

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

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# LET THERE BE WAR — OR PEACE : JR

The assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the violence that it triggered off in India have been the cause of deep and serious reflections in the minds of many men of eminence in this country.

These reflections have been pouring forth through all the channels of the mass media. The country has been witnessing the most unworthy attempt, in the most pious language possible, to vindicate the violence of July 1983 in the light of the recent happenings in India. One Hindu slain by the Sikhs there, thirteen Sinhala Buddhists ambushed by the Tamils here and the violent repercussions in both places—so the pettifogging goes. Disgusting, to say the least.

Nobody endorses violence. But it is a moot point whether the roots of violence lie with the people or the politicians. The mass of the people may be liable to be swayed by elemental passions and resort to violence in certain situations. But those who lay claim to leadership should never provoke people to communal violence and those who are in authority should never lose time in clamping down on violence and taking every step to STOP THE MADNESS.

What did Rajiv Gandhi do when violence engulfed New Delhi and other parts of India after the killing of Mrs. Gandhi, India's Prime Minister and Rajiv's own mother?

Rajiv Gandhi did not challenge the Sikhs and declare, "If you want to fight, we will

have a fight; if you want peace, let there be peace"—as Mr. J.R. Jayewardene said to the Tamils, in Parliament in 1977.

He did not make any plea on behalf of the Hindus saying that they were giving vent to their "natural anger" over the assassination of a "Hindu Prime Minister".

He did not proclaim any exclusive nationhood for the Hindus, while politically ostracising the Sikhs, the Muslims, the Christians and other minorities.

He did not move to outlaw the democratic organisations of the Sikhs as a sop to the provoked Hindus.

He would not have countenanced if the Indian Security Forces went on the rampage setting fire even to government buildings occupied by Sikh leaders.

What Rajiv Gandhi did, it could safely be said on the basis of available reports, could have been improved upon by few, if not any.

Even as he stood, literally almost like Cassabianca, beside the funeral pyre, he was taking control of himself—for the loss was immensely personal to have affected but the strongest—and of the situation in Delhi and elsewhere in India.

He displayed ruthlessness—in the deployment of troops and effecting changes in the administration of the security situation in New Delhi—mixed with a human healing touch which was shown in full

measure by his rushing from the funeral to visit the Sikh victims of the riot.

His message was loud and clear: "The Prime Minister and the Government of India

duct themselves in the given situation of communal violence?

The Press in India lost no time in taking to task the new Prime Minister for not acting with greater speed and



JR: WAR OR PEACE



RAJIV: STOP THIS MADNESS

"I wish to share with you some of the thoughts that crossed my mind during my visit to New Delhi to attend the funeral of Mrs. Gandhi..... I thought to myself how similar were the events that followed the killing in Jaffna of 13 Sinhalese in July 1983 by Tamil terrorists, which resulted in the rioting and criminal acts in Colombo and other parts of the Island."

— From PRESIDENT J. R. JAYEWARDENE'S statement, 'THE ISLAND' — Saturday, 10th November, 1984.

are for all the people of India, not only for the Hindus".

Apart from the Prime Minister and the Government how did the Press and the political parties in India con-

determination (Remember reading an editorial sermon on "Wildlife" in a local paper on 27th July, 1983?)

As for the political parties, it is to their credit that leaders

of all the main Indian political parties, including the ruling party met under the Chairmanship of Rajiv Gandhi and issued a joint statement which is recommended reading for anyone who "beholdeth the mote that is in his brother's eye but considereth not the beam that is in his own eye."

We publish below the text of the all-party statement issued in Delhi, which was effectively blacked out by the rest of the Sri Lankan papers. (The state-controlled Daily News of 3rd November carried a passing reference on Page 14 to a meeting of "several leaders of the Opposition after which a joint statement was issued.")

The readers will see that what is always the subject of consensus among the Indian political parties continues to be Sri Lanka's desideratum.

The following was the joint statement issued after the meeting between Rajiv and 15 opposition leaders:-

"At a moment when the nation has suffered a grievous loss in the tragic death of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, we the representatives of the major political parties and the Government, are deeply anguished at the senseless outbreak of violence in several parts of the country.

"From the very beginning the Sikhs have been an inseparable part of India and the Sikh community has played a glorious role in the freedom struggle and in the building up of independent India. The

(Continued on page 8)

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EDITOR  
**GAMINI NAVARATNE**

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### LONDON SHOW

An Exhibition on the problems of Sri Lanka Tamils and a public meeting were held at Riverdale Hall, Lewisham, London on 26th October. It was addressed by Mr. Valampuri John, MP (India) and Editor of Thai Weekly (Madras) and other prominent Tamil activists.

## The Media Scene

"Too little, too late" is the experience of Sri Lankan expatriates who are now in the battlefield of that 'other war'—the one against Eelam propaganda" laments Hassina Leelarathna, the writer of the centre page article "The Disinformation Barrier" appearing in *The Sunday Observer* of 11th November.

Uttering strong emotion in the manner of a patriotic journalist rushing to the news desk from a veritable battlefield, Hassina Leelarathna goes on to say "Fired by loyalty to their country of origin and angered by the ruthless anti-Sri Lanka campaign of their Tamil compatriots in major foreign countries these individuals are almost daily fighting to penetrate that disinformation barrier and are facing many frustrations in their lonely, unseen, unsung war." and further refers to as a case in point "the hectic 'lobbying' without which a letter written by Mr. K. W. Devanayagam, Minister for Home Affairs, to the Editor of the Brisbane based 'Courier Mail' would never have been published".

What is not reported in the article, however, is that the Minister's pathetically apologetic letter received a strong rejoinder from Dr. Brian Senewiratne, formerly Senior Lecturer in Medicine at the Peradeniya Medical Faculty, and now a resident of Brisbane.

## Too Much, Too Quick

For the purpose of full and proper INFORMATION we reproduce, without comment, the two letters which appeared in the Australian Press, in August, 1984.

### Mr. Devanayagam's Letter

I have just spent a weekend in Australia en route to Sri Lanka from Port Moresby, where I led my country's delegation to CHOGM. I am appalled to read some of the media's misleading headlines and some distorted views of the situation in Sri Lanka in the last few days.

I am a Tamil and I have been a member of the United National Party (a non-communal party led by President Jayewardene) for 20 years. Many Tamils like myself believe that the ethnic problems of Sri Lanka can be solved by President Jayewardene's government by peaceful discussion. To achieve this end we have been meeting at a round table conference and continue to do so. A solution is in sight.

However, the major obstacle to solving this problem is the terrorist movement, which purports to fight the Tamil cause. Their many violent acts, including genocide of the Tamil people who do not co-operate with them, have been accelerated recently.

Their acts against government institutions and personnel are perpetuated in the predominantly Tamil areas of the north of Sri Lanka with a view to provoking reactions from the Sinhalese people in

the other areas, where the majority of Tamil people live intermingling with the Sinhalese.

They succeeded in doing so in July 1983 and the world was made to believe that the Sinhalese people indulged in 'genocide of Tamils'.

The security forces have been charged with eliminating the terrorists and while they do so the sympathisers of the terrorists, mostly people living outside the country, indulge in false propaganda, accusing them of genocide and excesses.

I appeal to all right-thinking people not to support these terrorists and their propaganda.

**K. W. DEVANAYAGAM**  
Sri Lankan Minister for Home Affairs, Canberra.

### Dr. Brian Senewiratne's Reply

May I reply to the letter from the Sri Lankan Home Affairs Minister Mr. K. W. Devanayagam (17/8).

I have just returned from Sri Lanka after trying to sort out fact from fiction. This was necessary because of President Jayewardene's stranglehold on the press which prevents any news other than government propaganda leaving the country.

1. Mr. Devanayagam refers to the media headlines in Australia as 'mis-leading and distorted.' On the contrary, the reports in The Australian (and particularly news broadcasts by

the BBC, London) have been accurate and if anything an understatement of the Tamil genocide by the Sri Lankan 'security forces' now in progress in Sri Lanka.

2. Mr. Devanayagam believes that the Sri Lankan problem can be settled by negotiation. Yes, if politicians such as himself, Jayewardene and before him Bandaranaike were politically honest, this might have been possible. The round table conference referred to has now gone on for almost a year. Apart from giving Jayewardene time to equip the security forces with American supplied sophisticated weapons, it has done nothing.

3. He refers to the July 1983 massacre where between 500 and 2,000 Tamils (depending on who does the counting) were butchered. The less said of this disgraceful blot on Sri Lanka the better. The reluctance of Devanayagam's government to hold an inquiry into who was responsible for this blood-bath is about as damning as anything such an inquiry could unearth.

What is urgently needed is to appreciate that despite Mr. Devanayagam's propaganda (which he is paid to do), the country is at the brink of a civil war and the most urgent need is to get an international peacekeeping force into Sri Lanka before the next massacre of innocent civilians, which is imminent.

**(Dr) BRIAN SENEWIRATNE**  
Brisbane.

### Appreciation

### K. Ramalingam

Born with a silver spoon in his mouth into a distinguished family of lawyers in the Uduppiddy electorate, Mr. K. Ramalingam, attorney-at-law, was a man worth remembering. He had a remarkable school record at Hartley College and after matriculating he entered Law College and passed out as a proctor.

He started life with many advantages which included a secure home, a happy childhood and the best education which a young man of his time and place in society could receive.

He made his mark at the Point Pedro bar quite effortlessly with his high sense of

integrity and wide knowledge of life in general. He never laboured a false point or fought a last-ditch battle in a case without merit.

He worked hard, he spoke precisely and to the point, he laughed easily. He had a mind which always saw both sides to any question and had the lambent quality which made conversation with him stimulating and delightful.

He was completely selfless and with a consuming energy to work for whatever he believed in. There was no trace of malice in him—no envy or jealousy but a lively sense of humour and fascinating humility.

But by a cruel fate, ill-health and a failing eyesight, had dogged him throughout his middle age. This affliction to one whose nature so kind and good was a mystery that his numerous friends

could not apprehend or understand.

On a Saturday evening, two days before Deepavali, with dramatic suddenness, God's finger touched him and he slept away peacefully. In the words of Jonathan Swift, his time was come, he ran his race. That is why his wife and children and numerous friends and relations will miss him sorely.

**S. K. Ratnasamy**  
Point Pedro

### TEARFUL MEMORY

Master Dilshan Soysa, who was born in Negombo and was a student of Sinhala Maha Vidyalaya, Jaffna was a 'victim of firing by' security personnel on Friday, 9th November. He was 13 years of age and was in Grade 5.

His friends deeply mourn his death and pray that his soul may find peaceful repose.

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# THE D. S. SENANAYAKE CENTENARY

Were it not for the special problem that the J. R. Jayewardene UNP government faced during the Minneriya by-election campaign, it is doubtful whether it would have celebrated the birth centenary of the late D. S. Senanayake with such fanfare.

For ever since Mr. J. R. Jayewardene emerged as the new leader out of the UNP's inner-party struggle, he has made no secret of his determination to erase what he has called the "family bandyism" of the Senanayakes from that party.

Although the UNP had proclaimed D. S. as "the father of the nation" and his son, Dudley, had been the UNP's Prime Minister on four occasions, they had been systematically relegated by the UNP's present leader to the category of forgotten men.

And in eliminating the latent challenge from Robert Senanayake and his son, Rukman, Mr. Jayewardene sought to give the Senanayakes and the myths woven around them by the UNP media the final *coup d'grace*.

## BANDYISM

Mr. Jayewardene was not entirely wrong about the "family bandyism" of the Senanayakes in the UNP.

One has only to read Sir John Kotelawala's ghost-written monograph, "The Premier Stakes" to realise that.

Its colourful description of the Senanayake family deciding around a dinner-table at "Woodlands" which member of the family should replace the late "Uncle Stephen" as Premier reminds one forcibly of how Britain's Tory party decided these matters in the 18th and 19th centuries!

Nor can one forget D. S. Senanayake's secret arrangements with the then Governor General, Lord Soulbury, to have his son Dudley appointed as Premier in the event of his death, irrespective of other claimants or party nominees.

Incidentally, the new family bandyism in the UNP that has started after Mr. J. R. Jayewardene became party and state leader is no second to anything in the Senanayake era.

Nonetheless, the late D. S. Senanayake was an important figure in contemporary Sri Lanka history particularly in the period of transition from

colonialism to political independence, as well as in our country's socio-political development.

That is why all the efforts of the leaders of the party he created to erase his name from the record have never fully succeeded.

As a political personality, D. S. was strikingly different from the other political "leaders" of the capitalist class in the first half of this century.

He may have admired but strikingly lacked the suavity and elegance of the Colombo-based elite, to whom everything British was the work of God.

He obviously had little time for the socio-religious mystique of nationalist reformers like Anagarika Dharmapala, who preached the same goal of capitalist development although in a different way.

His real strength lay in the way in which he understood the needs and shared the values—and, indeed, in many ways personified both the "arrived" Sri Lankan bourgeoisie in the plantation economy and trade, as well as the rising mudalalis of town and village, who saw in him a figure with whom they could identify themselves more than with any other political leader of that time.

## "KALAY JOHN"

The Colombo-based and British-oriented elite tried to laugh D. S. off as an uncouth "Kalay John".

But he was clever enough to make a virtue out of this weakness, claiming to be a "son of the soil" and boasting that the only way in which he passed examinations at St. Thomas' College was by carrying the bag of the visiting school inspector!

All the same, he was second to none of them in aping the dress and outlook of the British colonialists.

His contempt for the "national dress", which many politicians of the time had begun to wear as a badge of patriotism, the relish with which he donned top hat and tail-coat on ceremonial occasions, and his insistence on being painted in the ceremonial garb of a Privy Councillor of the British monarch, were indicative of his values in these matters.

## HOSTILITY

His politics also followed the same model. To him,

British imperialism was not merely the centre of the world, but the world itself, the acme of political development. Although the British colonialist had put him in jail at the start of this century, this did not deflect him from his pro-British orientation.

None the less, D. S. Senanayake was perhaps the most astute politician that the capitalist class of Sri Lanka has produced so far and certainly, until J. R. Jayewardene, the most class-conscious.

Although by no means as dictatorial as J. R. Jayewardene has been or as Sir John Kotelawala tried to be, D. S. Senanayake's hostility to the working class, the Left parties and democratic and anti-imperialist movements was as implacable.

Even before political independence, he had, as leader of the Ceylon National Congress rejected the demand for national independence as premature and unrealistic. He resigned from the Congress when, shortly afterwards, it decided to admit Communists as members.

by

Pieter Keuneman

It was D. S. who, for instance got the British government of the day to include Article 13 (3) (f) into the Soulbury Constitution to disqualify Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe from entering the State Council and Parliament and later used it to disqualify Philip Gunawardene.

I still recall how D. S. Senanayake sat in Parliament, unmoved even by the pleas of more liberal members of his own administration, while this was being done.

And, of course, it was D. S. who disenfranchised tens of thousands of plantation workers of Indian origin merely because they had voted against the UNP in the 1947 general elections.

## CLASS SENSE

D. S. Senanayake's class sense was often instinctive.

I remember how, in a Parliamentary Committee over which he presided, I once introduced a seemingly innocent but actually "googly" amendment to a labour law which would have helped the workers.

After all others had agreed and we were ready to pass on

to next business, D. S. who had remained silent, suddenly said "No". When asked why, he replied: "I can't say now, but it doesn't smell right."

Perhaps the greatest service that D. S. did to the Sri Lankan capitalist class—especially among the Sinhalese—was when he set up the Bank of Ceylon.

Impoverished by the depression of the 1930s and heavily and often irretrievably mortgaged to the Chettiers due to their inability to get loans from the British banks, this section was able to recover, consolidate and develop due to the Bank of Ceylon, which D. S. set up.

D. S. Senanayake is most publicised as a pioneer in the fields of irrigation and agriculture. While the importance of his initiatives in providing irrigation facilities to re-open the dry zone for paddy cultivation must be acknowledged, his motives were by no means purely altruistic.

Through his so-called "colonisation" policies, he sought to avoid land reform in the wet zone by transferring its problems to the dry zone.

As he often indicated, he also hoped to create a class of kulaks, which would be an effective barrier to this country ever becoming socialist.

## NEGATIVE

We are now experiencing the negative results of his choice of "colonisation" as the method of land development and settlement.

The social problems of wet zone paddy farming have been transferred to the dry zone, together with its populations.

The decreasing size of allotments coupled with the increase of the population, has magnified pressures on, and demands for, land in the new areas.

As most of the important colonisation schemes were also situated on the borders of so called "Sinhala" and "Tamil" territory, the competition for land among the landless peasants of both communities has made the "colonisation areas" centres of communal strife in all the recent racial disturbances of the past three decades.

## NO MAJORITY

Although the bourgeoisie called D. S. the "father of the

nation", he did not—"actually as a matter of fact", as he was wont to say—ever command the support of the majority of the people.

In the 1947 elections, he emerged with insufficient seats to form a UNP government and was only able to do so after a sordid horse-deal with nearly twenty "independents" who had defeated the UNP candidates at the general elections.

If sections of the Left had displayed greater skill at the historic "Yamuna" conference of the time, they might, as proposed by the CPSL at the time, have formed an alternative government and thus significantly changed the direction of subsequent Sri Lankan history.

D. S. Senanayake's unquestioned leadership of the Sinhalese bourgeoisie of the time was due to two main factors.

First, this bourgeoisie was still united as a class.

It was only in the last two years of his regime that the breach in the bourgeois united front, led by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, took place. But D. S. Senanayake fell off his horse and died while still at the height of power. It was left to his son, Dudley, and other successors to face the real consequences of that split. Realisation of this is probably why President Jayewardene today seeks a UNP-SLFP "national" government as part of his grand strategy.

The other reason for D. S. Senanayake's unchallenged leadership was his undoubted skill and craftiness in political manoeuvre.

This was shown in the adroit way he "kicked upstairs" the more cultured and scholarly Sir D. B. Jayatileke; played out both Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and Sir John Kotelawala in regard to the succession; won over Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam; and out-manoeuvred Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam by inserting the Amparai wedge in the Eastern Province to make the demand for federalism or Eelam more difficult to achieve.

In this, he differed from other leaders of his class, in knowing exactly what he wanted, pursuing it without vacillation, and keeping his mouth shut while he put it into effect.

As these aspects of the late D. S. Senanayake have been ignored in the eulogies in the capitalist media, I thought it worth-while to use the occasion to put them back on the record.



# Challenge and Chance

In the life of a nation, the death of a president or a prime minister creates a void which has to be filled with care to ensure smooth transition. But the brutal assassination of a towering personality like Mrs. Indira Gandhi leaves behind a deep scar on the minds of the people, which cannot be erased without going through the agonising ordeals of emotional readjustment to the new realities of the changed situation.

The average Indian has reacted with great horror and outrage to her assassination more as an act of matricide than mere wreaking of vengeance by demented men who committed this shocking outrage. In her later years she acquired a mother image providing a maternal dimension to her leadership, with the result that her murder has left every Indian with a wrenching feeling of personal bereavement. Not since the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi has the country felt so disoriented and deeply moved as by this terrible act of lunacy or sinister conspiracy to eliminate her from the national scene.

The anguished people of India will take a long time to get used to the sudden disappearance of Mrs. Gandhi from the national scene, before they can settle down to the emergence of her son. As it happened in her case, Nehru was not alive to mastermind the succession after Lal Bahadur Shastri's death, when the party itself chose her in preference to other aspirants like Mr. Morarji Desai and Mr. Y. B. Chavan. Though she had put Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in the line of succession during her own life time, it was again the party that decided in his favour after her assassination for whatever reason.

When Mahatma Gandhi was killed in 1948, there were stalwarts like Nehru and Sardar Patel to cope with the tragic aftermath of partition. Similarly, the death of Nehru himself did not have a deleterious impact because the old Congress leadership was still intact to provide for normal succession. After Shastri also died a year and half later, the initial choice of Indira Gandhi by the party bosses was followed by her success in emerging as an undisputed leader in her own right, in the wake of the

**As the most important figure on the national scene, Indira Gandhi had shaped the course of events in her time, which will now yield place to new influences. The changing times call for a new innovative spirit to adapt, alter and improve on the old approaches.**

first electoral reverses suffered by the undivided Congress in 1967, which had a deeply unsettling effect on Indian politics leading logically two years later to the first party split.

## Total loyalty

As Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi consciously opted for mass politics to confound her critics with an aura of radicalism and managed to rule the country for 16 years with only one break, through an intense Indirisation of Indian politics, backed by a powerful personality cult, that cast her in the role of an indispensable and infallible leader, who alone was capable of preserving the country's unity and upholding its interests. In her highly personalised politics, there was no place for any dissent since the whole emphasis was on total loyalty and unquestioning conformity with the prescribed policies to justify her actions.

A lady of intense passions, the inner fire in her drove Mrs. Gandhi to espouse controversial causes at times and in the process shield her minions from the wrath of the people by defending their indefensible infractions. A strong personality who was capable of displaying great courage and determination in moments of crisis, she deliberately cast herself in the mould of an indomitable leader to inspire confidence and rally the people behind her when faced with difficult decisions.

But she also allowed herself to be tormented by a sense of unfulfilled mission, which made her both restless and impatient with her own inability to achieve quicker results. It bred a gnawing feeling of deep insecurity in her, despite her massive majority in Parliament and unquestioned supremacy in the party, which in turn alienated her further from the country's intelligentsia by making her increasingly resentful of even well-meaning criticism.

## Refreshing contrast

But as the only leader with a modern mind and a scientific

temperament, who stood out in refreshing contrast with the obscurantist elements in the Opposition revelling in their antiquated ideas that were completely out of tune with the spirit of modern times, Mrs. Gandhi remained well entrenched in her unassailable position until her very end, because she was the only one acceptable to all sections of the people.

A certain degree of slow-down had, however, crept into her style of functioning in the later years of her rule which made many critics accuse her of faltering leadership of vacillation and indecision in the face of grave challenges until the options open to her narrowed down to single choices, leaving her with little scope for any flexibility in taking difficult decisions.

In the international sphere, Mrs. Gandhi had emerged over the years as a leading world personality championing the cause of the down-trodden societies, crusading against racial tyranny and economic exploitation, which brought her into conflict with the big powers bent on preserving their global dominance. But it also enhanced India's reputation among the weaker nations as a relentless upholder of their interests, as the leader of a country that had the capacity to carry on an unrelenting struggle against the inequities of the present international dispensation. She was widely regarded as the natural leader of the non-aligned community even before she became the current chairperson of the movement making it doubly incumbent on her to intensify her crusade for racial equality, economic justice and political rectitude.

## Indelible imprint

It is too early yet to attempt an assessment of achievements and failures of her leadership, while the country is still so close to her tragic end, to draw a proper balance between her perfections and imperfections. But what is really important in evaluating her performance is that in the final analysis it would be

established quite clearly that she had infinitely much more to her credit than discredit as leader of this great nation for nearly two decades.

A complex and controversial figure, she certainly allowed herself to be influenced by subjective considerations at times, but she has on the whole left behind an indelible imprint on the history of independent India as a charismatic figure who will continue to be remembered for long as a leader worthy of the great love and affection she received from the people. As one who was intensely liked or disliked, greatly adored or detested by her ardent admirers or carping critics, she remained at the centre of every major maelstrom in the country's politics, with the result that there is no place for any half-tones in the portrayal of her personality or appraisal of her performance.

## Innovative spirit needed

It will be extremely hard on Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to expect him to fill the political vacuum created by the sudden fade-out of his illustrious mother from the country's political life. He cannot just

Mrs. Gandhi had shaped the course of events in her time, which will now change in the changed context yielding place to the emergence of new influences. She was the single factor that held her Congress Party together with all its internal squabbles, besides serving as the main focus even for the antipathies of the Opposition.

## Good grasp

The mantle has fallen on Mr. Rajiv Gandhi much earlier than he or anybody had expected, since it was generally thought his mother would groom him for this great responsibility during her next turn of office after the coming elections. As General Secretary of the Congress (I) he has had a fairly good grasp of the clash of interests, and personalities that continue to plague the party weakening its base in the States. A determined attempt by him to restore inner party democracy could set the right tone for reorganising the Congress (I) down the level to establish closer contact with the people.

At the governmental level too, he will have to take steps to improve the perfor-

by

G. K. Reddy

carry on the Nehru-Indira tradition by adhering to the policies of his grandfather and his mother, since the changing times call for a new innovative spirit to adapt, alter and improve on the old approaches to be able to live up to the expectations of the people.

He is embarking on this difficult task with a tremendous amount of goodwill and sympathy which he can ill-afford to fritter away by allowing his entourage to over-reach themselves. He can start off on a reassuring note as an earnest young man imbued with a sense of mission by taking firm steps to curb corruption, misuse of political patronage and other malpractices that have crept into the system over the years, tarnishing the reputation of the Government.

It is futile at this stage to foresee the shape of things to come, since everything is now at a melting point. As the most important political figure on the national scene,

mance of the administration by stopping the interference of extra-constitutional elements. The quality of government cannot be improved unless parallel steps are taken to tone up the party organisation, which in turn will help to correct the many distortions that have developed in the functioning of the country's parliamentary institutions. It is both possible and desirable for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to make a well-meaning effort to shed some of the hangovers of the past before he becomes a prisoner of the many mistakes made in his mother's time.

The bureaucracy can be depended upon to conduct the country's foreign policy within the framework of the broad guidelines set by him. It is in the sphere of internal administration that the new Prime Minister has to display greater dynamism and firmness of purpose to inspire confidence among the people about his capacity to face

(Continued on page 5)



# CHALLENGE ...

(Continued from page 4)

challenges and cope with problems. He will be well advised to adhere to the election schedule and resist pressures to seek a postponement with the pretext that he needs time to prepare for this crucial test.

## Heavy burden

It is no doubt a stupendous ordeal for a young man of 40 with only three years' experience of public life to have the burden of prime ministership of the largest democracy thrust on his shoulders almost overnight without any advance preparation. But then history is made on the basis of such freak developments or accidental combinations of circumstances. When Nehru died, his daughter never dreamt that she would be Prime Minister in less than two years. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi too never imagined that he would succeed his mother so soon and in such a tragic situation amidst the traumatic horror of his mother's assassination.

As history is made both by people and events, this op-

portunity is a challenge as well as a chance for him to prove his capacity to cope with this responsibility with quiet confidence. Those who called him "Mr. Clean" in all good faith expect to see Mr. Rajiv Gandhi clean up the Augean stables, sanitise politics and bring in a breath of fresh air to the country's polluted public life. His best election manifesto would be a personal pledge to make an earnest beginning in this direction.

It was, indeed, a sad day for India to see its Prime Minister gunned down by her own security men within the heavily guarded premises of her official residence. It is not enough to condemn this dastardly act without probing deeper into the real causes of the malaise that made such a shocking crime possible in a country like India with all its moral values and democratic traditions. The country cannot survive as a single entity if the poison of communal hatred, parochial prejudices and sub-regional recriminations that have fouled up its politics and coarsened its spirit are not

eliminated through a proper catharsis of public life.

And the greatest homage Mr. Rajiv Gandhi can pay to the memory of his mother is to provide a healing touch to redress the genuine grievances of different sections of people and in the process weld them together into a well integrated nation again. This is, no doubt, a super-human task but something that deserves to be tackled with all the power and prestige at his command to prove worthy of her heritage. A smooth and swift succession has given him the necessary authority and prestige to rise to the occasion and make a profound impact on the minds of the people.

## The crucial test

The fact that he is a Nehru will certainly help in a country that is not unused to dynastic rule. But he has to consolidate his power as Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, a modest and moderate young man, a decent individual who does not have to live down any past mistakes. It is not enough to be just an honest and well-meaning new Prime Minister, since he is not left with enough time to learn the hard way through trial and error to govern this vast and restless country faced with many baffling problems.

Above all, he has to get into the habit of speaking for himself on every important issue, rather than letting others in his entourage do

this for him, since in politics a tidy mind and clarity of thought are as important as sincerity of purpose and a desire to do right things at the right time. There will be no dearth of self-seekers competing fiercely with one another to advise him, but he has to be guided largely by his own intuitive capacity to come forward with qualitatively superior solutions to well-defined problems with a proper set of priorities reflecting the current realities of the Indian situation. And this in brief is the crucial test that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi must pass before he is accepted unreservedly by the country as the Prime Minister in his own right, not as a beneficiary of hereditary benediction.

(The Hindu, 3rd November, 1984)

## Statutory minority rights for Sri Lanka Tamils urged

A resolution pleading that the Tamil population of Sri Lanka should be, by appropriate legislations, granted the rights guaranteed by international instruments concerning racial and ethnic minorities was adopted by the general assembly of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers which met in Athens recently.

The meeting recorded its deep concern at the continued brutal massacre and repressive policies against the Tamils in Sri Lanka and urged the Sri Lankan Government to stop immediately all actions likely to violate their rights and to solve the problem on a political basis through negotiations.

The President of the Organisation for the Protection of Human Rights Mr. V. R. Krishna Iyer, who attended the assembly, said here that the Jayewardene Government had even induced some Western countries to refuse the fleeing Tamils the "refugee status". This tragic success of that Government could be nullified only by an effective publicity for the

butchery of human rights which the President and all his men in Sri Lanka were guilty of. "Colombo is guilty of state terrorism genocidal in essence beyond description".

The Sri Lankan problem had been banished to the background in the Western countries as their issues dominated the world. The Sri Lankan Government through its lobbies, has presented its case before the agencies concerned, exaggerating violently, the problem of terrorism and Tamil Tigers and underplaying on an inconceivably low key, "the blood toil, tears and sweat" of the tormented Tamils, dreading death in the land where they had been living and fleeing as refugees, Mr. Krishna Iyer said.

The former Supreme Court Judge felt that India has a role in "militantising" world opinion and international concern for the Tamil martyrs of Sri Lanka. "Before our eyes, Hitlerite crimes are committed and so we must

(Continued on page 7)

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# RAMANI CONTACTS ANANDHI — THROUGH S. R.

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW

Thank you very much for publishing my letter in your paper. But you have spelt my name wrongly. My name is Ramani. But never mind. My friend Anandhi's father had seen my letter in your paper and guessed that it was me.

Anandhi's mother wrote to my mother. Anandhi also wrote to me. She says that she is not angry with me. She says why should she be angry with me just because a minority of the Sinhalese people behaved worse than the devil. Anandhi also says that the Tamil people do not hate the Sinhalese people. But, Anandhi's mother says that the Tamil people are very bitter that many Sinhalese people, although they didn't behave like the devil, tried to justify the actions of those devils.

That is very bad, isn't it? My mother told me that some Sinhalese persons have said that it was a great sin to attack the Tamils in Colombo and that they should have attacked the Tamils in Jaffna instead. What hypocrites they are, aren't they? That means Anandhi's house in Colombo should not have been burnt, but Anandhi's grandparent's house in Jaffna should have been burnt. Whatever it is, burning another's house is sinful, isn't it? Do they think that they are going to live for ever? One day God is going to question them.

I also read Shiranee's letter in your paper. Please let her know that I and my family pray for the Tamil people daily. We pray at home in our prayer room. We have a lovely Buddha statue. My mother says that it is no point in going to the temple and praying, because bad people and hypocrites like the politicians also go to temple and God will not be able to identify the good people and the bad people. My mother also says that some Buddhist priests in the temples are also bad. Then,

if we worship them, won't we be committing a sin?

Dear Mr. Editor, I would like to be friends with Shiranee and other Tamil girls from Jaffna. Why don't you have a Children's Page in your paper? Then the Tamil children and the Sinhalese children can write to each other. Will one extra page be very expensive? My mother says that some rich business people might help. Or, do you think that we are too small and un-important? After all, when all the big important people like the politicians die, they will leave behind all their unnecessary problems to us, wouldn't they?

I hope you will publish my letter in your paper again. Ammi has corrected all my mistakes.

Good-bye.

Miss Ramani De Silva  
Colombo.

## BAD SHOW, WHAT?

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW

In your note to a letter by a reader (Mr. Ajit Maheswaran) in the *Saturday Review* of 6th October, you have wondered "Why is it that some Tamil people cannot bear to see any Tamil person being praised?"

The answer is very simple, Sir. It is the chief trait and, if I may say, virtue of the Tamil people. It is in the Tamil people's blood, as it were.

In the past, they divided themselves into Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas, apart from many other divisions on grounds of religion, caste etc., and fought bitterly among themselves and dissipated their strength and ruined themselves.

They continued this tradition up to date and will continue it for ever as long as they exist. You can be certain of that.

In our days, too, you would have noticed that even the youth themselves who set themselves the time of liberating the Tamils of this country divided themselves into several groups and even had gun battles in another country which had given them refuge!

I recently read in the Press that two Tamil persons from a village in Jaffna who had obtained jobs and gone to a foreign country had displayed this trait of the Tamils in that country—one killing the other and the other, by doing that deed, getting himself condemned to death by the government of that country. So you see, this is in our blood.

You might say that other races also have this trait and might lay claim to the race to which you belong as the leading contender. But take it from me, it is not so. No one could come anywhere near the Tamils in this respect. We Tamils have no peers in this field. We stand head and shoulders above all the others, Occidentals or Orientals or even Savages! We can be proud of this!

Arul

Colombo 13.

Note by Editor: I think you have been a little too harsh on the Tamil Community.

## THE REAL GOD

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW

The Opposition is wasting its time in seminars and meetings. The youthful Leader of the Opposition, if he is indeed sincere in opposing the Government should read the *Newsweek* of 27th August where under the title "There is no fear", Mr. Aquilo Pimentel, Chairman of the PDP-Laban Party of the Philippines, is quoted as saying "We are beginning to generate support from the 'Parliament of the streets'; if we rely on opposition numbers in the Parliament, we'll never achieve anything".

Of Aquino he says "The fear which had paralysed millions of our countrymen is no longer there. More and more people are beginning to stand up to say what they want to and to demonstrate. That's the biggest contribution that the death of Ninoy Aquino gave to our people".

With profound apologies to Tagore, I would say—"Leave these seminars, and preachings and conferences in air-conditioned halls. Go in to the streets where the real God of Democracy is".

Ambalavanar Ratnam

Colombo 3.

What Dange's article has served to show is the role of the masses in this struggle, in the context of Gandhi's leadership as they interacted with his ideals, peculiarities, and obsession with non-violence, in so far as these did not run counter to the objective laws of social development.

To emphasise his point, Dange has shown how Gandhi realised the mistake of the consequences of his move in abandoning the independence movement's advance in 1920-21, and how he did not thereafter insist on non-violence as a pre-condition when he launched the campaigns of 1930, 1942, 1945 and how the concept of Ahimsa ceased to be a decisive factor in the direction and momentum of the mass movement for Indian independence.

Ahimsa or non-violence as a social morality presumes the existence of a merciful and a reasonable and judicious mind on the part of the enemy when in fact the enemy has nothing to gain by being merciful, reasonable or judicious but everything to lose. The contradiction is that non-violence by one implies the pursuit of violence by the other interpreting it as a sign of weakness. How can power surrender to weakness? Even in nature such an imbalance does not exist. Thus the contradiction between non-violence and violence is the dialectic between Narodnik and Nihilist.

An oppressed people cannot help getting tired of being lulled into passivity. Sooner or later they will come out of their coma in a delirium of indignation for justice. When they do, the determining factor in their destiny will not boil down to individual actions but mass action. No amount of worn out cliches, empty rhetoric, loud proclamations, righteous indignation, tall promises, palliative half-measures or backstage horse deals will survive a momentum which is fuelled by an atavistic instinct for freedom and self-preservation.

The struggle for self-determination and self-respect is an aspect of this instinct which impels illiterate peasants to revolt, workers to take control of their factories and workplaces, students to demonstrate, the city dwellers to set up street barricades and the soldiers to mutiny

(Continued on page 7)

# LETTERS

## DO NOT JUDGE

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW

We should appreciate very much the letter entitled "Lalith Shells Bishop" in the SR of 22nd September.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. B. Deogupillai, Bishop of Jaffna, explains very clearly the delicate position in which he is. While condemning violence with the rest of the Bishops of Sri Lanka and standing for a United Sri Lanka, he has to be also with his people. We shall do well wherever we be that we understand the situation in its own context and not judge from our own point of view only.

Fr. Matthew G. E. Silva  
Boragas.

## DANGE RIGHT

The Editor,  
SATURDAY REVIEW

*Saturday Review* should be congratulated for having given the opportunity for its readers on 6th October to read the tribute paid by Mr. S. A. Dange, the ex-leader of the Communist Party of India on the occasion of Gandhi's birth centenary in 1969.

The views expressed by Dange are so different from the cult image of Gandhi created by his loyalists and followers.

Undoubtedly, Gandhi was a great leader who made history by symbolising India's struggle against British Imperialism for independence.

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# S.O.S. To the President

Under the existing Constitution, which is your brainchild, you are President of the entire country composed of Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims and others.

It was recently reported by a foreign correspondent who interviewed you that your main concern is to assuage the worries of the majority Sinhalese.

The Sinhalese, as you know, have no political problems to worry about because they overwhelmingly outnumber all the minorities put together.

If the correspondent's report is correct, two inferences can be drawn. One is that you were elected to office solely by the majority vote of the Sinhalese. The other inference is that in a democratic government, you are bound to act in accordance with the wishes of the majority.

Inference 1 is incorrect because many Tamils, including myself, voted for you on account of your eminence as a veteran politician, probably the only remnant and mature politician of the old U.N.P. Guard.

Inference 2 is invalid on the ground that in this country's heterogeneous population, the Sinhalese are permanently entrenched in a majority and enviable position.

Suppose the majority decide to push the Tamils en bloc into the sea, would such a decision be binding on you? Certainly not, knowing your total commitment to the creation of a just and dharmistic society in this island. On this account you

are "Our Excellency - par Excellence" and it is therefore doubly incumbent on you to solve the Tamils' problem in a just and equitable manner, even if the heavens were to fall by such bold and heroic solution.

The other day you are reported to have said that you would rather quit office than authorise the killing of innocent Tamil civilians. Your Minister of National Security is also reported to have made a similar statement. These brave words are expressive of lofty sentiments in keeping with the tenets of Buddha. But words are, pardon me Sir, not enough unless they are honoured and matched with deeds.

The Tamils had no problems with the Sinhalese during British rule. They lived quite peacefully and cordially with their Sinhalese brethren and fought shoulder to shoulder for independence. Even in post-independence Sri Lanka, the Tamils and Sinhalese continued their friendly ties until 1956, the year of Sinhala Only.

Although the Government assured that a repetition of the 1983 Holocaust would not be permitted, the Tamils are still at the receiving end. The scene of tragedy has now shifted from the South to the North, particularly Jaffna Peninsula. The people there live in perpetual fear not of armed mobs but of the Security Forces and their reprisals. You cannot be unaware of the happenings in the Peninsula.

The general feeling is that the Army, by rounding up young lads indiscriminately on the assumption that every

boy is a potential terrorist, is out-Heroding Herod of the Christian era. This state of affairs, if allowed to continue will build up hostility against the Government and drive more Tamils willy-nilly into the camp of the secessionists.

With your political acumen and versatility, you will concede that a military strategy or approach is not the solution for an essentially political problem. Military conquest may, at most, secure only a temporary pause or peace.

Therefore, in the present tense and deadlocked situation, I suggest that you call for a temporary truce from all those concerned and invite the Tamil political leaders and the Tigers also to the negotiation table for a calm and dispassionate discussion of the Tamils' minimum demands.

I also suggest in all humility that you focus attention once again on the Indian Special Envoy's composite proposals for regional autonomy for the Tamils of the North and East. It was widely reported that these proposals were originally accepted by you as a workable proposition. The special merit of these proposals is that they provide for the integrity and unity of Sri Lanka and for a measure of self-administration by the Tamils in their traditional homelands.

This desperate appeal is made generally on behalf of the mortally frightened people of the Peninsula who feel that they are in the nightmarish grip of an "Occupation Army" and particularly on behalf of the weeping and fasting mothers who bemoan the sad predicament of their children.

Dr. K. Subramaniam  
Colombo.

# Only a small slip

The Bishops Conference of Sri Lanka, after 25 years of ethnic violence (since 1956), came out with a statement of its stand on the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka "Towards Rebuilding of Sri Lanka Nation".

The statement was prepared after the July 1983 Holocaust by the Bishops with the help of Father Tissa Balasuriya and released on 10th June 1984. The original was in English.

Soon after its release, all the Bishops left for Rome with copies of this statement. In Rome the Pope praised their efforts with regard to their stand for human rights.

The official paper of Vatican 'L'Osservatore Romano' of 6th July carried in its front-page headline "Solidarity of the Pope with the Bishops of Sri Lanka" for their stand for human rights of the oppressed Tamils. The Bishops returned home happy and satisfied with their "Ad limina" performance!

At home, the pastoral was translated immediately into Tamil and serialised in the Catholic weekly Pathukavalan. Although all the Bishops including the Sinhalese Bishops, put their signatures to it and enjoyed the praise of the Pope, some secular power seemed to have called them to a side and asked them to be more "prudent" and less foolish and wanted the statement not to get into the mind of the masses.

At first the excuse for not disseminating it among the Sinhalese Catholics was some

difficulty in translation, and then expediency.

Hundreds of these, in English, too, are lying idle for want of courage to bandy what has already been accepted by all the Bishops and praised by the Pope.

Time is running out for educating and apprising the Sinhalese masses about the rights of the minorities.

The Catholic Church either misses the bus or stands on the wrong side of the road!

## Statutory minority rights...

(Continued from page 5)

speak up and protest". Capitals in the countries of the world should be informed more effectively than what we have done, about the macabre happenings in Jaffna and Kandy.

If only the bloodbath that was now becoming organised in Sri Lanka was brought to the burning attention of the West, many donor-countries might decline aid to that island. May be the Government of India has done something about this problem and surely the Prime Minister and her adviser were distressed and concerned but "we have not carried on a tearing and raging campaign which is the cry of the hour" he said.

(The Hindu, 30th October)

## LETTERS

DANGE.....

(Continued from page 6)

or, for that matter, people of an oppressed ethnic group to close ranks and sink themselves in their community irrespective of their social, financial or personal differences except for the few who may have vested interests or petty power motives to do otherwise.

It is in crisis situations that the strength and weakness of a people manifest and under such circumstances leaders evolve to lead in so

far as they understand the problems that confront them, which then gives their supporters the confidence that the outcome of the leaders' solution policy is well-founded.

To take the view that Gandhi understood the problem of British Imperialism, and that the Indian masses supported him, rather than followed to put an end to it, would be more realistic.

R. S. Ganeshan  
Doddington, U.K.

## SOLOMON'S WISDOM

"When a good man speaks, he is worth listening to, but the words of fools are a dime a dozen."

"The wicked man's fears will all come true, and so will the good man's hopes."

"Disaster strikes like a cyclone and the wicked are whirled away. But the good man has a strong anchor."

"God protects the upright, but destroys the wicked."

"The good shall never lose God's blessings, but the wicked shall lose everything."

(Compiled by Jupiter)

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# Saturday Review

## TULF Protests to JR

A delegation of the Tamil United Liberation Front led by Mr. A. Amirthalingam had a meeting with the President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene on Tuesday, 13th November. Ministers Lalith Athulathmudali and A. C. S. Hameed, along with the TULF representatives Mr. R. Sampanthan and Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam were also present.

The TULF utilized the opportunity to draw Mr. Jayewardene's attention to a large number of issues concerning the Tamils in the North and East:

- o The increasing excesses by the military and the police commandos in the North and East culminating in the unjustified firing in the Jaffna Bazaar on Friday, 5th November, during which eight people were killed and forty-three injured. In subsequent incidents military personnel squirted an unidentified chemical liquid on passers-by causing injuries to two teachers and a student belonging to **VEMBADI GIRLS' SCHOOL**, and a female undergraduate.
- o The TULF pointed out that the harassment caused to the people can be ended only by withdrawing the army from the North and East.
- o The TULF took exception to the government's decision to bring Tamil villages under the Vavuniya South Sinhalese AGA Division and called for a withdrawal of the government's proclamation in the Gazette of 19th October.
- o The delegation pointed out that Tamil refugees from the South who were settled in Nedunkerni are being terrorised and driven away while attempts are made to plant in their place criminal elements from other South-

ern districts. In Muthalikulam too Tamil refugees are being evacuated and their houses burnt and new settlements of Sinhalese from Anuradhapura are being organised by a government Minister. The TULF requested that Tamil refugees should be allowed to continue in their settlements.

- o The TULF drew attention to the 1000 houses built in Kokilai in the Mullaitivu district purportedly to house Sinhala fishermen from other districts and requested that the houses be given to Tamil fishermen from Mullaitivu.
- o Attention was also drawn to the plight of the Tamil refugees living in the Trincomalee Dockyard area. The plea was made to put an end to the harassment of these refugees.
- o The TULF spokesmen expressed grave concern about the unlawful measures that are being taken in Trincomalee to remove the names of Tamils from the electoral register. The Security Forces are intimidating the Grama Sevaks to introduce Sinhala names in place of Tamil names in the register.
- o The TULF also drew attention to the prevalent discrimination against Tamils in regard to employment opportunities and allocation of government-built houses.

The TULF leaders requested the President to put an end to these unlawful measures. Mr. Amirthalingam is reported to have pointed out that if appropriate steps are not taken in the immediate future, there will be no purpose in the TULF continuing to participate in the All Party Conference.

## After Jaffna's Jallianwala Bagh, Action Shifts To Kilinochchi

Jaffna experienced a brief respite after weeks of terror and suffering. No major incidents were reported after the Army firing in the Jaffna Bazaar last week—which the Jaffna based Tamil daily EELANADU described as Jaffna's Jallianwala Bagh.

But there have been reports of incidents in Kilinochchi during the week. All activities in the town came to a standstill following a massive four hour long search operation launched by the security forces on Tuesday morning, 13th November.

All the vehicles on the busy Kandy-Jaffna road were stopped and searched. Over five hundred youths were reportedly arrested, taken to the Rodrigo grounds and searched. About 20 others were handcuffed and taken away in a van. Some of them were released after inquiries. It is also reported that some youths who had sustained injuries were kept tied to lamp posts on the public highway.

According to reports sporadic firing by the security forces drove panic into crowds of people who were in the town attending to their routine work and forced them to flee in shock and fear.

The Kilinochchi District was proclaimed a Security Zone by the Special Government Gazette of 3rd November, 1984.

CENSORED

## Tamils Unite to Commemorate Indira

Almost every strand in the Sri Lankan Tamil political formation in Madras was represented at the Indira Commemoration Meeting held in Madras on Sunday, 11th November. TULF leaders Messrs. M. Sivas-

thamparam and A. Amirthalingam addressed the meeting along with representatives from other groups and organisations. The meeting was presided over by Dr. Jeyakularajah.

Efforts are likely to be made to consolidate this fleeting unity occasioned by the commemoration meeting. It is well known that the Indian leaders have always been trying to bring about unity among the different Sri Lankan Tamil political groups.

Earlier the TULF leaders, Mr. A. Amirthalingam, Mr. M. Sivasithamparam and Mr. R. Sambanthan who were in Delhi for the funeral of Mrs. Gandhi, had held discussions

with the new Indian Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and Mr. G. Parthasarathy, concerning the Tamil question in Sri Lanka. Subsequently the Tamil leaders are reported to have expressed confidence that the government of India, under the new Prime Minister will show the same concern as before and continue in its mediatory role to bring about a solution to the Tamil problem.

The TULF triumvirate returned to the Island on Monday, 12th November. They are expected to address the Indira Commemoration Meeting organised by the TULF to be held in Jaffna on 19th November.

## Let There...

(Continued from page 1)  
blood of Sikhs and Hindus was mingled on the herioc soil of Jallianwala Bagh.

"To subject Sikhs as a whole to violence and indignity for what a few misguided persons have done, however heinous their crime, is most irrational and unbecoming of our heritage of tolerance. This madness must stop.

"We appeal to people of India particularly the active political workers and public servants, to exert themselves to the utmost to restore sanity and harmony.

"The world's eyes are on India. India must come out of this test with credit. The nation's unity and integrity must be safeguarded at all costs and this is the foremost responsibility of every citizen."

Those among the Opposition leaders who turned up for the meeting were (according to the Hindu of 3rd November) Mr. Charan Singh and Mr. H. N. Bahuguna (DMKP), Mr. Chandra Shekhar (Janata), Mr. C. Rajeshwara Rao and Mr. Indrajit Gupta (CPI), Mr. E. M. S. Namboothiripad and Mr. Samar Mukherjee (CPI-M), Mr. Jagjivan Ram (Cong. J.), Mr. Sharad Pawar and Mr. K. P. Unnikrishnan (Cong. S.), Mr. Tridib Chowdhury (RSP), Mr. L. K. Adwani and Mr. Ram Jethmalani (BJP), Mr. Chitta Basu (FB) and Mr. Chandrajit Yadav (Janavadi).

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