

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 5 No. 32

30th August 1986

QUIT JAFFNA FORT

Jaffna is in a rebellious mood. We are not referring to the militant youth groups. We are referring to the ordinary people of Jaffna.

They came out in their thousands on 27th August to protest against the Army's presence in the Fort.

It was a silent demonstration: dignified and orderly. No slogan shouting at all, as with most other demonstrations in both the North and South.

And no speeches either.

Only the Jaffna Fort provided the music, with occasional shell bursts.

The demonstrators, from all over Jaffna, converged at the Kachcheri premises in the morning.

THEN A MOTHER READ OUT THE MEMORANDUM ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF SRI LANKA CONTAINING THE

MAIN AND IMMEDIATE DEMAND OF THE PEOPLE OF JAFFNA: THE ARMY MUST LEAVE JAFFNA FORT.

The placards carried by the demonstrators stressed the same message summary:

QUIT FORT,
DON'T DESTROY OUR TOWN
WHERE IS YOUR DHAR-
MISTA?

PROVINCIAL COUNCILS FOR
WIDOWS AND ORPHANS,
HOUSE CONSTRUCTION IN
THE SOUTH AND HOUSE
DESTRUCTION IN THE
NORTH AND EAST.

The Army which should be a source of solace and strength to the people of their country has been a veritable menace to the people in a part of the country, the Northern part, at the heart of which is Jaffna.

True, some of the militant groups have been taking put-shots occasionally at the Jaffna Army camp, some soldiers have been killed and a number of them injured.

But this is no excuse for the Army to hob shells in the town, killing mostly innocent civilians.

Just consider two recent incidents.

A bride and bridegroom were seated on a chair in the house on 22nd August after the tying of the Thali ceremony. A shell fell and the groom died instantly. The bride-groom's relation also died and several injured. What should have been a memorable and joyous occasion turned out to be an unfortunate and unforgettable tragedy.

On 24th August, another shell fell near the main bazaar, killing three persons and injuring 13 others.

Among those killed was the Manager of the Hatton National Bank. His bride-to-be committed suicide.

On both occasions, we are sure there was no provocation by the militants, whatever the Colombo-based media have said.

The presence of the Army in the Fort is the biggest provocation.

The Army must go if there is to be peace in Jaffna and a settlement of the ethnic problem is to be achieved.

The memorandum was handed over to the Government Agent of Jaffna, Mr. A. Panchchalingam, to be forwarded to the President.

The demonstration was organised by the Jaffna People's Action Committee sponsored by the SATURDAY REVIEW.

We hope the President will ponder over the contents of the memorandum and take appropriate action.

The only option before the President is to remove the Camp.

We hope he will do what is necessary, what is appropriate, what is sensible.

SPOTLIGHT ON DELHI

(By D. B. S. JEYARAJ)

The spotlight is focussed on New Delhi again.

With round two of the Govt.-TULF talks coming to an end it seems clear that the Indian capital would be the venue for further discussions and not Colombo.

The TULF has stressed to the Govt. that the Tamil militants must be included in the talks. A three member Ministerial delegation is scheduled to visit New Delhi on Sept. 12. The TULF will also be in Delhi at that time.

It is not clear at present about the Militants role in these discussions. It is expected that this round would be confined to both sides clarifying to Indian authorities the areas on which agreement has not been reached in Colombo. It is likely that the Militants would be included in talks after these differences are ironed out. A second Sri Lankan Ministerial delegation is

likely to meet the Militants directly or along with the TULF later on. There will however be no talks in Colombo until the militants have been accommodated directly in the current talks.

Government circles in Colombo were optimistic about a broad agreement being reached before Sept. 17th which is President Jayewardene's 80th Birthday. The President is expected to make an address to the Nation explaining the agreement reached. He has already announced that the Provincial Councils Bill will be presented in September. He has also told his Ministers that elections to the Northern and Eastern Provincial Councils would be held in October or November this year. In the Sinhala areas the present D.D.C's will function for 2 years. He has also said that 75 percent agreement has been reached with the TULF.

But TULF circles told SATURDAY REVIEW that the issue was not so simple. Although agreement has been reached on some issues, there is no agreement on others, like lands, the Constitutional framework for Devolution etc. Besides the TULF will not compromise on the demand for structural linkage between the North and East. The Govt. seems opposed to it. TULF sources told S.R. that no accord with the Govt. will be arrived at by the Party alone. Finality on any issue would be only in union with the Tamil Militants. Judging by the pace of the talks it felt that an implementable accord was not possible in the next few months. It will negotiate for powers to a Provincial Council but will stand firm on a single Tamil Province.

If New Delhi is under pressure from both the Govt. and TULF to smoothen the differences on substance and resolve the deadlock on

Unit, it was subject to pressure of a different kind from Tamil Nadu. The State Chief Minister M.G. Ramachandran has informed Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi that the Militants should not be compelled to accept any settlement they do not approve of. The message was conveyed by the State Electricity Minister S. Ramachandran. Apparently news reports in the Tamil Nadu Press had said that the Ministerial Trio had applied pressure on Militant leaders. D.M.K. Chief Karunanidhi had made use of this to say at an election meeting in Aruppukodai that M.G.R. was a party to the Militants being threatened with deportation. Since M.G.R.'s Ministerial No.2 R.M. Veerappan is the A.I.A.D.M.K candidate in this election M.G.R. was constrained to make a strong appeal to Delhi to counter Karunanidhi.

New Delhi has therefore informed the Militants that any conclusions reached in Colombo would be submitted to the Militants. They will be allowed to suggest amendments.

(Continued on page 12)

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

Mary, Mary Quite Contrairy

Who is No. 7 in the present TULF Delegation? Some Colombo papers went on record saying it was Rev. Fr. Joseph Mary; other papers said it was Rev. Fr. Joseph Alonzo; All papers said the priest was from the East.

Last week the Catholic Church stated that no priest from the East was in the delegation.

The identity of No. 7 is now clear; It is none other than Mr. Alphonse Mary, an ex-School master, from Batticaloa. Alphonse Mary was jailed during Mrs. Bandaranaike's period of 70 — 77. He is now in India and a member of the 7 — Man TULF Politbureau. He is also a twin brother of Fr. Joseph Mary a Jesuit priest abroad. Both look alike.

NEW HORIZONS IN TAMIL STUDIES

The 6th death anniversary of Rev. Fr. X. S. Thani Nayagam falls on 1st September.

The year 1952 marks a turning point in the field of Tamil studies. It was in that year that the quarterly journal *Tamil Culture* made its first appearance as a publication of the Tamil Literature Society, Tuticorin. The Editor was no less a person than the late Prof. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam. There were scholars versed in Tamil studies spread all over the world. The journal brought together the Tamil scholars of the world by serving as a forum for exchange of research findings and ideas relating to Tamil studies. The journal also served to acquaint many a non-Tamil researcher with the finer elements of Tamil culture and Tamil literature.

In the year 1961 the Chair of Indian Studies at the University of Malaysia was offered to the late Prof. Rev. Thani Nayagam. He organised the Department on a firm footing and brought it in line with the Departments of Tamil in Tamil Nadu and Sri Lankan Universities. Having done so, he visited the Universities of Annamalai, Madras, Kerala and Sri Lanka and conferred with the Heads of the Tamil Departments there and urged the need to organise a World Tamil Conference so that the scholars working on Tamil studies throughout the world could meet and discuss their findings and problems. He received encouraging support and proceeded further. He contacted the then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and explored the possibility of organising such a Conference in Madras. The XXVIth International Conference of Orientalists was to be held in January 1964 in New Delhi. At a Conference held by the Tamil Research and Development Council of the Tamil Nadu Government in August, 1963, chaired by the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, it was agreed to hold such a World Conference of Tamil Studies in Madras sometime in mid-January, 1964, after the conclusion of the XXVIth International Conference of Orientalists in New Delhi.

At the XXVIth International Conference of Orientalists held in New Delhi in January, 1964 the scholars deeply felt that the Session allocated to Indology (Modern Indian languages and linguistics) was an inadequate forum for deli-

berations on Tamil studies. The late Prof. Thani Nayagam and Prof. V.I. Subramaniam (then of Kerala and now Vice Chancellor, Tamil University, Tanjore) issued a notice and convened a meeting of "scholars interested in different fields of Tamil studies." on Tuesday 7th January, 1964 in one of the Committee Rooms of the Conference Secretariat. The late Prof. T.P. Meenakshisunderam chaired the meeting. The late Prof. Thani Nayagam explained the purpose of the meeting and proposed the formation of the "International Association of Tamil Research." Prof. Kamil Zvelebil seconded the proposal. The late Prof. Jean Filliozat was elected the President and Professors Thani Nayagam and Kamil Zvelebil were elected Joint Secretaries.

Through the untiring efforts of Prof. Thani Nayagam steady progress was made within a period of two years making it possible

by

Malaysia we have people of various racial origins living together in very close harmony. Malays, other natives of Malaysia, Chinese and Indians have joined together in founding this happy Nation, and it is a matter of pride to us that we all think of ourselves first and foremost as Malaysians, with a common allegiance to the King and Country. I have often described myself as the "happiest Prime Minister." I am happy because Malaysia is a happy country. We have learnt to respect and value the different streams of culture that have nourished our land nurtured our people. These cultures have now been blended to form the Malaysian heritage.

"In our educational system, the Tamil language is one of the media of instruction in the Tamil schools. In the secondary schools there is opportunity, for anyone who desires, to learn Tamil as a

A. Theva Rajan

to hold the first International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies in Malaysia itself where affluent circumstances prevailed. Thus, in April 1966, the first International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies was held. Several scholars from several countries participated and it was a success beyond expectation. The Conference was declared open by the then Prime Minister the late Y. T. M. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Alhaj. In the course of this learned speech he said: "Tamil is one of the languages in use in Malaysia. In centuries gone by, flourishing Tamil Merchant communities and priestly classes spread out from India to parts of South East Asia, and something of those old associations may be seen through historical records, monument and traditions. In the ceremonies in the Royal Houses of certain of our Northern States may be seen some similarities with Indian traditions. Our own language Malay, contains evidence of frequent social intercourse between this part of the world and Tamil-speaking people.... More recently, during the last 100 years, many Tamil speaking people from India and Ceylon have come and settled in Malay Peninsula. Their descendants may be seen now in various walks of life—in the Cabinet, in the plantations, in business and in the professions as Teachers, Lawyers, Doctors, Administrators and Parliamentarians. Today in

subject. And, in the University, we have a Department of Indian studies, together with the Department of Malay studies and the Department of Chinese studies. So, at the highest possible level, the languages and cultures of our people are encouraged and supported. The Department of Indian Studies is fortunate in having as its Head a person who is not a narrow specialist, but one who commands a knowledge of several languages. I refer to the Professor Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, Dean of the Faculty of Arts. No doubt his leadership has been one of the reasons for your choice of the University of Malaysia as the venue for your Conference. Tamil is one of the languages very much in use not only in India, but also in other parts of Asia and even Africa. In its literature are many gems of learning and wisdom. The *Thirukkural*, for example, a Tamil work of the first or second century, has been translated into various languages, and has been studied and praised all over the world. I am happy that this valuable work is being translated into Malay and Chinese. I understand that the motto of this Conference is taken from a verse nearly twenty centuries old: YATUM URE, YAVARUM KELIR meaning: All the earth is my homeland And all its people my kinsfolk. What beautiful words expressing such a sentiment — most appropriate for an international get-together."

(Continued on page 11)

FOREIGN VIEWS

Rio de Janeiro: Since the American people elected one of Hollywood's old style macho stars into the White House, it should come as no surprise that Hollywood is doing its bit to support his bellicose foreign policy.

Made-in-Hollywood TV movies and series, exported wholesale to the Third World, have produced a whole new generation of film of violence and conflict with overtones reinforcing the ideology of force and a racist contempt for the Third World.

Take two series distributed all over the world and shown in prime time, or in the afternoon, for the doubtful benefit of our children. They are *Masquerade* and *Blue Thunder*.

In both, the number of violent deaths is staggering.

In an episode picked at random we counted 17 murders. Gunshots, people dropping dead, catastrophic explosions, automobiles and jeeps being blown into pieces by strategically placed time bombs — all of these curiously devoid of real bloodshed.

Hollywood knows that the sight of blood spurting forth from a bullet wound in *Dirty Dozen* — style is unbecoming on TV.

In the new series, the characters are simply shot, fall down and drop out of the story as though they were mere moving targets at a shooting gallery.

All very aseptic and horribly acceptable.

Amid all the fighting and carnage, there emerges the old ideology of survival of the strongest, just as in old Hollywood westerns 'superior' white men defeated 'inferior' Indians.

This ideological content is a common trait of both *Masquerade* and *Blue Thunder*. On the surface, *Masquerade* is mere tourism. A grand tour of the East Bloc countries with stops in the Middle East and other points in conflict with the US. Europe is often the stage for the action, but even tropical Rio de Janeiro has served as a backdrop for one of the 'missions'.

The villain in *Masquerade* is more often than not an ugly Soviet spy lacking in professional cunning and good manners.

The head of the Central Intelligence Agency operations, a certain Mr. Lavender, has to perform a number of dangerous missions after

a renegade CIA operative has disclosed the identity of top US secret agents around the world.

Cut off from the expert help of his exposed agents, Lavender is forced to resort to amateurs common American citizens.

RAMBOVISION

Whenever a mission calls for a given 'specialty' — be it arson, safe-cracking or plain murder — the CIA chief searches a vast file with an entry corresponding to each US citizen. The chosen individual is then quietly recruited 'to serve his country'.

Remuneration may include airplane trips, travel expenses, stays in luxury hotels, and last but not least the exhilarating feeling of having done a patriotic job.

Masquerade seems to demonstrate that US security depends on strict domestic control, with each citizen on police file, ready to be drafted for a defense mission in a never-ending undeclared war.

Few countries have undergone such a violent upheaval in the past few years as Sri Lanka, which was once known for its idyllic beaches, but is now more famous for the havoc wrought by its bloody Tamil civil war.

It is not so much the political line of the Sri Lankan government which has blackened the island's reputation. The issues are too complex for that. It is more the consistent stream of atrocities allegedly committed against Tamil civilians by the country's Security forces. These have caused an international outcry and have suddenly thrust this Indian Ocean paradise under a microscope more often reserved for militarily-controlled Latin America or tribal Africa.

The behaviour of the Sri Lankan army is one of the many aspects of this complicated crisis, but it is one which will figure prominently during any peace negotiations and may simmer as a problem for years to come.

The Tamil separatists are claiming the northern and eastern provinces as their independent homeland.

In a recent chapter, the Portuguese government (installed after the April 1974 'revolution of the carnations') was on the verge of being destabilized by a manoeuvre staged by the CIA, the chief agent being a sedate lady from Kentucky. In the *Blue Thunder* series, with

its fascination for sophisticated weaponry the central attraction is a modern French-made *Aerospatiale Gazelle* 1973 which has been refurbished and outfitted with the latest word in murderous weapons, a solid steel armour and electronic and computing equipment.

by

FBI and other investigation agencies, all in top secret operation including clandestine foreign missions.

In at least three of such operations, *Blue Thunder* illegally crosses the borders of Central American republics to rescue or abduct popular leaders.

Behind the action there lingers the notion of a continued dependence of these republics on the political guidance of their big brother up North.

Here as in *Masquerade*, the East-West conflict is depicted as a struggle between good and evil.

A strange dualism pervades the entire story. The *Blue Thunder* pilot, a Vietnam veteran (therefore a 'war hero' is responsible for leading the

Roberto Machado

Amid bewildering helicopter action, the series narrates the adventures of an elite police group working in Los Angeles for Apex, a US government agency handling large-scale, emergency operations. In addition to the Police Department, Apex serves the US Treasury Department, the

attacks of the group. He is the very model of strength and decisive powers.

By his side, a fragile copilot named Wonderlove, a pragmatic man who operates the airplane's sophisticated computer, personifies reason and common sense.

(Third World Network Features)

Toy Soldiers Become Monsters

It won't be granted, at least not under the present peace initiative. But both India, the mediator and President Jayewardene, seem determined to succeed in implementing the government's offer of provincial autonomy to the Tamils.

If they do, law and order under the newly created provincial assemblies would be controlled mainly by a locally-recruited police force, and not, as it is now, by the Sri Lankan army. Although a token force might remain, most of the troops would have to be withdrawn to barracks in the south. If they stayed, there would be no chance of peace. The question would then arise as to how to keep busy thousands of soldiers who have been trained in some of the most sophisticated anti-insurgency techniques and who, only now, are beginning to taste the success of battle.

"We had to learn from scratch and we made a lot of mistakes" said one senior officer, "we are still a long way from being of NATO standard, but we are getting better. We are having genuine successes against the terrorists and many of

my men want to keep fighting to prove they are good soldiers."

The Sri Lankan Army was not formed for combat, but for parade ground ceremonies. Even during the second world war the Allies did not call upon it for any major operations. Its one taste of action before the Tamil war started was against a large, but ill-equipped, band of Communist insurgents in 1971. That rebellion was put down swiftly and brutally, but with foreign help.

An assortment of strange bedfellows has been called upon to help Sri Lanka fight its current insurgency. Israel, China and Britain have supplied patrol boats to guard the coastline, Italy has sold a squadron of six Siai-Marchetti light attack aircraft, which caused an international outcry when they bombed heavily populated Tamil areas earlier this year. South Africa has shipped over about 30 of its armoured personnel carriers, especially designed to deflect explosions from landmines — which are the most effective weapon of the guerrillas.

More than 20 American Bell helicopters have been bought through
(Continued on page 10)

Which English?

The summary of a talk given in the ICES / British Council series on Third World Literature.

The questions I am going to discuss here arise from the fact that the English language is no longer the exclusive property of the British people and that there are, therefore, many varieties of the language current in different regions of what is called 'the English-speaking world.' I want to discuss this linguistic situation in relation to the position of the **third world writer** of imaginative literature who chooses to write in English, or has no choice other than that of writing in this language. The question 'why write in English?' is a relevant and important one for writers who belong to English-speaking communities in the third world but who also possess indigenous languages, or live in social environments where such languages are spoken around them. But this is a question I shall not be discussing here. I shall take it for granted that given the existence in third world countries of groups who think and feel in English, it is legitimate for writers who belong to these groups to use English as a medium of creative expression.

In colonial Ceylon, or in any other part of the empire in the same era, the question of what English one should write in was hardly regarded as a matter for debate, because of the general acceptance not merely of the superiority but also of the exclusive correctness of Standard British English. In fact, English-educated Ceylonese in the colonial era prided themselves on the closeness of their speech and writing to British norms. This belief was largely an illusion, since Ceylonese English (as many linguistic scholars have demonstrated) had its own peculiarities of pronunciation, vocabulary, idiom and syntactical usage. However, the relevant fact here is that even when these deviations were recognised, they were regarded as linguistic faults, since there was no questioning of the absoluteness of the norms of British English. The situation in India or in the African colonies was similar. It must be noted here that the British cultural tradition has itself had a strong emphasis on linguistic correctness based on class considerations, since what was called the 'King's English' was essentially a class dia-

lect, and this dialect had until recently an unchallenged supremacy in written literature.

The unquestioning acceptance by colonial writers of British linguistic norms went with the deference to British literary models — and this deprived colonial writing in English of the possibility of any independent or original life. When Sarojini Naidu — an active participant in the Indian national movement — wrote poetry, she tried, as in 'The Palanquin-Bearers', to use Indian subject-matter and imagery, but the poetic idiom, even the rhythms, were tritely Swinburnian. A similar comment could be made, a fortiori, of Sri Lankan writing in English of the same period. It is instructive to look, for instance, at undergraduate writing in the university magazine from the 'thirties to the fifties': the model shifted from Romantic to modernist, in keeping with British literary fashions, but the writing remained equally derivative.

by

variety of English as a medium of creative expression no longer needs to be argued. While taking this right for granted, I shall go on to discuss certain issues that arise in interpreting this principle in relation to the creative practice of writers in particular third world English-speaking communities.

I want to make an important distinction at this point between the position of the West Indian or the Black American writer of English and that of the Indian, Sri Lankan, Malaysian, Kenyan or Nigerian.

The West Indian or Black American writer uses a language which he shares with his whole community. In India, Sri Lanka or any of the African countries, however, the position of English is different. I would like to distinguish in the case of the latter group of countries three strata of English-language users:

(1) Those who use English as their only, or principal, medium of

Reggie Siriwardena

It must be recognised that there has been some change in attitudes in this respect over the last few decades. This change can be attributed to two factors. One is the growth in nationalist feeling in the third world, accompanied by a reaction against cultural dependence on the West. The other factor is the work done by new schools of linguists in the third world who have given legitimacy through their theory to third world varieties of English. In Sri Lanka, for instance, there has been the work of Thiru Kandiah, and comparable work has been done in India on Indian English. The effect of these new approaches has been to call in question the earlier orthodoxy which held that third world Englishes were debased or corrupted varieties of English. Contemporary sociolinguistics recognises that any language, or any variety of a language, actually used by a community of speakers is a coherent and rule-governed linguistic system adequate for the communicative needs of that community. There is no linguistic basis (as distinct from reasons of social prestige) on which any variety of a language can be considered inherently inferior or superior to another.

Today, therefore, the right of a third world writer to use his native

thought and communication. This stratum consists mainly of people of older generations, and it can be assumed that in course of time it will die out,

(2) Those who are effectively bilingual — i. e. equally or nearly equally competent in English and in their native language.

(3) Those for whom their native language is their only internal medium of thought and feeling and their normal mode of expression and communication, but who are capable of using English for certain utilitarian functions: e. g. to obtain information, to communicate with superiors, foreigners or people of other communities.

I don't think there are any significant differences between countries in the group I have referred to in respect of the existence of all these strata, though there are differences in their distribution. For instance, in some African countries Stratum One would be proportionately smaller than in India or Sri Lanka. Again Stratum Two probably constitutes a larger proportion of the totality of English-language users than in Sri Lanka, (it is noteworthy that India has many more bilingual writers of note than Sri Lanka).

Now how does the existence of these three strata of English-language users in third world countries relate to the production of creative literature in that language? It should be clear that Stratum Three, who would not use English to talk to their lovers or wives or children or intimate friends, would still less try to use it as a means of creative expression. Their English would be a strictly functional language adapted for limited purposes, and its range of linguistic resources would be correspondingly limited. In Sri Lanka most writing in English has come from Stratum One, though in recent years some bilingual writers (i. e. of Stratum Two) have emerged. I don't think the situation in India is significantly different, except, as I have already said, that there have been more writers of Stratum Two.

At this point I would like to refer to the position taken up by Thiru Kandiah who has attributed the lack of vitality in Sri Lankan writing in English to the shame-faced attitude of the writers towards Sri Lankan English. Kandiah bases himself on the principle, which has become a common place, in contemporary literary criticism, that any literature, if it is to possess vitality, must be rooted in the living speech of the community in which it is written. This principle has also been cited by Kandiah's pupil, Quadri Ismail, who in his newspaper reviewing of Sri Lankan writing, has tended to use the test of whether a writer adopts a distinctively Sri Lankan English idiom or not as a criterion of merit.

Kandiah has in one of his essays even rewritten a folk tale in Sri Lankan English to demonstrate the possibilities of using this dialect as a creative medium. However, on reading this exercise, I find that many of the idiomatic and syntactical constructions used by Kandiah are those current in the English speech of Stratum Three. But this as I have already argued, is a variety of English used by people for whom the language is not a medium in which they live their inner experience or their intimate relationships, so that it seems misconceived to try to adopt it as a medium of creative literature.

There is no doubt that if one were writing a novel where one had a situation in which a character of Stratum Three was articulating himself in English, the writer should, to be realistic, use the linguistic idiom which would in actual life be used by such a character. But apart from such dramatically appropriate uses, there are serious limitations

(Continued on page 13)

KATHIRAMALAI OR KUTHIRAMALAI?

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

You refer to "Kathiramalai" in your middle page article on Archaeology etc. in your paper of the 16th instant. I think it should really be Kuthiramalai near Karadipooval between Silavathurai and Puttalam. It is marked in the topo one mile sheets of the Sri Lanka Survey Department.

Vijeya of old met Princess Kuvani somewhere about Pomparippu otherwise called "Karadipooval" as he landed on the shores of Ceylon full of Red soil, for the first time. After he settled himself in the saddle in rich and fertile Ceylon, Kuvani was driven to some hiding place near about Kuliyaipitiya.

A lot of information given in the 1914 print of the Ceylon one mile topo sheets are unfortunately omitted from the new prints. The section called 'DEMALA HAT PATTU' containing Tabbowa irrigation Scheme Anamaduwa, Nikaweratiya etc. were part and parcel of the KAND-

YAN KINGDOM. The citizens in this Division used to be whipped at the orders of the Ratemahatmaya just for speaking in Tamil, say between 1920 and 1930. Even as late as 1935 the elders from villages in this Division could speak fluent and correctly polished Tamil in

too was responsible for the replacement of Tamil Schools by Sinhala Schools. The white Bishop and other priests did not worry as long as proselytisation went apace. Only the Tamil residents of PAMUNUGAMA resisted the flood of transition. These Catholics were nearly all excommu-

threats made in public meetings are couched in colourful phrases and commended to the people as if they are the last word on the subject. The all powerful press magnates of Colombo have found it convenient to deceive the masses by substituting fiction for facts and imaginations for reality.

The aim of democracy is always the interest of the society as a whole and not any class or community. All individuals whatever their race or religion should be received into political society on the ground of their common humanity. Each individual member of the society has the right to an equal share in the political powers of the society.

The present ethnic problem would not have grown into the Frankenstein monster which it is today if political commentaries and editorials in these so called national dailies had been unbiased, just and fare,

K. Poopalasingham

Kokuvil East

LETTERS

transacting business in the Puttalam Bazaar.

The change was firmly established by the R. E. D. C. (Rural Education District Committee composed of Govt: Officers and V. I. P. of the area).

Revd: Father D. J. Anthony, as General Manager of Catholic Schools in the N. W. P., the W. P.

icated from the Church for this resistance. The Catholic lawyers from South India took up the challenge and then only the white Bishop realised how cleverly a smoke screen had been cast over his administration. The Catholics (Tamil) of Pamunugama there had their way.

A Reader

Jaffna.

Hirelings

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Please permit me a little space in your valuable column to voice my disgust over the reporting in the Colombo-based daily newspapers of Sri Lanka. These darlings and hirelings of successive governments perform their tasks marvellously well that is expected of them by their masters.

The indulgence in journalistic debauchery and mud-slinging on others who apparently have different views on problems affecting them has become more the rule than the exception. All shades of opinion should be compromised to fall in line with their views. If not a vilification campaign will be carried on even to suppress the right to be heard on views that are not in conformity with theirs. All letters addressed to them that do not find their favour are promptly put in the wastepaper basket.

Presidential proclamations Prime ministerial pleas and ministerial

The article on page 3 headlined 'Toy Soldiers'.. is by HUMPHREY HAWKSLEY in his last despatch before being expelled from Sri Lanka.

It appeared in THE GUARDIAN of 11th August.

Which English?

(Continued from page 4)

involved in the use of Stratum Three dialects of English for creative purposes. Suppose that one were to write a novel with a first-person narrative in English projecting the consciousness, say, of a clerk whose thinking and feeling in real life would be in Sinhala or Tamil. Suppose, too, that for this purpose one adopted the English idiom of Stratum Three, which the clerk might in real life use if he had to talk English. But the very choice of that idiom would be impoverishing, would diminish the character in a way that would be distorting and falsifying because the language would not correspond to the quality of the Sinhala or Tamil in which he would think and feel in actuality.

I don't know of any novels which correspond to my hypothetical example, but I do know some poems. For instance, it seems to me that Nissim Ezekiel's *Very Indian Poems in Indian English* to just what I have been describing in the last paragraph. In these poems the writer adopts the persona of a semi-literate, (Indian speaker of English (semi-literate that is, in English) and the result is to make the character seem comically fatuous and unintelligent. But this is a caricature which, though it unflinchingly gets a laugh

from elitist English speakers (Indian as well as Sri Lankan) who are reinforced by these poems in their own sense of superiority, is grossly, unfair to the level of life that is portrayed in them. It never seems to strike those who are amused by these poems that they themselves could be caricatured similarly, and equally unfairly, by writing a poem in their incompetent Sinhala, Tamil etc., which would make them seem as clownish and stupid as the characters whom Ezekiel reduces by his linguistic devices.

Nothing I have said here precludes the fact that a good writer, in Sri Lanka or anywhere else in the third world, will use the variety of English that comes naturally to him because it is that in which he makes love, argues with his friends or transacts business in a department store. And if he is alive in his environment, that English will necessarily have significant differences from British English in elements of vocabulary relating to things, events and cultural features that are distinctively local, as well as idioms and turns of syntax that belong to the speech of his own community of English-speakers. What I have tried to refute is the view that because a particular dialect of English represents the maximum deviation from British English, it is also the most authentically Sri Lankan, Indian etc., and therefore the most appropriate vehicle of creative writing.

Bonfire of Freedom

*I know that I shall meet my fate
Somewhere in the fields;*

At sea or at home,

As a child, as a youth

Or as an old man,

In the morning,

In the evening,

At Dusk or at Dawn,

By accident, by a shell.

By a bomb or by bullets.

*Those that I fight I do not hate;
But those that I fight for I do love.*

My country is bleeding,

My countrymen are suffering

Within prison walls

Or without

In a land

Which itself is a prison.

Shall I run away

to a heaven (?) abroad?

*No request could make them
understand;*

No solution could stop the bloodshed,

No arms could destroy our will;

No threat could put us down;

No pardon could bring us relief.

Nor lesson, nor thoughts,

Nor laws, nor duty,

But an urge to be free

Drove me.

To take this great plunge

Into the bonfire of freedom.

—Kandiah Shriganeshan

CASTAWAYS' NIGHTMARE

Skipper Left 152 To mercy of the Atlantic

Scores of Sri Lankan refugees staggered ashore last night to reveal the full extent of their five-day nightmare adrift in the Atlantic.

Canada immediately launched an air and sea search for the ship whose skipper abandoned them to the mercy of the waves.

The 152 cold and bedraggled Tamils, the youngest less than two and the oldest a man of 70, were crammed on board two 26 ft open lifeboats built to hold 30 people each.

They were picked up in thick fog six miles off the coast of Newfoundland on Monday night after drifting for five days.

Many had paid up to £3,500 each for the voyage to freedom from war-torn Sri Lanka.

But the ship which had carried them half way round the world dumped them at the first sight of Canadian land and retreated into international waters.

Its name was scratched off the bows of the lifeboats and none of the occupants could give any clue as to the name of the mother ship.

BY MARTIN PHILLIPS

If the captain is found, he could be charged under immigration laws, police inspector Jack Lavers said at the Newfoundland capital St. John's.

But the tired and confused castaways, who said they had been afloat since last Wednesday, were expected to be granted exile in Canada for at least a year.

Felix Dobbin, captain of one of the four trawlers which carried them to safety said: "They said they were escaping for their lives. They were very lucky. They could have drifted into the ocean and never been found."

One of the lifeboats had been pulling the other with a tiny motor but the engine gave out.

"Four or five of them were quite sick and one man looked like he had a broken arm", said Mr. Dobbin.

Too weak

The Tamils, who included three women and five children, were suffering from exposure and desperately thirsty.

"They drank 24 gallons of water—all the fresh water we had on the four boats," said Mr. Dobbin. "They kept saying thank you, thank you."

"The lifeboats didn't have much of anything in them—there sure wasn't much room for sitting. I don't know how they stood it for five days."

"Some were dressed fairly well but not real warm."

Some were too weak to even climb a ladder on to one of the rescue boats.

Eight were taken to hospital for observation when they were landed at St. John's.

Immigration officials began interviewing the rest individually, a process that is expected to take several days.

One refugee said they had paid money to an Indian agency to get them away from their war-torn homeland, but the ship they came on was either from China or Korea.

He said he had been on the ship for between 25 and 30 days before they were cast adrift in the lifeboats.

Lurking

The mother ship may have stayed in the area to make sure they were picked up safely, according to several fishing boats which reported seeing a large vessel lurking in the area on their radar.

Thousands of people have fled Sri Lanka during the last four years because of the civil war there between minority Hindu Tamils and the Buddhist Sinhalese majority.

X X X

Refugees Plotted

The castaways found drifting in the North Atlantic appeared last night to be lying about the ordeal of their voyage from Sri Lanka.

Far from being dumped by a ship's captain, immigration officials believe the Tamil refugees agreed to be left in Canadian waters where they would soon be spotted.

Their lifeboats were seen by trawlers 11 miles off the Newfoundland

cost. The Tamils claimed they had been floating adrift for five days and knew nothing about the ship that had abandoned them.

But Canadian authorities are now convinced the refugees are lying. They are investigating reports that the Tamils travelled from West Germany, not India as they claimed.

Last night West German political asylum specialist Waldemar Stehn said the Tamils had been living in refugee hostels near Hamburg and paid £2,000 each to a Paris-based organisation, Tamil Aid, for the trip to Canada.

The refugees, who carried German money and wrapped their belongings in German newspapers, claimed they had fled persecution in war-torn Sri Lanka and paid up to £3,000 each to be taken 10,000 miles from the south coast of India to a point just off Canada.

And the Tamil interpreter who helped police interview them in St. John's, Newfoundland, was also dubious about their stories.

"I don't think they are telling the truth at all," said Rod Singarayer, who has lived in Canada for 17 years. "They just don't look like they have been at sea for over a month."

He said their light beards were far too insubstantial for people who had supposedly not been near a washroom in that time.

Mystery surrounding the Tamil castaways deepened last night as shipping authorities tried to trace the vessel that took them towards Canada.

Another strand in the puzzle emerged with the theory that the final stage of their nightmare journey from torture and terror in Sri Lanka started in a small German town just outside Hamburg.

The town council in Stade, to the west of the German city, revealed that Tamil families who applied for asylum had left a hostel provided by the council.

West German political asylum specialist Waldemar Stehn said the castaways were then picked up by buses from the nearby town of Jork and driven to the French Channel port of Calais.

There on July 27, they boarded the mysterious Lebanese ship with the help of a Palestinian organisation.

According to Herr Stehn, the Tamils wanted to sail to Canada because of mounting hostility to immigration in West Germany.

More than 37,000 Tamils have sought asylum in West Germany since 1980.

Prayed

Yesterday refugee spokesman Kandasamy Lingaratnam, 31, claimed the castaways, prayed, cried and were seasick during five days at sea after the ship's skipper cast them adrift in two 26 ft. lifeboats.

"We thought we had missed the place and would die," he said.

Meanwhile, experts from Lloyds and the London-based International Maritime Bureau were leading the hunt for the ship which allegedly dumped the Tamils. IMB officers say the partly-obliterated name Rejina Maris was deciphered on one of the lifeboats.

They have tracked down a passenger ship with the same name which docked in Bremerhaven, West Germany, last year to be converted into a yacht.

Lifeboats belonging to the Rejina Maris were later sold.

IMB director Eric Ellen said last night: "If we can find who bought those boats it should lead us to the identity of the ship carrying the refugees."

**BY NICK CONSTABLE and
MARTIN PHILLIPS**

During the rescue trawlers spotted a faint radar signal from a large ship apparently shadowing the lifeboats.

The ship moved out of range shortly after making sure the refugees were safe.

Last night the Tamils' gamble seemed to be working.

Support

A Canadian immigration department spokesman said that half of the 152 refugees would go to Montreal, which already has a 3,500-member Tamil community.

Most of the others are expected to go to Toronto.

Tamil support groups have promised food and shelter until the fate of the refugees is decided.



Sri Lanka, formerly Ceylon, has been torn apart by racial conflict since 1983.

The country's 1.5 million Tamils want independence from the 10 million Sinhalese Sri Lankans and a Tamil state in the north and east of the island.

There are a number of guerrilla groups, led by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. More than 4,000 people have been killed since riots flared in July 1983.

An estimated 50,000 Tamils have fled to western countries.

The Indian government says more than 125,000 people have fled in the past three years to the south India state of Tamil Nadu which has 50 million Tamils.

Most reached India, 20 miles away across the Palk Straits, in fishing boats.

The Tamils then paid Indian agents to smuggle them to the

He said: "This has been done on a commercial basis. They are trying to take advantage of the undoubted terrorist problem to get asylum in a western country."

X X X

Lifeboat Refugees came from Germany

Most of the 152 Tamils found drifting in two lifeboats off the Canadian coast on Tuesday began their journey in West Germany, it was revealed last night.

It is believed a Paris-based organisation arranged for them to be picked up by French minibuses at Jork in northern Germany and taken to Calais, where they boarded an unidentified freighter for the voyage to Canada.

A social worker in Jork, Herr Waldemar Steen, said that from photographs of the refugees who landed in Newfoundland he recog-

nees from Sri Lanka — confirmed that Tamil families had disappeared from their quarters last month.

Between 1980 and the middle of last year, 37,000 Tamils arrived in West Berlin and West Germany from Sri Lanka.

Most flew on cheap East European airline flights to East Berlin, where they were sent across the border into the western sector of the city.

After repeated West German complaints, the East Germans stopped admitting Tamils.

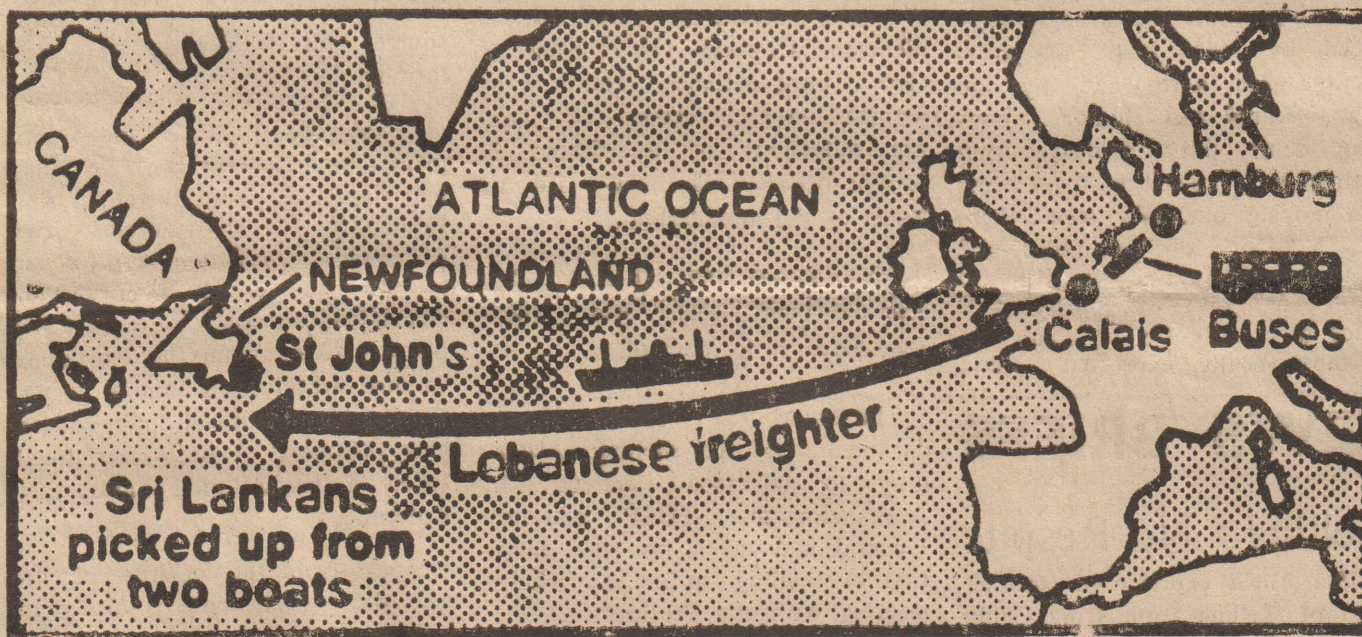
Allowed to stay

Eric Dowd, in Toronto, writes: Although the Canadian authorities now know the Tamils lied about the circumstances, of their arrival off Newfoundland, the refugees will be allowed to stay in Canada.

Suspicious that the refugees had not sailed from India, as they claimed, were aroused when it was

familiar in the seas off south-east Asia. They are unusual, to say the least, in the Atlantic, a fact which partially explains why the event has attracted so much more attention and human concern here. The Canadian authorities are naturally curious to establish the identity of the ship which brought the Tamils to their coast and whose officers appear guilty of a major crime against the laws of the sea in setting them adrift. There will, too, be wider interest in knowing whether the Tamils came direct from Sri Lanka (as early reports suggested) or perhaps via West Germany, as later information implies. Whatever the final facts, other countries will be anxious to know them so that they can themselves take measures against any further development of a cruel trade.

The mystery, though is how the Tamils came to be there—not why. The castaways may or may not have expected their voyage to end in the way that it did, but they were certainly willing to take big risks and pay big money to leave their home. That is because the civil war in Sri Lanka still remains intense, displacing thousands of Tamils not just to refugee camps on Sri Lanka itself, but across the straits to India and to Commonwealth and European countries that will accept them. Any hopes that the recent peace talks in Colombo between a refreshingly statesmanlike President Jayewardene and moderate Tamil groups will bring an early end to the fighting have foundered on the determination of more militant groups to secure a wholly independent Tamil state in the north and east of the island. The war has cost at least 4,000 lives, takes up a fifth of Sri Lanka's budget and has ruptured the country's standing internationally. As long as it continues, there will be Tamil refugees. So those countries, and they include



West, where they sought asylum by claiming they were discriminated against at home by the majority Sinhalese.

Leaders of the moderate Tamil United Liberation Front party are expected to resume talks in the Sri Lankan capital of Colombo this week on a peace plan to end the conflict.

The plan, proposed by President Junius Jayewardene, is based on the devolution of power to councils representing the island's nine provinces.

Repatriate

Government officials said yesterday that they were in touch with Canadian authorities and have offered to repatriate the refugees.

But an officer at the Sri Lanka High Commission in London dismissed the idea that the refugees were fleeing persecution.

nised a man who had acted as the Tamil's interpreter when they were staying in West Germany.

The Tamils had grown tired of waiting for German authorities to process their applications for political asylum, said Herr Steen.

By **ROBERT TILLEY**
in Munich

Applications for asylum by refugees from Sri Lanka are seldom successful.

Herr Steen said the 25 refugees he had known had been joined by dozens more from other parts of West Germany. They assembled in Jork on July 27 for the journey to Calais.

Families disappear

Officials in various parts of the West German state of Lower Saxony—which has thousands of refu-

seen that they were wearing European-made clothing. They also had German money, watches and jewellery. One refugee's belongings were wrapped in a recent West German newspaper.

The ship that carried the refugees has not yet been traced but it is known that the lifeboats used by the Tamils originally came from a West German ship, the Regina Maris.

X X X

Lostmen in a Boat

Generations of mariners know the waters off Newfoundland for the fogs in which they are regularly shrouded. No less opaque, though, is the truth about how 152 Tamil castaways came to be drifting there, in two inadequately provided lifeboats, on Monday night. Pitiably scenes of this sort are depressingly

Editorial The Guardian

Britain, that sell arms (in our case patrol boats) to the Sri Lankan government have at least some responsibility for their plight. Those countries, and they again include Britain, which have resisted international attempts to put economic pressure on Sri Lanka (sounds familiar?) can't wash their hands of the continuing consequences.

But that, to a considerable extent, is exactly what Britain (among others) has done. Last year, when the
(Continued on page 8)

People Live Out Their Lives

Commenting on massacres of Tamil civilians by security forces in the Eastern Province and the massacres of Sinhalese civilians in two bus explosions, the BBC correspondent Andrew Whitehead said, 'the massacre has become the latest political gambit in Sri Lanka. This is probably the ugliest face of the present war. The national TV network Rupavahini employs a quaint formula in describing Tamil civilian casualties of an army rampage—'terrorists were killed when they attacked an army patrol at...'' 'Indeed while the truth can have only one version, contradictory versions by the official media have become so proverbial, that such embarrassing ceremony requires an empty head if not a heart of granite. Unlike the Rupavahini we Tamils cannot afford a sporting attitude to deaths of civilians, Sinhalese or Tamil.

One is reminded of the interview given by Lt. Col. (now General) Ranatunge to the Daily Telegraph in 1971 in the wake of the insur-

Castaways.....

(Continued from page 7)

Government was seized with a sudden spasm of panic about the numbers of Tamils trying to get into this country, Mr Leon Brittan imposed strict visa restrictions on them. Although these visas have allowed a limited number of Tamils to stay here for periods of six or twelve months, there have been repeated allegations that the Home Office is unreasonably refusing them refugee status. In some cases, it has begun deporting people from last year's influx. Compared with other western European nations — most of them with far fewer historical links with Sri Lanka than we have — Britain's policy towards the Tamils has been extremely restrictive. This does not mean that it is exclusively Britain's responsibility that the Tamils were reduced to relying on the Newfoundland adventure. West Germany has been anxious to make things as difficult for them as possible ever since a court ruling last year that the situation in Sri Lanka did not justify granting refugee status. But Britain has taken far fewer Tamils than West Germany has. So before we start reading little moral sermons at others for their opportunist and heartless treatment of vulnerable people, we ought to look at our own record. If Britain had a more humane refugee policy, that might help to ease the pressure which forces Tamils into gambles off the Canadian coast.

gency. He referred to lessons they had learnt from Malaysia and Vietnam. That insurgency was put down in six weeks by massacring over 10,000 Sinhalese Youth—considerably less than the number of Tamils killed in the last 9 years. The same man is in charge and we know his inclinations and those of his overlords. We also know that the army is capable of repeating its performance of 1971 in any Tamil area outside Jaffna without impediment. Why is the army restrained? Why did the aerial bombing of Jaffna cease? The answer I believe is international and Indian opinion. If we condone killings of Sinhalese civilians we will destroy this restraint placed upon the government by sympathy from this quarter. Amidst reports of massacres there are Tamil bus passengers who disappear whom no-one talks about.

In Jaffna people are strongly influenced by the kind of press coverage given here and by the image of tired and hungry boys doing sentry duty around army encampments, preventing the army from moving out. We owe these boys a debt of gratitude and more importantly we owe them a future. The best way of doing it is not necessarily by agreeing to the most vocally expressed views

of the time. The kind of games played here over the TULF's talks in Colombo betrays a feeling that Jaffna at least can go on like this forever. The Tamil papers recently carried prominently a news item about a massive demonstration in Viswamadu, near Kilinochchi, against Provincial councils and against killings of Tamils. Those who know those peasants will realise that they have little inclination to think about units of devolution. They are more likely to be con-

by **RAJAN HOOLE**

cerned with their daily bread, fertilisers and what the army may do to them after the next 'incident.' Such uncritical reporting creates vain hopes. We need peace, at least to get hatred out of our veins and be normal human beings. We are reminded of the Illiad, the immemorial poem by the ancient Greek bard Homer. Here what happens on the plains of Troy are reflections of a drama in heaven between the gods, led by Zeus of the thunderbolt.

Men expend their emotions, and live out their lives, over which they have little control.

The town was enveloped in darkness after the shelling. According to informed sources Mr. Amirthalingam, TULF Secretary General had taken up the question of shelling at an unscheduled meeting with the President.

Civilians Killed

According to information supplied to the Coordinator of the Tamil Citizens' Committees 103 Tamil civilians have been killed in the North and Eastern Provinces since 1st August: 37, Batticaloa, 23, Trincomalee, 18, Jaffna, 8 Vavuniya, 7, Kilinochchi, 3, Amparai, 3, Mannar, 1, Mullaitivu, 3, Anuradapura.

Why Manavaithamby?

Many in Sri Lanka were surprised upon hearing that A. Manavaithamby the ex-leader of the once-proscribed Ceylon—D. M. K., was arrested for 'spying' in Madras. The Indian news magazine 'Link' gives details about Manavaithamby whose crime seems to be advocating a Tamil Homeland in India. The relevant excerpt is as follows:

"It is understood that the police have seized from his residence a cassette containing the recorded speech delivered by him at the Tamil Eelam conference held in the United States a few months

Farming Fish In The North

Text of an appeal sent by **LALITHA BRODIE** to the Government Agent and District Secretary, Vavuniya.

Thank you very much for your letter. It is good to know that when necessary you will assist the relatives of individuals killed by violence to get their death certificates.

We will be grateful if you would kindly render help and assistance in the following matters too. (1) We understand that fresh water fish fingerlings are being distributed in all other districts suitable for fresh water fish farming. With the rainy season round the corner, several lakes and ponds here are being dredged and deepened. The lakes near Hotel Ashok, Ariyakulam, Iranamadu, Pannalai, Alaveddi and Thondamanaru and other such water sources will be ideal to start fish farming in the North.

Could you please your good offices and obtain some of these fish fingerlings from the G.A., Anuradhapura for distribution. They are prolific breeders and grow very fast too and it will be good if we can introduce them here (2) Amputee patients from the North have to now travel to Colombo to get their Jaipur artificial limbs fitted—Our Mothers' Front has already taken a batch of amputees to Colombo.

Apart from the hazards of present day travel, there is always the risk that young amputee patients may be suspected as 'terrorists' and many are unwilling to go to Colombo to obtain their limbs.

I have written to the Jaffna Medical Association and I trust you all can get together and organize to train suitable personnel so that the amputees can get their artificial limbs fitted here in the Jaffna Hospital itself.

ago. It would appear that the main theme of Manavaithamby's speech was that the proper home for the Tamil should lie in India and the Tamil state should become independent of the Union. Also recovered from the alleged spy's residence were seven letters written by the Lankan Deputy Commissioner in Madras, Tissa Jayakodi. It appears that Manavaithamby had written to the Lankan Prime Minister Premadasa and received replies from him. In one of these letters the Lankan Prime Minister and allegedly appreciated Manavaithamby for advocating the theory that the Tamil homeland should be more appropriately located in India rather than in Sri Lanka (Tamil Eelam)."

NEWS BRIEFS

Shelling - No Respite

Jaffna Town experienced another round of shelling from Army Camp in the Jaffna Fort. The shelling lasted for nearly two and a half hours from about 4.30 p. m. on 24th August. One shell fell a few yards from the O. P. D. section of the General Hospital; other shells fell near Trimmer Hall and the vicarage of the Pastor. Vembadi Girls High School was again damaged by the shelling. A young girl, Regi Peiris (18) who was assisting her owner brother died on the spot, while the father Peiris (45) succumbed to his injuries the following day. Nearly 4 died by shelling while 45 were injured, some of them seriously.

Acting Manager of the Hatton National Bank (Jaffna Branch) S. Sooriakumar (35) was also one of the 'instant' victims. He was a former cricketer. The Army scored a direct hit on the house of Rajaram Nalliah at First Cross Street ripping the roof and damaging the building which was housing a coir factory. Fortunately no one was working at that time.

JUNE '86

1-6-'86 **Jaffna**—A Vehicle conveying Army personnel hits a landmine on the Pannai Causeway and is thrown into the lagoon, 5 Servicemen are injured. In retaliation, Security Forces resort to artillery and shell fire from the Jaffna Fort Army Camp. A helicopter strafes the Town area.

4 including 2 boys aged 12 and 13 are killed; 39 are injured. A Church, a school and several houses and shops suffer damage. A Government communique claims that 3 terrorists were killed.

1-6-'86 **Bangalapa-duwa, Puttalam**—Sinhalese fishermen on the island attacked by armed men and forced to flee to Negombo.

1-6-'86 **Araiampati**—Special Task Force personnel open fire. One killed and several injured; some are arrested and removed to the Kallady Army Camp.

1-6-'86 **Pesalai**—Navy personnel fire on fishermen. 5 are injured. 9 are arrested. 3 boats and catch of fish are confiscated.

1-6-'86 **Pattikudiruppu, Mutur**—Security Forces during search operations in the night arrest 8 married persons.

2-6-'86 **Jaffna**—Security Forces fire at random from the Jaffna Fort Army Camp.

A 56 year old man and a young girl on the Main street are seriously injured. The man later succumbed to his injuries. Aged pensioners who had collected at the Fort Bank premises to collect their pensions flee in fear.

A Government communique claims that 4 terrorists were killed.

2-6-'86 **Vavuniya**—Sittampalam, a Lawyer and an Ex-President of the Vavuniya District Development Council is arrested by the Security Forces. He is later released due to the efforts of the Citizens' Committee.

2-6-'86 **Wellawatte, Colombo**—2 Tamils who go to view a film at the Savoy Cinema are arrested. A Police spokesman states 2 terrorists arrested near the Cinema and that a dragnet covering Hotels, Guest Houses, chummaries, arrivals by buses and trains and motor vehicles set to arrest terrorists.

June '86 **Nuwara Eliya**—During checks by Security Forces intensified in last few days Indian Estate workers not in possession of Identity Cards severely assaulted.

2-6-'86 **Kaluwanchikudi**—2 dead bodies with bullet injuries are brought to the Army Camp by Security Forces.

June '86 **Poonakary**—A Pilgrims Rest is destroyed by Security Forces.

2-6-'86 **Selvanayagapuram, Uppuveli**—Security Forces are stationed during the day time at a private residence commandeered by them. On this day passers-by are detained and questioned by the Security Forces stationed at the residence. Later, on information given by one of those questioned and released, a search made at the residence occupied by Security Forces and other abandoned adjoining residences reveal 10 dead bodies with gunshot injuries dumped in cess-pits.

A young husband and his wife and their 6-year old daughter, another young woman and a 50 year-old Ayurvedic physician are among those killed. Post-mortem examination reveal that both young women had been raped before being killed, and that one of the women was a polio victim.

468 Persons were killed in June 1986.
Over 3967 people were arrested. Over 1394 were released.

3-6-'86 **Palugaswewa**—Mob of armed Sinhalese attack the passengers in the train from Batticaloa to Colombo. 6 Tamils and 1 Muslim woman are killed and about 20 are injured; cash and valuables are looted. The carnage is stopped by the Railway Security Staff when the train arrives at Kekirawa; no arrests are made.

June '86 **Trincomalee**—Sinhalese civilians also being issued with firearms. Tamil residents live in fear.

June '86 **Elephant Pass**—All lorry transport out of the Jaffna Peninsula stopped by Security Forces.

3-6-'86 **Vavuniya**—V. Mohanachandran a prominent businessman is arrested by the Security Forces.

Pathmanathan an employee of the Agricultural Extension Office is also arrested. The parents who go to inquire about their arrested son Pathmanathan are informed that he had escaped (when in all probability he had been killed).

2-6-'86 **Karaitivu, Batticaloa**—Special Task Force personnel of Akkarai-pattu round up persons congregated at the Kannagai Amman Temple for a religious ceremony and arrest 10 youths.

3-6-'86 **Iruthayapuram, Oorani**—Government communique—villages sur-

rounded by Security Forces. Large stocks of paddy, other items of food and hand-grenades are recovered from a house which is set alight. 50 persons are arrested and removed to the Army Camp.

4-6-'86 **Poonakery**—Manivannane aged 23, on his way to his Farm, is arrested by the Security Forces. The father, a retired school Principal who goes to the Army Camp is informed that his son has been released. The father complains to the Government Agent, Jaffna and to the Poonakery Citizens' Committee regarding the disappearance of his son.

4-6-'86 **Atchuvveli**—A 37-year old woman and her brother are injured in strafing by a helicopter.

June '86 **Palampaddaru, Trincomalee**—Home Guards rob Rupees One lakh worth of jewellery from a Muslim house and rape a Muslim girl.

A muslim Home-Guard has been arrested in this connection.

4-6-'86 **Colombo**—2 Tamil youths who enter a Bank on legitimate business are arrested. They are released after being held for 2 weeks.

4-6-'86 **Mihindupura, Andankulam**—Villages attacked and 16 Sinhalese are killed by unknown persons.

4-6-'86 **Andankulam**—K. Thambirajah (72) and T. Manonmany (65) are killed by Home-Guards.

KILINOCHCHI AREA from 4-6-'86 — 29-6-'86

Kilinochchi—Militants in major offensive on Security Forces. Some Security Forces who move out on foot and in Vehicles to Tharmapuram are surrounded and attacked. (These Security Forces are reported to have been rescued later by a helicopter and that the vehicles were abandoned).

All culverts on approach roads to Kilinochchi are blasted. A tank-bund is blasted muddying certain areas. Security Forces fire shells into populated areas. Shell falls on a hut about a mile away from the Camp; 5 children all under 10 years of age are killed instantaneously. The mother is seriously injured. Bomber planes and helicopters join in attack. Several civilian deaths and

large scale destruction of property feared.

Government communique: 8 terrorists killed. Attack by bomber planes and helicopters is denied but their presence to confuse and observe movements of terrorists is accepted. Night curfew is imposed.

5-6-'86—Security Forces unable to move out of the abandoned town due to heavy resistance by militants resort to intense artillery and shell fire with bomber planes and helicopters joining attack.

The injured civilians being rendered first-aid in the jungles.

6-6-'86 Several villages bordering Kilinochchi bombed by 3 bomber planes, from about 7 a.m. till noon. Thousands fleeing carrying the injured with them. Nauseating smell of dead bodies emanating from all over the place. All Government and Corporation employees have fled. Militant groups claim that 14 Security Forces had been killed in last 3 days and that they have lost 6 of their men.

7-6-'86 Security Forces enter the Government hospital. Patients are questioned. Later all patients leave in fear.

8-6-'86 The night curfew is extended from 5 a.m. to 4 p.m. Bomber planes and helicopters bomb and strafe Kilinochchi and environs. Large number of persons believed killed. Security Forces in large numbers brought in by helicopters.

Fr. Pius, Parish Priest who seeks refuge in St. Therasas Convent shot and injured by Security Forces.

9-6-'86 8 persons from Kilinochchi with serious injuries are admitted at the Jaffna General Hospital. A Government communique states that 2 Security Forces were killed in action at Kilinochchi in the last few days.

Comparatively quiet day. Residents trace dead bodies and cremate them. Very badly decomposed bodies are burnt on the streets.

10-6-'86 — 14-6-'86—Security Forces attempting to move out of Camps into surrounding villages are forced to retreat. Security Forces maintain continuous artillery and shell fire on villages from the Camp. Thousands flee as refugees. The Government Hospital and all other Public Institutions in the District are closed.

15-6-'86 Bomber planes and helicopters attack Kilinochchi and adjoining villages.

(To be continued)

INDIA

Re-assessing Neighbourhood Diplomacy

The Government of India is currently engaged in a detailed review of its neighbourhood diplomacy to assess whether the present policy of bending backwards to placate intransigent neighbours is yielding the desired results.

A comprehensive paper on the subject has been prepared by the Ministry of External Affairs for consideration at the highest level, to determine whether this policy needs to be revised in any respect to make it more effective both in its articulation and implementation.

Objective unchanged: The basic objective remains unchanged, to the extent that India will continue to strive for better and mutually beneficial relations with all its neighbours consistent with the country's national interests. The review under way relates primarily to the procedures to be followed for exercising the option open to India more effectively.

The dialogue with China, for example, is running into difficulties

for reasons that are not directly connected in any way with developments in and around the sub-continent. A clearer picture of the new Chinese tactics and their motivations in adopting tougher postures will emerge only after the latest official level talks in Beijing.

Emboldened to press claims: But the fact that China has chosen, for whatever reason, to reassert stridently its territorial claims across the McMahon line with a token incursion in a strategically vital segment of the Tawang region cannot be viewed in isolation. The continued internal turmoils in India have emboldened some neighbouring countries to take liberties and attempt to step up pressures to extract concessions.

The uneasy relationship with Pakistan has been strained further, not only by its persistent support to the extremists in Punjab but also by Islamabad's increasing assistance to Sri Lanka in its campaign against Tamil sub-nationalism. The talk of a friendship treaty or

no-war pact has turned out to be a non-starter despite all the rhetoric of a shared desire for normalisation.

If the Punjab crisis has given Pakistan a chance to meddle in India's Internal affairs, the incipient agitation for a Gorkhaland in the Sikkim - Darjeeling area is enabling the hardliners in Nepal to give an anti-Indian slant to it. This is leading in turn to an extension of Chinese influence in the mountain kingdom, while Bhutan is engaged in complex negotiations with Beijing for settling its border problem.

Deep-rooted animosities: The recent visit of Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad has, no doubt, helped to create an atmosphere of improving relations with Bangladesh. But beneath the surface there are deep-rooted animosities giving an unfortunate twist to the prevailing discords over issues like the Ganga waters and maritime boundary demarcation.

The Tamil problem has soured India's relationship with Sri Lanka

to such an extent that this highly strategic island is becoming increasingly vulnerable to all kinds of foreign influences. Though the two superpowers have so far kept out, the lesser ones are getting more and more involved, either as arms suppliers or supporters of Sinhala chauvinism.

All these disturbing developments in India's neighbourhood are being studied carefully for formulating the policy options open to the Government. The intention is not to adopt stronger attitudes. But project Indian Policies in such a manner that the country's well-meaning gestures for better relations are not mistaken for appeasement.

The next few months are going to provide many challenges in the conduct of India's neighbourhood diplomacy, confronting the country once again with the exasperating dilemma whether a recalcitrant neighbour can be won over from a position of strength with some meaningful concessions, or a display of excessive solicitude for its susceptibilities that are quite different from legitimate grievances.

— Hindu (21st July)

Toy Soldiers Become.....

(continued from page 3)

the international arms market in Singapore. Israeli anti-insurgency experts have been used as advisers. Up to 2,000 Sri Lankan troops are being trained in Pakistan at any one time.

A shadowy firm known as Keeny Meeny Services, based in the Channel Islands, has been training an elite unit of police commandos, the Special Task Force. The firm uses Western mercenaries, many of them former members of the SAS, who are paid between £2,000 and £3,000 a month for their work.

No official figures are published on numbers in the armed forces, but there are eight regular battalions with another eight reserve battalions ready to put against up to 5,000 guerrilla fighters. A 4,000 man navy is used to patrol the narrow Palk Straits across which the guerrillas ship arms, men and supplies from southern India.

The police number about 20,000, with another 7,000 being recruited by the end of the year. On top of this, there are several other militias. The

Ministry of Youth Affairs and Employment* is providing military training to several thousand youths in what is called a manpower mobilisation scheme, the 700-men of the mercenary-trained Special Task Force, considered to be the most skilled military unit, is directly responsible to the President's son Mr. Ravi Jayewardene, who acts as a security adviser.

Up to 10,000 peasants from the majority Sinhalese community have been enrolled into the civilian home-guard militia to protect their villages from attacks by Tamil guerrillas. Because of the communal nature of the war, the government forces are recruited very much along communal lines — the men waging the insurgency campaign are Tamils, the soldiers deployed against them are Sinhalese. In the north, which is nearly all Tamil, the army is considered an army of occupation.

Young Tamil men travelling on routine business say they are terrified when they are called out for identity checks. They are made to stand in a line, their hands on

their heads. The young Sinhalese soldiers who carry out the checks are also terrified. They could be shot at any moment or blown up by a mortar or landmine.

It is usually after such guerrilla attacks, that the young soldiers, in a mixture of anger, panic, or simply cold-blooded communal revenge, murder innocent people. The government has often ordered top-level investigations into alleged massacres, but the results have never been made public. No soldier has been court-martialled for his part in an atrocity, but about 300 have been dismissed.

In 1981, two regiments were disbanded because of mutinous rumblings among the men. There are reports of similar rumblings now.

"In the few years since the crisis really hotted up", said one retired officer, "we have created a monster in our security forces. It is a necessary monster because we have to fight terrorism. But can we control it when Lanka eventually returns to peace?"

Ruling The Roost

*Not the bombings,
not the shellins.
Not the blood and gore
and the cries of agony.
Caste rules the roost
as ever before.
From birth to death
the fateful hand is at work.
But what is caste?
Cast in a mould?
Caste is word,
Caste is action.
That is the Buddha word.
The sane word.
Reveal thyselfes.
the High Castes.
And you will reveal
ALL.*

— ANON—VIII

(Continued from page 2)

NEW HORIZONS...

Thus, it will be seen how Rev. Fr. Thani Nayagam ushered in a chain of activities which resulted in focussing world academics on Tamil studies. The late Professor himself summarised it thus: "The quarterly journal *Tamil Culture* now defunct was able to create a great amount of interest in Tamil Research and make known the studies of different scholars in various countries of the world. Fortunately, the Conference-Seminar of the International Association of Tamil Research came as a substitute forum for research papers and discussions. The *Proceedings* are a repository of recent research in Tamilology. The organisers of the Association as well as of the Conference emphasised Tamil Research. The Conference became also an occasion of Tamil cultural and literary celebration for the public. However, the aim of promoting research should hold the primary place in its organisation and the sponsors and those who provide the funds should endeavour to obtain as wide an international participation as possible, providing travel grants to scholars who labour in different fields of Tamil studies. Both the past numbers of *Tamil Culture* and the Conference *Proceedings* have provided the best evidence of enormous interest the recent movement in Tamilology has created in Universities and Research Institutes abroad." (Research in Tamil Studies, Retrospect & Prospect, (p. 12)

Foreign scholars' interest in South Asian and Indian studies were at one time confined to the study of Sanskrit alone: mainly being an Aryan it facilitated the Indo-Aryan scholars. Although Caldwell, Pope, Max Muller, Vincent Smith and a few others emphasised the need for a careful study of the Dravidian languages and cultures, it was only during the last quarter century that a definite interest in Dravidian studies began to manifest itself. During the last three decades, much interest has been displayed by foreign scholars and steady progress has been made. However, how far this interest will be sustained remains yet to be seen. Professor Thani Nayagam has expressed his own views about this. The following observations should stimulate thought among dedicated Dravidologists and Tamilologists to embark on concerted continuous work to sustain Tamil studies at an international level: "Though Tamil is a Dravidian language with an ancient and uninterrupted literary and artistic tradition, it is studied in most foreign Universities mostly because of its peculiar linguistic characteristics or because it is

a tool for field work in Tamil districts. In the last two decades, its importance as a modern language of India, and the peculiar political problems and movements of Tamil speaking groups and minorities have attracted attention. Scholars of Indo-Aryan in foreign Universities find Tamil and Dravidian language increasingly useful in their understanding of both Ancient and Modern India. The architecture and music of the South now begin to obtain a place in academic syllabuses abroad. But Tamil literature, Philosophy and religion are not so widely known as Tamil linguistics and contemporary social and political movements." (Introduction to: Tamil Studies Abroad.) "I have heard from scholars from different countries that financial grants for Indological studies and therefore for Tamil studies as well are not so liberal now as they used to be. There is greater interest among those grants distributing bodies for Sinology than for Indology. This, I suppose, is partly due to the increasing political influence of China and its possible future in international affairs.....Tamil will continue to be studied in foreign Universities to a limited extent, especially to illustrate the Dravidian contribution to Indian and Ceylonese culture. A few scholars like Kamil Zvebil, Ron Asher, Andronov and Klaus Janert will always adorn foreign universities, but I do not expect any large body of Tamilologists to be produced by foreign universities unless there are very powerful sources of Tamilological scholarship in Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka..... It should be obvious that unless there are influential centres of Tamil Research in the Tamil-speaking countries, there can hardly be any noteworthy Tamil Research abroad. The increasing practice now is for foreign Universities to engage young scholars from Tamil Nadu to teach as well as engage in research..... Not having in any country a sovereign and independent Tamil State, we can hardly look to the present Government of India or Sri Lanka or any other State where Tamils live to embark on a programme of promotion of Tamil studies. The Government of Madras within the limits of its possibilities has helped to some extent in such a programme. It is therefore, left to the Tamil people themselves, especially in Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka to promote Tamil studies and Tamil Research as far as lies in their power." (Research in Tamil Studies - Retrospect and Prospect)

It would not be out of place to quote here excerpts from an Editorial in the *Indian Express* on the eve of the Malaysian International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies. It gives a vivid description of the Tamil Cultural conquest of India and the countries in the neighbourhood. It said: "A Tamil empire, based on Tanjore, once comprised Ceylon and parts of Malaysia, Burma and Indonesia. The culture and tradition of these areas were Indian, the degree depending on the interaction of the local and also Chinese civilisations. They were and are strongest in Ceylon. But beginning from the last century the former ruling race became indentured labourers and traders. It was in this humble fashion that the Tamils helped to develop the economies of these countries. A Sinhalese has said that for every tea bush in Ceylon ten Indians have died. But the great Tamil and Indian culture has become a dim memory now in these lands. It is therefore satisfactory to learn that the University of Malaysia is to help in the recovery of the glorious past. Thirukkural is being translated into Malay and also, it is interesting to find, Mandarin Chinese. The vast appeal of the classic will be further expanded. These renderings should stimulate translations into the languages of Malaysia or more, classics from Tamil. What India has not been able to do, Malaysia is to achieve... The conquest by Indians of South-east Asia and, what more important, the absolute cultural supremacy they established were achievements comparable to the conquest of Asia and Africa by the West in the last two or three centuries."

It is very clear that the scope and depth of Tamil research is very large even nearer home. A high powered academic group planned and prepared the future Conference-Seminars of the International Association of Tamil Research, so that, the Tamil cultural expansion could be more authentically documented and written into History.

To no single man can be attributed the resurgence — cultural or otherwise — of a particular period. But the achievements in Tamil studies during the last three decades, it cannot be denied, was due to the enormous interest, grass-root planning, down-to-earth operations, and sustained indefatigable work done by the late Professor Thani Nayagam. We have to view this in the light of the stark that there is no sovereign Tamil State to sponsor, assist or embark on such a task. To

mobilize the existing favourable sources towards that goal against manifold odds, political apathy and oppression not excluded, is a Herculean task. This, we must acknowledge, was discharged with his customary captivating amile and determined efforts by Professor Thani Nayagam.

Since the International Conference Seminars cover a wide range of subjects, which include aspects with even a semblance of Tamil influence, the inadequacy of time thus far offered to discuss certain aspects of Tamil studies, had occasioned the creation of a separate forum for each aspect. Prof. V.I. Subramaniam, a founder-member of the International Association of Tamil Research, a conscientious scholar committed to Research, and development of research, organised the International Association of Dravidian Linguistics and has organised many International Conferences under its auspices and all proceedings have been published. He is also the founder and Editor of a journal called the *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* - a biannual, of which several issues have appeared thus far. He was also instrumental in establishing the International School of Dravidian Linguistics, in Kerala, with the generous assistance of the Kerala Government, the Kerala University, Trivandram and the Jesuit Fathers of Kerala. This is a notable expansion of Dravidological studies for which the late Professor Thani Nayagam laid the foundation.

As much as the International Association of Tamil Research is a brain-child of the late Professor Thani Nayagam, so is the International Institute of Tamil Studies at Adayar, Madras. It is publishing a bi-annual journal called *The Journal of Tamil Studies* and is maintaining international contacts. We have the publication of the quarterly journal *Saiva Siddhanta* which continues to be published. According to Fr. Ignatius Hiruthayam then of Loyola College and presently Director of *Centre for Inter-faith Research and Dialogue (Aikiyalayam)*, Saiva Siddhanta is the traditional religion of the Tamil land, hence his interest in research in that field. Rev. Fr. G.M. Gnanapragasam has revived the publication of *Tamil Culture* with a different form in that each of the quarterly issues contains articles on a particular field of study different authors. The present Director of the International Institute of Tamil Studies Prof. S.V. Subramaniam is as active as the honey-bee and is endeavouring to build up the Institute to be worthy of its name.

(To be continued)

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

FAREWELL, TORI

My chief Guru is dead. He died a natural death in his seventies — unlike so many people in the North who meet a violent end long before their life span.

He was a journalist par excellence. Beginning as a sub-editor in *The Times of Ceylon* he rose to the position of Editor-in-Chief of the *Times Group* of newspapers.

As Editor he was a terror. A perfectionist, a comma out of place was enough for him to explode.

One of my fond memories of him was in the *Morning Times* days when he hauled me over the coals for a silly mistake. In the evening, he hauled me over to the 80 Club where he stood me beer.

He was like that, a lovable character, who was held in very high esteem not only by the readers but also by those in authority during his time.

He supported the late Mr. R. G. Senanayake, then Minister of Trade, in his efforts to clinch the China-Sri Lanka trade pact in 1952. Later when attempts were made to sabotage the pact, he withstood all the pressures, including from even Sir John Kotelawela, who was Prime Minister, to keep it going. He was not a journalist who know-towed to politicians, like many who did so then and many more who do so now.

He trained a whole set of journalists who have continued to maintain the high standards set by him.

He gave full freedom to his staff to write anything they wished, within the law and within reason.

His was the time that press freedom was not an empty shibboleth. Thanks to him, giant among journalists.

I am sad I could not attend his funeral because of my commitments in Jaffna.

To him, I cannot say "Farewell, Sweet Prince," like what some politicians say at some funerals.

I can only say, "Farewell, Mr. Tori de Souza"

— Gamini Navaratne

State Media's Lies Shock Staff

The text of a letter sent to President Jayewardene by the Staff of the General Hospital (Teaching), Jaffna, on 26th August:

We the staff, who were on duty at the General Hospital Jaffna (Teaching) between 8 A.M. to 12 Noon on 25th August 1986, hasten to express deep shock and horror at what was broadcast over the State Radio and Television last night and what has been published in the *Daily News* of today that terrorists fired mortars from the General Hospital Jaffna to the Army Camp at Jaffna Fort.

We vehemently deny that such an incident occurred and regret to state that we are constrained to believe that Your Excellency may have been wrongly informed of many similar incidents which might have been far from the truth.

We request Your Excellency to take action against those responsible for these totally false reports.

SPOTLIGHT ON DELHI

(Continued from page 1)

They will not be bound by any agreement reached by the TULF. They would not be forced to accept a settlement whose terms they disapprove of.

Even as talks in Delhi are being planned it is crystal clear that the North-East linkage is going to be the stumbling block in negotiations. New Delhi has several options to bring about a settlement. But the situation in the North and East continues to deteriorate with the civilian casualty toll mounting.

Although both sides say that they will not attack if the other side keeps quiet the killings go on. The people want violence against civilians to stop. There seems to be no intention on the part of India to effect a ceasefire, truce, cessation of hostility or moratorium because it feels an effective agreement of that nature cannot be implemented. The question then arises as to whether New Delhi can push through a settlement, that would be durable or could be implemented when it is unable to bring about a ceasefire.

PEACE-LOVERS PETITION PRESIDENT

The full text of the Memorandum of the People of Jaffna submitted to J. R. Jayewardene, President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, presented on 27th August 1986 through the Government Agent of Jaffna.

We the residents of the city of Jaffna with a population of over two lakhs of peace-loving people submit this Memorandum to your Excellency for your consideration and urgent action.

The Army in the Fort had been firing shells and rifle shots which almost always fall on civilian targets. These shells are very powerful and have great destructive power. They hit many homes and places of work. Last week also a shell from the Army Camp fell in the Grand Bazaar resulting in the deaths of a shop owner and three customers.

The fondest dreams of the newly wedded Bride and Bridegroom were blasted by a bomb shell sent from the Fort which fell killing promptly the Bridegroom even before the couple could have seen properly each other's face. The unfortunate Bride was transformed instantly into a widow; the sorrowful story continues in this instance with the further death of an elderly visitor to the wedding house taking place in the same spot.

Nadarajah Jayewardena, a youth who had made all arrangements to get married had to undergo the gruesome ordeal of his Wedding-house being transformed into a Funeral house a few days ago, when a shell from the Fort struck his home, taking away from this earth the beloved life of one of his cousin brothers.

Three days ago one evening (24-08-86) a shell volleyed from the Jaffna Fort Army Camp fell at the Jaffna Bazaar taking away the lives of six persons including that of a Bank Manager and that of a young lady and had further caused grievous injuries to twenty five others, some of whom are still struggling for life. Almost daily normalcy of the town is being disturbed.

The Government General Hospital Jaffna is situated hardly 200 meters from the Army Camp and it has not been free from shells. The Law Courts are housed in buildings situated less than 100 meters. Many Government Departments such as the Inland Revenue, Co-operative, Labour and Telecommunications are also over-looking the Jaffna Fort Camp. The Jaffna Bazaar is only 150 meters from the Army Camp. The Chest Hospital, all main

commercial banks, Public Library, General Post Office, Newspaper Offices and Schools are all situated 100 meters from the Army Camp. There are many Churches, Mosques and Temples close to the Army Camp. Even cemeteries and burial grounds are situated in this area. Needless to say for hundreds of years this locality had been the nerve-centre of Jaffna and the concentration of population is very great in this area.

In these circumstances the damage caused to people and public institutions will necessarily be greatest if any conflict starts in this area. The conflict is not conclusive but unfortunately citizens and civilians are the poor victims.

No citizen of Jaffna is able to move freely in the town for fear of falling shells. People are not able to sleep in peace. They fear that at any moment the shells could fall on their homes, blasting the buildings and killing inmates and bringing untold destruction.

Your Excellency, please consider the plight of the peaceful people of Jaffna and the miseries of the pitiable families who have become refugees and untold horrors of the people who are the victims of attacks from the Army Camp. It is inevitable, you will appreciate, that the Army Camp in the Fort should be removed at once.

The people and their lives are precious. The Dharmista Principle enunciated by Your Excellency must be given effect to, and your Government must in the name of humanity remove the Armed Forces stationed in the Jaffna Fort which is situated in the nerve center of Jaffna Town, and anybody will agree that the removal must be immediate.

It is humbly submitted that the immediate removal of the Army Camp from the Fort will not only be a humanitarian gesture to the suffering people of Jaffna but also it will go a long way to create the necessary climate for the amicable ending of the Communal Conflict.

We the people of Jaffna urge Your Excellency to provide a lasting solution with love and dignity, giving all peoples of our Fair Island equal rights. The magnanimity of the majority of people whom you represent should go a long way to alleviate the justifiable fears of the minority people.

Hoping you will take immediate action on our earnest appeal and remove the Army Camp from the Jaffna Fort.