

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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G.M. DEAD

Mr. Karthigesu Visvalingam, J.P., 69, of Thavady, Jaffna, General Manager and a member of the Governing Council of the New Era Publications Ltd., publishers of the SATURDAY REVIEW, died at the Jaffna General Hospital on 1st June after a brief illness.

He was also Chairman of The Refugees Rehabilitation Organisation (TRRO), a member of the Jaffna Citizens' Committee and a number of other religious and social service organisations.

He served for thirty years in the administrative section of the Police Department.

Thereafter he devoted his energies to social and religious work, with refugee relief through the TRRO taking up most of his energies.

The Council of the NEP Ltd., at an emergency meeting on 4th June 1986, passed a vote of condolence on the death of Mr. Visvalingam.

Tributes were paid to the services rendered by Mr. Visvalingam to the Tamil community at a memorial meeting held at the Hindu Lodge, Nallur, on 4th June.

Among the speakers were The Bishop of Jaffna Rt. Rev. B. Deogupillai the G.A. Jaffna, Mr. M. Panchalingam and the Municipal Commissioner of Jaffna, Mr. C.V.K. Sivagnanam.

TOP MARKS

Mr. Tom Marks, a former U.S. military intelligence analyst recently spent three weeks in Sri Lanka. He is reportedly accompanied the Security forces during their "Operations" in Jaffna.

Writing in the Asian Wall Street Journal he noted (While "confined" to the Jaffna Fort army camp) that he saw "no evidence that a hospital had been bombed."

He even noticed that "Government troops responded with considerable restraint" while they were underfire.

A Subscription form of the SATURDAY REVIEW has already been despatched to Mr. Marks.

GIVE A HAND!

The following are excerpts from a report in "THE ISLAND" of 2nd June headlined "US MUST HELP LANKA."

It's time for the US to put aside its 'hands off' approach and come to the aid of Sri Lanka, a former US military intelligence analyst and specialist on revolutionary warfare, Tom Marks

has said in an article published in the "Wall Street Journal."

The former US military analyst Tom Marks, who has been in Sri Lanka studying the situation here, says:

"Sri Lanka is reeling under the blows delivered by the communist insurgents, who have been trained and armed by Indian in-

telligence agencies and international terrorist bombs who operate from sanctuaries in the nearby Indian state of Tamil Nadu.

"Though India professes to desire a political solution to the fighting and is publicly involved in attempts to negotiate a settlement between the Government and guerrillas there is strong evidence that New Delhi's covert involvement with the insurgents is expanding", he contends.

Cut The Foreign Hand

The ethnic problem is an internal problem of Sri Lanka.

It should be settled without outside intervention.

Unfortunately, there is reason to suspect that outside forces are at work to prevent a settlement, for the achievement of their own selfish ends.

Sri Lanka, in fact, appears to have become a pawn in the big power game in the Asian region, with the strategic Trincomalee harbour as one of the prized objectives.

What role Israel is playing in this game is what intrigues us.

The Mossad Hand has been identified in a number of events that have occurred in Sri Lanka in recent times.

Has Israel got involved merely to help President Jayewardene's

Government in its failing struggle to end "terrorism."

Or is it acting on behalf of another and bigger, power.

All these are matters of speculation.

But all the speculation - and the reflection that should accompany it - may not be of any avail in resolving Sri Lanka's deepest crisis since independence.

In the interest of the nation, in the interest of every Sri Lankan, we appeal to the political and militant leaders on all sides to once again dine - even wine - at the same table and try to come to a settlement without allowing designing foreign powers to decide things for ourselves.

U.S. DENIAL

The following are excerpts from a PTI report that appeared in the state-controlled "Daily News" on 29th May.

United States Government officials yesterday categorically denied Indian newspaper reports quoting US officials as asserting that "only a peaceful solution (in Sri Lanka) through India's mediation will serve regional interests."

South Asian diplomats said that if the comments were accurate, then it was clear that the US was "ceding" the whole of

South Asia to India, and giving the latter an unquestioned policeman's role in the region. US officials dismissed the speculation as "nonsense", insisting that any assessment of what had not been said by any US official was a waste of time.

Lankan officials also complained to their American counterparts that the alleged reference to the situation in Sri Lanka impinging on "regional interests" was a calumny.

US officials agreed and said that they had never made the connection.

Release ALL Political detenus in Sri Lanka jails

Saturday Review SRI LANKA

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NOT THE NEWS

THIS TIME, NOT THE ADVERTISEMENT

TENDER NOTICE

Tenders are invited for the construction of trenches at the premises of hospitals, banks and other public institutions in Jaffna from contractors who are registered with the Ministry of National Insecurity.

Only contractors who have substantial experience in "digging" and have the required machinery need apply.

Perfected tender forms should be made out in duplicate and deposited in the Tender Box provided at the "Dooms Day" Preview Office, Cemetery Road, Jaffna.

MORE CONDOLENCES

Mr. Redley Silva, Secretary of the MIRJE (Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality) has said in a statement that they were deeply grieved by the tragic death of Mr. Sarath Mutettuwagama, M.P. for Kalawana.

"Mr. Mutettuwagama", he states, "has always been helpful in the activities of the MIRJE. He was in fact the only Member of Parliament who under this Government, consistently and fearlessly spoke and worked, both in Parliament and outside, for the re-establishment of good relations between the Sinhala and

Tamil ethnic groups on a basis of justice and equality through a process of political negotiation."

The Jaffna branch of the MIRJE in a statement, said: "The only and lonely voice reverberating in Parliament the cause of the oppressed and suppressed is no more. The void would remain till such a time as an equal or near-equal emerges."

A memorial meeting was held at Main Bus Stand, Chunnakam on 25th May. Mr. T. Manickavasagar chaired the meeting. The public attended the meeting in large numbers.

"CIVIL WAR CRISIS"

Sri Lanka has again stressed the need for a negotiated political settlement for Sri Lanka's ethnic strife.

The International Emergency Committee on Sri Lanka condemns all acts of violence by Tamil groups in Sri Lanka just as we have condemned past excesses of the security forces. The International Emergency Committee says again that the only solution is a reasoned negotiated settlement between moderate elements of both Tamils and Sinhalese.

The International Emergency Committee welcomes the growth of a peace movement in Sri Lanka which includes both Sinhalese and Tamils and offers its support in any action leading towards a peaceful involvement of Sri Lankans in the peace process.

We believe that the urgency of the civil war crisis in Sri Lanka demands a Commonwealth initiative to seek an immediate cease fire and

meaningful negotiations. It also demands a positive contribution by the Government of Tamil Nadu to curb the armed activities of those extremist groups which block hopes of a negotiated settlement and are responsible for civilian deaths, both by acts of terrorism and by internecine conflict.

The civil war in Sri Lanka already involves neighbouring and other countries and their citizens. The Commonwealth exists to stimulate co-operation, understanding and good relations within and between its members. When the consortium of aid giving governments meets in Paris in June we appeal to them to express their concern and to share our objectives. We have already requested them to suspend aid in order to bring pressure on the Sri Lankan Government for a political as opposed to a military solution. We now urge them to persuade their Commonwealth col-

leagues to take an immediate peace initiative.

International Alert was founded in 1985 to focus attention on problems of group conflict which violate human rights, inhibit development and result in mass killings and even genocide.

The International Emergency Committee works towards the peaceful solution of the ethnic problems on the Island, the cessation of violence and the re-establishment of basic human rights.

The members of the International Emergency Committee include:

Bishop Desmond Tutu (South Africa) Adnan Buyung Nasution (Indonesia) Nicole Questiaux (France) Pierre de Senarclens (Switzerland) Mayor Andrew Young (USA) Maitre Abderhaman Youssoufi (Morocco) Martin Ennals (Secretary General)

'STOP THIS MADNESS'

Excerpts from the letter sent to the President by the Mother's Front of Jaffna.

We the mothers of the North and East write this letter to you with distressed minds and deep hurt to lodge our protest against the armed forces' atrocities, indiscriminate killing of innocent civilians and destruction of civilian areas during the so called "offensive action" in the Jaffna Peninsula from 19th — 21st May. Your armed services comprising of army, navy and air force who should be protecting the citizens of this country not only killed our men, women and children but also destroyed our homes, schools, business places, places of worship and agricultural fields.

The security personnel manning the bomber aircraft and the helicopters were ruthless in carrying out indiscriminate bombing and strafing during those 3 days, although it was considered by the Buddhists to be the sacred week preceding the Wesak. We are further disturbed by the attitude of the Government spokesman and the state owned news media in mentioning that the offensive was against enemy targets. But that has been disproved by the fact that the buildings damaged were hospitals, schools, banks, homes, etc.

We the mothers appeal to your Excellency to stop this madness. Is it beyond human integrity and wisdom to work out a peaceful solution that will enable us to live in peace in our land which is our basic and fundamental right? May the Lord Buddha's teachings on Ahimsa and Maithri guide your Excellency and your ministers to view these inhuman acts and solve this burning question justly and peacefully.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR COMPUTER STUDIES

The management of a leading centre for computer studies in Jaffna is pleased to offer scholarships for three needy students through the medium of the SATURDAY REVIEW.

The selection criteria will be average intelligence and a good knowledge of English.

The course is for beginners and will be conducted on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 2 p. m. to 4 p. m.

Closing date for applications is 20th June.

Here we publish two editorials that appeared in THE GLOBE AND MAIL, Canada's National Newspaper on April 7th and 8th 1986. The views expressed herein are not necessarily that of the SATURDAY REVIEW'S.

Sri Lankan President Junius Jayewardene plans a military solution to his country's Tamil separatist threat. He will fight on the beaches, he will fight in the fields and in the streets. He will defend his island whatever the cost may be. He will never surrender.

But his Churchillian resolve, so evident in a recent interview with The Globe and Mail's Sheldon Gordon, leaves in doubt an important question: will he negotiate? Will he seriously seek a political settlement to the ethnic conflict in the Northern and Eastern Provinces?

Western public opinion could conceivably support Mr. Jayewardene's crusade if the only alternative to a military victory were the division of Sri Lanka into Sinhalese and Tamil republics. The states which resulted would be economically unviable and implacably hostile to each other.

Similarly, the West might appreciate the Jayewardene Government's preoccupation with victory on the battlefield if there were no moderate political leadership to negotiate on behalf of the Tamils. (The rebels are an assortment of mutually hostile movements whose agendas vary from a pale to a deep red shade of Marxism and whose disdain for parliamentary democracy would make a Tamil Eelam an authoritarian state.)

There is, however, an alternative to escalation of the military conflict—and with it the deaths and displacement of additional thousands of innocent civilians. That alternative is a political settlement, based on federalist principles, between the Government and the moderate Tamil leaders of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF).

The TULF was stripped of its right to sit in Parliament in 1983 because it refused formally to disavow separatism. But TULF leaders are receptive to an accommodation that would offer their people autonomy rather than independence. They are wary, however, because too many previous accords between Sri Lankan prime ministers and Tamil leaders have been flouted.

Mr. Jayewardene's own record in this respect is hardly promising. He has twice made commitments to India to negotiate an autonomy deal with the Tamils, then allowed

the talks to collapse rather than risk backlash from Sinhalese hardliners opposed to autonomy. He therefore has a responsibility to come forward with fresh proposals for a significant devolution of powers. And he should be prepared to amend the constitution, by referendum if necessary, to implement them.

Autonomy for the Tamils can be made palatable to the Sinhalese if it occurs in the context of an overall decentralization of powers which would allow both communities to run their affairs with less interference from Colombo. Not merely the Northern and Eastern Provinces (where the Tamils are concentrated) but all nine of Sri Lanka's provinces should be endowed with provincial councils that exercise control over matters such as law and order, education and land settlement policies.

The TULF, for its part, could respond to such a proposal by dropping its demand that the Northern and Eastern Provinces be wedded into one entity as a

power. The country thus seemed set for a Great Leap Forward economically combined with consolidation of a rare Third World democracy. Western nations nodded approvingly and made Sri Lanka the highest per-capita recipient of their foreign aid.

Today, however, the dream has all but perished in the cross-fire of a brutal civil war which, according to estimates of human rights workers in Colombo, claimed the lives of 2,500 non-combatants in the past year. Most of these were Tamil civilians slain in indiscriminate attacks by the Sri Lankan armed forces in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

The conflict threatens to destroy both the political and economic progress of the country. Democratic institutions still function, but they are in decline. Parliament's life has been extended by constitutional amendment, and the main opposition party, the Tamil United Liberation Front, has been stripped of its parliamentary seats.

A CANADIAN INITIATIVE

Tamil "homeland." Such an entity would expose the Sinhalese and Moslem communities in the Eastern Province to the same majority ascendancy which the Tamil minority now faces on the island as a whole. That role reversal would be avoided if the provinces were kept separate. (The three communities are in rough balance in the Eastern Province.)

For the moment, however, political dialogue is thwarted by Mr. Jayewardene's determination to keep Sri Lanka a unitary state and to make Tamil civilians the prey of his armed forces.

★ ★ ★

Sri Lanka could have been the Singapore of south Asia. When Junius Jayewardene and his United National Party took office in 1977, they abandoned the nation's previous socialist policies and adopted a capitalist course. Sri Lanka's stalled economy showed an impressive growth rate of 8.2 percent.

Unlike the expanding economies of southeast Asia, Sri Lanka also had an enviable record of political freedom—confirmed by repeated defeats of the party in

Emergency powers have been wielded since 1980 to inhibit dissent.

The build-up of the armed forces diverts state expenditure from economic development to unproductive arms procurement. This process can be seen in microcosm at the Madura Oya irrigation project. A Canadian built dam harnesses water for lands that cannot be settled because of the warfare next door the accommodations built for Canadian engineers now serve as a counter-insurgency training camp for the Sri Lankan armed services.

Canada and other aid donors, whose investment in Sri Lanka is wasted by the conflict perhaps less directly but no less tragically have a responsibility to help this troubled island save itself. To do so, they will have to influence the Sri Lankan Government to curb its human rights abuses and to enter into meaningful talks with the Tamil community's exiled leaders. Ottawa should:

* Seek British support for a Commonwealth mediation effort. Sri Lanka's political elite cares about the maintenance of its international reputation as a liberal, democratic society and may heed appeals from a body which it

holds in esteem. (The Old School) Tie still counts for much in Colombo.)

* Announce at the Sri Lanka aid donors' meeting in June that Canada will formally suspend its involvement in the Madura Oya development scheme until a political accommodation is reached (one which includes equitable sharing of the scheme's irrigation benefits between Sinhalese and Tamil settlers).

* Convert the remainder of Canada's foreign aid to Sri Lanka into relief assistance for both Tamils and Sinhalese displaced by the conflict (as Norway has done). The 30,000 Tamils (now one lakh and twenty thousand - Editor SR) sheltered in refugee camps in south India and victimised by malnutrition are in particular distress.

Canada has sufficient humanitarian and economic stakes to warrant such moves. Moreover, it has a political self-interest in the survival of binational states. We know from experience the peril of what Lord Durham called "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state." In Sri Lanka, a Canadian initiative could help avert such an apocalypse.

De-Tamilisation!

Text of a press release sent by the Ceylon Teachers Union.

"The Government has sent all Tamil officers of the Sri Lanka Rupavahini and the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation on compulsory leave making use of the security reason. The officers of the Sri Lanka Customs service have been removed from their normal duties and allotted office-work. These are clear indications of this Government's racist policy.

It is also a violation of the right to work that every citizen is guaranteed through the Constitution, and runs parallel to the apartheid policies of the South African regime. We forwarn that this could be extended to effect all Tamil employees in other sectors as well and condemn it in no uncertain terms."

Meanwhile the process of de-Tamilisation in the Government sector is on the increase. One hundred and sixty three staff from the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation and twenty two from the Sri Lanka Rupavahini Corporation including technicians, producers, announcers and Finance Directors were out in the cold. Even the minor employees were not spared. The private sector in Colombo also reported to have started the process.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL ON REFOULEMENT OF TAMILS

In recent years Amnesty International has called on governments of those countries in which members of Sri Lanka's Tamil community have sought asylum not to return them to Sri Lanka against their will. Amnesty International urgently renews its appeal to such governments not to order the refolement of the Tamil Community, at least for a further period, in view of renewed reports of widespread human rights violations by security forces personnel which have reached Amnesty International since its earlier appeals.

Amnesty international reaffirms its opposition to refolement of members of the Tamil community because it fears that, if returned, Tamil civilians not involved in combat would be at grave risk of becoming victims of human rights violations. These include:

Arbitrary killings by members of the security forces, often in reprisal for the killing of their own men or of members of the Sinhalese community.

"Disappearances" of people allegedly arrested by security forces personnel.

Arbitrary arrest and detention, often long-term and incommunicado.

Ill-treatment and torture after arrest.

The most recent reports of extrajudicial killings are described in: **SRI LANKA: Some Recent Reports of Extrajudicial Killings, September 1985 to March 1986.**

This describes a number of incidents involving such killings by

security forces personnel, who in recent months have also resorted to aerial bombings causing the deaths of mainly non-combatant Tamil civilians. The victims include men, women and children. Such reports have been received by Amnesty International with increasing frequency in recent months.

"Disappearances" were first reported in 1983, and particularly since 1984, Amnesty International has received an increasing number of reports that families of people reported to have been arrested by the security forces are unable to establish the detainees' whereabouts. In many cases, officials deny knowledge of their arrest or detention; in other cases officials stated they had been released. There are fears that some of the "disappeared" may have been killed, their bodies having been disposed of by security forces personnel. Such reports have recently sharply increased: in its latest report of 24 January 1986, the United Nations Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances stated that it had transmitted to the Sri Lankan Government 194 cases of enforced or involuntary "disappearances" and Amnesty International has received dozens more reports of such "disappearances" during 1986.

Amnesty international continues to receive reports of torture similar to those described in its October 1985 "File on Torture" which detailed allegations that detainees arrested under the provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) were subjected to prolonged beatings while hanging upside down, had their heads tied in bags with

burning chillies and had pins inserted under nails and in heels. It has also received several reports in recent years that detainees have died under torture and that dozens of detainees, especially in recent months, have been shot in custody "while trying to escape"; inquests into such deaths, if held, are not known to have been published in the press.

Reports of human rights violations have been particularly frequent from the north and increasingly from the east of the island, but reports of arbitrary arrest and detention are received from all parts of Sri Lanka.

REPORTS OF ARRESTS FROM THE NORTH, EAST AND SOUTH

Whereas hundreds of arrests under the PTA of Tamil men, especially in the age group of 17 to 35 years old continue to be reported from the north and east of Sri Lanka, many of them being held incommunicado for many months, reports of arrest and detention under the PTA of people on suspicion of having "terrorists links" have in recent months also affected members of both the Sinhalese and Tamils communities in other parts of the country, including the centre, the south and the capital Colombo itself. Below we give some examples of such arrests.

On 28 November 1985 the Minister of National Security announced that "several people, mainly Sinhalese, suspected of having separatist terrorist links have been arrested by security authorities". The Minister named two left-wing groups, the Samajawadi Janatha Viyaparaya (Socialist People's

Movement - SJV) and the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna Nava Pravanthayaya (JVP - NP), as having alleged links with one of the main armed Tamil groups, the People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE). In the *Daily News*, Colombo, 29 November 1985, the Minister of National Security stated the strategy of these groups to be the establishment of armed guerrilla groups "to create trouble in various parts of the country so that the forces would be compelled to withdraw from the North to maintain security in other areas". At least one hundred persons were reported to have been arrested in this connection in December 1985, although some recent reports put the number at 200.

DETENTION AFTER REFOULEMENT

Amnesty International has also received several reports that Tamils seeking political refuge abroad who have been sent back to Sri Lanka, against their will have been arrested and detained without charge or trial, although in some cases they appear to have been detained only for short periods. Amnesty International does not know what has happened to the people refoled in all cases. For example, four Tamils, three of whom had lived in Sweden, and who, according to the *Island* of 27 August 1985, had "clandestinely helped the terrorists", were arrested by the Colombo police on 25 August 1985 after having been forcibly returned to Sri Lanka, under police escort from Sweden. They were reportedly released after a week's detention. Earlier,

(Continued on page 6)

PEACE FROM A WOMEN'S PERSPECTIVE

A group of 21 women drawn from all ethnic groups, regions and various women's organizations met from the 2nd to the 4th of May 1986 at a workshop - Women Against Racism & Militarisation, issued the following statement. The workshop has been organized by the Centre for Society and Religion.

HOMELANDS - Yes! we believe that all peoples of Sri Lanka have the right to live and work in the place of their choice without fear.

SECURITY - Yes! Not exclusively for one community? Rather a bill of rights through a Due Process of Law to safeguard the Rights of all Communities in Sri Lanka to life, homes, and means of livelihood as well as the practice of their own culture; to ensure principled standards of Justice in policing and Internal security; and to prevent violation of Human Rights.

ETHNIC QUOTAS - Yes! To ensure that the interests of the

Minority Communities are represented at all levels.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION - Yes! To produce good and equal opportunities for education, health CARE and EMPLOYMENT for the Urban and rural poor, Plantation Workers and Disadvantaged members of society.

DEVOLUTION - Yes! for the rights of self determination of Peoples Economically, Politically, Socially and Culturally.

DEVELOPMENT - Yes! To promote Agricultural and Industrial growth based on utilisation of

Indigenous Resources and Skills in a way which will bring maximum benefit to all the people of Sri Lanka.

THE RULE OF LAW - Yes! To repeal all restrictive and discriminatory legislation such as the prevention of terrorism act (P.T.A.) and Executive Decrees such as the Emergency and to ensure the Independence of the Judiciary.

PEACE UNITY AND SOVEREIGNTY - Yes! For the Peoples of Sri Lanka not merely for rulers and their overlords.

As a sign of our solidarity with one another in the cause of Peace we must cherish the diverse cultures of Sri Lankans as uniquely Sri Lankan and promote them all to enrich all our Peoples.

CTO: A POST - BLAST EPISODE

On the morning of 7th May, banker friend of the Tamil CTO officer X, called at the office to seek his help in getting an overseas call. X not being at his desk at that time, a fellow Sinhalese officer asked him to take a seat. When X returned, he went with X to get his call. At 9.18 a. m. there was a massive explosion and many in that part of the building were thrown off their seats and were either dazed or had simply fainted. Tamil officer Y in a state of alarm busied himself splashing water and reviving his colleagues. He had little notion what was in store. The Sinhalese officer mentioned recalled the visit of X's friend. Soon other CTO employees set upon X. Other Tamil officers too were likewise assaulted, much of the beating being done by minor employees. On seeing all this Y hid himself in a small record room and stayed there until 3.00 p.m., when he cautiously opened the door and found a Sinhalese friend of his who helped him to leave the building.

Out side it was all pandemonium. Police and Security forces had come in and yet nothing was done to prevent Tamil officers being assaulted. Y thought that racial riots had once again begun and made his way home to Kotahena in a state of shock and fear. Near home he met two Tamil ladies, neighbours of his, who were wearing pottus and were setting off on a jaunt. Y anxiously questioned them and was told that they were going to see the CTO. It was then that Y realised that there were no racial riots. He scolded the ladies and sent them back home.

Y stayed at home the next few days. A Sinhalese friend fetched his personal effects from the office and told him that others were becoming suspicious of those who helped Tamils. All officers were asked to report for work on Monday. X had in the meantime got in touch with Y. X thought it was safe to report for work rather than go through the Union. He said, "Machan,

we have been through quite a lot this before. I was even caught at Anuradhapura during the massacre. Now that they had assaulted Tamil officers, we should be fairly safe from harm." Y went with X to report at the CTO. Y was delayed outside as a result of a slight hitch while the army was checking identities. When Y reached the entrance he saw X who had preceded him being assaulted by minor employees at the CTO. Y made an about turn and ran for it, pursued by some employees. On reaching the army cordon Y was grabbed by the collar, by an army officer. Y was hanging dazed and terrified under the

army officer's grip. The CTO employees who chased him demanded their prey from the army officer. The officer replied. "I would very much like to assault these Tamils but I cannot do it while in my uniform." After further assurances that this Tamil officer will be given the appropriate treatment, the CTO employees went satisfied. The moment they were out of sight, the army officer released Y and told him, "Run for it." A relieved Y promptly ran to the Union and filed his request for a transfer. A Tamil CTO officer Pusparajah was beaten to death in a restaurant, by a party of thugs aided by some CTO employees.

A HOPE, FOR EVER

*The days get longer, a sure sign of Spring to come,
One more winter passed, away from the shores of Lanka,
Life abroad is good, with all needs and luxuries within reach,
Yet, a note of anguish tugs the heart in quiet moments,
As tragedy unfolds in the thrice blessed land of ours.*

*The parched land waiting for monsoon rains,
To quench it's insatiable thirst,
Gets soaked by innocent blood
Sons and daughters, someones children,
Raised with love and care only a mother could give,
Secured against the cunning of disease,
In a hostile land where life is hard,
Now disposed with seeming abandon,
By forces armed to the teeth,
All in the name of saving the country.*

*Countless thousands rendered homeless,
Whole families forced to flee for their lives,
Eke out their days on meager rations,
In camps and schools all over the nation,
Days stretched into the night with no salvation,
Waiting for delivery of the promised land.*

*Youth is the flower of our society,
Which, with all its glory and failings,
Still deserves a place under the sun.
The land and its people are one,
And wherever we are we owe it to ourselves,
To do everything in our power,
To ease the misery and erase the tears.
The hour is dark with no light in sight,
Yet we cannot afford to lose hope.
For surely life loses its meaning and purpose,
If truth and justice do not triumph in the end.*

—RANJITHAN

IT HAPPENED IN CANADA

*In these dire times when unity,
or the lack of it, amongst Tamils
is a subject engrossing many minds,
we publish below an anecdotal
story given by a reader from
Canada:*

During his visit to Canada in January, Mr. A. Amirthalingam was billed to address a public meeting in Toronto. In this city there are several factions of Tamils. There are three hot lines backing different groups. That is, when you dial a given number, you will be answered by a tape machine giving the latest news according to that party together with perhaps news of social events, meetings etc. Sri Lankan government supporters too have their hot line.

When Mr. Amirthalingam stood up to speak, he was incessantly and loudly heckled. Others were distributing anti-TULF leaflets. Undaunted Mr. Amirthalingam began. He said, "the Sri Lankan government has launched a premeditated and concerted attack

to wipe off the Tamils. They have utilised vast resources to this end. They have spent 13,000 dollars for a full page advertisement in Canada's national newspaper, the *Globe and Mail*, to put across their view. Our resources are small. And what do we do? We squander it fighting each other. You launch a propaganda campaign against him, he launches a campaign against some one else and he against another. A hot line for you, one for him, and one for another!"

"Why are you beating me? For some reason or the other you want to beat me. You go on beating, beating and beating. All right, if it gives you some satisfaction, you can continue beating me, a dead snake though I am."

There was by now pin-drop silence. Mr. Amirthalingam then commenced his main address.

As they say do not underestimate an old campaigner.

DONKEYS ON STAGE

*He comes from Jaffna,
They used to say in Jest,
There was even a play by that name.
He still comes from Jaffna,
but it is no longer a joke.
He now packs a punch in his bag.
Dynamite!
The Government sentries are there;
still the blasts continue,
now in the heart of Sinhala country!
The blasts that bleed
the life-blood of the people.
When will it end?
thi people ask.
The Muse has no answer.
He is as dense as a mule
When donkeys are no stage,*

*jackasses also have their day.
We have plenty of donkeys and jackasses,
and also buffaloes.
Allow them to hold sway?
Mucking and messing around,
in their fashionable way?
Those people are fools
also get up late from their slumbers;
not from bed but from reality.
The reality is there
for all to see.
What can be done
if people wear blinkers
The question arises
are all Sri Lankans damn fools?*

—ANON

THE CWC WRITES...

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Dear Sir,

My attention has been drawn to the front page article in your issue of 20th April 1986, under the provocative headline MAN, WHAT ARE YOU UP TO? You have taken upon yourself the burden of answering the question you have raised yourself: "What is Minister Thondaman up to?"

Before I come to your comments on this interview in "The Hindu" and reproduced in "The Island" I wish to state that what Mr. Thondaman is "up to" now is what he has always been "up to." He has followed a consistent policy on the Tamil and communal question at all times. He has always stood for Tamil unity and Tamil rights on a principled basis.

You will recall that in the early seventies, Mr. Thondaman and the CWC joined hands with the Federal Party and other Tamil organisations to form the Tamil United Front (TUF) on a six point programme.

Unfortunately, certain sections of the TUF, without prior consent or agreement of other sections, including the CWC, adopted the demand for a separate Tamil state of Eelam and changed the name of the organisation to Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). The CWC could not be a party to any demand for the division of the island. Nevertheless, Mr. Thondaman and the CWC have always been willing to co-operate with all Tamil organisations on the basis of the six-point programme.

Moreover, the CWC, believes in the theory and practice of non-violence under all circumstances and whatever the provocation. It is not possible to overcome violence by counter violence. History and experience have shown that resort to violence whatever the excuse is self-defeating and inevitably futile. It is in this spirit that Mr. Thondaman's interview with "The Hindu" should be viewed.

The same interview has been under fire in Parliament and outside by persons like Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Mr. Dinesh Gunawardena and others of the same ilk. Their complaint is about Mr. Thondaman said about the massive retaliation by the Armed Services against Tamil civilians.

I do not want to enter into point-counterpoint argument in regard to the matters raised in the article, but I must state that rhetoric and polemics, like violence, cannot solve human problems.

I hope that you will grant me the courtesy of publishing this letter.

N. Subramaniam
Director of Information, C. W. C.

Note by Editor: No comment.

LETTERS

WHO SEPARATES?

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

The Prime Minister of India, interviewed at the Air-port on his recent return from his visit to the four Front line States in South Africa, remarked that the Sri Lankan Government was moving towards a military solution of its ethnic problem. A B. B. C. commentator remarked that India had been taken for a ride by the Sri Lankan Government.

President Junius Jayewardene likes to think big. He wants to wipe out anything he does not like. Of course he does it in the most polite way. At the beginning of the ethnic struggle he called his trusted Brigadier and told him to wipe out the Tigers by the end of the year. The Brigadier and his men dutifully went and at the end of the year reported back: Your Excellency, there are no more Tigers.

Six years and more later not only are there Tigers but they have developed into "Terrorists" and "terrorists" of the worst sort, "Marxists Terrorists." If they were Facist Terrorists they would not hurt President Jayewardene so much.

Now he has vowed to wipe out Tamil terrorism by the end of the year. Having dealt with the Tamils in the Eastern Province he is now making, in the words of the B. B. C., a three pronged attack on Jaffna—the last remaining Tamil place left—by sea, air and land. Freshly recruited, well armed and well trained (mostly abroad) troops rolling in Armoured cars (supplied by South Africa) are stalled, due to fierce resistance, according to the B. B. C. account. So the attack is from the sea and from the air.

The tragedy is that a simple internal problem was allowed to bludgeon out into an international one inducing President Jayewardene to introduce early the notorious foreign mercenaries from Israel and Britain into Sri Lanka to fight the Tamils. The Israeli connection has given a foothold to the bandits of the Middle East into South Asia and also angered Arab countries where so many of our nationals earn precious foreign exchange. All this why? To prevent Tamils from looking after their own internal affairs in areas densely occupied by them.

I wonder if President Jayewardene ever stops to think how he is going to solve the ethnic problem by military action. Is he hoping that once the boys and girls whom he calls "Marxists Terrorists" are liquidated the Tamil people will rally round him to impose his will on them? Is he aware that there is hardly a single Tamil family in the North and East which does not mourn the loss of a precious son, daughter, father, mother or friend. All the atrocities committed on innocent Tamils by his armed and auxiliary forces, while he looked on cannot be wiped out with sweet words and religious tamashas.

The Ceylon Tamils lived like brothers with the Sinhalese till independence. Today many of us, who spent our lives working with Sinhalese as brothers, wonder if it ever will be possible again. Is Separatism being forced on us?

R. W. C. Thambiah

Jaffna

DIFFERENT SPIES?

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

In 'The adventures of Lawrence of Arabia', James Dunn observes: "Exploration and archaeology are the customary methods by which nations spy upon one another's territory in peacetime, and this expedition was exactly that." "That" was "The dig at Carchemish closed on June 16th, 1913.....At the beginning of 1914, Lawrence was asked to undertake a survey of Arabia, with Woolley and Captain Newcombe of the Royal Engineers" continues Dunn.

In 1935 Lawrence of Arabia was killed in a motor-cycle accident when I was 15 years old. I was fascinated by the account of the man in the "Ceylon Daily News" and discussed it with my father. The latter had read 'The seven pillars of wisdom', and I remember my father saying, "Lawrence of Arabia was a great man, but as an under-graduate he, (unwittingly maybe) spied for the British Government, who by then knew that a clash with the Germans was a matter of time."

I make this point, merely to add that, in addition to these two methods of spying, there has been tourism. It is now being used by the "developed" countries to continue domination of former colonies. The latter seem to think that the carrot of earning foreign exchange to make up for 'under-development' has no effect on indirect exploitation, not to mention the violation of indigenous customs, life-styles and religious beliefs which goes on insidiously.

Huge tourists catering hotels are built on 'Aid (to repay which future generations are responsible for). To make the tourist industry attractive, all the modern amenities are bought from those very 'Aid supplying countries. Tourists come, many of whom excepting a few who appreciate real human worth, fling their money to indulge themselves thanks to the currency manipulation of industrial countries dominating the international monetary market to the disadvantage of raw material producing countries.

The former colonial countries should be alert to this kind of exploitation. Tourism has been added to archaeology and exploration. Come to think of it, in the 'fifties' Major Ravenhart explored the rivers and old Dutch canals of Sri Lanka, and he was paid handsomely for relating his experiences through the national press. Sri Lanka might use the mapping and surveying efforts made by the gallant Major, ostensibly for historical reasons but which could be filed of record for other purposes by exploiting alien countries, to restore the canal system as a means of reducing the pressure on the roadways. The Dutch constructed the canals two or three centuries ago to exploit the spice of the East: cannot Sri Lanka use their transport system to her advantage?

Neville H. de Silva

Melbourne

AMNESTY...

(Continued from page 4)

the Sun, 31 July 1985, reported that two Tamils, sent back from France against their will, had been arrested by police on arrival at the Katunayake International Airport. They were handed over to police from the Criminal Investigation Department (CID), but Amnesty International has not been able to establish what happened to them after arrest. There have been complaints about the conditions in which such detainees have been held at the fourth floor Colombo office of the CID: one man subjected to refolement from France on 27 April 1984 stated that, on return, he was arrested, interrogated and not given food or drink during a five-day detention period.

WARNING TO SRI LANKA:**PROSTITUTION AND U. S. BASES**

Malaysia: Two 12-year-old girls were admitted to a hospital in Olongapo in the Philippines, with syphilitic sores all over their bodies. In the next few days the nuns found a total of 15 children aged from eight to 12, belonging to the same prostitution ring, suffering from syphilis, gonorrhoea, genital herpes and multiple beatings.

When the municipal authorities would take no action, Father Cullen, an Irish priest, took the facts to the press.

An American officer whose appetites the ring was organised was later sentenced in Guam to a few months' jail for 'rape,' the Filipino procurer, a well-connected businesswoman, was never charged; but Father Cullen was threatened with deportation for bringing 'the good name of the town into disrepute.'

The town of Olongapo, near the American base at Subic Bay, depends on the base for its economic survival. The prostitution of a large number of its women and children is an integral part of the services it offers.

Like many other towns and districts in which 'entertainment' is the biggest business, the flesh trade is encouraged by official connivance and its illegalities covered with a protective blanket of official and community silence.

The worst cases in Asia of towns living off prostitution are those connected now or in the past with American bases, a recently published report from the International Abolitionist Federation (IAF), entitled *Prostitution: Survival of Slavery*, reveals.

The IAF is a non-governmental organisation, a consultant to the United Nations, which fights against the exploitation of prostitutes and traffic in women and children.

Olongapo and Angeles (near the Clark Base) in the Philippines, Okinawa in Japan, and Bangkok in Thailand are the most notorious examples.

There are 400,000 more women than men living in Bangkok, while amongst the tourists men outnumber women three to one.

Although there have always been prostitutes in Bangkok, it only became big business with the Viet-

nam war, when Bangkok was made a centre for 'Rest and Recreation' tours by the American military.

At its heyday the red light areas of Bangkok boasted hundreds of bars and 70,000 women working the sex trade. When the Americans left Vietnam, too many vested interests were making too much profit to allow the business to die.

Over the past decade organised sex tours from Europe, Japan and West Asia have taken the place of the soldiers, and holiday sub-centres, Phuket, Cheng-mai, and Pattaya have also grown to service these tourists.

by

Servicing American bases by prostituting the local women is big business in a number of Asian cities. And even when the R and R boys went home the profits were too good to allow the trade to die. So enter the sex tourist to keep the 'base economy' going, with official connivance and the tacit support of local authorities.

Ms Halinah Todd is a freelance journalist, formerly Features Editor of the New Straits Times (Malaysia) and voted Malaysia's Journalist of the Year in 1982.

There is now ample evidence that forced prostitution and the sale, kidnap and prostitution of very young children, girls and boys, is rampant in Thailand, to satisfy the special demands of some of these tourists.

Most of the girls and children are bought or lured from poor families in the north; some are refugee children from boarder camps, according to investigation by Ms Renee Bridel for the International Association of Democratic Jurists. But it is rare for these horrors to reach the public eye. A fire in the red light district in Phuket in 1984 killed five girls, who were locked into their room. The two youngest were chained to their beds.

When the mother of one came to claim her daughter's body, she admitted having sold her to a procurer for 6,000 baht (US\$266) and having recently received a letter begging to be 'brought back' because she was being beaten and forced to take drugs.

Almost all the earnings of these young girls were taken by the brothel owner as 'payback money' for the price given to the parents;

in addition they were charged rent for the rooms they were locked into and 50 baht for every anti-V.D. shot.

Raids by police units from other precincts on brothels in tourist districts have revealed numerous cases of forced prostitution of underaged girls, with their 'owners' protected by the local police writes well-known campaigner against the exploitation of prostitutes, Ms Sudarat Sereewat, a Bangkok social worker with the World Council of Churches.

Okinawa is a much older example of a 'base economy.' In 1970,

Halinah Todd

after 25 years of American occupation, the official count of the number of prostitutes on Okinawa was 7,362, or one in every 40 women aged between 15 and 60. The actual number was estimated to be twice that figure, or one in 20.

Their earnings, based on the official numbers, totalled US\$50.4 million a year, considerably more than the export earnings for Okinawa's two major crops, sugar and pineapple.

This money went to the procurers and bar owners; the women were perpetual debt slaves to the gangs who controlled the trade.

Their conditions improved somewhat after the reversion of Okinawa to Japan in 1972, but the 'base economy' prostitution continued to be the mainstay of the Island economy and boomed during the Vietnam war.

There are still 30,000 American soldiers and civilians based in Okinawa, but developed Japan has been able to replace many of the Okinawan prostitutes with cheaper imports from the Philippines.

By 1984 there were 1,560 Filipinas licensed by the authorities as 'dancers'; they receive one

third the payment a Japanese receives and their passports are held by the bar owners.

It is hard to escape the conclusion that the biggest pimps are the local authorities.

In the past few years Asian women have begun to organise themselves to fight against their exploitation by both local and foreign men. Five years ago the Third World Movement Against the Exploitation of Women was established, led by Sister Mary Soledad Perpunan of the Philippines.

They scored immediate success in Asean-wide protests against Japanese sex tours, timed to embarrass Prime Minister Suzuki on his 1981 Asean tour. Japanese male tourism into Bangkok and Manila immediately dropped 25 per cent.

At the end of 1983, Sister Mary Soledad set up STOP (Stop Trafficking In Filipinas), to carry an information campaign into the rural areas, stimulate income-producing projects for rural women and bring pressure to bear on authorities who connive at trafficking.

In February 1986, they gained a powerful new ally in President Cory Aquino, who said at her first press conference: 'I will do my best so that we will be able to provide jobs for our women... so they will not have to resort to this.'

In Thailand a growing number of studies and articles in the press have embarrassed the police into localised crackdowns on forced prostitution. But the underground trade in children and teenage girls continues, with police protection, writes campaigner Sudarat Sereewat in prostitution; *Survival Slavery*.

'This is not just a simple sex trade; there are pimps torturing and locking up helpless young girls who barely receive enough money to survive. Child prostitution and forced prostitution are often inseparable, as children are easy to control and cheaper to buy.' - **THIRD WORLD NETWORK FEATURES**

FIGHTERS' DAY

Thursday, 5th June 1986 was proclaimed as a "Fighters' Day" by the TESO. Observances were held at Urumpirai in the premises, where the now damaged statue of the late Sivakumaran stands, and also at Chundikuli, Jaffna.

EPRLF, too, observed this day with a Hartal for two hours at Urumpirai from 1 p.m.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

ONE WAY ROAD

Please do not go along the Jaffna end of the Kandy Road anymore for you are liable to get shot.

One of the latest victims is Mr. Suppiah Ramalingam of Chulipuram who went near the courts to get a document translated.

He was hit in the hip and intestines by bullets fired from the Jaffna Fort about 9 a.m. on 2nd May. He is now in the intensive care unit of the Jaffna General Hospital.

MAD SHELLING

An armoured personnel carrier which was coming towards the Fort Army Camp from Mandativu junction was blown up by land mines at the 3rd mile post in the Pannai on 1st June.

The Tamil Eelam Army (TEA) has claimed responsibility for the blast. Two days later official sources said that 4 members of the security personnel were injured. According to posters put up by the TEA, 11 soldiers were killed.

Hours after the blast Security Forces started shelling at random for nearly 5 hours and this resulted in the death of two children and injury to 72 people. Five houses and Vaideeswara Maha Vidiyalayam were also damaged by shell fire.

A 56-year Government Pensioner and father of three children, eldest of whom is a girl of 14, he now appears destined to be a permanent invalid. Thanks to the bullets.

Not only some Lawyers but even some Judges ran for their lives when the bullets started flying in the same area recently.

P.S: At the time of going to press we received the message that Mr. Suppiah Ramalingam is no more.

VICIOUS CIRCLE OF REPRISALS

Seventeen Sinhalese were killed at Andankulam in Trincomalee on 4th June at about 3 p.m. This killing — apparently a reprisal for the earlier killing of Ten Tamils at Uppuveli — has triggered off another reprisal in which nine Tamils who were travelling in a Trincomalee bound bus from Vavuniya, were off loaded and killed on the same day.

RED CROSS

After the 20th. May strafing of the Jaffna General Hospital, the authorities have painted a Red Cross on the Hospital roof so that the bombers and strafers could find it easier to spot the target.

DIAMOND JUBILEE FAIR AND EXHIBITION URUMPIRAI HINDU COLLEGE

A Fair and Exhibition will be held on 9th and 10th June 1986, between 8-30 a.m. and 5-30 p.m., to mark the Diamond Jubilee of Urumpirai Hindu College.

The participants at the Fair and Exhibition will be the Palmyrah Development Board, Milk White, Manoharan and Vettivel, J.C.C. Ltd., Dynamic Engineering, Poobalasingham Book Depot, Jaffna Medical Faculty, Students of Urumpirai Hindu College, Siky Ice Cream and Cool Bar and others.

Those who are desirous of participating at this Fair and Exhibition are requested to contact Mr. S. K. Manoharan, Urumpirai Junction.

SOLDIERS BLOWN UP

25 members of the security forces were killed and twelve others injured in a land mine blast at Dehiwatte in Muttur District on 30th May. The Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS) is stated to have claimed responsibility for the blast.

In a reprisal attack by security forces 10 people were shot dead at Uppuveli in Trincomalee on 3rd June. Among them were two women, Mrs. Navamalar Canagaratnam (30) and Sri Santha Kumari (26) were raped and killed. This was revealed at an inquest but no one volunteered to give evidence through fear.

KILINOCCHI BATTLE LINE

According to reports reaching here, a fierce battle is going on between militants and security forces in Kilinochchi from the early hours of June 4th.

Security forces who were reportedly out on a search operation, got stranded when the militants blasted the culverts at Tharmapuram and Thirunagar.

To prevent the security forces from coming out of the Army camp at Kilinochchi, the militants simultaneously had reportedly launched a counter operation. Helicopters were also stated to be not able to land or take-off in the rescue.

In the meantime about 500 soldiers with heavy air-cover reportedly set their way to Kilinochchi. At Karadipokku they met with heavy resistance from the militants and were forced to return to base.

Thiruvaiaru, Uruthirapuram and Kilinochchi areas were bombed,

strafed and shelled. 4 children were killed near Kilinochchi bus depot in the shelling, while an old man was killed at Karadipokku.

In the meantime the Government Agent of Jaffna and his Public Relations Officer were also caught in the Battle.

In the process of taking food stamp books which had been brought from, their lorry was reportedly shelled by security forces around 2.00 p.m. on 4th June.

The incident took place near a Paddy Store at Paranthan. The lorry driver and cleaner had reportedly spot 'something' hovering in the distance and informed the G. A. The P. R. O. and G. A., had then got off the lorry. A while later the lorry had been shelled killing both the driver and cleaner on the spot. Another cleaner escaped with injuries. G. A. and P. R. O. were forced to take shelter at the residence of a Government Official.

THE NOOSE TIGHTENS

The Noose is tightening on the Jaffna people's neck in more ways than one.

Food and fuel stocks are fast running out following the disruption of road transport between the South and the North as well after the recent incidents en route.

The trains stopped running up to Jaffna several months ago. It is now very difficult to get past the Elephant Pass road barrier.

Telecommunication and postal services are grinding to a halt after the Army moved into the Telecommunication Department building near the Jaffna Post-Office.

Employees of both the Telecommunication Department and the Post-Office refused to go anywhere near the area for fear of getting fired at.

The Post-Office now functions from its old building at 2nd Cross Street.

BURNT ALIVE

Following a bomb blast at the Veyangoda Railway Station - that killed 18 people on the spot-five Tamils were burnt alive at the railway station. Several passengers were badly assaulted and their belongings were looted.

BERMUDA TRIANGLE?

A Taiwanese cargo vessel which reportedly left Jaffna with cement and goods worth lakhs of rupees is stated to be missing at sea.

In this connection security in the ports at Galle, Trincomalee and Colombo is reported to have been strengthened.