

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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DRUM GUARDS

HOME

It was perhaps the 'human interest' angle which prompted the Government-controlled Daily News to publish a front page picture (Tuesday, 8th April) of President Jayewardene with a four-year-old. But this picture symbolises the war psychosis the Government has created; the caption runs: "all togged up in military gear, four-year-old Waruna Randeewa Malalasuriya obliges the President with a demonstration of how to get the enemy." This is 'catching, em young' with a vengeance!

An eminent Lankan anthropologist with an international reputation, Prof. Gananath Obeyesekere, has noted the post-1977 institu-

tionalisation of political violence in this country. It is this process which, spurred on by the necessities and the logic of the open economy, has grown into the militarisation and the attendant brutalisation with which the Tamils especially are now familiar.

The Home Guards were spawned by this process. And in a remarkably short time this fledgling organisation seems to have violated almost every provision of the Penal Code.

Murder, rape, looting, assault and battery — these are some of the more serious charges some Home Guards are facing. We can't go into details as they are *sub judice*. Two of their latest exploits are recounted elsewhere on this page.

It is not only the Tamils who have been at the receiving end: Sinhalese and Muslims too have been

the victims of rampaging Home Guards.

Things have become so intolerable now that 'crematorium wisdom' (as the Tamil phrase has it) seems to have dawned on Home Affairs Minister K. W. Devanayagam.

Addressing a recent conference of Govt. Agents, Minister Devanayagam had not only endorsed the complaints these officials made against the Home Guards — involvement in robbery and acts of violence — but also gone one step further and suggested the Home Guards be disarmed. National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali, who was present, had been discreetly silent on this point.

The SR is happy to concur with the Minister, at least on this point. But we would like to go a step further and advise the Home Affairs Minister to demand that the misbegotten Home Guards be disbanded and drummed back home.

TRAUMATIC IMPACT

"We in the North have been deprived of our human rights under laws promulgated in the name of prohibited and security zones and we are right now within the Security Zone," said Dr. C. Wijeyarajah, in the course of his presidential address at the Annual General Meeting of the Jaffna Central College Gld Boys Association, held on 29th March. He went on to say that "some of our friends and colleagues have found these changes too dangerous and difficult to bear. They had forsaken traditions and culture, packed their bags in despair and left in a hurry to find asylum in distant lands with different cultures. Society in transition with rapid changes is a painful process. These changes will in-

evitably have a traumatic psychological impact on the minds of our children at Central and other schools. They are growing at a time when tradition, culture and even reason are being forsaken and these children are going to be our leaders of tomorrow. This is our dilemma. In this dilemma the Old Boys' Association, I think, can play its part."

LANDMINE DEATHS

A Police Inspector, a jeep driver and 2 Sinhalese civilians were killed on the spot when the police jeep they were travelling in hit a landmine at Talaimannar on Wednesday morning (9th April).

NO COMMENT

This is an extract from astrologer Sugathadasa Jayasekera's weekly forecast in *The Island* of 6th April:

This unusual placing of planets will cause sabotage, strikes and uprisings of the people in many a country, thereby weakening the governments and making room for military plots and conspiracies, which appear to end in success.

The politicians tend to commit mistakes and those who oppose them will have plenty of opportunities to win over them. There would be a very serious attack or a clash with the forces in the North-East (Trincomalee area) and this could be an attack on the navy or probably a naval battle.

Shelling from the Jaffna Fort for nearly four hours on Sunday morning (6th April) left two people dead and more than ten injured. Some buildings too were damaged. The dead persons are Manuel Anthonipillai (30), father of four children, and Xavier Sahayanathan (26), father of a child, both of Gurnagar.

The areas most affected by the shelling were Gurnagar, Pannai, Grand Bazaar, First Cross Street and Athiadi.

The retaliatory attacks by the militants injured two army personnel, according to government sources.

The four hour shelling by the security forces also damaged the Chelvanayakam Memorial Pillar, opposite the Fort.

HACKED TO DEATH

Three Tamils were robbed and hacked to death at Pattikudiyiruppu, near Kent and Dollar Farms.

The alleged assailants were Home Guards, according to a complaint received by the Vavuniya Citizens' Committee.

PRINCIPAL GIVEN THE 'WORKS'

Al Haj M. M. A. Azeez Hadjar (53), Principal of a Government School in Kattankudy, is now warded in Batticaloa Hospital with a broken arm, after being given the 'works' by Home Guards.

According to the complaint he made to the Police, some Home Guards had severely assaulted him and then paraded him through the streets, shouting slogans.

AMIR'S WARNING

The armed forces are about to launch a big onslaught on Jaffna, said the Secretary General of the Tamil United Liberation Front, Mr. A. Amirthalingam, at a press conference in Madras.

FIVE KILLED

Combing-out operations by security forces at Thambiluvil on Monday (7th April) led to 5 Tamils being killed. Four of the bodies were recovered later from a pond by relatives.

ARMY CASUALTIES

Two army personnel, including a Captain, were reported killed when militants attacked the Thondaimannar Army Camp on Tuesday (8th April). In reprisal, helicopters strafed houses close to the camp.

OUT OF BOUNDS

All the forests in the Vavuniya District have been declared Prohibited Zones.

This was announced by the Coordinating Officer, Vavuniya, Kingsley Jayewardene, at a conference of Government officials.

Release ALL Political detenus in Sri Lanka jails

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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Tamils Have Right To Live With Dignity

The text of a letter sent by the President of the Pt. Pedro Citizen's Committee, Prof. V. Ganeshalingam, to President Jayewardene:

I have been directed by my Committee to place before Your Excellency some incidents that took place recently in this area.

Sometime back—about two weeks ago—a woman had been the victim of gunshots from the Army Camp at Point-Pedro. She is thought to be one Nagammah of Thambachetty, Point Pedro, a mental patient. She has been in the habit of worshipping at the Alady Pillayar Temple even as a mental patient. She has been missing for a fortnight and all efforts to trace her failed. A woman's body was lying near Alady Pillayar Temple for about the same length of time but no one dared to remove the body since no one's life is guaranteed.

On March 27, 1986, Rev. Fr. A. Sahayathan of the Bishop's House, Jaffna had come to St. Thomas Church, Point Pedro on a Motor Cycle to assist Parish Priest of this Church in the Services on Good Friday the following day. He was new to the area and somebody at Nelliady had directed him to take the straight road to Point Pedro. But at Malisanthy junction, instead of following the road eastwards, he had gone on the northward direction and ended up at the Beach

road from where he had taken the eastward course only to realize too late that he had come close to the Army Camp. However, he raised his hands in surrender with the Holy Cross in hand and his Robes well exposed but this did not deter the Army from firing at him. He could not withstand the shots and he ran in fear and was saved by the villagers. Only Providence had saved him with two injuries—one on the hand and another on his leg—perhaps because he was on a solemn mission to assist in the Services at the Church on Easter Friday. Soon after the Army Camp fired Mortar Shells causing unnecessary panic to an otherwise peaceful area.

On Good Friday, 28th instant, one V. Ganesapillai, a 70 year old Pensioner, an absolutely harmless man, went to his house to light an oil lamp as it was Friday, holy to the Hindus. As he was drawing water from the well to wash his hands and feet before lighting the lamp, he was shot at by the Army who had been waiting in some abandoned house closeby. His feet were smashed and he sustained injuries in the abdomen, and legs also. This was about 9.30 A.M.

On Saturday 29th March, 1986, some people had come to Point Pedro in a car and lorry from Jaffna to buy a boat and transport same to Jaffna from Point Pedro. Naturally some people had collected at the Beach over this transaction. The Army Camp sentry must have thought that something

untoward was taking place. Within minutes, a helicopter came and opened fire and the whole town was transformed into an area of panic. The car was damaged and one man was injured.

The market place was deserted and people ran in all directions for shelter and the town came to a stand-still. A little while later mortar shells were fired from the Camp into residential areas. One such shell fired fell on the roof of the house of one Mrs. Thaiyanayaki Satchithanathan, a 60 year old widow of Main Street, Point Pedro, causing damage to the extent of Rs. 5,000/-.

Your Excellency will agree that all these could have been avoided if only the Security Forces were mindful of the innocent civilians in the area. Besides these events, the area was peaceful. This is life in this area.

We have constantly and consistently maintained that densely populated Point Pedro town is not the place for an Army Camp and have even suggested that this Camp be closed and the personnel be housed at Palaly, if so advised. We still earnestly request that the Point Pedro Army Camp be closed and the innocent people be allowed to live in peace—the barest minimum Your Excellency could guarantee, especially when the ban on fishing, destruction of crops, impediments to transport of food items by lorry and stoppage of rail services have already hit hard the economic life of the people. We are also human beings born with the right to live and live with dignity.

SR Relief Fund

Here's a letter from the Coordinator (Relief / Rehabilitation) of SCOT, which speaks for itself:

Standing Committee of Tamil Speaking People (S C O T)

299, Torbay Road,
Harrow
Middlesex
HA 2 9QP
19 March 1986.

Dear Mr. Navaratne,

When I wrote to you on 24th January I suggested that instead of shipping clothes and other requirements from here it would be more cost effective to apply funds that would otherwise be spent by us on packing, freight and other charges, to purchase locally (if you think this is feasible) clothes, medicines, toys and any other necessities for the refugees. There is considerable support for this view among our members, and we would like to see this support expressed in the tangible form of further financial assistance for your efforts.

In the meanwhile, some of our members have received letters from their contacts in Sri Lanka to say how contributions to the 'SR Relief Fund' (which includes ours)

have been put to excellent use to provide food, clothes, medicines etc. particularly for those in the Boosa Detention Camp. We consider that more funds could be generated for your Relief Fund, if we can give wider publicity to SR's role in the overall relief operation. I am aware that you did publish details in a recent issue of the SR but, regrettably, not all the people here actually subscribe to your valuable paper. Whilst it is not our intention to burden you with additional work, we feel that an official letter to us, setting out in some detail the assistance you have already provided, would help to strengthen support here for your great humanitarian efforts. In writing to us it might be appropriate to confirm that your assistance is not confined to Jaffna, but to other areas as well.

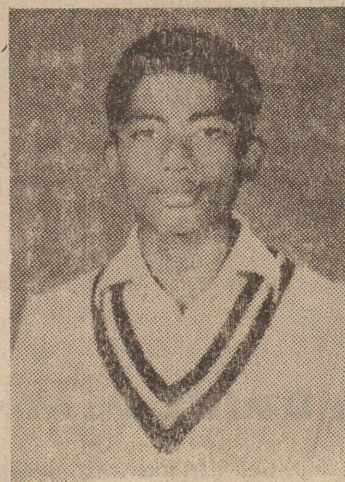
Our next monthly meeting is scheduled for 20th April, and if it is not too much trouble I would like to hear from you before that date.

Yours sincerely,

C. Kathiresan

Co-ordinator Relief / Rehabilitation

CHIP OF THE OLD BLOCK



The name V. T. is a family name for sports in Sri Lanka, particularly in Jaffna. Now comes the news of Jaffna's young find in Cricket, Terry Mahan of Jaffna Central College one of the famous V. T. Lingam's son, Terry Mahan is the son of V. T. Ganeshalingam, (one time the fastest man in Jaffna, 100 yds in 10 secs, a National Sprinter). Playing Cricket for Jaffna

Central College Terry was the first Centurion this season. He scored 102 against Union College Tellippalai. Again in his next outing for Central against Skandavarodaya College, Chunnakam he scored another century, an unbeaten 107. This season he was very consistent with the bat. He is the only cricketer to score a century this season in the limited over school boys cricket tournament in the North. He is a very successful bowler too, having a match bag of 4 for 29 against Manipay Hindu College and 5 for 07 against Skandavarodaya College, where he obtained a hat-trick.

Last year he captained the under 17 Jaffna Central, cricket team and was very successful with the bat & ball, scoring two centuries in the Schools tournament.

— Anton

Perhaps the most damning indictment of the wayward policies which have led this country and its people into a dangerous cul-de-sac has come from the Minister of Finance in a prize day speech at Bishop's College on March 20th. Issuing as it does from within the Government's own upper ranks, it is worth quoting as reported in the *Island* of March 22nd.

Mr. de Mel is not given to mincing words and his pragmatic good sense and practical sensibility need to be taken seriously even at this eleventh hour, when all seems lost. "If we don't find a solution to the present national crisis soon, as the Finance Minister I can tell you this country is heading for disaster — we are going down a slope slowly to destruction. Sri Lanka is passing through its greatest crisis in recent history and that was not the time to split hairs or score debating points with any one."

The Minister called for the abandonment of what he termed 'the traditional frog in the well attitude', and to understand the present problems in their real perspective. "We must accept the realities of our geographical situation, which no one can change. Can we live in any other way but in peace with our big neighbour India. This is not only an ethnic question we face to-day, but a deep seated political, economic, social and geographical problem, which we have to appreciate in all its complexity and arrive at a peaceful political settlement soon—otherwise the country heads for disaster."

A PLEA FOR SANITY

It is well to dwell briefly on the terrible pass we are in to-day. One of the poorest countries in the world community, a small island of 16 million people, is spending 600 billion rupees in its current budget for fighting, what is to all intents and purposes, a 'civil war' with a significant minority of its own citizens. Half of its population depends for survival on food stamps, 40% of its children are undernourished, while the scourge of inflation in the last decade has become a mounting infliction on most segments of the people. Any development has been achieved at the cost of an enormous and growing burden of

Nine years ago the ruling regime in its manifesto for that 'famous victory' correctly identified the just grievances of the Tamil people of Sri Lanka, and promised swift redress through the open forum of national political debate. Overwhelming Presidential power and authority and the massive parliamentary majority (even though flawed somewhat in its representative character and moral legitimacy after 1982) squandered the unprecedented political initiative and momentum of popular support they had obtained in 1977. What we have now, as a result of a failure of vision and a faltering leadership, is a squalid and bloody

tasies of a seemingly incurable insular hubris. The climate for accommodation and reconciliation is virtually non-existent, and all hope of a peaceful political solution appears to have receded out of sight.

However internal the problem is, and no one gainsays that central fact, no realistic settlement is possible without Indian mediation and Indian goodwill. This cardinal truth can only be neglected at our peril. It is important, therefore, that all persons who love their country, be they Sinhalese, Tamil or Muslims, and who do not wish to see it dismembered and left a bleeding corpse, raise their collective voices to persuade the government into the ways of racial harmony and peace. The primary demands of the Tamil people need to be recognised, and their legitimate aspirations contained within a just, magnanimous, and workable constitutional arrangement, which, while guaranteeing the unity and sovereignty of the nation, will at the same time secure for the Tamils appropriate and authentic measures of regional self government. It is time we realised that the granting of regional, federal autonomy will not in any way violate the concept of a united Sri Lanka.

To cry halt to the insanity of this senseless and continuing carnage is the compelling need of the hour. No final resolution of the political stalemate can otherwise be achieved.

by

H. A. I. Goonetilleke

foreign debt. To add to it all, the toll of human life, the scale of suffering and material destruction, and the staggering total of helpless refugees within and outside the borders of the country beggar description. Yet, the government seems committed to waging a bitter and unrelenting armed campaign in the North and East, and the Tamil people in those regions seem equally determined not to give up their long standing campaign for self-determination which has now culminated in an apparently inextinguishable struggle for national liberation by militant means.

war in which no quarter is asked or given, despite resounding asseverations from time to time that a peaceful political settlement remains high on the governments agenda. But, equally claimant, or even more so, is the overweening desire for a military solution with all its awesome consequences. The paths of reason, moderation, realism, and compromise have been fouled up by hidebound positions, bigoted images of a febrile racism, and strident stances of chauvinistic bravado. The Tamil psyche has been too grievously violated, and the Sinhala psyche riddled and tormented by the myths and fan-

UNION TERRITORIES

Finding The Donkey

Newspaper headlines recently stated that there was speculation that the Indian High Commissioner Mr. Dixit 'would discuss with the Sri Lankan leadership proposals to grant greater autonomy to the North and East akin to the Indian Union Territories'. It might or might not be true. Yet people, who are the final arbiters in a five-star democracy should know how Union Territories are governed.

Parts 8 and 10 of the Constitution of India, sections 239 to 244, set out the relevant laws. The democratic rights and democratic governments which are assured to all the States of the Indian Union are denied by these sections of the Constitution to the Union Territories of India and tribal areas.

Section 239 states that the President shall administer a Union Territory (e.g. Andaman Islands) through an Administrator appointed

by him. The Indian Parliament may create a legislative body, either elected or partly nominated, to enact laws but such laws are subordinate to the Ordinances promulgated by the Administrator. The local legislative body can be dissolved or suspended by the Administrator at his discretion. The Action of the Administrator shall not be questioned in any Court.

By S. R. Asirvatham

However in the case of a few territories like Goa and Pondichery, the President cannot promulgate Ordinances while the legislative body in session but he may do so after dissolving it or suspending it. The President is empowered to repeal or amend any law of the National legislative

which applies to a Union Territory so far as it applies to such territory.

Tribal Areas are governed by Ordinance made, not by the President, but by a State Governor who is advised by a Tribal Advisory Council which has a large share of nominated members.

The reported speculation is not altogether fanciful judging by the course of India's now-on, now-off, dilatory mediation. Sri Lankan leaders probably imagine that the Union Territory model of Government will counter greater autonomy to the North than what they now have, that is, no representation in the legislative or executive organs of government or local government. It is certainly an advance on the present government of the North. In fact the government of the tribal areas of India is a great advance over it.

There is a popular saying in Bangladesh that when Allah wants to make you grateful to Him and praise His greatness, he first makes you lose all your possessions and later makes you find your donkey.

COMPUTER STUDY SCHOLS

The management of a leading Centre for Computer Studies in Jaffna is pleased to offer scholarships for three deserving students through the medium of the SATURDAY REVIEW from families adversely affected by the unfortunate disturbances that have affected us for some time now.

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Those interested in applying for these scholarships are requested to send their bio data to:

The Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW
118 4th Cross Street, Jaffna
on or before 18 th April, 1986.

SRI LANKA'S CONFLICT - 2

(Continued from last issue)

An examination of the positions and interests charts (see SR, 5th April 1986) should lead to two observations. First, that there exists an obvious conflict between the stated positions of the Government and Tamil groups: thus, what the Tamils want the government is not willing to concede, while what the government wants the Tamils are not willing to concede. Since all previous negotiations between the two parties have focused exclusively upon these directly opposed positions, it is not surprising that they failed. The second observation, however, shows a path to a more satisfactory negotiation strategy: it is to focus on interests.

Unlike their positions, few of the interests of the two parties are conflicting ones. To the contrary, some of the interests are shared ones. Most of the interests simply differ. There is a great difference between interests that conflict (as in our example where the two boys both wanted to eat the meat of the coconut) and interests that differ (as when one boy wanted the meat and the other the water). Differing interests are not 'bad' things; indeed, it is when interests differ that we are able to come up with creative options to exchange what we want less for what we want more so that both parties can get more of what they want.

What has been said above is more than a mere theory. There are many examples from international politics that can be given to show that focussing on interests, particularly interests that differ, can lead to solutions that are better for all concerned. The Camp David agreement of 1978 at which Egypt and Israel signed their historic peace agreement in the U. S. A. is a good example.

At these talks one of the main stumbling blocks was the issue of the Sinai peninsula. The Sinai was Egyptian territory which Israel had occupied after the 1967 war. Egypt wanted the Sinai back; Israel refused to give it. Since these positions were directly opposed to one another, there seemed to be no hope of a solution. But then the negotiators came upon the idea to ask each side why they took the positions they did. The Egyptian response was that all of Egyptian soil should be under the Egyptian flag. Israel's response was that it wanted the Sinai as a buffer between itself and Egypt. Israel feared that if Egypt got back the Sinai it

NEGOTIATING A SOLUTION

would station troops and tanks in it which would be a mere 2 hours away from Jerusalem. On the other hand if Israel kept the Sinai, the nearest Egyptian troops and tanks would be stationed 24 hours away.

Once the underlying concerns of the Egyptians and Israelis were discovered the solution to what appeared to be an intractable problem was readily forthcoming — it was for Israel to hand back the Sinai to Egypt, and for Egypt to guarantee that it would not station its armed forces in the Sinai. As a result both the differing interest of the Egyptians in their sovereignty and the Israeli interest in security against a quick invasion were satisfactorily met. The United States gave informal assurances to both sides concerning the stability of the agreement. It also made the deal sweeter with a large aid package conditioned upon a satisfactory agreement being reached. Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for statesmanship. The size of the cake was increased and both sides gained by the agreement.

The reason we negotiate is because we hope to obtain a better result than is possible without negotiating. Therefore, it is important for us to carefully think what our best alternative to a negotiated agreement would be.

In Sri Lanka there are two alternatives to a negotiated agreement: either a continuing bloody stalemate or a military solution. Clearly between these two a military solution is the preferable one to both sides, because it would mean victory and an end to the problem. A stalemate, on the other hand, would mean a relentless loss of lives and continuing destruction.

'Military dominance' is sometimes put forward as a viable third alternative. It exists where one side militarily dominates the other side but cannot completely wipe it out. Thus, while armed hostilities continually take place, they do so at a low level of intensity. This provides an equilibrium that is relatively stable and can continue for a very long time.

Some examples from Sri Lanka's neighbours would include the long smouldering rebellions in the Indian border states of Nagaland and Manipur or in the Karen areas of Burma. Fighting for 'self determination' (called 'banditry' by the

Indian authorities) the Nagas kill a steady stream of Indian soldiers and government officials. Nevertheless, the violence is contained within the Naga areas. Stretching 3000 miles, India is too vast for the conflict to spill over into the rest of the country.

Sri Lanka, on the other hand, does not even measure 300 miles

from top to bottom. Given this small size, neither side can effectively contain spillovers of violence nor prevent deadly strikes by one side into the heartland of the other. A strategy of military dominance therefore cannot help but degenerate in the long run into a situation of bloody stalemate.

BEST ALTERNATIVE TO A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT CHART

Government	Tamils
A military solution BUT it would mean:	A military solution BUT it would mean:
a. spending more money on the armed forces and less on economic development.	a. tolerating a high rate of decimation of the Tamil civilian population.
b. protecting Sinhalese civilians from Anuradhapura type massacres.	b. risking a change of government and the emergence of a more hardline government.
c. instability and the risk of a military coup.	c. the destruction of the economic base of the North and East and a decline in the socio-economic status of the Tamils.
d. economic collapse and the growth of revolutionary potential.	d. lack of political democracy and law and order.
e. risking a civil war and Indian invasion.	e. losing the support of the Indian government.

by

Jehan Perera

What is readily apparent from the chart above is that both sides seriously over-estimate the strength of their best alternatives to a negotiated agreement. The risks and costs, inherent in a military solution, are simply enormous. But then why do both sides walk away from the negotiating table when their best alternatives are so horrible? The follow-

ing charts that set out the choices as currently seen by the Government and Tamil groups may explain why. Note that these charts help to focus attention on the choices the two parties face, and how they see them. They are also useful in explaining why each side does not do what the other side wants them to do.

CURRENTLY PERCEIVED CHOICE CHART (I)

A government leader: "Shall we accept the Tamil formula for a federal solution"?	If No:
If Yes:	1. We stand firm and appear to be in charge.
1. Having opposed federalism for so long we will lose all credibility with the Sinhalese.	2. We buy time during which the armed forces can be strengthened.
2. We take a reckless step down a slippery slope with no clear end in sight.	3. We preserve the support of Sinhalese hardliners and the Sangha.
3. We reward Tamil violence and encourage some more.	4. We keep our options open. We can always agree to their proposals later if we want to.
4. The Sinhalese hardliners and Buddhist Sangha will abandon us. The Opposition parties will use this to rouse the Sinhalese.	
5. Divisions within the government will worsen.	
6. We will go down in history as the leaders who betrayed the Sinhalese.	
7. We give up the chance of getting better terms.	

(Continued on page 7)

In an article in the London Sunday Times (23 Feb.) Tavleen Singh described the gruesome events of mid January where 24 young Tamils including three Church workers were killed at Iruthayapuram by the security forces. Following the interview with Bishop Swampillai of Batticaloa the writer wrote thus: When the National Security Minister, Lalith Athulathmudali, was asked whether innocent civilians had been killed in the incident he told the Sunday Times: "No innocent civilians were killed. They were all terrorists". The same Minister was quoted in the Daily News of 22 Feb. where he was referring to the call by Human Rights Alert to suspend aid to Sri Lanka, "...what's going to be said in Geneva is being said without giving us a hearing. It's an ex-parte (one-sided) condemnation of Sri Lanka". Both reports probably appeared in the British press on the same day. The irony would have completely escaped the Minister, it is after all the most demanding part of his job to declare ex-parte a terrorist, nearly every Tamil killed, age and sex notwithstanding.

The President on the other hand, appears as a man whose conscience although battered is not altogether non-existent. His luxuriant self-indulgence is such that in comparison with his personal distress over his declining hold on power, the sufferings of millions of his fellow countrymen seem of little account. In a recent interview with Michael Hamlyn of the Times he asked several times, "What am I to do?". He jolly well knew at least since 1977.

UNREALITY

When men cling to power whose tenuousness is partly shielded by a multitude of repressive laws, a servile press and the pomp of ceremony, an unreality creeps over them. They are given to self-pity with their families joining in. All sense of perspective and what the world at large thinks is lost on them. Ex-president Marcos in Hawaii, clinging to his loot and telling the press in an emotionally strained voice that he acted in the interests of the Filipinos is a good example. They become ex-parte.

In a recent incident at Myliddy, a man was killed by random helicopter firing. Later a crowd gathered at the dead man's house. A helicopter passing that way fired at the mourners. A man injured in his leg stopped the bleeding temporarily and was cycling towards Tellippalai hospital. When a helicopter came that way except for this man the people on the road took cover behind bushes. The helicopter fired at this man and he fell from his bicycle, again injured. The pilot

deliberately brought the helicopter low down to enable the gunner to finish off the wounded man at close range. Some hidden behind bushes saw the gunner actually grinning as he did it.

This is the kind of cruelty that has been unleashed in our country. Starting from our political leaders many people have been affected by this. People do not remain

THE ARROGANCE OF POWER

the same when they see so much death around them. Some recent incidents amongst Tamils are very disturbing.

NO COMFORT

To those who serve truth, there is the comfort that they serve

them put themselves beyond chance and accepted death as virtually certain. But in a community where guns have proliferated, there is the real possibility that these may be turned within. When this happens it is a most distressing insult to those who have died. When a group of young people in Jaffna came forward to examine our society more closely and obviate such an eventuality, they have

been told by some elders, "do not let our side down by raising these issues when the international media is behind us. What can you do powerless as you are?".

If there is something wrong with us we cannot be anymore

BY

RAJAN HOOLE

something permanent. To those who serve a lie, especially in the form of a transient power, there is no comfort. They have made themselves servants of chance and of things beyond their control. Might and brute force solve nothing, because they will someday succumb to superior force. Time and advancing age reduce every man to helplessness. Look at the plight of our leaders. If they had sought cooperation they would have been masters of their house. Now they have to go with greasy smiles and grovel before aid donors to keep a ramshackle economy and an unwanted war moving — donors who are becoming increasingly unconvinced that the money is being spent wisely. They have to worry all the time about superior force. The government's honour and glory are like that of a man who gets insulted and belittled by everyone abroad, but keeps aloft his falling ego by beating his wife at home and kicking his dog. The Brigadier who holds court in the Jaffna Fort, and can and has killed people at will with his cannon and flying machines, needs to worry that some neighbouring power may take it upon itself to drop a couple of bombs on his bases — an event which will send him scuttling back to Colombo. Their control over their destiny is very minimal.

There is honour for those who took up arms to resist brute force brazenly displayed. Many of

successful than the Minister for National Security in hiding it. It struck me about Tarzie Vittachi's article which appeared recently in the SR that when he reacted to the '58 riots as a human being and published Emergency '58, he too suffered under the charge of having let the side down — namely the Sinhalese side. Many Sinhalese politicians like Muttetuwegama, Nanayakkara and Kumaranatunge, and those in the MIRJE, have taken honourable public stands, again under a hysterical barrage for having let the side

down. We are privileged in having associated with the SR a Sinhalese journalist of Vittachi's mould. Are we Tamils to eschew such values and lead a shadowy existence in a Mafia type of underworld? I am sure we want to meet others open-heartedly as fellow human beings subscribing to common values and not exist as a blinkered people suppressing our blemishes and blind to others' virtues.

BAPTISM OF FIRE

People do care for decency, freedom and truth independently of their narrow origins. The annals of the Amnesty International testify to that. The strength of the German people today is not in having had great soldiers like Rommel or in the impressive technology that oiled the wheels of the Third Reich but in having had men like Konrad Adenauer and Dietrich Bonhoeffer who went to prison for opposing Hitler — both strong Christians. The former lived to become a national leader and the latter was executed in prison. When one meets German people today one sees much openness and nothing of racism. Through their anguished experience they have produced such committed internationalists as Willy Brandt. Those who appear to let the side down may one day be its saviours. The tragic events of today may be the baptism of fire for both the Sinhalese and the Tamils. It is a great tribute to the Sinhalese people that 200 of them faced arrest under the PTA. In the meantime, as S.J.V. Chelvanayakam said in 1970, the powers that can save us are not of this world.

STARS FORETELL POLITICAL CONVULSIONS

A reader has sent us the following prediction by R. Narayanan, an eminent Indian astrologer, assuring us that it is not a belated April Fool's joke.

While SR has an open mind on astrology the forecast seems to chime in with the observations of quite a few political analysts:

The Jayewardene Government will fall and Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike will form a Government.

Jayewardene is under the influence of Saturn which is malefic and there is danger to his Government at any time.

As Saturn will be in Vrichchikam, 1986 as the number denoting 'Sri Lanka', according to Numerology,

is 8 (8 denotes Saturn and 9 denotes Venus) and 9. In 1986 very important changes will occur in Sri Lanka.

The influence of Saturn affects most of the countries in the world and particularly the Middle East, countries like Africa, Pakistan, Israel, Iran, Spain and in particular Sri Lanka.

From 17.1.86 to 17.10.86 even the Sinhalese people will revolt against Jayewardene; economic depression, scarcity of food will create riots in the country. As such Jayewardene will be thrown out. Premadasa and Athulathmudali will be politically orphaned. However much foreign countries may help Sri Lanka, Sinhalese politicians cannot prevent the emergence of TAMIL EELAM.

TORTURE a la LANKA

Editor

SATURDAY REVIEW

I was an unlucky witness to an incident of torture which has become a very common occurrence in Sri Lanka today. The subject was in full prime of youth and so strong and robust that it took five muscular men to hold the struggling victim down. The fully naked subject's feet were tied and the mouth was kept shut to prevent anything but feeble moans escaping. First each of the testicles lying in its respective sac was measured and systematically crushed. Three additional men were needed for this procedure using a wooden instrument, fondly called the ball crusher, which consists of two wooden poles joining at one end to make a V shape. The ball is accurately placed at the apex of the instrument between the two arms and the lower ends slowly brought together to systematically crush the testicle in between. There is an unmistakable crunching noise as when a roller goes over a ripe tomato. The upper pole of the testicle is first crushed to a fine pulp. Methodically the instrument is then re-applied to the middle and lower poles of the testicle. The whole ball then becomes a Jelly-like mass with the overlying skin cracked and oozing blood. The procedure is then repeated on the opposite side.

Next a burning hot iron is taken from the fire and the helpless victim is branded in each exposed buttocks in turn. The smell of burning flesh is part of the atmosphere of the torture chamber. As a final climax to the agony the upper part of the ear lobes are excised is one clear stroke with blood spurting from the cut surface.

Meanwhile the five men have been exerting all their energy holding the struggling subject down. Froth pours out from the nostrils and mouth and the teeth become clenched in spasm. So much so that there is a real danger of asphyxia and the mouth has to be forced open once in a way and the tongue replaced to help the breathing, which comes in short grunts. From the other end there is frequent purging from the intense pain. It takes about two hours for a single session with ten men (5 to hold the victim, 3 for the ball crusher, 2 for the fire) labouring hard; and in all 3 victims are tortured routinely on a single day. At the end, a full round of drinks for the exhausted torturers. One man boasted that so far he had personally crushed 300 pairs of balls.

No this is not a scene from the numerous camps that have sprung up recently around the country where perhaps similar methods are in use; but an incident from a local village. It is a day-to-day occurrence in villages all over Sri Lanka and has been going on for centuries. The gruesome occasion was the castration and branding of a full grown bull. The only detail omitted from this description is the rope that is put through the nostrils and tied to a tree to hold the head relatively immobile during the struggle.

LETTERS

Is it any surprise that we are so adept when it comes to our fellow human beings?

Sivasoma

Jaffna

NO PARALLEL

Editor

SATURDAY REVIEW

Some people seem to think that the Punjab problem in India and the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka are similar and India cannot therefore point an accusing finger at us.

To begin with, the Sikhs have Punjab, a full-fledged federal state in the Indian Union, like Bengal for the Bengalis, Maharashtra for the Marathis, Gujarat for the Gujaratis, Tamil Nadu for Tamils etc. Mr. Surjit Singh Barnala leader of the Akali Dal, the largest party in Punjab, is its Chief Minister. His cabinet ministers are also Sikhs, except for a few Hindu minorities thrown in here and there.

Their language Punjabi, is the official language of the state. Though the Sikhs form only two percent of the population, they constitute nearly twenty percent of the Indian armed forces, i.e. the Army, Navy, Air Force and Security personnel. Giani Zail Singh, a prominent Sikh leader, has been elected and is to-day functioning as President of India. Besides Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has promised to transfer Chandigarh presently the joint capital of Punjab and Hariyana, to full Punjabi ownership shortly. Also the map will be re-drawn to include all Punjabi-speaking areas from Hariyana into Punjab soon. What else do they want?

Just compare all these to the plight of the Tamils of Sri Lanka. Do the Tamils have a semblance

of autonomy here? What percentage do they hold in Sri Lanka's armed forces? Is there a single Tamil soldier serving with the occupation forces in the North and East? Is the President of Sri Lanka a Tamil now? Or will a Tamil ever have a chance to be elected in the future? What is the status of the Tamil language when all letters to the North and East are sent in Sinhala only—a language that is not understood here?

The outside world has understood our problem in its correct perspective, despite the barrage of propaganda about terrorism and Marxism. That is the Tamil people are fighting for Equality and Justice and no more. Otherwise why should all the respectable countries refuse to supply arms and ammunition to Sri Lanka to fight the so-called terrorists except of course racist States like South Africa, Israel and Pakistan only?

R.L. Thevathasan

Chunnakam

POOR PAY

Editor

SATURDAY REVIEW

All the people from top to bottom speak about the duties and responsibilities of teachers. But none of them think to carry out such duties and responsibilities efficiently a teacher should be freed from all things that disturb him. The basic thing that affects a teacher very much is the meagre salary paid to him/her. Let's have a look at the following salary scales: Starting Salary (all inclusive) to a typist in Bank of Ceylon is about Rs 1,500/- (unmarried); Starting Salary of uncertificated teacher - Rs. 625/- (basic); Starting Salary of a driver - Rs. 625/- (basic); Starting Salary of a Policeman - Rs. 725/- (basic); Starting Salary of a Painter - Rs. 695/- (basic); Starting Salary of a Carpenter - Rs. 625/- (basic).

So how can we expect efficient work from a teacher when we pay them a very poor salary compared with the other categories of government employees?

P. J.

Chavakachcheri

APPRECIATIONS

I. Kirupakaran

The cruel hands of death snatched away from our midst, so tragically on 11-3-86, the gentleman par excellence and my sincere friend Kirupa, as he was popularly known among his wide circle of friends at Velanai. At the time of his death he was judge of the Primary Court, Velanai and his sudden and tragic death came when he had entered the General Hospital, Jaffna for a medical check-up.

He was much loved by the mighty and the humble because he mingled with friend and foe alike, that it could be said of him that although he walked with kings, he did not lose the common touch.

As a personal friend of Kirupa since 1982, I was richer by his exemplary conduct and guidance. Many were the evenings we spent together exchanging humorous anecdotes and his laughter ringing into the nights. He was well-versed in the Classics and I used to sit spell-bound at his numerous quotations from Shakespeare.

The outstanding trait in him was his childlike simplicity and his benevolence to all and sundry knew no bounds. His lament in the evening of his life was that he was left sans his family members, with his two brothers pre-deceasing him and one away in India.

May his soul rest in the peace of God.

— S. Anton Benedict

M. Ramakrishnan

Ramakrishnan, popularly known to his friends as Rama, was always devoted to the Teaching Service, his major period of service having been at J/Nelliady Madhiya Maha Vidyalayam and Hartley College. Many a past pupil of his who are Doctors, Engineers, Lawyers and in high positions knew him as a conscientious worker with a thorough grasp of his subject, mainly Mathematics. A sportsman, he qualified himself to be a referee at Football tournaments and an umpire at Cricket matches. Any work he undertook he never neglected and he did it so efficiently that at the age of fifty five while he was at Hartley College he retired and joined the Teaching Service at Maldives. Hardly has he finished an year of Teaching at Maldives, the news of his death arrived in Sri Lanka as a shock on Friday the 28th of March.

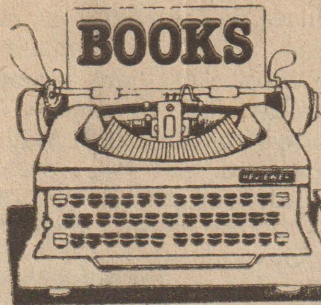
May his soul rest in peace.

— R. Rudra

SJV'S BIOGRAPHY

A biography of S.J.V. Chelvanayakam in Tamil by Pundit Chachithanandam will be published soon.

The Secretary of the Thanthai Chelva Memorial Trust, (former Senator and Chairman of the now defunct Jaffna District Development Council) Mr.S. Natarajah announced this at a public meeting held at Nallur Hindu Lodge, to commemorate the 88th Birthday of S.J.V. Chelvanayakam The meeting was organised by the Thanthai Chelva Memorial Trust.



"Ethnic Crisis in Sri Lanka: India's Options"-By V. P. Vadik (National Publishing House, 1986, Rs. 140.)

The ethnic situation in the third world is worsening and becoming one of the major sources of strife and instability. In our part of the world, no South Asian country is completely free of this; the worst case in this respect being Sri Lanka.

A theoretical question which arises in the analysis of any ethnic situation is why and how an ethnically diverse society yields to conflict and violence on ethnic lines. Diversity *per se* may contain within it the roots of incompatibility. But it is the process of socio-economic and political development which instead of turning this incompatibility into harmony, precipitates an intense conflict and insecurity. Sociological

theory does not seem to have addressed itself fully to the transformation from ethnic incompatibility to ethnic conflict.

Dr. Vadik's latest study on Sri Lanka raises this question and, in fact, addresses its attempt to analysing why it has happened in the once-peaceful island. There have been instances of eruption of ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka even before independence. But what Sri Lanka is undergoing at present is totally unprecedented. In the '50s the Tamil leaders had made a demand for a 50-50 representation of the Sinhalese majority on the one hand and the other minorities including the Tamils on the other. Accordingly, they were seeking a 40 to 45 per cent share in the national cake and in decision-making. From that demand, the Tamil position has shrunk to asking for autonomy in the areas dominated by them which is less than one-fourth of the island, in terms of area and population.

The factors that have been responsible for the deterioration in

the ethnic situation in Sri Lanka can be grouped into three categories — political, economic and international. Dr. Vadik takes his reader through the complexities of these factors and meticulously analyses how the Tamils have been gradually pushed into a situation of asking for a separate state.

In the political dynamics of Sri Lanka, the Tamils have been used as a pawn in the intra-Sinhalese competition and rivalry for power. Both the SLFP and the UNP made promises to the Tamils and backed out on them.

by
S. D. Muni

Economically, the question of language, employment, enrolment in higher education and land colonisation policies has inflicted growing hardships on the Tamils. In analysing the plethora of hard statistics on these economic indicators, Dr. Vadik's study gives the lie to propaganda material put in circulation by the Jayewardene regime which claims that there is no discrimination against the Tamils.

Dr. Vadik is absolutely right that the demand for a separate Tamil Eelam which remained a non-issue until the end of the '60s, despite the efforts of its lone advocate C. Suntheralingam, became a major political issue largely because of the discriminatory policies of Sinhalese-dominated Sri Lanka. The Sinhalese leadership had to resort to these discriminatory policies because of the complete mismanagement of the political process and economic development of the island.

It is unfortunate that instead of realising these essential factors that have contributed to the present-day ethnic problem, the Jayewardene regime continues to bank on a coercive approach and military solution to an essentially human and social issue.

Dr. Vadik has very convincingly refuted the much-paraded argument of Sinhalese scholars and politicians that Tamil extremism can be compared with Sikh extremism. The basic differences between the two situations have been ~~clearly brought out in the study.~~

It has also been persuasively argued that though Tamil Nadu and its internal politics exercise an influence on Indian thinking and our approach towards Sri Lanka's ethnic crisis, this influence

is by no means decisive. That in spite of this influence, the Indian government has restrained itself from identifying with the Tamil cause completely and even gone to the extent of deporting some of the key Tamil leaders exposes the hollowness of the allegation against Indian policy.

The study suggests that there is an important nexus between the Jayewardene government's tilt towards the West both in strategic terms as well in the realm of domestic economic liberalisation and what is taking place on the ethnic front. Sri Lanka's acceptance of western proposals like the Voice of America deal, oil tank farms, close connection with British and Israeli intelligence agencies and import of arms from Pakistan, China and western countries are all important manifestations of Sri Lanka's strategic tilt.

Economically the Jayewardene regime has opened up the island according to World Bank and IMF prescriptions and Japanese, Korean and Singaporean economic interests. This has brought about a growing disparity in income distribution and complicated the social situation along with the ethnic factor.

The Indian policy of restraint and peace initiative has been very carefully analysed in the study. At the same time the author does not rule out the prospect of a drastic change in India's approach if the situation in Sri Lanka were to deteriorate.

The usefulness of Dr. Vadik's study has been enhanced by the addition of valuable appendices wherein the texts of his interviews with prominent Sri Lankan leaders of all shades and opinions have been included. No serious scholar of South Asian affairs can afford to ignore this study.

(Courtesy: The Times of India)

NEW YEAR FORECAST

An astrologer writes: New Year is celebrated by the Hindus and Buddhists in Sri Lanka on Monday, 14th April, 1986. On this day the Sun transits from Meena Rasi into Mesha Rasi. The new year is ASHHAYA and the year commences in Dhanu Lagna. Mars in lagna does not portend anything good. This year there will be a lot of bloodshed in the country and there is little mitigatory influence to alleviate the suffering of the people.

In Mesha the Sun is exalted and people could expect good influence. If the aspect or combination of evil planets are there, then naturally one will have to expect evil influences.

NEGOTIATING A...

(Continued from page 4)

BUT

1. At least the killings may stop.
2. We will be able to spend more on economic development.
3. Our international reputation will improve and foreign investment may increase.

CURRENTLY PERCEIVED CHOICE CHART (II)

A Tamil leader: "Shall we accept the government formula for limited devolution?"

If Yes:

1. We risk being treated as traitors and being shot.
2. We will be seen as surrendering and helping to maintain an inferior status as a subjugated people.
3. We weaken the momentum for change.
4. We might be taken for a ride as we have been earlier.
5. We give up the chance of obtaining better terms.

BUT

1. At least the killings may stop.

BUT

1. Liberals and foreigners will criticize us.
2. We must still address basic problems. The problems get worse.
3. India may intervene.

If No:

1. We can maintain our leadership role in the movement. We stand united.
2. We could do better by relying on our military strength.
3. We demonstrate that government violence does not work.
4. We are loyal to all those who have died.
5. India may intervene at some stage.

BUT

1. The killings go on.
2. There is a risk of an even more reactionary government coming to power.
3. We might lose everything in the end.

These then are the choices that the leaders of the two sides see themselves as facing. Is it very surprising that they stand stuck where they are?

(To be continued)

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

OTA To Be Set Up In Madras

An organisation called the OVERSEAS TAMILS' ASSOCIATION (Cultural) Centre and Housing Complex is to be set up in Madras.

The convener is a retired Puisne Justice of Zambia, Justice A. Sivanandan.

The main objects of the proposed Association are: to promote Tamil culture—particularly among those who are from overseas; to provide a meeting place and accommodation for all members of the Association under one roof when they are in Madras; to provide accommodation and educational facilities for overseas children (such as arranging admissions to schools and colleges with private tuition, if necessary, and providing board and lodging with proper supervision, care and attention including medical facilities); to provide facilities for the teaching of music, dance and drama to children from overseas; to organise cultural programmes at the Centre and discourses in Upanishads, Bagavatham, Ramayanam, Mahabaratham, Bagavat Githa, Thirukkural, Devotional Songs and also on religion

and philosophy and other subjects of interest by scholars and men of learning; to encourage the study of music, dance, drama and philosophy among the less privileged in Tamil Nadu by creating a Trust Fund, the proceeds of which can also be utilised to give scholarships to the deserving who need financial support; and to assist charitable organisations.

The enrolment fee is £ 10 and the annual subscription £ 12. For further details contact: The Convener, O.T.A. 23, Dr. Gurusamy Road, Chetpet, Madras 600 031, South India.

SEA - MINE EXPLODES

The Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO) claims that a Naval patrol boat was completely damaged when a sea mine laid by it exploded on Sunday night (6th April) Following this incident, the Navy had shelled parts of Kayts, and Karainagar. Several houses were damaged.

HISTORIC MISSION OF SOCIALISM

The historic mission of the socialist revolution is the abolition of capitalist private ownership of the means of production, and of capitalist production relations, their replacement by public, socialist ownership of the means of production, and by socialist production relations.

The socialist revolution marks the end of the history of exploiting class society that has lasted for thousands of years, the liberation of society from all forms of oppression, the beginning of an epoch of genuine brotherhood and equality among people.

For a knowledge of the basic principles of Scientific Socialism, read the book "Lenin and Asia" by Attorney-at-Law T. Duraisingam, a pioneer of the socialist movement in our country.

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

Price Rs. 10/-

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

Mannar Chronicle

A special correspondent chronicles the incidents in Mannar from the end of January to March: 29-1-86

Early in the morning the Armed Forces who were stationed at Manthai started shelling Parapukadanthan area which is five miles away, while helicopters were hovering over this area. The adjacent villages such as Palaiperu malkaddu, Palaiyaddiputhukulam, Adampanthalvu were affected. The villagers fled to the nearby areas for safety. At present they are housed at Kumanayankulam Church and Thiruketheeswaram Temple Madam (58 families with 238 members affected).

A husband and wife were shot dead by security forces, leaving behind their only child, a 9 year old girl, at Adampanthalvu.

The roof of Parapukadanthan church was badly damaged by helicopter firing. Most of the people at Parapukadanthan had taken refuge with their relatives nearby.

13-2-86

Many youths were arrested in the Mannar Town area but a few were released whilst about 13 were said to have been sent to Boosa. Some of the detenus are: J. Thevathasan, J. Confucious and J. Paranthu.

25-2-86

About 6.30 a.m. there was an explosion at the entrance to Mannar Town near the bridge. The explosion was followed by rifle and machine gun fire for about 15 minutes. It was reported that four soldiers were killed and a few injured in the explosion. Heavy artillery, from the Mannar Fort and the Thallady Camp opened up and shelled the town for nearly twenty minutes. People took refuge in schools and churches and mosques. As a result of the shelling, St. Sebastian Church building was damaged and even the refugees in the Church were shot at by the forces patrolling the area. Another, Mrs. Ramu, and her child were seriously injured.

A ten year old girl, Vasanthi Kanagaratnam, who was running for safety was killed by the shelling at Periyakadai. Five persons were injured by the shelling at Pallimunai. A part of the roof and parapet wall at Sithivinayagar Hindu College was damaged. A theatre premises too was affected. A new water tank tower almost ready for operation was damaged in the Town area.

3-3-86

Arrangements are being made to open a new Army Camp at Parayanallankulam. There were combing out operations by the Army in villages adjacent to the proposed new army camp such as Kannatty, Ganesapuram,

Allankulam, Akkathimuripu, Kurumikulam and Thampannai-kulam. Most of the people, through fear, fled to places like Sinapandivirichchan and Madhu. It is reported that two persons were killed, fourteen persons arrested and twenty houses destroyed. As the Government is not in favour of opening new Refugee Camps those refugees have to depend on voluntary organisations, excepting the meagre assistance of dry rations for two to three weeks from the Government.

In the above-mentioned areas 400 families are displaced: out of them 241 are at Madhu (166) and Sinapandivirichchan (75); the rest have gone to Thampannai-kulam in the Vavuniya District. The 241 families referred to above consist of about 1200 members. They are housed at Madhu and Sinapandivirichchan.

4-3-86

Aerial bombing took place at 4.15 p. m. at Parapukadanthan: two school buildings were badly damaged. Houses belonging to two persons, Philipu and Ponnuthurai, were also damaged.

14-3-86

Samson from Ponthoovukandal in Murunkan area was shot dead by the Armed Forces while he was carrying meals to his father who was working in the paddy field.

16-3-86

About seven persons were arrested in Mannar town area by the Armed forces.

19-3-86

One person (married) from Chillawathurai was taken by security forces at Chillawathurai to work in the camp, and is now 'missing'.

24-3-86

Early morning, around 3.15 a.m., shots were heard. It was reported that two persons, a young man aged about 22, and an old man K. Sivasubramaniam from Point Pedro, and K. Ganeshamoorthy from Meesalai were admitted to the Mannar Hospital. They were later transferred to Jaffna Hospital for treatment as they were seriously injured.

25-3-86

At about 8.20 a. m. a land mine explosion was heard near the Mannar Railway Station. Casualties among the security forces were not known. Immediately after the explosion a number of gun shots were heard, and for about half an hour shells were fired from Mannar Fort towards the civilian-populated area of Mannar town. Three persons (Thajudeen, Jude Thuraisingam and Ganesh) were hit by the shells near the Convent road and were taken to Mannar hospital. Thajudeen, 45, was transferred to Jaffna hospital as he was seriously injured.