

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

Vol. 6 No. 2 31st January 1987

### NORTH'S ANSWER

Jaffna followed Batticaloa—days behind—and held a Hartal on 27th January to protest against the fuel ban on the North and the killings in the East.

The Hartal was called by the Co-ordinating Committee of Citizens Committees in association with the Jaffna Traders' Association and the Mini-bus operators' Association.

# MOURNING IN THE NORTH

Yet another Independence Day is around the corner.

Fourth February should be a day of rejoicing for every Lankan.

But how can the people of the North rejoice?

They joined the people of the South in the struggle for Independence from the British Yoke.

The British went away 39 years ago but the people of the North are still under bondage — both political and economic—to the new Master.

The Master has been behaving like an old-style village school-master with cane in hand.

The people of the North have been caned enough in the past so many years.

But this reformatory style has simply not worked.

What more to do to bring them to heel? is the big question facing President Jayewardene's Government as well.

After 10 years in office, the United National Party is finding itself in a big quandary.

The (school) Boys have hit out at the present Master in uncharacteristic and impudent style.

The Master is flabbergasted. It is not the way to behave, the colleagues in the South shout.

This sort of thing never happened at Royal College, they lament.

Whose fault? The Master's or the Boys'?

The Boys must be cajoled and comforted and won over.

Further caning (through the fuel ban on the North etc.) will not help at all.

The caning must stop, for lessons cannot be taught by the cane. Then only will The Boys come out of their belligerent mood.

Boys may even come to respect and revere the Master.

Or do we need a change of Masters?

## 50 - CENT FUND

This week, we sent another money order, this time for Rs 85/- to the Minister of National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali as legal costs in the first case he filed in the Press Council against the SATURDAY REVIEW.

The total award was Rs. 1,575. So far we have managed to pay Rs. 466/50.

Ours is a non-profit making organisation and we find even these small payments a burden.

It is strange that the receipts for the amounts to the Minister come from the Ministry of Defence, as if these had been contributions to the National Defence Fund.

Now we have been called upon to pay an additional Rs. 525 to the Minister as legal costs in the second case, where the Press Council again held against the SATURDAY REVIEW.

Poor SATURDAY REVIEW!

## SLAUGHTER - HOUSE SIX

Fifty Tamil civilians — including women and infants — were killed in a two-day blitz launched by the Security Forces at Kokkadichcholai in the Batticaloa District.

Using air cover, nearly two thousand troops cordoned off Kokkadichcholai on Wednesday (28th January) and mounted a massive search operation.

At least twenty Commandos attached to the notorious Special Task Force (STF) were killed by Tiger militants, according to reports reaching Jaffna.

Government media claim that 21 "terrorists" and 13 Commandos, including an Inspector and a Sub-Inspector of the STF, were killed in the operation.

Nearly 25,000 people are hiding in the jungles of Kokkadichcholai.

The Security Forces went berserk after the Tigers had blown up an armoured vehicle carrying armed Commandos. The Island (29th January) reports: "Seven Police Commandos were reported killed when they stormed one of the largest LTTE camps in Batticaloa at Kokkadichcholai last morning by land and air, according to security sources..... Six of the Commandos including an inspector of police were reported to have died when one of the most powerful landmines planted by terrorists in recent times blew up the armoured vehicle they had used to storm the camp, the sources added. The seventh Commando — a sub-inspector — is reported to have been killed when

he ran into a hail of machine gunfire after being dropped by a helicopter."

The Commandos had then gone on a rampage killing anyone in sight while helicopters strafed people working in their fields. Two fishermen who attempted to get away by crossing the Batticaloa lagoon were shot dead.

The civilian survivors left their dead and fled into the jungles.

After setting fire to several houses, the Commandos had poured petrol on some of the civilian corpses and set them alight.

Kokkadichcholai (cholai means grove) has now become a slaughterhouse.

Release All Political Prisoners In Sri Lankan Jails

## Saturday Review SRI LANKA

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## Editor Rides Again

The civil administration in Jaffna has so far failed to trace the bicycle of the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW stolen from his residence at Kasthuriar Road on the night of 13th January.

For a number of days he had to walk nearly four miles to and from office.

Until a good Samaritan gifted him with a brand new Lumala bicycle on 23rd January.

Our thanks to Mr. Manoharan, of Manoharan and Vettivel, 57, Ambalavanar Road, Jaffna for this generous gesture.

The Editor's faith in the Jaffna people has been restored.

But the new bicycle will be under lock and key always — unlike the bicycle that vanished.

Thanks also to the Lady down 4th Cross Street who donated a bicycle for temporary use. We have returned this cycle.

## FUEL BAN:

# Trade Unions in the South Protest

Government Clerical Service Union, Ceylon Teacher's Union, Industrial Transport & General Worker's Union, Sri Lanka Jathika Guru Sangamaya, Local Government Trade Union Federation, United Worker's Union, Estate Services Union, Workers and Peasants Liberation Front and Insurance Employee's Union have jointly protested to President Jayewardene, against the fuel ban. Excerpts from their letter:

The suspension of transport of fuel to the Northern Region imposed under the state of Emergency on 2nd January 1987, on the presumption that vehicles in that region do not obtain licences from the Government, still continues.

The Joint Committee of Trade Unions in the Northern Region has reported the extent to which this suspension has affected the day to day lives of all citizens adult and small, as fuel which is an essential

item not only for transportation of food and other essentials, but also because this suspension seriously affect their other household needs and also their very lives due to starvation. The suspension of even infant milk food, which is essential to lives of infants, would suffice to bring home the seriousness of the threat posed to the lives of people of that region.

We, consider this a far more serious repressive measure than a military intervention, lodge our strong protest against this move, and earnestly request that every step be taken to revoke this order immediately and to treat all workers who are compelled to keep away from their work places, as on special leave, please.

## PRESS, AH OY!

The capabilities of the New Era Publications Ltd. printing establishment at No. 267, Main Street, Jaffna, were proved when it produced the 24-page, 5th anniversary issue of the SATURDAY REVIEW on 24th January in record time despite the disturbed situation in Jaffna.

The NEP Ltd. Press is ready to undertake commercial work of every type, both in English and Tamil.

For your next printing job, try the NEP Ltd. Press, and see the difference — quality work at very competitive prices.

## S. R. FUND TOPS RS. 1 MILLION MARK

The Refugees Fund launched by the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW has now netted in over Rs. 1 million, the bulk of it through foreign benefactors.

As a newspaper, we did not want to involve ourselves in the refugee "business".

We have been playing only a marginal role in the whole affair, supplying mainly drugs and infant food and, in urgent situations, dry rations as well to the displaced persons.

We continue to receive applications for assistance from various organisations.

But due to the communication and transport difficulties in the North, it takes a long time to find out which organisations are doing genuine refugee work and which are not.

We do not want to see a single cent of the fund misused. For we cannot betray the trust reposed in us by the donors.

That is why we have been tardy in disbursing the money that has come into the fund.

Ours is the only Fund in the North which gives public account of the receipts and disbursements.

Our accounts are open to scrutiny by any contributor at any time.

We hope there would be more contributions from Readers, both in Sri Lanka and abroad, to render some assistance to the refugees, whose numbers are growing daily.

Jaffna itself may be a refugee city before long!

## Problem of Text Books

School children in Jaffna have not yet received their text books for the New Academic Year. The Department of Education in Jaffna has made representations to the Ministry requesting the speedy issue of the text books which is causing much inconvenience to both students and teachers. The students were faced with a similar situation last year when the text books were received much later in the year.

## Budding Scientists



Under the Popularisation of Science programme of the Sri Lanka Association for the Advancement of Science, an Inter-School Science Quiz Competition was held in all Districts last year. Hartley College team emerged first in the Jaffna District. They received their certificates from H. E. J. R. Jayewardene who was the Chief Guest at the 42nd Annual Sessions of the SLAAS held at the BMICH recently. In the picture are (L to R) Sriskandarajah Manivannan, Thevarajan Nakkeeran, Pasupathy Ramesh, Subramaniam Radhan Markandan (Leader) and Sellathurai Thavakumar. Incidentally, all five have also qualified at the last GCE(A/L) Exam to enter the Medical Faculty this year.

# Right Understanding—Need Of The Hour

This article was written in the wake of the mid '86 bombings in Colombo by a Sinhalese human rights activist and was understandably not published in the Colombo papers to which it was circulated. We commend it as a piece of writing which addresses itself to the real problem, the problem of the absence of protection under the law for the life and dignity of Tamils as equal citizens of this country.

In 1978, our government enacted a new constitution of which Article 27 (5) states: "The State shall strengthen national unity by promoting co-operation and mutual confidence among all sections of the People of Sri Lanka, including the racial, religious, linguistic and other groups, and shall take effective steps in the fields of teaching, education and information in order to eliminate discrimination and prejudice."

Two or three years later, the Government went further and signed the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Article 2 (1a) of the Convention states:

"Each state party undertakes to engage in no act or practice of racial discrimination against persons, groups of persons or institutions and to ensure that all public authorities and public institutions, national and local, shall act in conformity with this obligation".

Bearing in mind our obligations under the Constitution and as signatories to the Convention, one cannot but urge the reconsideration of the degrading and discriminatory action taken to send Tamils in certain public services on enforced, indefinite, "special leave."

The rationale given is that if they continue in their workplaces they or their families may be "compromised." Presumably this means that they may support or be pressurised into committing acts of sabotage or terrorism and thereby endanger the rest of us law-abiding citizens.

It seems an extraordinarily immoral way of dealing with the security problem. Moreover, it is extremely insulting to other communities in this country that it should be assumed that they are quite happy to obtain their 'protection' at the cost of humiliating and victimising a section of their fellow citizens in this way.

It is difficult to believe that our security can be achieved by such

means. On the contrary, this may well be totally counterproductive and may rebound on us in ways we least expect. Article 1 of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination is most specific in this respect:

Discrimination between human beings on the ground of race, colour or ethnic origin is an offence to human dignity and shall be condemned as a denial of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, as a violation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as an obstacle to friendly and peaceful relations among nations and as a fact capable of disturbing peace and security among peoples".

And, besides, where do we draw the line? What about the families of "anti-government" individuals and groups, or the relations of well-known criminals, or those people from all races and classes and walks of life who will do anything for a consideration? And aren't there supposed to be Sinhalese, too, who "wish to overthrow democracy" ...how do we stop their relatives being "compromised"?

by

One cannot help thinking that those who suggest such ill-advised measures have forgotten what the government is supposed to be fighting for. Is it not fighting to preserve national unity? To achieve this, is it not necessary to avoid alienating the Tamil people more and more? Is it not necessary to assure them of their security, equality and dignity in a Sri Lankan state where they are equal before the law and entitled to its full protection? Is this not more urgent than ever in view of the tragic situation in which we find ourselves? Do we want to turn peaceful, loyal, law-abiding sections of population into an alienated resentful group by condemning them as potential saboteurs? Because of the alleged or anticipated collaboration of a handful of Tamil public servants in recent or future atrocities, is the whole community to be distrusted and ostracised in this way, and driven into the arms of despair and perhaps worse?

The Sinhala people know how outraged they felt in 1983 when as a community they stood condemned before the world for the action of a few thousand thugs. They felt it was utterly unjust. "Do not blame the whole Sinhala

people for the actions of a few", was their plea. Well, now, as the situation is reversed, should we, not say: do not blame, do not humiliate, do not victimise the whole Tamil community for the actions of the few. We can only reap resentment and, bitterness, at best: at worst, hatred and retaliation.

It is an important principle that a nation striving to forge or preserve unity should be particularly sensitive to the need to guarantee the safety and equality of its minorities, particularly in a period of ever-increasing conflict. It would seem essential to take every opportunity to assure them of their full due as citizens and to acknowledge that no one section of the population is "more equal than any other."

A modern nation is not the possession of any one of its communities, however large that community may be. It belongs to all its constituent communities: it is the sum of all its people; of all the people who have, over the centuries, worked to make it what it is. A nation is honourable to the extent that it honours all its citizens; it is dishonourable to the extent that it dishonours any of them.

Manel

The "special leave" provision seems to underline the fact that we are beginning to treat the Tamils as though they were already citizens of another state. And this is exactly what the separatists want. During the last World War, enemy aliens were interned. This seems a dreadful thing now, in more enlightened times, but it could perhaps be argued that as they were citizens of enemy countries they could be expected to have a loyalty to their own country rather than to the one in which they were residing. But it is a very different thing in the case of the Tamil Sri Lankans. They owe no allegiance to any other state; they have, many of them, sworn to uphold the integrity of Sri Lanka as required by the Sixth Amendment, they have voted for non-Tamil and often for Sinhalese representatives in national parties, and have worked as hard as any other group for the development of this country. As with the Sinhalese, the most enlightened and advanced among them do not even think of themselves as Tamils, but as Sri Lankans.

The rumours that some of them "give money" to the "terrorists" may be true, but how are we to judge who is making voluntary payments and who is giving "protection money"

of the kind that people pay in all sorts of situations all over the world to individuals and gangs whom they do not support but fear. The analogy may well be with the little shopkeeper who pays a regular amount to prevent himself being mugged or his shop looted. Is he supporting criminals? Should he be put out of business or, to be on the safe side, should all little shopkeepers be closed down because some of them may be blackmailed into doing something "anti-social" or anti-national?

We seem hell-bent on taking action which will compound the crisis in which we find ourselves today. We are a poor country, trying so hard to develop against all odds, riven by class, caste and political rivalries and conflicts — and now some groups or sections of our population are fighting to break away altogether. What do we do? Do we do everything in our power to win over the rest of the population so as to ensure unity, or do we alienate more and more people so that disintegration is almost certain? Do we inveigh against the separatists and oppose to their cry for Eelam the hallowed integrity of the "ancient and historic Sinhala Buddhist state"? Or do we find ways in which we can meet them with an offer of genuine autonomy within the Sri Lankan polity which will respect, accommodate and ensure the diversity of our people?

Do we really want to solve the problem? Do we really want to end the slaughter on both sides? Do we not want to divert the enormous human and material costs of the war to more humane and productive ends? If we do, then let us not resort to actions which drive our Tamil fellow-citizens to despair—and perhaps into the arms of terrorism. If we insist on telling them, in this way, that they are not to be trusted, we can hardly blame them if they too begin to see Eelam (or, at least, emigration) as the only answer to their plight. In short, how can we expect them to behave as Sri Lankans if we insist on treating them as "Tamils" and ourselves as "Sinhalese"?

In 1983, we injured them grievously. Many left, but many more stayed on, picked up the pieces and started again. Now we have begun to insult and degrade them. What can they do this time?

Sadly, at the present time, an appeal to conscience, to compassion, to the understanding of the terrible injustice of such actions, seems pointless. So let us at least take heed

(Continued on page 10)

"Who decides the future of Nicaragua? Ronald Reagan or the Nicaraguan people?"

This is a question which the Nicaraguan people by themselves might not be able to answer anymore. With a small population of 3 million, an active blockade by the world's biggest navy, a convalescing economy and a U.S.-funded counter-revolution, Nicaragua is being bullied to death.

The question most Nicaraguans ask is: "What has our small country done to deserve so much ill-will and hatred from the most powerful country in the world?"

The first question an Asian might ask of the Nicaraguan situation is: "How can the burden of Nicaragua be shared by Asian struggles in the most effective way?"

These were the questions that occupied my mind as I took the flight out of Nicaragua after a visit (along with some church people) July of this year.

I could tell that Managua was in a state of war by the absence of city lights when the plane touched down at the Sandino international Airport in Managua. Except for the runway lights and those in the airport building, Managua was enveloped in darkness. Soldiers (who

## LIFE IN FOCUS

*There is war, Lord, in many countries ;  
every television news,  
every newspaper,  
carry reports of more bloodshed,  
men are fighting,  
men are killing  
soldiers are dying,  
innocent wives and children  
are being bombed from the air  
And sometimes hits home.*

*Men are in hate instead of in love :  
tanks, guns, bombs, aircraft,  
noisy, bloody, frightening murderous,  
are symbols of men's greed.*

*The world reads of numbers killed  
and wounded,  
but the world forgets that each one  
of those killed  
was the loved one of somebody;  
that bed will never hold a husband  
again,  
that child will never say "Daddy"  
that house will never have a man  
and that old woman has lost her only  
support,  
all because of hate and greed.*

— Donald Neary, S. J.

culled from the MADONNA -  
May, 1965.

must have been no more than high school age) walked about the airport in their oversized fatigue uniforms. They could be mistaken as boy scouts and girl scouts except for the fact that they were carrying rifles. I thought that even the rifles were bigger than their carriers.

In spite of this, I felt quite at home and relaxed.

# REFLECTIONS ON NICARAGUA

The shops at the airport were closed for the day. There were bicycle shops, a store selling radios and other duty-free items. But not much more.

Managua itself was unlike most Asian cities have seen. There were no Western shopping centers nor businesses catering to the tourist market. There was a public market. That is where it was: the food items, the dry goods and the souvenirs a tourist might be interested in.

The crisis situation showed itself in many other ways. The most telling indicator, at least to a visitor, is the answer one gets from a store owner any place: "NO HAY", when you ask for coffee, sugar, rice, the answer is "NO HAY" (meaning, there is none).

That is strange for a country that produces sugar, coffee and rice and bananas. The Nicaraguans would say they have a "desert" economy. Yet, why should America be so hot about "desert". There are many factors for these shortages. Chiefly, American.

First of all there is an embargo going on. The U.S. navy is supposed to be guarding the sealanes from Nicaragua so that it does not receive any kind of import. During our stay we heard the news that some relief goods coming from Holland were seized by US Navy as these were being transferred to a Nicaraguan ship in Panama.

Secondly, the Nicaraguans are forced to spend more than half their domestic earnings for defence: to support the army, to buy them uniforms and boots, weapons, etc.

Thirdly, the US imposed trade sanctions it has cut down the sugar quota of Nicaragua by 90%.

Fourthly, there is resource shortage for the farms and factories, because of the extensive border with Honduras and the weak eastern flank, Nicaragua has to mobilize people to guard settlements which are easily accessible to *contras*.

The war torn economy is manifested as well in the shortages of basic transportation vehicles. In

many parts that I visited, I saw vehicles and various machinery in the roadside. The Nicaraguans explain that since the blockade, the country had not been able to get spare parts for cars, trucks and machines. New vehicles and machines are able to come in are mostly those from East European countries and from the Soviet Union.

U.S. paranoia about a communist neighbour to its south has galvanised the US Congress into approving US\$ 100 million aid to the *contras*. With US backing, the *contras* are able to penetrate rural communities and border settlements, terrorise far-

by

mers and undermine efforts to rebuild the economy. The first and most important task of the Nicaraguan government is to protect the lives of its people. It is in this context that the government is being forced to appropriate most of its scarce resources to the war effort.

The US is also making a lot of noise about the support Libya is giving to the Nicaraguans. Thus, it has wantonly charged Nicaragua of becoming the terrorist haven in the Americas.

They also make political capital of the Nicaraguan government's decision to padlock the pro-US newspaper LA PRENSA, and the expulsion of Bishop Vega. But Nicaragua has to protect itself. To have La Prensa operating is like having a Nazi newspaper and an active pro-Nazi bishop in the heart of London during the blitzkrieg during the Second World war.

It was not difficult for me to understand the actions the Nicaraguan government was taking in regard to

various freedoms. At the Miami airport, as I was waiting to board a plane to Managua, I was not allowed to buy duty-free goods from American shops. They would not sell to anyone going to Nicaragua. "Government policy," the American store owner said.

There was also a lot of propaganda about the 'evil' regime of Nicaragua. A Salvadoran sitting next to me on the plane, had just gone through a military training in Washington D.C., to 'protect the democracy in El Salvador from the expansionist designs of its neighbour'. Two Hondurans were on their way to Panama for special training, even as they kept singing praises to the *contras* based in their country.

The efforts of the people and the government to improve their situation is remarkable. The government has nationalized the banks, cut down illiteracy by more than 50% and health services and facilities tremendously improved. However, the vigour and resources put into these campaigns now have to be cut down because of the war effort.

I thought it tragic that the U.S.A. would not let the Nicaraguans alone to develop their country. But then, why should Asians be surprised about U. S. actions in Nicaragua? In my own country, the US supported the brutal Marcos dictatorship in exchange for U. S. continued use of the military bases in the Philippines. It is also through US-sponsored mercenaries that Marcos was able to prolong his rule. It was with US-made weapons that the military killed our own people in the course of our struggle.

## May - An Villalba

As I walked in the streets of Puerto Cabezas, visited churches, as I talked to young and old Nicaraguenses, I could not escape the feeling that what the Nicaraguans and the Filipinos are undergoing are so alike.

Even the songs of struggle, the poetry, the slogans, are the same. What I found in Nicaragua was a people having the same enemy as my own people have. What I found was a common struggle that had a common vision that one day soon Nicaraguans and Filipinos would really be liberated from American imperialism.

— (Courtesy : VOICES)

## Off-loaded

A CTB bus taking passengers from Jaffna to Vavuniya was stopped by soldiers on 13th January between Mankulam and Omanthai, ostensibly for checking. Simultaneously a mini-bus too arrived on the scene. This too was checked and the passengers from the CTB bus were herded into the mini bus and the bus took off with the soldiers.

Jaffna has always provided a different type of holiday for people of the south because of its simple appearance, its palmyrah dotted landscapes and fences, symbolic of people who mind their own business. Those who have travelled to Jaffna will have nostalgic memories of peaceful days spiced with crabs and prawns served in Jaffna style. It was after a lapse of 3 years that as a family we ventured out to the peninsula to usher the New Year in. To some this may sound as sheer madness, but to us it was the only way to express our north-south fellowship and to enjoy people, places and palate the Jaffna way. I hope that this privilege will be open to more people in the not too distant future.

The recent visit of course was different to any other previous visits as none of the Jaffna holiday spots could be visited. Calthurina beach, Keerimalai Tank and other coastal areas are not a holiday makers paradise as they come under the Security Surveillance Zone. However we experienced enough freedom of movement to

excellent test course for automobile manufacturers. In certain sections there is no visible evidence of a road having existed. Some of the pot holes have developed into permanent ponds filled with oozy mud which defy noon day heat and refuse to dry up. One has to resort to an almost 30 odd mile detour to reach Paranthan in order to get to the Jaffna peninsula as 3 miles of roadway is impassable! This is caused by the failure to repair the Karadiboku culvert which was blasted many months ago. Someone remarked that going to Jaffna was like medicine these days as one has 'to be shaken before taken'!

A personal salute is due to those men who man the barriers and are camped out in isolated areas as for security purposes. My personal observations has been that these men do their duty in a satisfactory fashion. I have personally seen the courteous way in which people are treated although with considerable inconvenience of having to disembark from vehicles, walk through barriers and embark on the other side. This does not overrule the

We were able to travel freely both during the day and at night and meet with many people from different backgrounds of life. These were in churches and outside. I praise God that human values and the warmth of human affection and touch are still alive in the world.

On the 31st December whilst delivering a meditation message for a quiet day at the Ashram Chunnakam, my thoughts were disturbed intermittently by the rattle of the firing from a helicopter involved in some exercise about 5 miles away. This was rather ironical as about 60 or 70 people were spending a quiet day meditating on God's Word. My wife and three children who were outside in the garden were slightly shaken to think that action was taking place just a few miles away from where we were.

I was preaching at a Watchnight Service at Chavakachcheri and the prelude to the service was the deafening roar of machine gun fire amplified over a PA system, as a 'Tiger Drama' that was being enacted to celebrate some event. As the ser-

vice began the gruesome background music was terrible. I am thankful to God that it died down with the last minutes of 1986. How I wish this could be symbolic of a real peaceful 1987.

It is also good for us to note that everything that happens is not due to our ethnic differences but because of our excited tempers. If the record is correct it would show that an Army vehicle was landmined by militant youths who had operated from within the Roman Catholic Church premises. The enraged Security Forces then attacked the Roman Catholic Church. This resulted in certain members of the affected community along with other interested parties attacking the Buddhist Temple. Such chain reactions have been recorded many times over in our recent history.

to some unarmed, unidentified men, as tax. The only satisfaction I have is that a receipt was issued. I want it noted however that the money was not given without a protest. After a few minutes of arguments I realised that my verbal barrages were of no use as there was a possibility of getting replies in lead. This is recorded as a warning to other holiday makers to take note of such surprises which will not be indicated on the tour itinerary!

One of the welcome sights in Jaffna was tri-lingual place name boards which are a testimony for the goodwill that still exists in the north. This also indicates that there are fewer tar-brush patriots in the north than in the south. The people need to learn that indiscriminate rubbing of paint on name boards only make it uglier to look at and cost the local authorities added expenses to repaint. I wish it were a part of the sales gimmick by paint companies rather than self-styled paint patriots whose patriotism ends when the paint is over.

A young militant who had inspected our vehicle showed signs of

# REFLECTIONS ON JAFFNA

enjoy the hospitality of Jaffna which we know is not second to that of the hospitality of the south. Hospitality is a hallmark of Sri Lankan families be it Sinhala, Tamil or Moor. This is one thing that we all should be aware of, proud of, and desirous of perpetuating. There are of course other factors that help us to unite us. In fact there are more factors that unite us than divide us. The least of which is the lowly vadai which is equally enjoyed by north, south, east and west. I wish it were possible to implore the blessings of the vadai on all people!

In this New Year it is my hope that we will aspire to reach out together. Incidentally this was the theme for an islandwide operation thought of by the Ceylon Bible Society to spread the goodwill and love of Christ to all people in 'Operation Reach Together', to mark its 175th Anniversary. This seems a good theme for Sri Lanka as a whole to reach together to seek peace and goodwill with men of all faiths, all colours, all creeds as Sri Lankans. Let us ALL reach-out-together!

Travel beyond Puliyanikulam is a test of human endurance and mechanical reliability of anything that moves on wheels. This would present an

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occasional officiousness and excesses that have taken place on some auspicious days!

It was sad to see a section of Jaffna town lying deserted and desolate. Craters in the town area and punctured holes on heavy metal door shutters and other damaged buildings showed the ravages of past military action. I wonder if this is the path to peace! Just a few yards away from the desolation the town functions and people go about their normal business. One notices the sand bag shelters provided by shopkeepers in the event of any action to provide shelter for themselves and shoppers. To state this in biblical terms - they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, as in the days of Noah!

The hospital isolation ward for children built with assistance from British Aid in collaboration with the UK Save the Children Fund stands as a silent testimony to a shell explosion on its connecting concrete roof. Cracks in a concrete roof and adjacent walls explains to the layman the power of a shell and one is so very thankful to be so very far from these creations of military fashion designers!

Reggie Ebenezer

vice began the gruesome background music was terrible. I am thankful to God that it died down with the last minutes of 1986. How I wish this could be symbolic of a real peaceful 1987.

It was truly disturbing to note that the Buddhist Temple situated on the Kandy road has been completely demolished. I was able to see the Vihare after it was bombed, but this time only a vacant block of land remained where this place of worship once stood.

It is also good for us to note that everything that happens is not due to our ethnic differences but because of our excited tempers. If the record is correct it would show that an Army vehicle was landmined by militant youths who had operated from within the Roman Catholic Church premises. The enraged Security Forces then attacked the Roman Catholic Church. This resulted in certain members of the affected community along with other interested parties attacking the Buddhist Temple. Such chain reactions have been recorded many times over in our recent history.

I am one of the unfortunate Sri Lankans who had to pay Rs. 25/-

real confusion having seen my family members. I do not know what he took us to be. He had a good question—'Why do these people come to Jaffna if they do not know Tamil?'

Being a preacher and having a normal weakness for many words, I used the opportunity to impress on him the services rendered by non-Tamil speaking people like my wife in times of danger and desperation like in July 1983. He may have felt a little embarrassed when I stated that my wife could read and write Tamil although she was of a Burgher background. A few words spoken in Tamil brought smiles to the face of this militant youngster. How like this young man many of us are. There are many things that we do not understand. In meeting with people and in sharing a smile or tear, in exchanging a gift or even making a kind inquiry, how much goodness could be created.

I was privileged to have a meeting with the Jaffna LTTE leader. We discussed some areas of concern regards the road conditions, medical care, the displaced persons problems and other matters in a spirit of openness and sincerity. I was thankful for the good spirit in which the meeting proceeded.

(Continued on page 8)

# DECEMBER '86



**1-12-'86 Uvilankulam** A lorry conveying the Security Forces suffers a mine attack. The civilian driver and cleaner of the lorry, both Sinhalese, are killed. Two Servicemen are injured. In retaliation, bomber planes and helicopters bomb and strafe the town, 10 shops, five houses, a rice-mill and a theatre are damaged.

**2.12.'86 Kiran** Nizam of the Special Task Force is killed in a mine blast by militants.

**Jaffna** The Jaffna Traders' Association protests that due to the recent shell attacks by the Security Forces 14 shops in the environs of the Jaffna Town had been hit and destroyed.

**3-12-'86 Kaluwanchchikudi** 117 persons are arrested by Security Forces during a search operation. 76 persons are released after questioning, 41 persons are further detained.

**3-12-'86 Palaimunaimadu in Batticaloa** : Five Tamil youths are shot dead by the Special Task Force personnel during a search operation. Three dead bodies are removed to the Camp while the other two are left behind. 75 persons are arrested and removed to the Kallady Camp.

**4-12-'86 Kommanthurai in Batticaloa** The Special Task Force personnel who arrive in a passenger bus open fire at Volunteers of the Sarvodaya Movement who were engaged in clearing land for the construction of a School building. Three persons including a 76 year old man are injured.

**4-12-'86 Kunchchaveli** Five fishermen in a boat are shot dead by Navy personnel. Their nets and boat are set ablaze.

**4-12-'86 Sampaltivu** A retired village headman, a woman and her husband, are shot dead by the Security Forces during a search operation.

**5-12-'86 Colombo** Kandasamy Panneerchelvam of Trincomalee held at the Vavuniya Army Camp was reportedly shot dead when trying to escape in 1985.

Now, two years' after his death, he is indicted by the Attorney-General's Department.

**5-12-'86 Kaluwanchchikudi** A passenger bus from Jaffna proceeding in the night towards Kalmunai is fired at by Special Task Force personnel. Three passengers and the

conductor of the bus are killed instantaneously. The driver of the bus and four passengers critically injured are hospitalised. The driver and another passenger succumb to their injuries raising the death toll to six.

**6-12-'86 Colombo** Police engaged in a search operation which commences at 2 a.m. arrest 23 Tamil youths and remove them to the Fort Police Station. The youths were in Colombo to obtain Pass-ports to seek jobs abroad.

**7-12-'86 Aladivembu, Vatchikuda, Navatkaadu** in Akkaraipattu, Security Forces are engaged in a search operation from 3 A.M.— An unofficial curfew having been imposed in the areas. During the search four persons including a 13 year old boy was shot dead. About 1500 persons are arrested and removed to the Akkaraipattu army camp. The arrested persons are locked up like cattle in garages.

**Dec.'86 Kaddaiparichchan, Kanniya, Sampaltivu, Kuchchaveli** in Trincomalee. Over 200 including aged persons Government workers and women are arrested by Security Forces in the last few days. The searches commence in the early hours and those arrested are mostly put up from their sleep. Those arrested are held at different army camps. Fear and tension prevail in villages.

**9-12-'86 Kaluwankerny** Special Task Force personnel surround village and arrest about 300 youths and girls. They are removed to the Kallady camp.

**9-12-'86 Alankerny:** Over a hundred youths are arrested by the Security Forces and removed to the Kinniya Army camp. During the search a 14 year old Tamil girl is shot dead by the Security Forces.

**9-12-'86 Kumarapuram Mamoolai** in Mulliyawalai. About 150 youths are arrested by Security Forces during a search and removed to the Army Camp. Women are molested by Security Forces during the search.

**9-12-'86 Thampalakamam** A young woman is raped and shot dead by the Security Forces. Another person is also shot dead. 4 houses are set ablaze during the search operation by Security Forces.

**9-12-'86 Kamburupiddy** Two farmers are killed by the Security Forces during a search operation. The next

of kin to whom the dead bodies are handed over by the Security Forces are informed that the two had been shot dead by 'terrorists'. About 125 persons are arrested and removed to the camp.

**9-12-'86 Thennamaravadi Trincomalee:** The Security Forces arrest about 85 persons during a search operation. Four huts are destroyed. One woman is molested.

**9-12-'86 Kiliveddi** Two youths are shot dead by Security Forces during a search operation. Three women are molested. Several house hold items are destroyed. About 55 persons are arrested.

**11-12-'86 Nilaveli** The Security Forces fire on fishermen and one person is killed. Fire seriously injured are removed to the Trincomalee Naval Hospital.

**12-12-'86 Sampaltivu** Security Forces arrest 120 persons during a search operation 12 of them being refugees arrested at a refuge camp. When returning to camp with arrested persons Security Forces open fire on a bullock cart killing four persons.

**14-12-'86 Tambiluvil** Three farmers are shot dead by Special Task Forces personnel.

**15-12-'86 Talaimannar** Some Navy personnel are believed to have been killed and some injured in a confrontation with Militants in the sea. Later, in reprisal, Navy personnel fire indiscriminately. Six fishermen are killed. The injured persons are removed by the army personnel.

**15-12-'86 Pillayaradi: Batticaloa.** The Security Forces surround a Tamil village in the early hours. Four Tamils are shot dead. Five persons are injured and hospitalised. Two houses are damaged.

**16-12-'86 Kommanthurai Chenkaladi** Security Forces who arrive in a private vehicle open fire killing four Tamils. The bodies are removed to the army camp.

**17-12-'86 Mullaitivu:** A boat attacked by Navy personnel capsizes 3 persons are killed. 4 injured persons are arrested.

**18-12-'86 Kalmunai V. Arumugam** aged 21 Years is shot dead by Security Forces as he leaves his home on his bicycle. His body is

removed by the Security Forces to the Kaluwanchikudi Camp.

**19-12-'86 Karaitivu:** Kalmunai Security Forces arrest 30 persons during a search operation and remove them to the camp.

**19-12-'86 Pankulani:** Three Air Force personnel, one Police constable and 3 Home Guards are killed in an attack by Militants.

**19-12-'86 Vellaveli** 150 persons most of them farmers are arrested by Special Task Forces personnel and removed to the Kaluwanchikudi Camp.

**20-12-'86 Valvettiturai:** S. Sinnathurai, aged 80 years who accidentally goes near the army camp is shot dead by the Security Forces

**21-12-'86 Koduwamadu: Chenkaladi** Thambiappah aged 50 Years standing at the entrance of his home is shot dead by the Security Forces who pass by in a jeep in the night.

**Dec. '86. Kinniya:** 3 cultivation Officers brutally assaulted by Home Guards are hospitalised.

**21-12-'86 Manatsenai: Kalmunai** Two young girls Mahadevan Komaladevi and Mahadevan Rajikala are arrested by the Security Forces who arrive in the night. They are released after being detained for five days. They both complain of having suffered severe assault though they bear no external injuries

**23-12-'86 Hatton** Tamilselvan an estate employee is arrested by C.I.D. Officers when he visits the town to make some purchases. Local Police deny any knowledge of the arrest. Tension and fear builds up in the estate, as the next of kin are unable to ascertain where he is held. Estate workers go on a protest strike. After about a week the Hatton Police inform that Tamilselvan is held at the Army Headquarters in Colombo.

**24-12-'86 Karumanveli Batticaloa:** Three persons are shot dead by the Security Forces during a search operation. 500 persons are arrested. After questioning 50 persons are further detained. Others are released.

**26-12-'86 Kurukkalmadam** V. Gopalapillai a passerby falls down when shot at by the Security Forces. His body is put into the truck and removed.



It is strange to observe that the death toll for the month of December has come down. 159 persons only.

One time soaring hopes may be the reason, if one wants to justify. Nevertheless, the land of blood and corpses will live on.

26-12-'86 **Santhiveli:** Vantharamolai Thilagar a youth is shot dead by the Security Forces

Dec. '86 **Araiampati:** Batticaloa A Tamil woman is arrested by the Security Forces and is detained at the Kaluwanchikudi camp.

28-12-'86 **Kurumanveli:** A youth is shot dead by the Security Forces.

28-12-'86 **Tampalakamam:** 11 members of two families who had been forced to flee from their homes and at refugee camps go back to recover some belongings. The Security

Forces who surround the area shoot killing four of them. Two women and their two daughters are raped three injured persons are removed by Security Forces. Two houses are set ablaze.

29-11-'86 **Anpuvalipuram & Selvanayagapuram:** in Trincomalee. About 300 Tamils are arrested by the Security Forces and removed to the Camp. Some youths are severely assaulted.

29-12-'86 **Kumburupiddy:** Nilaveli **Kanniya:** and **Sampaltivu** in Trincomalee: Security Forces surround

above villages and arrest about 200 persons including those at refugee camps. 17 houses of Tamils abandoned through fear are set ablaze.

30-12-'86 **Manatsenai:** Kalmunai Suppiah Thavamany, aged 26 years and Thambirasa Savithri, aged 18 years are arrested by the Security Forces and removed to the Kaluwanchikudi Camp. Suppiah Thavamany is hospitalised on being released, with severe injuries.

Dec. '86. **Akkaraipattu:** Over a hundred women assemble opposite the Assistant Government Agent's

office, protesting the humiliations suffered by women at the hands of Special Task Forces personnel out on search operations.

31-12-'86 **Sampaltivu:** Security Forces on patrol fire at random. A Muslim youth is killed. Three persons are injured.

31-12-'86 **Pankulam:** About 200 Security Forces move out on a search operation at 4 A.M. Eight farmers are shot dead in their sleep. Their bodies are burnt. 15 houses are set ablaze. The farmers killed are reported to have obtained special permission from army authorities to engage in cultivation in that area.

## Waiting For God(ot)!

*Another sleepless night  
worrying about  
other people's lives  
precious as one's own.*

*God is there  
up in the sky  
out of reach  
of the Common Man.  
Occasionally he looks down  
in disdain and contempt.*

*Let the Common Man  
stew in his own juice.  
Stew is good for life  
beef stew, mutton stew,  
vegetable stew,  
or even human stew.*

*But some people do not know  
how to stew.*

*They only know  
how to stir*

*the Devil's Brew  
which bedevils all.*

*So life goes on  
with ups and downs  
with hiccups and laughter  
with weddings and disaster.*

*God, oh God,  
if you are there  
please visit the Earth  
especially Sri Lanka.*

*Perhaps he is too busy  
with Popes and Cardinals  
in their little red caps  
and their bright robes.*

*He has no time  
for the Common Man.*

— ANON - XVI

## 'GOVT. BENT ON GENOCIDE'

The Point - Pedro Citizens' Committee has sent a letter to several high commissions in Sri Lanka. Excerpts:

1. High Commissioner U.K.
2. High Commissioner Australia
3. High Commissioner Canada
4. Ambassador U.S.A.
5. Ambassador Norway
6. Ambassador Sweden
7. Ambassador Switzerland.

The fuel sanction—the conspicuous one of a train of such drastic measures in the recent past, indubitably establishes the fact that the Government is bent on a process of

### A Refugee's Pathetic Death

Annamma Thiagarasa (40), a refugee from Trincomalee had lost her husband in the "Operation Nilaveli" by Security Forces. She had, after the shooting of her husband, come as refugee to Mullaitivu with her two children. As she wished to see her home at Nilaveli, she had left her two children at the Refugee Camp and travelled by a mini-bus via Anuradhapura to Trincomalee on 22nd January. Midway during the journey the mini bus was involved in an accident, resulting in her head being shattered. The owner of the mini bus took it upon himself to bring her remains to the children at Mullaitivu where the Mullaitivu Citizens' Committee bore the cost of her funeral.

gruesome Genocide precipitated by dire poverty, privation and starvation. The laws that still stand unrepealed, bringing all the coastal belt both in the North and the East under the tangle of security zone, deprives the fisherfolk of their only dependable means of earning their daily bread thereby denying all the innocent public and palatable and nutritious food item by which they are nourished.

Now in the wake of the fuel sanction, Tamils who have already found it difficult to cope with the spiralling cost of living are mercilessly

clobbered by the price hike of consumer commodities—which is an inevitable trend resulting from the dislocation of transport services.

Besides the difficulties and hardships enumerated above, the fuel sanction has greatly jeopardized the food production drive.

Is the Government not alive to the dire consequences produced by this draconian and dictatorial measure? No, it is alive to the hardships of the Tamils, but its sole aim is to see that Tamils are famished and perished with hunger, physical debility and malnutrition.

## Mothers Front Vs. State Oppression

The text of a press release issued by the Mothers Front.

The Mothers Front has decided to organise a protest March on the 4th of February 1987 to condemn the Government's step motherly treatment of Tamils.

The Government is organising independence day celebrations while unleashing brutal violence on Tamils in the name of combating terrorism.

Especially in the east the armed forces are on a man-hunt. Women and children are being killed. Thousands of people from this region, men and women, old and young are under detention and being tortured in army camps and in prisons.

The ban on fuel supply to the North in forcing hardships especially on fisher folk, the poor peasantry, and on the poverty stricken people who lead a hand to mouth living.

Against all these atrocities and to mobilize people's awareness and popular agitation the Mothers Front is organising this protest.

The Mothers Front calls upon all the women and mothers of Jaffna to shed their self-interest, consider the plight of their sisters and brothers in other areas and join this protest on the 4th of February.

Let us all mobilize against this state's brutal oppression.

### More torments

The bomb scare in Colombo has resulted in daily arrests on suspicion of many young persons. Wellawatte is the prime target. Chummeries in the area are being visited by the Police and Tamil youth taken in for questioning. This action is being taken by the Police, as they feel that the militants are planning major bomb attacks in Colombo.

# Arithmetic, Politics And Some Philosophy

Wisdom is not the monopoly of the Academics. I am not sure whether Mr. Jehan Perera is an Academic or not but the wisdom of Jehan who asked the question "Unite or Further Divide", in your issue of the 20th December, 1986, surpasses those of Weeramantry and the Anonymous Correspondent. No sensible person will quarrel with Jehan when he asserts that "Constitutions are not sacred and unalterable documents", that "people do not live for Constitutions ....but Constitutions are designed to make People's life better" and that "when Constitutions fail to meet the aspirations of the people the Constitutions become invalid and must perforce be replaced".

Now, Weeramantry reaches us from across the Ocean to nudge us overboard into an unchartered sea of Categories and Syllogisms. He quotes very learnedly Locke to repudiate both Locke and Adam Smith to re-instate Filmer. He relies on Authorities and Precedents, the decadent armour of the debaters of the past, in an era where the future predominate. The jetsams and flotsams of Donoughmore, Soulbury and Colvin Constitutions are all around us.

That great intellectual and revolutionary, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva judiciously refused to define "People" whose sovereignty was the very Cornerstone of his Constitution of

1972. He did so because if he started defining "people" in terms of Nation, Country, Race or Community, he would enter into Zeno's Race Course never to get out. Having become an appendage to the Reactionary Feudal Nationalist Caucus, he had perforce to introduce "Sinhala" and "Buddhism" into his Constitution thus entering the paradox of Gorgia's dualism of Being and Not-Being (Sinhala and Non-Sinhala and Buddhism and Non-Buddhism) denying both and comprehending none.

by

Locke was a champion of Individualism and was critical of the tyranny of the Executive as fiercely as that of the majority. Locke proclaimed in no uncertain terms the right of the oppressed to use force against the force of the oppressor. Locke and Adam Smith agree with Jehan in holding that Constitutions should represent the will of the People at any particular time for it to remain valid and that when the will of the People changes the Constitutions must of necessity change. That is the very basis of Hegel's Political Philosophy. The *Zeit Geist* (The Spirit of the Time) has to determine the Social Order and when the Spirit of the People

changes with the Time Social Order too must change. No doubt there is no complete correspondence between scientific thought and Social Order at any particular time but when one thinks in Social Terms one cannot escape recognising the contradictions and conflicts of social, economic and political forces. When these contradictions and conflict become irreconcilable there is a pointer to the symptoms of social syndrome. The Society then, to survive, has to find remedies, if necessary, surgical however painful if may be. One simply

M. P. Emmanuel

does not deceive oneself by applying cold water on his forehead to cure an intestinal cancer. We all, including His Excellency the President, know that the bankrupt policies of successive Governments from Independence have resulted in the creation of a Social Traumatic Inebriety which needs to be properly diagnosed and treated.

President Jayewardene's Government in its own war has diagnosed and prescribed a treatment. Both the diagnosis and the treatment may be wrong or ill-conceived. But his Government has a right and duty to diagnose and treat. Nobody can say that His Government which created the Constitution of 1978 has no right to jettison the same and replace by another as a remedy for the Social Inebriety or amend the same under the same mandate it holds still to have. The Government cannot become cadaveric and claim recognition. The Government must live and live with the People and their Spirit.

The most striking part of Jehan's query is the fine distinction he draws between "Unity" and Unitary. The Tiger Chief Prabhakaran accepts "Unity" which necessarily pre-supposes Individuality and Separateness of identity but rejects out of hand "Unitary" which is monistic and asserts Singularity. Prabhakaran claims that the Tamil speaking People are an ethnic identity clearly distinct from the Sinhala speaking People, having a defined and ascertainable Homeland of their own, which he terms as the Traditional Homeland of the Tamils. Prabhakaran further claims that the demographic status quo of the Tamil Homeland, particularly in the Eastern Province was rendered imbalance by deliberate, calculated and systematic State sponsored colonisations. But, one has to admire his candidness in accepting the present realities and refusing to de-settle the Sinhala Settlers or render them a minority in a Tamil majority administration.

He thus demands a re-demarcation of the Eastern Province to ensure both to the Tamils and the Sinhalese ethnic individuality and identity in the administrative field. Can anyone find a flaw in his politics?

On the other hand Anura has his simple arithmetic. He claims that the Sinhalese forms 74% of the population of the Country and that the rest are pure accident. His arithmetic state that by liquidating the rest 26% the Sinhalese can be made 100%. Jehan speaks of further division but Anura, in his wisdom and charity, speaks further liquidation, a process which I doubt would end even at the Walawe. Prabhakaran too has his arithmetic. He claims that there are over two and a half million Tamils in the country. Even if a half million or one million die, the rest would be assured life in dignity in a Homeland of their own, independently if not in unity with the rest. The arithmetic of both are correct.

We, the Heliocentrists are dreamers fleeing from realities. All Philosophers failed. Aristotle who resigned sovereign in the Middle Ages was buried in Renaissance and Reformation. Spinoza, Leibniz, Hume, Kant and Hegel have become fossilised. Rousseau and Nietzsche perished under their own guillotine. Marx and Lenin failed not because of any defect in the eternal validity of their analysis and synthesis but because they failed to anticipate Curies, Fermi or Oppenheimer Beer Hall Putsch or Water Gate - UN or NAM - Cocain or Heroin - IMF or World Bank - Apartheid or Catholicism - Dachau or Boosa - Prabhakaran or Anura. The only one who survives and who will survive until the "Survival of the Fittest" becomes invalid is Machiavelli, of whom Bertram Russel said such intellectual honesty in a period of political dishonesty is hardly possible in any country at any time except perhaps with the Sophists.

Well then Sir, unfortunately it appears, that the arithmetic of Prabhakaran and Anura will have to be ultimately decisive. His Excellency knows the justice as well as that, power as the ultimate *Raison d'etre*, have to be fought in the fields of the arithmetic of Anura and the Sangha. Then, we have three arithmetic—that of His Excellency, Prabhakaran and of Anura. On the face of them all appear faultless but they remain to be tested, empirically. We humans have become

(Continued on page 9)

## Reflections on Jaffna

(Continued from page 5)

This meeting convinces me that there is hope still for dialogue.

The above are just random thoughts and reflections on what was seen and heard. This is being shared in the hope that it could encourage and further strengthen dialogue between the north and the south.

### SOME STEPS TO PROMOTE BETTER UNDERSTANDING

There is an immediate need for cessation of offensive action by forces and militants alike. Violation of this only prolongs the agonies of innocent people and make us to be objects of ridicule in the world.

Immediate steps must be taken to repair the Karadiboku culvert to facilitate travel for the general public. It is necessary to arrive at some agreement between the Security Forces and Militant Forces to preserve the Kilinochchi/Paranthan stretch of roadway for civilian use only.

Steps must be taken to provide quotas of all essential food and fuel items to boua-fide traders and transport agents so that the public will not be in any way inconvenienced.

A visit by Sinhala Government Officials possibly from the Rehabilitation, Social Service, Teaching Hospitals Ministries, to visit the peninsula by road from Paranthan to assess the situation and strengthen administrative ties in areas like postal, banking, educational, health services and welfare of affected persons.

A helicopter may be permitted to bring the visitors to the Paranthan area, so as to avoid the excitement of our Northern Expressway and thus save about ten hours of reliability driving, for which no one has yet offered any prizes!

Being visionaries we tend to think that the impossible can still happen. The day for miracles is certainly not over! God can and will change this little island into what it really should be. Lay us hope, pray and work for Sri Lanka 1987. Happy serendipity to all prospective north bound travellers.



In the fight against narcotic drugs, the blame is usually put on opium growers and the small drug pushers. But what about the kingpins behind the drug trade who are usually powerful crime syndicates and influential 'respectable' members of society? They make use of established international banks to transfer and deposit their profits from drugs (worth US Dollars 100 billion a year). Ricardo Soca examines the connection between the drug trade and the Western financial institutions.

Mr. Ricardo Soca is an Uruguayan journalist based in Rio de Janeiro where he writes for THIRD WORLD magazine.

Rio de Janeiro: Much international attention has recently been focussed on the trade in narcotic drugs, and rightly so. Drug addiction is now spreading rapidly around the world, and many countries have identified it as their number one social problem.

In the United States where drug abuse is increasingly rampant, a recently approved anti-drug bill which has raised federal anti-drug spending by more than US Dollars 2 billion in 1987, included the death penalty for drug racketeers who commit murder, and called for the immediate deployment of US military forces to halt narcotics flow into the country.

## Arithmetic...

(Continued from page 8)

so vulnerable to the arithmetic of our own creation. A Lincoln a Mahatma, a Kennedy, a Bandaranaike and an Indira, whose voices reverberated throughout the Globe, were silenced by a few ounces of arithmetical lead.

Might Sir, is right. This position is not supported only by Machiavelli and Filmer. It was supported by Stalin who said "We were beaten by the Japanese because we were weak". We were decimated by the Interventionists because we were weak." It was supported by Mao who religiously said "Might is right and might arises from the muzzle of the gun".

Now, that the heirs of the Machiavellian Prince, the Fission, the Fusion and the SDI, have taken their probate, let us, the helpless, to retreat to our primitive environ to hibernate until, a Buddha — not the massive stone ones we see all over the country but Guatama the Enlightened — or a Christ — not the one in the Calvary but the one on the Mount or a Mahatma — not the half naked Fakir in the Buckingham Palace but the frail man with the staff in Naokali — comes and awakens us. We see that the earth below us is inexorably receding from under us with sighs and heaves leaving us snugly poised in the void.

# Big Banks Have A Hand in the Drug Trade

Malaysia's Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir in a recent speech at the UN General Assembly called for an all out war internationally against drug abuse and trafficking.

'The fight to destroy production (of drugs) is too big and too costly for any of the producer countries to wage alone,' he said.

Although the focus of condemnation has been on drug producers and distributors in developing countries (where opium is grown and traded), it is just as important to look at the drug trade in the rich countries where most of the drugs are consumed.

Nowhere has drug addiction become more widespread than in the US in the past decade or so. A full third of all Americans have, at one time or another, experimented with some kind of narcotic. Indeed, the marked escalation of the world drug trade in the past few years is due, above anything else, to a growing demand in the rich countries, especially in the US.

As Nicaraguan Minister of Justice Rodrigo Reyes Portocarrero pointed out at a recent drug meeting in Rio de Janeiro, the main responsibility in the war against drugs "falls on those countries where the largest drug markets are, since it is they that encourage production, marketing and consumption of drugs."

The greatest difficulty in controlling drugs lies in the enormous economic and political leverage of those involved in the drug traffic.

The drug traders' money — the so-called narcodollars — continues to circulate freely like so much poisoned blood in the arteries of the US financial system. The Chairman of the US Senate's Committee on Banks, Senator William Proxmire, said in

1980 that 'Six out of every ten banks hold drug traders' desposits.'

The US Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) estimates that the US drug business amounts to some US Dollars 110 billion every year, an amount exceeding Brazil's foreign debt, which is the largest in the Third World.

For drug traders, it is not easy to handle and transfer such huge amounts of money without drawing attention to themselves: a 1970 US law on bank secrecy provides that deposits and transfers above US Dollars 10,000 must be reported by banks to US monetary authorities.

Many bankers have argued that the US government's growing interest in non-routine bank information constitutes an invasion of their clients' privacy.

On its turn, the *Financial Times* points to the role played by some US banks and such tax havens as Panama and the Cayman Islands in the 'laundering' of dirty money. 'Considering the huge sums involved,'

by

says the *Times*, 'it is clear that bank officials can be bribed into keeping certain large deposits secret.'

The US *Executive Intelligence Review* has denounced Merrill Lynch, a major US brokerage firm, as a pioneer in money laundering operations. In its April 25, 1985 issue, *EIR* described how Merrill Lynch, White & Weld (a Boston-based securities brokerage company) and Credit Suisse joined efforts to tap a bank deposit market worth 140 billion Eurodollars a year, largely derived from drug traffic revenues.

According to November 1984 report of the US Presidential Committee on Organized Crime quoted by the *EIR* money from heroin traffic in Pakistan and Afghanistan had been brought to the US, and carried directly to Bankers Trust, where Merrill Lynch kept several accounts. The funds were later transferred to Credit Suisse, in Zurich.

Beginning in the last decade, the Sicilian Mafia dropped its old emphasis on cigarette smuggling and turned its attention to the more profitable international traffic of heroin. The move was a success: since then, heroin has brought the organization at least US Dollars 40 billion a year.

A substantial part of the Mafia's profits end up in numbered Euro-dollar accounts. This means that they are used in transactions involving a currency which physically never leaves the US. The heroin trail passes through many European

countries, but the final destination of the funds is a group of Wall Street banks where they arrive via the Eurodollar circuit — the Zurich-New York connection.

In 1984 the Italian police arrested Belgian entrepreneur Edmond Becket, president of IMC Belgium Metals PVBA, who oversaw a network of drug traders, on charges of having laundered millions of dollars which by then were circulating freely between US, Swiss and Italian banks.

Since Becket's arrest the Florentine police have uncovered several dozens of 'ghost' companies, as well as no less than 250 secret bank accounts with nine-digit dollar balances and

**Ricardo Soca**

bank deposits involving several tons of gold.

In June 1985, Bank of Boston had to pay a US Dollars 500,000 fine for having taken illicit deposits to a total of US Dollars 1.2 billion from Mafia's a *Capo* Gennaro Angiulo. Of this total, US Dollars 270 million had been transferred to Credit Suisse headquarters in Switzerland. Actually, the fine was exceedingly lenient, since it amounted to only 0.04 percent of the known total sum that had been laundered by the bank.

Credit Suisse had also entered into a joint venture with First Boston. In 1985, the Credit Suisse-First Boston firm, together with Merrill Lynch, was among a group of financial enterprises that had hit the jackpot in the Eurobonus market: US Dollars 19 billion in the case of Credit Suisse, and US Dollars 8 billion in the case of Merrill Lynch. Issued

(Continued on page 11)

# The Guinea Bissau Liberation Struggle

Guinea Bissau, which was colonised by the Portuguese in 1855, is largely made up of islands and deserts. It had a population of 500,000 people in 1974 and after a war of liberation which lasted fourteen years the country eventually obtained freedom in 1974. The Portuguese did not give in easily and they threw in 35,000 soldiers in an attempt to crush a people who were generally illiterate and poverty stricken. But the grit and determination of the people triumphed in the end.

In 1956 Guinea-Verde African Liberation Party (P.A.I.G.C.) formed an underground movement for National Liberation under the leadership of Amilgar Cabral. Born in 1925, and a graduate in Science he espoused the cause of socialism and was one of Africa's greatest sons.

The P.A.I.G.C. initially brought together the labour force of the

country with one organisation and later spread their ideals to the villages. On August 3rd 1959 the PAIGC then initiated its struggle for the liberation of the country. As a first measure they called out the workers on a general strike to their demands for higher pay packets. The Portuguese authorities, not discerning the passion of the people for independence used force and in the malee fifty persons were killed and many were injured and as such the movement was suppressed.

This led to a rethinking in the party and the passive approach to their final aspirations was given up and a new movement sprang up in 1960 with a view to obtain independence by the use of arms. This view, it was thought, was however not in keeping with the preachings of Lenin and even the fresh decisions required further change, namely that the capitalist class should be thwarted in their machinations and the people, viz., the workers should be one without considering caste, creed or position. This view was also stressed by the leader by

Amilgar Cabral, and the movement considered "new policies and courses of action". It was argued firstly, to decide who were supporting the capitalists; secondly, by whom they should be dealt with and thirdly, who would take their place after the liberation struggle is finished. It was concluded that the PAIGC was most competent to undertake the liberation of the country and consolidate its position thereafter in the country's interests.

Consequently for three years from 1960-1963 trained guerillas of the PAIGC enlightened the people on (1) the obstacles against freedom, (2) foreign influences against them (3) how the Portuguese government was reducing the prices of locally made goods, (4) excessive taxes, (5) how they would withstand the attacks of the government, and by these excursions very soon on PAIGC ranks began to swell with the people who had now realised conditions under which they were forcibly subjected to by the Portuguese and

they willingly got themselves trained for the impending freedom struggle.

Organisations were also formed at the village level to educate the masses. It was instilled into them that capitalists begot capitalists and the poorer classes are suppressed so that the capitalists may thrive.

In 1963 the liberation struggle was initiated. The first island to fall to the freedom fighters was come in 1964. In a struggle that went on for two months, the Portuguese lost 658 men and more than 1000 injured and the retreated. During the next three years much of the country was retrieved and development began with the proviso that people need not pay taxes.

Complete victory was now in sight and during 1968 further advances were made by the freedom fighters.

Finally in 1972 the Portuguese abandoned Guinea Bissau. General elections followed and Amirthash Cabral became its chosen leader but was unfortunately assassinated in January 1973 by Portuguese traitors. In September 1974 Portugal recognised Guinea Bissau as a Sovereign State.

— RANJITH

## Right....

(Continued from page 3)

of self-interest, of the harm to the country as a whole, of the odium we will incur internationally, and the possible consequences of such an action for those who somehow regard themselves as the true and sole inheritors of this land of ours.

The gradual removal of hundreds of Tamil citizens from the public service may—though one may doubt it—save one or two of us from a bomb, but it definitely will help to intensify and prolong the war. Years of ignoring, underestimating, or refusing to recognise the existence of Tamil grievances have resulted in a section of them finally taking up arms. Can we not, even now, learn from our mistakes?

On the one hand, we say this is not an ethnic issue, that they are not fighting on behalf of the Tamil people but are a handful of "Marxist terrorists" attempting to overthrow the democratic state. On the other hand, we view the whole Tamil community as a danger to the state. This is a contradictory position. Are we capable of even beginning to realise that at the heart of this contradiction lies our wrong understanding of the Tamil people? The most compelling legacy of our Buddhist traditions at the present moment must surely be the need for 'right understanding.'

## Home Thoughts From Abroad

(Extracts from a letter to a friend — by Orator Subramaniam in England.)

My wife and I came here in July after spending a month with our son in Dubai. We have had a wonderful time, going a few thousand miles through England and Scotland meeting hundreds and hundreds of

our people. In fact, I have often thought that the whole of Jaffna is here, leaving it to the Boys to fight it out there. Our people are doing very well. No one is unemployed. Almost everyone has a car, owns a house (of course, bought on loans) and seems very happy.

I have asked many of them how long they could enjoy the present conditions and whether they even think

of returning home. They have no answers, though the older among them, hope that, when the situation improves, they would certainly get back.

But the younger generation has no such wish—and the children, they can't utter a word in Tamil. They seemed to be ashamed to talk in Tamil. God alone knows what their destination is and when they would arrive there.

In spite of the levity I see all round, especially on T.V., I find a lot that is of gravity and the traditional excellence in scholarship and research of the British people being mentioned.

Of course, everyone of our people here is interested in the happenings in our country and are very hopeful. My children here want us to stay here with them and not to expose ourselves to dangers in Jaffna. That is why we prolonged our stay. But now I feel that I should return and share the dangers with my people. After all, you are all exposed to the same dangers.

May God bless our land with settled Government.

NOTE: Orator, now 85, was for 19 years Principal of Skandavarodya College, Chunnakam and amongst the eminent educationists of his time. He was also prominent in the Youth Congress, the political organisation of radical Jaffna Youth of the 20's and 30's.

## CHRISTIAN STUDENTS CENTRE

The St. Thomas Church and Centre for the Christian Students of the Jaffna University was opened on 19th January 1987. At Tinnevely in close proximity to the University, The Rt. Rev. D. J. Ambalavanar, Christian Bishop of Jaffna officiated at the dedication service.

Associated with him were the Ven. Sam D. Horshington, Archdeacon of Jaffna, and The Rev. P. Govindaraj, Minister of the St. Peter's Methodist Church. Rev. Govindaraj also preached the sermon at the Service.

At a public meeting and fellowship tea which followed, Prof. S. Vithianathan, Vice-Chancellor of the University, spoke conveying the greetings of the University community. He said he was happy that soon

after the opening of a Catholic Centre near the University a few months ago, a Centre for the Christian Students also had been opened. He hoped that these Centres would serve the needs not only of the Christian community but also of the total University community.

The Ven. Horshington read a message from the Bishop of Colombo and also conveyed the greetings of the Anglican Church.

Fr. Mathias, Chaplain of the Catholic Centre, conveyed the greetings of his Centre. Rev. Govindaraj and Mr. J. G. Arasaratnam conveyed the greetings of the Methodist Church and the Jaffna Christian Union, respectively.

Rev. Dev Anandarajan has assumed responsibility as the resident chaplain at the Centre.

# BLACK DEVILS KILL EXPECTANT MOTHER

Five persons including an expectant mother were shot and killed at

## Land mine explosion

A land mine explosion on 26th January near the Palaly Army Camp killed an airman and 4 soldiers and seriously injured four others. The injured were taken to Colombo by helicopter. One of those killed was a sergeant - major.

Thampalakamam in Trincomalee District on 23rd January by persons in "black". Early in the morning about 300 of these in "black uniforms" were engaged in a search operation in this village with a view to appropriate various items or destroy them. These men entered their homes while they were resting and forced them out of their homes.

They forced a pregnant woman to accompany them inside her house. The husband of the woman, their seven year old son and two other elders decided to accompany them through fear of her life but these "black-uniformed men" mowed them all down in a hail of bullets. More than 40 others were arrested.

## Travails at Elephant Pass

Travel to Colombo by bus or even by the connecting bus has become a nightmare to passengers. At the Elephant Pass check-point passengers are subject to inordinate delays and great inconvenience. While no one blames the Security Forces for doing their duty, will it be too much to ask them to do it with dignity and finesse? After all, as the Minister of National Security has often repeated, ALL are SRI LANKANS. Why exacerbate the feelings of the already suffering Tamils by adding salt to their wounds?

The Action Committee of the Pawners Association of Jaffna that met on 21st December 1986 has put forward the following Demands to the People's Bank for immediate compliance. The committee feels that the Management appears to have not fulfilled the obligation on its part.

Immediate release of all the Pawned Article at Palaly without interruption, in respect of which the amounts due are already paid and/or yet to be paid to the respective Branches of the People's Bank, irrespective of the fact the Articles are valued at Rs 10,000/- and over or less.

No Interest on the moneys advanced shall be charged, from the date the Pawned Articles were shifted to Colombo and not available for redemption till the date the Pawned Articles are released. This will apply to all cases whether the amounts have been paid up or yet to be paid.

## JAFFNA'S GOLD

Interest at 30% is payable by the People's Bank on all amounts settled, from the date of such payment till the date the Pawned Articles are released.

Adequate safety measures shall be ensured by the Management of the People's Bank in collaboration with the Security Forces within the Security Zone at Palaly, for the Pawners during the process of the delivery of the Pawned Articles, as an alternative to the negation of the obligation on the part of the People's Bank in delivering the Pawned Articles in the respective branches.

As a result of our continued struggle about 3,000 customers have been given their pawned articles by the Bank authorities. There are yet another 78,000 customers whose pawned articles are still with the Bank in Colombo.

Mean while, the picketing at various branches of the People's Bank continues for a sixth consecutive week.

The pensioners, numbering 15,000 who get their pensions through the People's Bank are now left only with their empty stomach.

No positive response from the Bank has been received by the Pawners Association so far. The Regional Manager of the People's Bank, in his formal letter to the Association dated 23rd January stated:

Our Head Office has informed me that our Bank is very anxious to release at the earliest possible opportunity, the redeemed Jewellery to the rightful owners and that action will be taken to, return redeemed pawned Jewellery as soon as the conditions improve to an extent when the Bank would confide-

ntly expose the high value items to risks of transport and temporarily having in custody in Jaffna outlet until these are safely returned to the owners.

Further you are aware that we made arrangements to deliver the articles in Colombo, but had to call it off due to Pawners Associations protest. But the Bank is prepared to reconsider the possibilities of returning the redeemed articles through a Colombo outlet.

You may inform the picketers the present position and request them to call-off the picketing for the good of the Bank, Customers and the area as a whole.

The Association charges not only the Government but also the Regional Management of the Bank because of its lukewarm attitude towards the issue.

## Big Banks...

(Continued from page 9)

to the bearer, and thus held by nameless and faceless clients, Euro-bonuses are an ideal hideout for narcodollars.

Not all transactions, of course, involve the US-Swiss connection. Ghost financial companies in Panama regularly receive sizeable transfer payments from Miami and New York.

Bank secrecy regulations in the Dutch Antilles also make it easy to handle dirty money. In April 1983, the US Congress Accounts Committee called the islands' 'tax evaders' and money launderers 'paradise.'

The banks named above are not, however, the only recipients of drug trade money. In early 1986, Bank of America, the second largest in the US, was sentenced to pay an all-time-high US dollars 4.7 million

fine for having failed to report on 17,000 deposits exceeding US Dollars 10,000 each because of stricter government control over bank accounts, Bank of America is now in serious financial trouble.

In June 1985, Chase Manhattan, Manufacturers Hanover, Chemical Bank and Irving Trust all had to pay fines ranging from US Dollars 210,000 to US Dollars 360,000 for the same reason. Another 25 banks have been equally punished, and over 100 of them are currently under investigation.

Skeptical about the effectiveness of stricter controls, international financiers believe that no amount of fines will cleanse the US banking system. The amount of illicit money being handled by the banks is so huge, they say that the system would simply collapse without narcodollars.

— Third World Network Features/Third World.

## Lenin's Contribution To The Marxist Doctrine

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the great founders of scientific socialism, discovered the objective bases of social development and proved the inevitability of capitalism's ultimate collapse and the victory of the socialist system. The building of a new society based on the principles of freedom, equality, fraternity, peace and labour, constitute the historical mission of the working class, which it will accomplish with the support and in the interest of the working people, the peasants and all progressive sections of society.

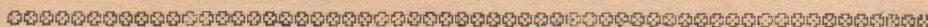
Vladimir Lenin, the brilliant disciple of Marx and Engels, has made an immense contribution to the Marxist doctrine. He further developed the Marxist theory, and continued the work of elaborating the philosophical foundations of the theory of scientific communism and formulated principles concerning the proletarian party, socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and concerning the ways and means of building socialism and communism.

For a knowledge of the theory and practice of scientific socialism, evolved by Marx and Engels and amplified by Lenin, and enriched by the practical experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and by the experience of fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, read the book "Lenin and Asia" by Attorney-at-Law T. Duraisingam, a pioneer of the socialist movement in our country.

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

**Price Rs. 10/-**

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



# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

### ULTIMATE REALITY

The Jaffna Theosophical Society will be holding an Inter - Religious - Dialogue at the Y. M. C. A., Chundikuli, on 4th February at 9.30 a.m.

The theme is: "If the Ultimate Reality is the same for all reli-

gions, what are the specific factors which obstruct (1) common worship, (2) faith, (3) marriage, (4) understanding of Scriptures, (5) love had brotherhood of humanity?"

The discussion panel will consist of Rev. K.P. Govindaraj, Superintendent Minister, Methodist Church, Jaffna, Christianity; Al Haj Moulavi K.M.H. Kalideen, Islam; Mr. V. Ramachandran, Accountant, Kachcheri, Jaffna, President, J.T.S., Buddhism; Dr. P. Gopalakrishnan, Lecturer, University of Jaffna, Hinduism.

The chairman will be Mr. K. Ponnampalam, Vice President of the J. T. S.

## MOSSAD, MOHANDAS AND M.G.R.

Mr. K. Mohandas the former Director General of Police (Intelligence) of Tamil Nadu appears to have been 'rehabilitated' by the Chief Minister

of Tamil Nadu. Mr. Mohandas has been appointed as the Commissioner for Training and Administrative reforms.

partly owned by one Thinakaran a man with Jaffna origins and having close links with some Colombo-based pro-Government groups.

### 300 employees lose jobs

300 employees mostly from the Health Department at Vavuniya Madawachchiya, Anuradhapura, Trincomalee, Mullaitivu and Kantalai have been relieved of their duties by the Ministry of Health. They are stated to have vacated their posts by prolonged absence without leave. Most of these were forced to leave their places of work due to the activities of the Security Forces in these areas.

Mr. S. H. Venkatramani, Correspondent to *India Today* has disclosed some vital facts concerning the former Tamil Nadu Intelligence Chief.

Mohandas, however, denies these charges and reportedly said that there was a malicious smear Campaign being carried on against him.

According to the Correspondent Mohandas had established clandestine contacts with the Israeli Intelligence service. Mossad, while on a recent trip to Bombay. Mohandas was also supposed to have visited Singapore without the prior official sanction required.

With all these charges, from which Mohandas is yet to be absolved (if possible), the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Mr. M. G. Ramachandran was more than ready to 'rehabilitate' Mohandas.

— A Special Correspondent

## A SWISS DILEMMA: TO SEND OR NOT TO SEND

It was a Swiss story again. About 40 Tamils who sought refuge or asylum in Switzerland are to be sent back to Colombo where the situation, according to the Swiss Government, is normal.

Peter Arbenz, a senior Government official in charge of refugee questions has reportedly told journalists that the repatriation of 100 Tamils whose applications had been rejected would take place in the near future.

Switzerland was the first country to repatriate the Sri Lankan Tamils. Denmark followed later. It is pertinent here to quote Jean-Pierre Hocke, United Nations High Commissioner for refugees, who said in September 1986, on asylum seekers in Europe, that "the working groups which met after the conference at the Hague recognized that where Sri Lanka, for example, is concerned it is simply out of question to send asylum seekers back home". (See Refugees, No. 35, November 1980)

A meeting was convened in the Hague by the Dutch Government

on 16th and 17th April 1986 with a view to study various aspects of the asylum seekers in Europe. The countries participated were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, W. Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, and the U.K.

The European Governments who traditionally have upheld refugee rights are now evidently reacting with policies largely defensive in nature. Switzerland cannot be an exception. But we would like to emphasise one essential fact.

Was there any single person who had been sent back by the European Governments arrived safely in Jaffna or Batticaloa?

We have several cases in which those who had come from the European countries had been arrested promptly at the Katunayake International Airport.

The latest case was that of Mr. V. Varathan

According to latest reports reaching here the Swiss Government has postponed their decision.

## A QUICK SOLUTION

The Sri Lankan Government has informed the Indian Government that the ethnic issue in Sri Lanka would be finally solved before the 4th of February—the Anniversary of Sri Lanka's Independence from Colonial rule, according to authoritative sources.

It is widely believed that the Government has in mind a military solution in the light of the strengthening of the Armed forces during the past weeks as well as the economic embargo such as fuel

ban and the severing of telephone links to Jaffna and other punitive measures on the part of the Security Forces.

## Indian Presence Essential

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) are willing to negotiate peace with the Sri Lankan Government only if India, too, participates in the talks, according to a report in *The Island* (29th January).

## LALITH'S BARRIER VISIT

Lalith Athulathmudali paid a surprise visit to the Elephant Pass Army Camp on Thursday.

Traffic came to a standstill during the Minister's stay.

## Under-Graduates Under Arrest

Six under-graduates from the University of Colombo were arrested by the C.I.D. officials last week.

Reports say that these under-graduates—still in custody under the Emergency Regulations—were taken into custody while writing some Anti-Government slogans on the University parapet wall.

## Independence!

How to observe 4th February, Sri Lanka's Independence Day, is the big question facing the people of the North and the East.

Ever since 1956, the Tamil-speaking people of the two provinces have observed it as a day of mourning.

The militants are yet to announce their plan of action, whereas the Mothers Front is planning a mass demonstration in protest against the indiscriminate killing of civilians in the Eastern Province and the ban on fuel transport to the North by the Security Forces and the Government respectively.