an unbuttoned thinking, get closer to seeing things in the correct perspective and that is a great step forward.

X: What is the first move that is needed?

## J. R. Takes on Judiciary

(Continued from page 3)

(brute force by the UNP supporters), the Judiciary will have to face this latest threat to its independence largely on its own.

The legal fraternity will put up a strong fight. The newly elected President of the Bar Council of Sri Lanka, Herman J. C. Perera, in a scathing attack on pro-government lawyers, said: "One shirked responsibility when one wanted to run with the hare and hunt with the hound."

"Judges of our courts suffer humiliation sometimes when they deliver independent judgments and are attacked by politicians. It is time we lawyers stood up to politicians who are trying to erode the independence of the judiciary."

Jayewardene, who is 76, began his second term as President, in February; with ex-prime minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike and other opposition leaders expressing fears that Sri Lanka might end in a military dictatorship, backed by the US, like Pakistan.

The President, son of a supreme court judge and De Gaulle - like in appearance and style, had always stood for "a strong executive, seated in a power for a fixed number of years, not subject to the whims and fancies of an elected legislature, not afraid to take correct but unpopular decision..."

But he continues to assert his commitment to democracy. He says: "I do not want to be a dictator... My ambition is to establish a free and just society in Sri Lanka."

## by Sakathevan

cussing matters and would reach an amicable settlement and make the outside world to lose interest in the trouble in Sri Lanka.

X: Then why did he think of talking with the guerrillas in a neutral country?

Y: Perhaps Mrs. Thatcher or Mr. Reagan might have said something to indicate that they were not quite satisfied: or perhaps confidence in maintaining an army of occupation is getting a bit shaky.

X: Will the meeting between the Government's representative and the militant Tamil youths in a neutral country take place?

Jayewardene would not want to meet the militant Tamil youths.

X: What is Mr. Jayewardene's "Tamil problem"?

Y: Mr. Jayewardene's Tamil problem boils down to this: his army is not able to dispose of the militant Tamil youths; and the outside world is asking all sorts of questions.

X: So you say that Mr. Jayewardene's "Tamil Problem" is not getting solved.

Y: According to Mr. Athulathmudali only thirty Tamil youths trained in marksmanship had been disposed of; there may be five thousand in his "Golden Temple" which he says is in Tamil Nadu.

X: Do you think that confidence in maintaining an army of occupation is getting shaky.

Y: After all, the personnel of the Armed Forces consist of ordinary Sinhalese youths. The average Sinhalese man and woman are not interested in subjugating and ruling over the Tamils.

X: So you think that the Sinhalese politicians are really to blame?

Y: That is so; also the Tamil politicians but from a different angle.

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# US VS. UN?

1984 started with the announcement of the US withdrawal from UNESCO, which "no longer serves US national interests". Later in January, there were press reports from Washington about the US considering to quit IFAD. In March started the attacks against UNCTAD. In May, the US opposed the convening of a WHO expert meeting to discuss the rational use of drugs and their marketing in the Third World. In June, the US invited UNDP to act as a sheriff enforcing the US' conception of development.

The US campaign against the UN centers on three accusations: politicization; statism; poor budget management. 'Politicization' was never mentioned as long as the US exercised hegemony over the UN system and its secretariats. Furthermore, the much talked-about 'politicization' of UNESCO results largely from a 1954 US-inspired resolution which replaced, on the governing body of the agency, eminent intellectuals acting in their personal capacity by government representatives...STATISM seems to refer to the discussion and / or adoption of codes of conduct for transnationals, technology, baby food, or the law of the sea and the exploitation of the sea-bed. As far as budget management is concerned, while not forgetting that the total annual cost of the UN system is still below one day of world military expenditures, one has to recognize that overall management is indeed deficient, but it remains to be seen whether that of national government or transnational corporations is more efficient. However, the re-structuring and streamlining of the UN system is long overdue but would make sense only as part of an effort to strengthen it.

And the fact is that the Reagan administration wants to weaken the system. This seems to be motivated by three US internal factors: difficulty in accepting that due to the awakening of the Third World and the role of smaller industrialized countries, the US has lost its hegemony; determination of public policy by private economic interests; and the links of the President with

the fundamentalist Right. There is nothing new but an increased acuteness in the first two factors, and their interaction with the interests of other members of the intergovernmental community could be accommodated within the existing institutional framework. The third is more difficult to handle since it escapes rational discussion. There is no common ground with the integrist 'Heritage Foundation' which masterminds the anti-UN campaign and

as it does to the intergovernmental community the right to resist the pressure of private economic interests and to smaller or weaker countries the right to speak out, that is negating the universality and the inherent pluralism of the United Nations, the Reagan campaign is in fact destabilizing the very concept of international organization.

Clearly, the UN is limited by its intergovernmental nature but it still is the only

by

Marc Nerfin

has colonized the International Organization unit of the State Department including, among others, the US mission to the UN in New York. However, this third factor may fade away next year, with or without Reagan II (better without it) since there are already some indications of a foreign policy change.

But the essential problem is no longer there. Denying

attempt to establish global mechanisms for dialogue, mutual understanding and conflict resolution. The Reagan administration bears a terrible responsibility in refusing the rules of the game outside which there is only the law of the jungle, that is under-development, war and death.

(Courtesy: International Foundation for Development Alternatives)

## News Briefs

### Identity No Criterion

A Committee consisting of the Regional Director, Chief Education Officer and Principals of St. John's, Jaffna Hindu and Victoria Colleges met the Brigadier, Mr. Nalin Seneviratne. They brought to the notice of the Brigadier that students arrested at Jaffna Hindu, Manipay Hindu and Nadeswara Colleges by the Security Forces were 'maltreated'. He said that he was not aware that such students had been 'arrested' and 'maltreated'. He said that if such 'maltreatment' had occurred that would be inquired into. He warned that students could be arrested even if they were in possession of identity cards, if they were suspected of 'terrorist activity'. Col. Ariyaperuma and Major Kulatunge were associated in the discussions.

### Schools Boycott

The students in the North have decided to boycott schools from 10th to 14th

September as a 'protest' against the arrests and harassment of students by Security Forces.

### Appeal to President

An urgent appeal has been addressed by the Secretary of the Tamil Principals' Association to the President and the Education Minister in connection with the 'happenings' at Point Pedro. They have indicated that students sitting for the G.C.E. (O.L.) Examination will be greatly affected by the 'happenings' at Point Pedro. They have requested that an immediate interview be granted to place these 'happenings' before them.

### J.R. assures Saudis

In a special message to the Saudi King the President assured him that there was no change in Lanka's Arab Policy. This was a sequel to Mr. Liyanage's visit to Israel and his interview to *The Jerusalem Post* a paper with the largest circulation in Israel.

## SPORTS

by VICTOR KIRUPARAJ

# Battle of the Golds

Jaffna's BATTLE OF THE GOLDS—the annual cricket encounter between St. Patrick's and Jaffna College—has always evoked much spectator interest. Victories and drawn encounters have been punctuated in the series with a not too even regularity. The nerve-tingling ones—may I say the cliff-hangers—however have been those games in which fortunes fluctuated from one side to the other. Such encounters always ended on an exciting note, in a thrilling draw.

The writer recollects one such encounter—the 62nd in the series—played on 16th and 17th March 1979 at St. Patrick's. In this memorable match, wicket-keeper bat, S. Sahayarajah led the Patrician Eleven, while all-rounder G. J. Gunaseelan captained the Jaffna College team. In the match in question, the final hour of play dished out really exhilarating fare with the rival supporters, particularly those in the Patrician camp, screaming loud and hoarse.

Here below is an account of the match penned by the writer then.

## EXCITING FINISH TO 62nd BATTLE OF THE GOLDS

JAFFNA'S grand 'Battle of the Golds'  
 Left Jaffna College in the cold,  
 When the wickets began to reel;  
 And the Patricians did steal  
 The show, in the final hour of play,  
 To dance and jive—to bawl and bray.  
 Two hundred runs and forty-four  
 St. Patrick's in first outing score;  
 A fair hundred and sixty six  
 Placed Jaffna College in a fix.  
 Patrick's with seventy-eight run lead  
 Slashed a hundred and eight in all greed,  
 In but an hour and minutes ten;  
 Then declared—and were back in the pen.  
 One hundred and eighty seven!  
 Jaffna looked up to high heaven!  
 T'was an impossible task,  
 E'en if they were to play in mask.  
 Fifteen minutes and one full hour,  
 Patrician pace trio with power  
 Tremendous, hurled the red peach  
 Within an inch the batsmen's reach.  
 Front-liners three in dismissals quick,  
 With four on board—their wounds to lick;  
 Suresh, Mahan and Mari struck hard,  
 Three more victims were on their CARD.  
 Thirty-eight for six read the SCORE-BOARD  
 Patricians all ranted and roared  
 Their hearts out; for remaining four  
 In cacophonous din and lore.  
 Excitement and hopes ran high,  
 Their spirit ne'er for the nonce dry,  
 In jubilant St. Patrick's Camp  
 They all did twist and trot and stamp.  
 Victory for St. Patrick's they cheered,  
 Six overs to go, their goal they steered.  
 But Steve-Sankar unrattled,  
 Patrician Onslaught battled  
 Till stumps, both heroes true and bold,  
 Etched their names in letters of gold.

# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## Fathers and Mothers speak up

The text of an appeal made by the Parents' Association of Jaffna to President Jaye-

wardene through the G. A. Jaffna.

The deputation that met the G. A. on behalf of the Parents' Association included Messrs. K. Nesiah, S. Subramaniam Mahasivam, President, All Ceylon Tamil Teachers' Union and several Principals of Schools.

It is with deep regret that the Parents' Association of Jaffna wishes to point out that the arrest, assault and detention of Tamil students and youths, believed to be the bread-winners of hundreds of families, has produced deep sorrow throughout Jaffna. There is still wailing in Tamil homes owing to the massacre of innocents and their continued detention.

The education of Tamil children in Jaffna is in jeopardy; many examinations, namely, the University examinations, Technical College examinations, English competitions, etc., have already been postponed indefinitely as a result of the army violence in the north.

Very recently some army men in civil dress stopped their vehicles at Kandarmadam junction, Jaffna, pulled a Jaffna Hindu College student (CENSORED) going on his bicycle to his College at 8.15 a.m. pushed him and his bicycle into their vehicle and assaulted him mercilessly till he became unconscious. They then took him to the army camp at Palaly and many hours later dropped him at an unknown place from where he returned home with much difficulty as a result of his body-pain.

A student of Nadeswara College, (CENSORED) son of a Teacher, was assaulted near the Cement factory service station when he was on his way to his college. This led to students deserting their schools for fear of life and to the cancellation of the English Competition in the Kankesanthurai Circuit.

Earlier a Manipay Hindu College student, (CENSORED) was taken into custody for not producing his identity card when he was travelling to Kilinochchi. He has still not been

released despite repeated requests. His continued detention has led to boycott of schools by the students.

The Parents' Association of Jaffna considers the attack of the Hartley College, Point Pedro, by the army as an insult and a challenge to the education of the Tamil Students in Jaffna. They had smashed the laboratory and set fire to the library consisting of about 7500 volumes of valuable books; the new bloc of the college has also been burnt down. This recalls the burning of the Jaffna Public Library, which was unbearable to the Tamil people and this gives rise to the fear whether it is a continued attempt on our cultural heritage.

There is a police commando group camped very close to this college.

The army has taken over and is now in occupation of the Sithivinayagar school situated in the Kankesanthurai area. The school children are unable to continue their education there.

As a result of the army violence the students in the district are unable to travel with any degree of safety to their schools and we the parents are scared to send them there.

It is, therefore, clear that the violence of the armed forces must be stopped. We the parents of Jaffna urge on your Excellency to:

Withdraw the armed forces from Jaffna territory. This alone will help to improve the relations between the Tamil people and the government; there is already a marked deterioration of such relations.

To release the Tamil students and youths whom we know to be bread-winners and are languishing in detention for no reasons of their own.

To hand over the schools now in occupation of the army.

### Boycott Ended

On an appeal made by the Indian Shipping Minister, Sri Vijaya Paskara Reddy, the Indian Ports Employees have given up their boycott of Sri Lankan ships.

# Law of Jungle takes over

On the night of 11th September, 44 people left Colombo in a Jaffna-bound V.I.P. Tours bus on a journey that was to prove calamitous to them.

These hapless people did not know the fate awaiting them midway; otherwise, they would have stayed at home.

The bus stopped at Ramnave, almost midway between Anuradhapura and Vavuniya, for the passengers to have refreshments.

Five men dressed in khaki shorts and white shirts got into the bus. They asked the passengers to hurry up and ordered the driver to get moving.

The driver was forced to drive the bus along the Manar road to a place called Sambalanmadu.

They asked whether there were any Sinhalese passeng-

ers. Three or four persons came up. They were assaulted and asked to run away.

The women were also asked to run away.

The other passengers were asked to get into batches of four and march single file after putting down all their belongings.

Suddenly, they were asked to run into the jungle. As they ran they were shot at with a machine gun.

Some fell down dead immediately; others who were injured crawled into the jungle.

Altogether, 15 dead bodies were found near the spot. Six were admitted to hospital, when one more person died, bringing the death tally to 16.

The question is, who was responsible for the killing?

The tragedy occurred after the killing of nine soldiers by Tamil guerillas on 10th September at Mullaitivu.

Vavuniya is not very far off from Mullaitivu.

Defence Ministry spokesmen immediately ruled out any retaliation by the soldiers based at Mullaitivu. "All troops at Mullaitivu were confined to their camp and did not leave it after Monday's bomb explosion", the Government-controlled Daily News reported on 12th September.

In another report on the same day, the Daily News quoting a "very senior official", "flatly ruled out the possibility that serving soldiers were responsible for the killing."

It hinted that "ex-soldiers" "extremists" or "terrorists" could have been responsible.

We say to the Daily News Thank you for the information: Everyone knows who was responsible.

### THE DEAD

The following were those killed at Vavuniya; Ehathayaparan, Ravi Kandasamithurai (Nallur), K. Sinnathurai, N. Nazeer (Colombo), M. Siva (Colombo), Saravanamuththu Thiyagesar (Oddusuddan), Ratnasabapathy Kirupaharan (Vaddakachchi), Mohamed Jiyavudeen (Colombe), Sebamalai (Jaffna), Veerasingam Murugaiah (Chunnakam), Nadesu Murugavel (Chulipuram), Bernard (Naranthanai, Kayts), S. Paramanathan (Uduvil), Sinnathamby Jehandivan (Kaithady), S. Jeyasingam (Vaddukodai), and E. Rajendran.



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