

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 5 No. 23

28th June 1986

WORLD AT YOUR FINGER TIPS

Ticket confirmation.

Reconfirmation.

Cancellations.

Telephone & Telex Services

Mack Communications & Travels

(MCT)

8, 1st Lane,

Pt. Pedro Road,

Jaffna.

Tele: 24791, 24836.

G.A. Out Of Touch

ANOTHER MARTYR

A deputation from the People's Action Committee of Jaffna met the Government Agent of Jaffna, Mr. M. Panchalingam on 20th June and made strong representations about a number of problems acutely affecting the lives of the people of the North.

The fears of the people of a possible food crisis in the near future and the consequences of the recurring shortages of sugar, petrol, diesel, kerosine, L. P. gas, firewood, and several other essential items were conveyed to the G. A.

Particular attention was drawn to the fuel shortage which is affecting agricultural and industrial production, public transport and home cooking.

The shortages began to surface after the stoppage of the train services to Jaffna several months ago.

The situation has become worse after the Security Forces took over the responsibility of issuing permits for vehicles to move into and out of the Jaffna Peninsula.

Even with the permits, the movement of vehicles (both passenger and goods) has slowed down due to the strict checking at a number of points from Elephant Pass to Vavuniya.

The deputation pointed out that people feared to go to the Army Camp at the Jaffna Fort to obtain permits either from the Superintendent of Police, Jaffna or the Army Commander himself.

It was suggested that either the G. A. be empowered to issue permits or that applications for permits be routed through him.

The possibility of resuming at least goods trains to Jaffna was also discussed.

The G. A. while assuring the deputation that there were sufficient food stocks in the Peninsula for the present, promised to take up the matters raised by the deputation with the relevant authorities in Colombo.

The big hitch, the G. A. said, was that he was out of touch with Colombo just now because of the breakdown in telecommunications with Colombo.

Even the Army found it difficult to maintain contact with Colombo!

A sad state of affairs in a country where the Government is spending billions of rupees on 'defence.'

Why not spend a few billions of rupees on telecommunications, especially when the Government does

not want the country to tear apart?

Or is it all part of a sinister plan to neglect the North letting all the people suffer as punishment for the 'sins' of a few?

The members of the deputation which met the G. A. were appointed at a meeting of the People's Action Committee of Jaffna held at the SATURDAY REVIEW office on 14th June. The meeting was convened and presided over by the Editor.

After lengthy discussion, a committee was appointed.

The deputation comprised: Dr. G. Sebastianpillai, Mr. S. Seevaratnam, Mr. S. Mahadeva, Mr. T. Christopher, Mr. Rajan Sellathamboo, Mr. A. Manikkam, Mr. K. S. Arumugam and Mr. Gamini Navaratne.

'CREMATORIUM' WISDOM?

Prime Minister R. Premadasa seems to be in a highly philosophical mood these days.

He chose a recent Gam Udawa celebration to deliver a weighty philosophical discourse on power and the greed for power.

We quote from the Daily News of 24th June: "Progress has been achieved but not understanding between man and man. He asked 'do we trust each other?' Aren't the root causes of conflict fear, suspicion and want? If that be the case, why don't we adopt measures to eliminate fear, suspicion and want?..... Why do we inflict injustice and discrimi-

nation on the basis of numerical power — the tyranny of the majority over the minority? It is dictated by the belief in power and the greed for power."

It won't come as a surprise if one of these days the Prime Minister renounces the world and the corridors of power and follows in the footsteps of the Compassionate One.

Did someone say something about the next Presidential elections?

'NO' TO PC'S

The Tamil Militant groups have rejected the Sri Lankan Government's proposal to set up nine Provincial Councils.



Bro. Wenceslaus

For the second time, a Christian clergyman has been killed in Jaffna by the Security Forces.

The first to be gunned down was Fr. Mary Bastian, the Parish Priest of Vankalai. That was on 6th January 1985.

Official spokesmen offered various explanations for the death, none of which fitted with the facts. One was that the 'Terrorists' were responsible for it.

Now we find the same explanation trotted out over the death of Brother M. Wenceslaus of the Tholagatty Monastery, Jaffna on 20th June.

IT WAS A CASE OF COLD-BLOODED MURDER BY THE SECURITY FORCES.

Here are excerpts from the evidence given at the inquest held by Mr. Kathiravetpillai on 24th June.

FR. MARY JOSEPH, A MEMBER OF THE THOLAGATTY ASHRAM:

On the day of the incident, an Army unit came to the farm and began firing at random. We hid ourselves in a room. The soldiers broke open the door and came in. They ordered us to kneel down and put our hands up. We did as ordered and explained our position in English. They left. After the soldiers left, we found Bro. Wenceslaus' body lying in a pool of blood in a cattle shed.

Release All The Political Prisoners in Sri Lanka jails

Saturday Review SRI LANKA

No. 118, 4th Cross Street,
P. O. Box 122
JAFFNA.

Telegrams: SATVIEW

EDITOR
GAMINI NAVARATNE

Subscription Rates inclusive
of local postage and foreign
Air Mail Rate

Sri Lanka

Annual — Rs. 175/-
Half-year—Rs. 90/-

India

Annual — Rs. 300/-
(Indian Rupees)

Singapore / Malaysia—

Annual — U. S. \$ 40

All other Countries

Annual — U. S. \$ 60

Cheques Payable to:
New Era Publications Ltd.

Advertising Rates

Contracts — Rs. 20/- per
col. centimetre

Casual — Rs. 25/- per
col. centimetre

Tamils' Mag From Norway

A group of people in Norway have begun publishing a quarterly magazine titled "Eelam Tamil Perspective" to reflect the Tamil issue and the distinct Tamil culture in Sri Lanka.

In a note to the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW, the publishers have stated:- "The Sri Lankan authorities anti-Tamil propaganda and the false news of the actual happenings in the country have greatly influenced the Western media, including Norwegian. In view of this, we are publishing this magazine."

The Editor of the magazine is Ms. Anne Grethe Hellerud. Its address is P.O. Box 66, Holmilia, 1201, Oslo 12, Norway.

SALUTE TO SARATH

Text of a statement issued by 'Lovers of Justice', a group of engineering and technical personnel:

In the tragic and untimely death of Sarath Mutettuwegama, not only has this country lost one of its most able parliamentarians, we have also lost our most effective and fearless campaigner for justice in its broadest sense, anti-communalism and decency in public life, all of which have, alas, become almost non-existent today.

Mr. Mutettuwegama was not tainted by the least trace of communalism and his vision for the country was wide-ranging. Whilst drums of chauvinism were being beaten on both sides, leading the country towards destruction, Sarath was among the few who stood alone, logically arguing the folly of the whole thing, pointing to the immense human tragedy it was leading up to.

He argued the view that the ethnic conflict was part of a wider sphere of oppression which also included a broad spectrum of the Sinhalese people, including the workers and the rural folk.

On the ethnic issue, Sarath had consistently argued that India's help must be sought and such a settlement must be reached as will restore confidence among Tamils which will guarantee their basic liberties. He has consistently maintained that the Tamil militancy was a result of the government's callousness and insensitivity.

He has shown us that even in such a hopeless situation as ours, a single man with compassion, sound principles, judgement unsullied by prejudice and a clear vision can indeed move mountains. If both the Tamils and the Sinhalese, can bring forth several more leaders like him, strongly opposed to communalism, we can speedily bring peace and goodwill back to the people of this country. This will be the greatest tribute we can bestow on Sarath.

Signed by 'Lovers of Justice', a group of engineering and technical personnel, including Messrs. V. Vimalampikaipalan, K. Kantharuban, J.R.I. Hoole, A.T. Sampanthar, S. Sivanandarajah, T. Vivekanandan, V. Arunagirinathan, R. Balakrishnan, K. Krishnan,

K. Prabakaran, K. Jeevaranjan, A. Nirmalan, P. Loganathan, S. Thillaiampalam, Sritharan, K. Ranjithathan, N. Ponnudurai, P. Chandrasegaram, M. Thiagarajah, P. Jesusagayam, S. Kamaleswaran, N. Vallipuram, G. Deivendra, N. Nadarajah, K. Kuganesan, P. Jayakumar, S. Balasingham, T. Sakthithasan, S. Vairavanathan, A. Ponnampalam, S. Mahendrarajah, S. Ketheswaran, A. Kathirkamanathan, K. Aiyadurai, S. Balakrishnan, S. Rajasekaran.

THE MISSING SPRAYERS

We have been careful, extra careful, in disbursing the donations in cash and kind contributed to the SATURDAY REVIEW EDITOR'S REFUGEE RELIEF FUND.

For we view our Fund as a sacred trust and we cannot disappoint those who have reposed their confidence in us.

Every cent received goes direct to deserving refugees, not into anybody else's pocket.

Despite the precautions we have taken, we regret to announce that Rs. 3,300 have gone astray. The money was intended to buy two sprayers for the refugee camps in Vavuniya where flies and mosquitoes were creating a problem.

Mr. S. Sivanantharajah of Vaddukoddai who claims to be a 'voluntary social worker' undertook to take the sprayers to Vavuniya. The two sprayers were taken over by him from City Medicals, Jaffna on 13th November, 1985. We thought that the matter had been settled until we received a telephone call from the Medical Officer of Health of Vavuniya that he had not yet sighted the sprayers. That was several months ago.

We summoned Mr. Sivanantharajah and asked him for an explanation. He said that he handed over the two sprayers to the Jaffna Bus Depot to be sent to Vavuniya.

We now place the matter before the court of the people.

SR Editor's Refugee Relief Fund

We acknowledge with grateful thanks the following further contributions to the SR Editor's Refugee Relief Fund.

LIST OF DONORS

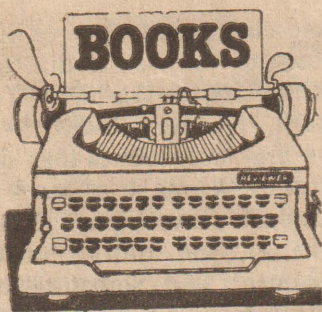
Dr. N. A. Ranjitham (USA)	Rs. 8,360.00
Mr. & Mrs. Sivendra (USA)	10,000.00
Well-wishers from CEB	7,250.00
Mrs. Thayalaratnam - 2 suitcases of used clothes	170.00
Mr. P. V. Nadarajah	2,500.00
Mr. C. Kanagalingam	1,000.00
Mr. P. Vijayaratham	500.00
Well-wisher	50.00
Well-wisher	
Well-wisher - 3 parcels of used clothes	4,000.00
Well-wisher	100.00
Well-wisher	13,702.06
London Committee of Friends of the Tamils	

DISBURSEMENTS

The following are the disbursements that have been made recently from the SR FUND:

Assistance for Vellaveli Camp refugees for housing	Rs. 25,000.00
Refugees of Palaly and Myliddy at Chunnakam	Rs. 10,000.00
Drugs supply for Muthur refugees	Rs. 8,945.00
Emergency medical service from Jaffna for Trincomalee refugees	Rs. 10,000.00
First aid equipment and medicine for Mannar refugees	Rs. 9,182.25
Milk food supplies for Uruthirapuram refugee camp	Rs. 10,801.90
Drugs for Kayts refugees	Rs. 4,987.65

GUNASEGARAM THE HISTORIAN



SELECTED WRITINGS OF S. J. GUNASEGARAM

"Ceylon is now at the cross-roads. The era of European domination has ceased. A fresh and balanced interpretation of those factors which had helped to shape the culture of this island will have to be made, if Ceylon is to rediscover the true pattern of the fabric of her culture and to reshape it to serve the needs of a new synthesis in a changing world. This task will have to be accomplished by the co-operative efforts of scholars representing the Sinhalese and Tamil speaking peoples without, of course, ignoring the tremendous stimulus given to the peoples of this island by the impact of the Christian Western culture."

These words are found in the preface to the paper "Tamil Cultural Influences in South East Asia" delivered by Gunasegaram in Colombo in December 1957.

Gunasegaram was born in Jaffna in 1901 and like many young men who became intellectually sensitive in the 20s and 30s, his vision of Ceylon as reflected in the passage quoted above was that of a free multi-racial, cosmopolitan and tolerant Ceylon where its diverse peoples whose origins are lost in the mists of forgotten centuries will work together to obtain for their island a respected place in the comity of nations. Indeed, no one can love this island who does not appreciate its bewildering complexity and have his curiosity stirred thereby.

The story of this island does not fit into any simple system provided by the Aryan and Dravidian exponents, with of course the villains and heroes interchanged. Of mystery and romance there is a great deal, and yet the more one probes, the stranger it becomes,

An Englishman, Stuart Wavell, picked on some of these aspects in a recent series on the BBC — Sitakotuwa in the Moneragala district, which local villagers believe was the place referred to in the Ramayana where Sita was

imprisoned by Ravana. What is left now are the ruins of an ancient abode. And then who were the now vanished Nagas, a civilising people who are remembered in folklore and literature all the way from Ceylon and India through Malaya to the East Indies? Their totemic symbol, the cobra, is to this day a guardian of many Buddhist and Hindu shrines.

But this vision of Ceylon, the vision of the Youth Congress in the 20s and 30s was not to be. Other forces were at work as traced by a modern Sinhalese historian Leslie Gunewardene in his paper on Sinhala consciousness. Racial theories in Europe of the 19th century and confusion caused by philologists and scholars in search of the cradle of the Indo-Aryan race gave rise to the promotion in this country of the idea that the Sinhalese were an Aryan people with the Dravidian Tamils their historical enemies.

by **Rajan Hoole**

Gunasegaram was to point out later in his "Vijayan Legend and the Aryan Myth", that apart from suggestive fancies, the Aryan theory was difficult to sustain, however one looked at the evidence. Though this Aryan theory aroused enthusiasm amongst the Sinhalese literati, there were many Sinhalese who accepted this theory uncritically without realising its potential for mischief and there were others like W. F. Gunawardhana who opposed it forthrightly. Gunawardhana, of whom Gunasegaram was a great admirer, criticised this theory at a lecture at Ananda College in 1918 and then in a paper delivered in 1921.

By the mid-fifties, while the chauvinistic movement to which this theory gave intellectual respectability was fatally dividing Ceylon in the political field, a clique committed to this theory was well-entrenched in academic circles. Except for a few like Sir Arunachalam, few Tamils had paid attention to what had by now become a simmering volcano. They had pursued other interests. Tamil academics had been silent. By the fifties this subject began to engage Tamils in drawing room conversations. Engineers and surveyors began collecting books on literature, history and the classics to make a study of the Tamils' past in the leisure that retirement provided. Most of us would have

known such a gentleman either as a relative or a neighbour.

It was in this context that Gunasegaram began his work in 1955 with his association with the journal "Tamil" together with R. R. Crossette. Gunasegaram was impelled by a powerful urge to defend the place of Tamils in the annals of Ceylon and to uphold their role as people who contributed considerably to human civilisation, especially in South and South-East Asia. Gunasegaram had received his Master's degree from the University of London in the history of philosophy and sociology and had a considerable working life behind him as an educationist. Despite his unquestionable academic merit, he was not a professional historian in the modern sense. This was in a way fortunate as this gave his writings a quality of lucidity and forthrightness often lacking in trained academics — a part of whose training is to hide or play down their differences with their supervisors' views. Gunasegaram, on the other hand, did not hesitate to put pen to paper when he felt he was in possession of the truth.

His writings show that he mastered a considerable volume of material and used it to good

effect. Gunasegaram has been accused of some excesses especially in his treatment of place names. This need not be seen as a drawback in his work as even where he may be wrong, he provides ideas for serious research — ideas which may have been lost had he been a trained academic. Gunasegaram would have undoubtedly been a greater historian had he received the sympathetic cooperation and open-mindedness which he had looked forward to having from his fellow historians.

If Gunasegaram was guilty of some excesses and looseness in his claims on behalf of Tamil, it was mainly a reaction to the excesses of historians like Paranavitane and Mendis in the fantastic intellectual contortions they performed to fortify the Aryan myth. A contemporary historian told me, "It will be a grave injustice to try being too clever when judging Gunasegaram's work. The fact remains that he took great pains in preparing himself and speaking out when others were unable or unwilling to speak. What Gunasegaram did was of great service to his community and to Ceylon as a whole."

(Next issue: Gunasegaram—his writings.)

DUST - BINS

*It is easy
to sit in Colombo
and talk of
nationalism.*

*Everybody is a nationalist
in his own light.
But the light of nationalism
that should invigorate
only scars the flesh
of many innocents.*

*What are we fighting for?
Eelam?*

*Sinhala Buddhism?
Muslim fundamentalism?
All shibboleths
of designing politicians.
The politicians are there
hunting for power and pelf.
They have been with us
for ages.
They will be with us
for ages.*

*The dust-bin of history
is full of politicians.
Now there is a shortage
of dust-bins
in Sri Lanka.*

*Dust-bins from where
the poor could imbibe
the stuff of life
left over by their masters.
The urgent need
is for a large dust-bin
to consign our politicians
to Eternity.*

— ANON. IV

CHURCH AID

The Jaffna CSI Church has handed over Rs. 165,000 to the Government Agent of Jaffna to provide immediate relief to persons affected by the ethnic conflict.

Of this sum, Rs. 100,000 has been allocated to 1,000 families in Valvettiturai and the balance to 650 families in Mandaitivu island.

In addition, a further Rs. 31,000 has been given by the CSI Church directly to the dependants of the 31 victims of the Mandaitivu massacre resident in Gurunagar.

We often deceive others, "for their own good" we say. The motives for the deception may actually be high-minded ones. But the victims seldom look upon the deception with the same generous judgment. It is usually they who are hurt.

In what follows we shall examine the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict in terms of half-truths and their consequences. To uncover them we shall look closely at the four major actors in the conflict (the Government, the SLFP, the Tamil groups and India) by focussing upon three issues: First, what are the four actors claiming to do? Second, what are they actually doing? And third, what are they really capable of doing? Our purpose in this analysis should not be to apportion blame and say who is right and who is wrong, but rather to investigate what can and cannot be done with regard to solving the ethnic crisis.

The Government has often claimed that it is fighting a war against "naked terrorism", but not against the Tamil people. In moments of exuberance governmental leaders promise to win this war in one month or in two years. At other moments of despondency they speculate that the war will continue into the next century and might even be lost. The military commanders when they think aloud admit they cannot win the war, but hope they can contain it. They claim they really want to win the hearts and minds of the Tamil civilian population and alienate the terrorists. Together with governmental leaders they argue that the only lasting settlement is a negotiated one, but that this should be done from a "position of strength." And finally, they chide the Sinhalese people and say that if only they are sufficiently watchful terrorist attacks can be averted.

But what is happening on the field is terribly different. Despite the Government's best efforts with the resources at its command, Sinhalese civilians remain pitifully vulnerable to terrorist attacks. In trying to contain terrorism and roll the guerillas back, the Government is forced to use aircraft to drop bombs onto densely populated northern city centers. Even if the Tamil civilian population fear their kith and kin who have become guerillas, they surely hate the military more who kill them indiscriminately by dropping bombs upon them from the air and bombarding them from their camps. The use of terror as a tactic cuts both ways. And yet if the army is to secure the roads to the camps, it needs to bomb from

CLAIMS VERSUS REALITY: WHAT CAN AND

the air because the guerillas are too strongly entrenched in the area for the army to dislodge them except by fierce house to house fighting that would entail severe loss of life on both sides.

In figuring out what can be done to remedy this untenable situation, the first point to note is that while in the south the Government is indeed fighting an anti-terrorist war against foes who ruthlessly kill innocents, in the north it fights a guerilla war against foes who control substantial territory and enjoy more rather than less support from the civilian population.

The second point is that so long as the guerillas remain a potent force in the north, it will simply be impossible for the government, any Government to protect the Sinhalese civilian population from terrorist strikes,

fairly treated. No amount of propaganda can hide the simple fact that, at some level or the other, the bulk of the civilian population in the North gives aid and comfort to the guerillas, and that one cannot be eliminated without eliminating the other. Indeed the longer and deeper the Government pursues its military objectives, the more it succeeds in uniting the civilian and guerilla sections of the Tamil population in opposition to the Government.

The second option is to seal off the north both from the south and from India. By doing the former, the Government can seek to avert terrorist attacks on the south, and by the latter it can seek to cut off the flow of supplies to the guerillas. Both of these are extraordinarily difficult tasks given the enormous length of the "border" and coastline.

by

Jehan Perera

whether they be bombs placed in the heart of crowded southern cities or automatic weapons that deal out death to rural farmers. The most that the Government can do is to minimize the attacks by spreading the military out to guard particularly vulnerable areas.

The third point is to carefully scrutinize the options open in terms of regaining governmental control over the north. There are essentially three options that are available. The first is to thoroughly bombard the north and destroy every place that the guerillas could conceivably use to fight from.

At a time when life in the Roman empire was particularly grim, an angry Roman called Tacitus wrote, "To robbery, butchery and raping they give the lying name of 'Government'; they create a desolation and call it peace." Tacitus was pointing out the irony of military solutions where the Victor was forced to kill the very people he wanted to retain as his subjects.

Both the American experience in Vietnam and the Israeli one in Palestine give the lie to the theory that a determined foe can be bombed out of existence. Where guerillas are thoroughly integrated into the civilian population, a potent guerilla movement will survive so long as there remains a civilian population that feels un-

The manifest failure of the "Surveillance Zone" testifies not simply to military inefficiency, but also to insurmountable technological and natural obstacles. Thus, radar picks up metal, but the guerillas use fibre-glass boats. The landings need not be made in Jaffna alone but anywhere on the coast from Mannar to Batticaloa. The "sealing off" option is therefore not a practical one.

The third option is to cooperate with the Indian Government in designing a settlement that is fair both to the Tamils as well as to the Sinhalese. Notwithstanding concerns about "national sovereignty", this is precisely what the British Government recently did, in respect of its Northern Ireland problem, when it signed the "Irish Accord" agreement with the Republic of Ireland. Whether we like it or not India's "good offices" are indispensable to the reaching of a solution to the conflict. This brings us to India's undeniably central role in the conflict.

The Indian Government is resolute in maintaining that there are no guerilla camps on its territory, but only refugee camps. While it laments Sikh terrorism that is nurtured from abroad, it indignantly denies that there are any parallels between the Sikh and Tamil separatist movements. It claims to be non-interventionist as regards Sri Lanka, and that it only wants to see a negotiated settlement.

These claims may deceive Indians and others who see India as the "Shining City on the hill". To Sri Lankans, however, India's protestations are hollow ones that distort the truth and make a mockery of Sri Lanka's sovereignty. But unfortunately, the outrage that the Government and Sinhalese feel at Indian hypocrisy blinds them to the fact that their outrage is not going to change India's behavior one little bit. Faced with separatist rebellions in Punjab, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura and with massive problems in half a dozen other states, the Indian Government can ill-afford to take on Tamil Nadu merely for the sake of the goodwill of the Sri Lankan Government. But it is also for this reason that India will not invade Sri Lanka, except as the absolute last resort. Getting into Sri Lanka might be the easiest part; getting out will be all but impossible. And apart from tarnishing its "panchaseela" image of itself, an invasion of the West's "model" little 3rd world ally could have unpleasant international repercussions of which the Indians are well aware.

A statesman once said, "Nations do not have permanent friends, they have only permanent interests." The harsh fact is that it is not in India's interests to help Sri Lanka end its conflict if it means alienating Tamil Nadu. Thus, although the presence of guerilla bases in India undercuts the Sri Lankan Government's attempts to impose its own solution to the ethnic problem, it is futile to hope that either our outrage or friendship will induce India to shut the bases down before the negotiation of a fair settlement.

If we accept this line of reasoning then the first of two keys to unlocking the door to a solution to the ethnic conflict becomes apparent. It is for the Government not only to negotiate directly with the Tamil groups, but also to work hand in hand with the Indian Government to develop a solution that the Government thinks is fair by the Sinhalese and India thinks is fair by the Tamils. Once India is convinced of the fairness of the proposed settlement, then, should the guerillas remain intransigent, the Indian Government can clamp down on them and at little cost to itself because Tamil Nadu will have no cause to agitate.

We should not ignore the fact that India has on occasion shown itself willing to take action against the guerillas. India does not wish

CANNOT BE DONE IN SRI LANKA

Sri Lanka ill. India neither likes terrorism nor a disturbed Tamil Nadu population. Thus, during the Thimpu peace talks India expelled three guerilla spokesmen, but then had to give in to pressure from Tamil Nadu when the Sri Lankan Government did not make reciprocal concessions. And in turn the guerillas know that they are as dependent on Indian goodwill as on the support of the Tamil population of the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

At present the guerillas claim to be fighting on behalf of the Tamil people. They support their demand for a separate state with the assertion that the Government is not interested in a settlement that is fair by the Tamils. They boast they can push the army out of all those areas they declare to be traditional Tamil homelands. And finally, they promise that Eelam will be a land of justice and non-violence etc.

The events of the past few weeks have shown the illusoriness of most of these claims. The LTTE-TELO infighting saw more guerillas die at the hands of their fellows than have been killed by the army. The mercilessness of the killings demonstrated a brutality that traumatized the civilian population. Moreover the government forces have shown themselves to be too powerful for the guerillas to resist in open combat. Although their commitment and adeptness at guerilla warfare was obvious, it was also evident that the guerillas could not protect either themselves or the civilian population from the aerial and mechanized attacks of the armed forces. Nor does it appear that they can develop such a capacity on their own.

This is not surprising. Not merely in Sri Lanka, but in no part of the world has a guerilla movement ever succeeded in establishing a separate state without the direct intervention of another country. What the guerillas can do is to destabilize the Government by showing to the Sinhalese the Government's lack of success in imposing a military solution and its ineffectiveness in protecting the lives of innocent civilians. They can also blow up factories that sustain the economy and dams that feed the land. They can also hope that the Government will fall. But there is no guarantee that the next government will be more accommodating to the Tamils. To the contrary, it will probably take a harder line and may be even more incompetent in recon-

ciling the competing claims of its Sinhalese and Tamil citizens. Recent statements of SLFP leaders give no indications to the contrary.

The SLFP aspires to form the next government. It claims that it has a solution to the ethnic conflict it will reveal once it has come to power. It loudly worries that the Government will "sell the country" to the West and "betray the country" to the Tamils, and promises to do neither. It also claims to have a special relationship with India that will ensure Indian cooperation. At the same time it violently denounces the Government for cooperating with India and openly flings insults at the Indian Government. This maze of contradictions reveals little of a coherent policy, and much of political football.

Sri Lankans will unanimously agree that the ethnic problem has grown worse because of political one-upmanship that started many decades ago. Today the SLFP plays on with the game by exploiting the ethnic problem for its own gain. Unlike the leftist parties which have pledged to support the Government in its efforts to negotiate the settlement, the SLFP stands aloof and seeks to embarrass the Government at the slightest opportunity.

Alas, the SLFP blithely ignores the possibility that should it capture power it too will get caught up in the same rut as the present Government. Apart from vague hints, the SLFP has not shown itself capable of generating any constructive ideas or policies that would distinguish itself from the present Government. And it apparently fails to see the reasons for its intellectual impotence.

The first such reason is that the SLFP will inherit the same resources and constraints that the Government is presently laboring with. For one thing, the Tamil groups will remain much as they are, and neither will India's interests undergo a transformation merely because the SLFP has replaced the UNP. For another, the SLFP will inherit the same military apparatus that the present Government has. It surely cannot appoint its party members to command the army, neither can it give the armed forces more authority than they enjoy at present unless it wants islandwide military rule.

To make matters more difficult, an SLFP Government will probably be unable to obtain as much foreign

aid as the present Government does, and as a result its flexibility in terms of improving the army will be constrained. Finally, if the SLFP Government seeks to negotiate with the Tamil groups, the UNP in opposition will do to the new Government what the SLFP has been doing to the Government until now. It too will go around yelling "traitors," "betrayers" and seek to agitate the Sinhalese in order to return as soon as possible to power.

The deceptions perpetrated in Sri Lanka by vested interests have made worse what would in any case have been a very difficult problem to solve. Despite their boastful utterances to the contrary, it is clear that the ethnic conflict has escalated into a problem that cannot be solved by any one party acting by itself.

The worsening of the situation over the past 9 years is the surest indication that the Government

acting on its own cannot solve the problem in its 3 remaining years of office. By itself, the most that the Government can do is to desperately hope that things do not get worse and play for time.

Earlier we noted that the first of the two keys required to unlock the door to a solution is for the Government to work together with the Indian Government in developing a solution that is fair to both the Sinhalese and Tamils. Now we come to the second key; it is for the Government to include the SLFP in a well balanced National Government. The Government and SLFP together control almost a 100% of the Sinhalese, Muslim and state Tamil electorate. Today the Government and SLFP must join together, not because they admire or like each other, but because they are responsible to all Sri Lankans at this time of national crisis. Together with the SLFP the Government can negotiate a fair solution that without any deception may be placed before the people of Sri Lanka for their approval. This is our best chance for a lasting peace.

POSTAL POKERS

It is common knowledge that the Main Post Office at Jaffna has not been functioning for the last few weeks since the haphazard firing of shells from the Army encampment in the Fort.

The sorting of letters which has also ground to a stand-still after this "firing," is now being done at the old Post Office building at 2nd Cross Street but the process has been painfully slow.

The sale of stamps too has been restricted but the postal authorities do seem to find a way out to help their "friends" and "relatives" and we find stamps being sold "freely" by the "private trade". Time and again some puny minds in the postal department are reported to have been engaged in the "business".

The cashing of Money Orders of over Rs. 600/- is still being done in the Army Camp at Fort and this too has been restricted to a bare minimum. How come that even the maximum security Fort Post Office has no money at times? What is not understood is that it is the poor public who have to face the "music" while the postal authorities sit pretty. It is needless to say that the Jaffna Post Office has to serve the whole peninsula.

However, the finger of blame seems to point to the Divisional Superintendent of the Postal Depart-

ment. He seems to enjoy a "honeymoon" in the present tragic situation. It is time he wakes up from his lethargy and gets moving to give the public a better deal.

We have called the attention of the D.S. before in the SATURDAY REVIEW of 19th April. We would like to emphasise that in this hour of crisis and agony we must have sincere, dedicated working men from whatever quarters they may be.

BEST SECRETARY

Lion S. Shanmugendran, Secretary Lions Club of Kopay, has been chosen as the Best Secretary by the International District 306 B. He was presented with the award at the Dist. 306 B Convention held in Kandy last month.

The Lions Club of Kopay has been chosen as the Best Club in the Northern Region.

BHANDARITALKING

History will prove that Thimpu was an act of statesmanship. We have known that Jayewardene was wily...I don't think anybody felt an answer was around the corner.

Romesh Bhandari in "The Illustrated Weekly of India."

A TRAVELLER'S TRAVAILS

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

I left Colombo at about 10.15 p.m., by private bus on 15th June, paying a fare of Rs. 250.

There was seating accommodation for only 43 passengers. One passenger had to stand all the way because he was over booked.

Excess baggage charges ranged from Rs. 25 to Rs. 100.

The latter rate for people returning from abroad. No receipts are issued.

At the Nochchiyagama check-point, the police wanted perfume and foreign cigarettes from the passengers who had come from abroad. One 555 cigarette bundle was taken away by a constable, without the knowledge of the Inspector of police.

The bus reached Vavuniya at 7.05 a.m. There was no stop for breakfast.

At Vavuniya we got caught to an Army foot patrol travelling towards Omanthai camp.

From Vavuniya, it took 4 hours for the bus as well as the troops to reach Omanthai camp.

As some culverts were damaged at Kilinochchi, the bus crew decided to take the Mullaitivu route!

The bus reached Elephant Pass at 3.15 p.m. and at the check-point an officer ordered the buses to get back to Kilinochchi and report at the camp and then return to Elephant Pass (an additional 20 miles).

Without consulting the passengers, the bus crew turned towards Kilinochchi and with protests from the passengers again turned back, under advice from the militant boys that the road was not motorable and that there were other risks.

The bus returned to Elephant Pass and a deputation of passengers met the Commanding Officer and pleaded with him to allow the bus to proceed to Jaffna.

This request was refused. The officer told the deputation that as the bus had not reported at Kilinochchi, as a punishment the bus and its crew should remain at Elephant Pass and asked the passengers to go to Jaffna by other means.

The time was about 5.30 p.m. Two lorries came to the rescue and all got in. The lorries travelled at high speed without any sympathy towards the passengers in them.

The passengers who came in the second lorry which was driven by a man who was under the influence of liquor, had to get down at Pallai, from which point he refused to drive.

Ultimately, the passengers had to hire a private vehicle at Rs. 700. They reached Jaffna around 7.30 p.m.

A Tired Traveller

Jaffna.

PAWNER, PAWNEE

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

It is regrettable that the tussle between the pawners of jewels or moveables and all the branches of the People's Bank in Jaffna is still continuing. Tact and vision

LETTERS

must prevail on the part of the Bank authorities if they are to save their name and credit. Success in banking depends on the confidence they can command from the public. Otherwise, it leads invariably to a run on the banks by customers!

It is not out of point, or rather it may be helpful, to point out the legal position relating to the non-delivery of the jewels or whatever moveables by the pawnees to the pawners. Section 85 of the Mortgage Act dealing with the mortgage of moveables is not an adequate provision for it does not provide for all contingencies arising out of the said mortgage. This section provides, chiefly, for the recovery of the moneys paid by the banks i.e., pawnees. Where a particular law is silent with regard to certain matters, then we will have to have recourse to the general law, which in this case is the Law of Contracts.

The pawner indicates his intention to get a loan of money from the bank for which he is giving some jewels as security. Then the bank, having satisfied itself regarding the worth of the jewels, etc., it makes the offer of payment of the money to the pawner with certain conditions attached such as certain percentage of interest on the capital sum paid, a stipulated time for payment, etc. The relevant documents including the pawn ticket bear the address of the bank, the pawnee. The address of the bank is deemed to be the place where

the pawner will have to repay the said principal sum and the interest thereon and get back his jewels. The pawner, by accepting the said money, fulfils the agreement or contractual acceptance of the offer made by the pawnee to him.

It is noteworthy that the pawner will have to give his address to the pawnee to enable the latter to serve on the former notice of demand for payment of the said principal amount and the interest thereon. This indicates two things: (a) that on the said demand the pawner should make payment to the pawnee at the place where the pawnee is having his office, (b) It is also at the same place where the pawner is entitled to get back his pawned jewels on making the said payment.

The pawners, whether on demand or on their own, have already paid their principal sum and the interest thereon to the People's Bank authorities, the pawnees, at their respective places. It is now the clear duty of this bank to return the jewels to the pawners at the same place where they made the payment.

It does not appear sound or fair to the reasonably prudent man if the banks and the government state for reasons of safety the jewels will be delivered in Colombo or at the Palaly Army Camp. In a given set of circumstances if the government feels

itself insecure, the position of the individual then is worse! The claim of the pawners that their moveables be delivered at the banks is both reasonable and legitimate.

In Sri Lanka under the Roman Dutch Law we have the right to claim specific performance of a contract. Specific performance is the performance by a party to a contract of that duty which he has undertaken to perform by that contract. Our Courts are also Courts of Equity. In *Homeless vs Ali Marikar* (1 NLR 287) it was observed: "The right specifically to compel a person to give something what he has promised to give, or to do something which he has promised to do, has been frequently recognised and given effect to in our Courts."

As this position stands, the pawners of the moveables may move The Court of Appeal for a Writ of Mandamus to order the pawnees i.e. the branches of the People's Bank at Jaffna, to deliver the moveables to the pawners at their respective offices in Jaffna.

Thirunelvay

S. Ponniiah

A DAY DREAM?

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

It has been the request of the President and some other V.I.P.'s in our country to India to send

(Continued on page 7)

THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Commenting on the significance of the Great October Revolution, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote thus in his book "The Discovery of India." "I had no doubt that the Soviet Revolution had advanced human society by a great leap and had lit a bright flame which could not be smothered, and that it had laid the foundations for that new civilisation towards which the world could advance."

A. E. Goonesinghe, the founder of the trade union movement in Sri Lanka, wrote in 1925, in his weekly paper "Kamkaru Handa" (Workers' Voice) as follows: "Nikolai Lenin is the great hero who obtained, for the people, freedom from Russian imperialism. He was the most excellent person who, in 1917, established with consummate skill the Russian Republic according to Bolshevism, a new form of government. He achieved victory in his immense undertakings."

To learn about the new situation created by the victory of the October Revolution led by Lenin, for the freedom movements in Sri Lanka and in other Asian countries, read the book "Lenin and Asia" by Attorney-at-Law T. Duraisingam, a veteran member of the nationalist movement of 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.

'Don't Help The Butchers'

The Aid Sri Lanka Consortium, at its meeting in Paris on 19th June, is reported to have pledged 703 million dollars for the country's development effort.

The following is the text of an appeal by the LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL EELAM (LTTE)

LETTERS

A DAY DREAM?

(Continued from page 6)

back all the "terrorists" to Sri Lanka. Suppose if India obliges what will our Government do with them. Will all the "terrorists" be shot without any trial? Being a democratic country (as they claim) they cannot do so. If the "terrorists" are prosecuted it would take years. During that time what would the Govt. do? Will it untie the entire Forces thus allowing to do all the possible excess on their part to threaten the Tamils so that whatever settlement they want could be imposed on them or will the Govt. completely forget the problem and concentrate only on the case against the "terrorists"?

By giving prominent place to the case the Govt. would get another chance to cover the current problems of the country. Also the Govt. can say, as it says now (no settlement to the ethnic problem till the military activities of the "terrorists" are over) that there would be no settlement till the case against the "terrorists" is over. Further the Govt. can make use of the trial to portray themselves as heroes and this can be a good chance to canvass for the next election if there is an election in 1989.

The easiest and surest way to get rid of the "terrorists" is to give the reasonable rights to the Tamils. If the Tamils are satisfied with what the Govt. gives the "terrorists" would have no other way but to disappear from the scene automatically. Then why cannot the Govt. do this rather than spending money to kill the Tamil civilians and get the soldiers killed by the "terrorists"?

Also I would like to point out here that even after an accepted settlement neither the Govt. nor the militants can replace a Father, a Mother, a Son, a Daughter, a Brother, a Sister, a Friend, a Husband a Wife and so on, whose physical appearance in the world was destroyed due to the stiffneckedness of the rulers and frustration of youth who (both) play the fool with human lives.

Kandy

J. Rani Mary

to the donor countries sent through their diplomatic missions in Colombo before the Paris meeting:

"You are well aware that Sri Lanka is again going to Paris this month to negotiate with Sri Lanka's donor countries. The mission will certainly stress that the Island needs not only more money than what it obtained in 1985, but also to emphasise that it can use it more effectively and democratically to provide the so-called requirements of economic development and upliftment of the poor people of a third world developing country.

The message is being taken to Paris, not for development purposes but to accelerate state terrorism against Tamils. Does Sri Lanka utilise the aid granted for the avowed purpose? Do statistics and events bear out the professions of the powers that be?

For the period 1983 to 1986, funds allocated for the Armed Forces amount to Rs. 13 billions. The comparative figure for Health is Rs. 7,185 billions and for education Rs. 13,376.

Capital expenditure on the Armed Forces show a staggering increase in the 1980s, as contrasted to the 1970s. The comparative figures shown below could speak for themselves.

CAPITAL EXPENDITURE ON ARMED FORCES

1974 - 1976 and 1984 - 1986.

1974	Rs. 17,578,000	-	1984	Rs. 912,430,000	3fold
1975	Rs. 10,116,000	-	1985	Rs. 1,517,132,000	150 ..
1976	Rs. 19,400,000	-	1986	Rs. 2,109,843,000	108 ..

Sources: Printed Estimates - Govt. of Sri Lanka.

Note: The figures for 1985 and 1986 exclude supplementary provision amounting to approximately 20 per cent and 30 per cent respectively.

From January 1983 to May 1986, nearly Rs. 6 billion has been voted for capital expenditure for the Armed Forces. This expenditure is not merely unproductive but destructive.

FOREIGN AID

During the nine-year period 1978 to 1986, foreign aid to Sri Lanka amounted to Rs. 63,018 billion. Foreign aid certainly eases the strain on Sri Lanka's budget and assists in the release of funds for destructive expenditure and not for any constructive purposes.

Are the donor countries briefed of the actual percentage of this aid devoted to development? Are the donor countries briefed of the actual

percentage that has trickled to the North and the East of the country, which constitute 27 per cent of Sri Lanka's land area and where the Tamil speaking population is 95 per cent? These are relevant points for the donor countries to ponder about before granting aid.

For the four-year period 1979 - 1982, expenditure on the Armed Forces averaged Rs. 0.95 billions per year. During the four year period 1983-1986, the average expenditure on the Armed Forces was Rs. 3.75 billion per year. Even if a high figure of 1.5 billion per year is conceded as normal expenditure on the Armed Forces, Rs. 9 billion has been devoted to so-called 'Tiger Hunting' in Sri Lanka.

Are the donor countries aware that 'Tiger Hunting' has netted a mere 350 'Tigers' during this period and simultaneously produced 700 new 'Tigers' to the front?

Has any donor country been made aware that the cost of hunting one 'Tiger' is Rs. 42 million?

Has any donor country been made aware of the future aid requirements to reconstruct the agricultural economy and the industrial infrastructure that has been under continuous destruction by the State, especially in the North and the East of the country? How will Sri Lanka stabilise the country's economy for repayment?

In a nutshell, the financial requirement to provide a family with a reasonable dwelling, a developed agricultural parcel of an acre of land with the relevant infrastructure, costs Sri Lanka only Rs. 0.75 million. To this may be contrasted the enormous cost of killing one 'Tiger', which is Rs. 42 million.

Are donor countries aware of the fact that the wealth of their people is being syphoned off for the destruction of precious lives of the people in another country?

This is a brief informative note to Your Excellency for consideration before your Government contemplates aiding destruction."

Parisian Follies

Paris-based Tamils and supporters of the International Emergency Committee on Sri Lanka (which is chaired by Dame Judith Hart, a former British Minister) of International Alert demonstrated outside, when the Aid Consortium met in Paris on 19th June.

They demanded that the Aid Consortium stop all aid to Sri Lanka forthwith, as such aid is being used for the military option against the Tamils.

Their appeal seems to have fallen on plugged ears. The Aid Consortium, in its collective wisdom, has decided to boost its aid to Sri Lanka by more than one-fifth! It has increased its aid from 480 million dollars to 703 million dollars, of course adding the proviso that the aid should not be spent for military purposes. Does the Consortium seriously expect Sri Lanka to respect this proviso?

Sri Lanka's buddies, Japan, France, West Germany and Britain, increased their aid commitment.

SACEM TO THE RESCUE

SACEM of Toronto, Canada, making a contribution of \$ 302 to the SATURDAY REVIEW EDITOR'S REFUGEE RELIEF FUND, has stated:

"SACEM is a non-political association formed in 1983 to assist the refugees from SRI LANKA. With the reduction of the influx of refugees from Sri Lanka at present and the meaningful steps already taken by the Canadian Government in assisting the Sri Lankan refugees, SACEM's hands are now free to extend its support to refugee organisations in Jaffna.

"The association has diversified its activities here to include looking to the welfare of newly-landed immigrants also.

"Members of SACEM assist refugees and new immigrants in their search for jobs and accommodation.

"To ease the acute housing problem in Toronto for the refugees and new immigrants, the association is planning to construct a 125 unit apartment building in metropolitan Toronto with provincial and federal government support. A housing co-operative has already been formed and hopefully the construction of this ambitious project is expected to start by August this year."

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

GROW YOUR OWN FOOD

A massive grow more food campaign is to be launched in Jaffna district under the aegis of the SATURDAY REVIEW to meet any situation created in case of the cut-off of supplies from outside the Peninsula.

The stress will be on home gardening.

We appeal to all citizens of Jaffna, in their own interest, to begin home gardens as early as possible.

We appeal to the Northern Province Principals' Association to mobilise all school children for this campaign.

The Jaffna Peace Committee (covering the J-26 area) has already made a beginning by distributing planting material.

The committee is headed by Mr. Christopher, Mr. Sellathamboo and Mr. Manikkam.

Help in promoting gardens is available from: Mr. M. Paramaguru, No. 442, Point Pedro Road, Nallur, Jaffna, Agricultural Instructor (Jaffna Division), and Miss. R. Kamalaverney, Lady Instructor, Home Gardening, Agrarian Service Centre, Point Pedro Road, Jaffna.

Both officers will be available to the public every Monday between 8 and 3.30 p.m.

NEWS BRIEFS

Muslims Clash

Two parties of Muslims clashed in the Muslim Ward, Jaffna on 24.6.86. 3 Muslims died while about 11 were injured and admitted to hospital.

According to information, trouble was brewing in this area for the past few days and this clash was the climax. Among the dead were Ahamed Lebbe Akbar (25) and a 7-year old boy Jalecy.

SLBC reported on 26.6.86 that 3 Muslims were shot by 'terrorists'!

Boat Shot At

On 19th June a boat "Anna Mary" carrying about 34 refugees was fired at in the Mannar sea by Security forces. 32 of the 34 were reported to have been shot, some drowned after jumping overboard. Two Muslim youths who swam to safety at Nachchikudah gave this information to the President of the Gurunagar Development Society. This was the second massacre at sea within the last fortnight.

Landmines Explode

There were 3 Landmine explosions on 25th June at Sittaru in

Trincomalee, Pulmoddai in Trincomalee and Kongesvadava in Vavuniya District.

At Sittaru, Karuella about 16 were reported to have been killed while travelling in a private van.

At Pulmoddai a jeep carrying police personnel was reported to have been hit by a landmine which injured about 7.

At Kongesvadava, 45 of the 72 passengers were reported to have been injured, among them about 17 school children.

Memorial Service

A service of Remembrance and Holy Communion for the late Mr. C. E. Anandarajan, who was Principal of St. John's College, Jaffna, was held on 26th June 1986 at St. John's Church, Chundikuli.

Memorial Meeting

A memorial meeting was held at the Cultural Hall at Gurunagar on 25th June, to honour the 31 fishermen who were massacred off Mandativu coast. The meeting was organised by the Common Front of Fishermen's Organisations.

'India Reasonably Satisfied'

This is the text of a report filed by S. Venkat Narayan, the Island's correspondent in New Delhi. It appeared in THE ISLAND of 25th June.

New Delhi is reasonably satisfied with Sri Lanka's latest offering on the unit of devolution, law and order and land settlement.

India is also waiting for a minor clarification from Colombo on an aspect relating to law and order, sources said. Sri Lanka is expected to clarify the matter in a day or two. As soon as this is done, the Indian group concerned with the mediatory efforts is likely to discuss the Sri Lankan package of proposals, as it stands, after Colombo's envoy here, Bernard P. Tilakaratne, submitted the latest formulations to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi last week.

India's Foreign Minister P. Shiv Shankar is returning tomorrow from Ireland, where he went to attend a function connected with the first anniversary of the Kani-shka, the Air India Boeing that was blown up by Sikh terrorists off the Irish coast last year. The Sri Lankan 'formulations and clarifications' will be reviewed by the high-powered group, which includes Shiv Shankar, Minister of

State for Personnel P. Chidambaram, Policy Advisory Group Chairman G. Parthasarathi and Foreign Secretary A. P. Venkateswaran.

This may happen soon after Colombo sends the minor clarification.

As soon as the high level group discusses the formulations, it is likely that New Delhi will depute either Chidambaram or a Senior Foreign Ministry official to Madras to present them to the moderate Tamil United Front leaders as well as to the militants.

Depending on how the Tamil groups react, the next course of action will be decided. Even though the TULF has rejected President Jayewardene's invitation to the Political Parties Conference (PPC) beginning in Colombo on the 25th, New Delhi sees it as an effort to arrive at a Sri Lankan consensus. Since the militant groups were not invited to the PPC for understandable reasons, the TULF saved itself from embarrassment by opting out of the Conference.

Meanwhile, New Delhi also attaches considerable importance to Jayewardene's forthcoming visit to Moscow, his first since he assumed office nine years ago.

Record Damages Award By PC

The Privy Council has increased to about \$1 million an award of \$464,200 given to a plastic surgeon in Malaysia of Sri Lankan origin whose left arm was injured in an accident in 1967.

Datuk Dr. S. Underwood, 54, was awarded \$1,021,500 of which \$499,500 was for pre-trial loss of earnings and \$522,000 for post-trial earnings. He was also entitled to costs of the appeal.

He had sued van driver Ong Ah Long, 42, for injuries suffered when knocked down in Jalan Hugh Low here on 21st, March 1967.

The van grazed the doctor's left arm and he had fallen unconscious. Dr. Underwood claimed that as a result of the accident, his left hand became weak and unsteady and he was unable to carry out plastic surgery for which he had been specially trained.

(From the "Star", Malaysia)

EX - MMC REBUTS SLBC

A former member of the now defunct Jaffna Municipal Council who is presently the Vice-Principal of Osmania College, Janab K.M.S. Hameed, has described as 'false' the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation's report that Tamil Terrorists had killed four Muslims who were returning home after attending a funeral.

The SLBC broadcast this item in its newscast of 26th June.

Janab Hameed says in his press release that there was a clash between an Islamic Youth Organisation and some other Muslim Youth Organisations. It was during this clash that a grenade had been flung, killing three people and injuring eleven.

The Muslims of Jaffna, he says, live in harmony with the other communities. It is to disrupt this harmony that this news item had been broadcast.