

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

Vol. 6

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The 53rd annual session of the Indian National Congress was held from Monday, March 18, 1940, at Ramgarh, in Bihar. It was presided over by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the foremost Muslim leader in India's struggle for freedom. The Ceylon National Congress was invited to send delegates and Messrs J.R. Jayewardene (now the President of Sri Lanka), J.E. Amaratunga and P. D. S. Jayasekera attended the session as its representatives.

The Ramgarh session was abruptly terminated owing to torrential rain. The delegates were almost flooded out of their guest houses and Pandit Nehru visited all the foreign guests and inquired about their welfare. After the delegates left Ramgarh, Mr. Jayewardene and his colleagues spent a few days with Pandit Nehru at Anand Bhavan in Allahabad, and returned to Colombo via Bombay.

Mr. Jayewardene who was then 33 and had been recently elected honorary secretary of the Ceylon Congress, was seeking to model it on the lines of the Indian Congress. In the accompanying article, sent exclusively for Sunday Review (weekend issue of "The Times of India") the President of the Republic of Sri Lanka, gives his impressions of those momentous days.

The little village of Ramgarh is today famous throughout the world. For here gathered the men and women of the new India, intent on freeing their motherland from foreign rule.

It was a pretty countryside that we passed through on our way, for over a hundred miles to the west of Calcutta. Ramgarh itself is very similar to Diyatalawa—undulating plains, small hills and mountain streams abounding. It has a history unequalled in the world. The founders of Buddhism and Jainism spent much of their lives in this province now called Bihar. Bodhi Gaya is hardly a hundred miles away towards the north.

"Every particle of dust in this province," said the retiring Congress president, Babu Rajendra Prasad, to the delegates, "is sanctified by the touch of the feet of Gautama, the Buddha". As a tribute to India's greatest son and his disciple Asoka, India's greatest monarch, facsimile of one of Asoka's pillars, over a hundred feet high, had been erected at the entrance to the Congress town. On this pillar the Congress flag was later hoisted, and as she fluttered in the breeze, the people of

## A MESSAGE

# TO INDIA—FROM JR

India paid their homage. The new India they wished to create called them to action and this flag was their symbol. How appropriate it was that a replica of India's greatness should bear it aloft.

What was scrubby jungle had been converted into a small town. The main street was over a mile long and as broad as the Galle Road at Kollupitiya. Electric lights and water services had been installed. A railway station, radio and telephone exchange, and a post office completed the township. Policemen there were, but none from the British government. Men and women volunteers recruited as honorary workers from the district, controlled the traffic, helped those in trouble and guarded the leaders' huts. The buildings were hardly ready when the inhabitants came to this township.

Over a lakh of people, a population larger than that of Kandy or Galle, lived there for four or five days, and then disappeared. They came from the North-West Frontier they came from Madras, over 2,000 miles away. There were women and children from every part of India, from every race in India, from every religion in India. Delegates and visitors from Burma, Ceylon, England and America. A Japanese monk was there beating his drum to drive away the evil spirits. The streets were packed with humanity. Everyone was friendly. The mention of Ceylon brought forth a kindly smile and a word of greeting.

The leaders of India were there, living like the rest, sitting on the floor while they ate, and mixing with the crowds. Mahatma Gandhi alone had a hut to himself, whenever he went he was mobbed. The people would rush to his hut and

shout, "Gandhi ki jai!" His stay there was an endless series of interviews. And thus to business.

The work of the sessions began with the opening of the exhibition and meetings of the working committee. After that the All-India Congress Committee held its meetings. For this purpose the committee converted itself into the subjects committee. No motion or amendment rejected by the subjects committee had

sat on the floor round the delegates. There were no chairs. Girl volunteers in orange sarees kept order and served water. The Congress colours and flags were used to decorate the platform and the pandal. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, over six feet in height, was there, almost sleeping on the platform. Mrs. Naidu found the low table on which a model charkha was kept, more comfortable than the mattress

Despite his age, President Jayewardene is as nimble-witted as he is sure-footed. Anyone who has dealt with him would know that much. After all, it is not for nothing that he is known as an old fox. Witness here the subtlety with which he can use an event in Indian history and his personal life to send a message on the current ethnic conflict in his island republic.

As a young man, Mr. Jayewardene came to attend the Congress session at Ramgarh in March 1940. India was then astir. The British had dragged her into a war without her consent. Gandhiji had reasserted his hold on the Congress but he was not ready to launch another movement, though Subas Bose was trying to push him in that direction. President Jayewardene recalls the idealism and spirit of sacrifice of nationalist India apparently to make the point that Sri Lankans, whether Sinhalese or Tamils, should display the same dedication to the unity and well-being of the republic.

But essentially President Jayewardene is addressing himself to the Government and the people of India. He is reminding them of his association with their freedom struggle and telling them not to betray their ideals by viewing developments in Sri Lanka in ethnic terms. The point is well taken: only the issue is far more complicated. The Tamils in Sri Lanka are victims of linguistic and religious chauvinism and not perpetrators of racism on the Sinhalese. That apart, we cannot but admire the skill of the man

any chance of being accepted by the sessions. The Patna resolution on independence was the only official motion to be discussed. M.N. Roy attempted to bring on a communist amendment but found very little support. The motion was accepted without much trouble.

It was interesting to see these leaders of India and their followers. Perfect order was maintained. The leaders and invited guests were on a huge platform covered with a large mattress. The delegates sat on low benches in the hall. The other visitors

Pandit Nehru, quick of temper was being calmed by Jammalal Bajaj, the Congress treasurer. He lost his temper more than once. It was to a speaker from the Punjab who said, "the country is ready to fight, we are ready" that Pandit Nehru angrily retorted, "I am ready" A young communist speaker angered him terribly. He rushed to the presidential table and exchanged a few words before calm was restored. And then came Gandhiji; Vallabhbhai Patel was speaking when he arrived, yet it was only necessary to whisper, "Gandhiji's coming," for the cheering to break out.

(Continued on page 10)

## Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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## Health Hazard

The Rural Development Societies Community centres and Health clubs in the Chankanai A.G.A.'s Division have complained to the GA about the din and the health hazards from an ill-sited bakery. It was pointed out by the SHS, Jaffna that this bakery could be a source of infection to the public through its bread and confectionery as it is located too close to a nursing home. This matter has been referred to GA., Jaffna, for necessary action.

## Off to Maldives

President Jayewardene met with the leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike on 3rd March before emplaning on an official visit to the Maldives.

In an hour-long discussion the President is reported to have briefed Mrs. Bandaranaike on the present position in regard to the ethnic problem. However, it is understood from well-informed sources that she categorically refused to accept the proposals decided on at the talks of 19th December.

# Order By Sri Lanka Press Council — Correction

In the SATURDAY REVIEW of 29th May, 1982, an article written by "S. Ramanathan" was the subject of complaint to the Sri Lanka Press Council by Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam Jr.

At the inquiry, two points of complaint had to be decided: the first, whether the article wrongly described Mr. G.G. Ponnambalam Sr. as "a TC/UNP member"; the second, whether it wrongly stated that he voted in a coalition government to deprive the up-country Tamils of the franchise.

On the first point, this Council finds that the description of Mr. G.G. Ponnambalam Sr. as "a TC/UNP member" is one that lacks clarity and can cause confusion.

## Photography Exhibition

A photography exhibition titled "Of Dustbowl Descent: 40 Years In The Great Plains", organized by the Mid-America Arts Alliance, is on show at the American Center auditorium in Colombo from March 3 to 14 (except on Sunday) from 10.00 a.m. to 6.00 p.m. daily. The exhibition comprises 51 framed and matted panels of original photographs of the Great Plains region of the southwestern United States by Bill Ganzel, contrasted with famous photographs by Dorothea Lange, Arnold Tothstein and others taken during the 1930's under sponsorship of the Farm Security Administration.

## Liberal Party Rejects Socialism

The newly formed Liberal Party had a Press conference on 2nd March, 1987 at the Hotel Taj Samudra to present to the public, its programme, the reasons for its formation and the future course. Members of the National Committee of the Liberal Party answered questions put to them.

The Press Conference was presided over by Dr. Rajiva Wijesinha, President of the Liberal Party. Dr. Chanaka Amarasinghe, Secretary and leader of the Liberal Party also participated.

The Liberal Party is the first and only party in Sri Lanka to explicitly reject Socialism, the leader said at the Press conference. He further stated

Party membership does not coalesce in a coalition government. Mr. G.G. Ponnambalam Sr. always remained a member of the Tamil Congress.

On the second point, it finds that Mr. G.G. Ponnambalam Sr. had in fact voted against the Citizenship

Act No. 18 of 1948 which for all practical purposes deprived persons of recent Indian origin of citizenship. That Act was passed before the formation of a coalition government consisting of the United National Party and the Tamil Congress.

— Chairman

8th MARCH

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

## WE REMEMBER

*We are bringing these flowers in remembrance of all the women who died in all the wars that men have fought.*

*We remember the nurses who died tending the wounded of both sides.*

*We remember the women who were raped by soldiers of their own country and by invaders, and who were then rejected by their fathers and their brothers and their sons.*

*We remember the women who died or were wounded because they lived in cities where bombs fell out of the sky.*

*We remember all our sisters, non-combatants whose lives were ended or fore-shortened or crippled because their fathers and brothers went to war against the fathers and brothers of their sisters in another land.*

*We weep for them. We do not forget them. And as we remember them, we dedicate ourselves to making a new world where we and our daughters can live free.*

— KATE NONESUCH

(Courtesy: IS. IS.)

## Navatkuli Confrontation

In direct confrontation near Ariyalai between the Militants of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the Security Forces at the Navatkuli camp, on the 4th about 6 a.m. 5 soldiers were killed and few injured according to militant sources. Security Forces want no advance into the interior of the town but this time met with unexpected resistance. A helicopter came on the scene and fired at the militants. The soldiers were then able to drag their injured comrades back to base. No sooner they reached the camp, they commenced shell fire, the usual sequence of course.

## Landmine Injures Women

Packia Letchumi Thambiappa (47) and Rukmani (51) suffered severe injuries when they accidentally stepped on a landmine buried by the army during their recent operations in the Kurumbasiddy area. Many people had left their homes during these security operations. On Monday 2nd March these women had gone to their homes to check on their houses when this incident occurred.

# Muruganandan's Stories

## Stand Time's Test

A.S. Muruganandan, widely known as Aa. che. mu, was the father figure of Sri Lankan Tamil fiction along with Vaithilingam, Sampanthan and Ilankaiarkone. Aa.che.mu, came on the literary scene in the early forties and has invigorated the Tamil short story since then. His eloquence and meticulous craftsmanship help make Sri-Lankan Tamil short stories comparable to world fiction.

What makes one a reputed writer?

It is not the number of works he has produced; the number of books he has published; the publicity he



AA.CHE.MU

has gained; or the laurels heaped on him. No, Certainly not.

It is the sensitivity to human joys and sufferings, the aesthetic sense with which he portrays his experiences and what is more his total social commitment to human welfare, that matters.

It is such qualities that attract readers to the sixty-five year old reputed Sri Lankan Tamil writer, A.S. Muruganandan who hails from Alaveddy, a village where the arts traditionally flourish.

This writer who commenced writing at the early age of seventeen, belonged to the Marumalarchy Kalam—the Renaissance Era in our Land—and was strongly committed to a departure from the conservative thoughts and trends in the Tamil literary world then.

“What is the short-coming in Tamil fiction? We have had enough of stories for pleasure and pastime. Let us put an end to them. Let us produce stories that portray poverty, sufferings, political realities, evoke a passion in the minds of readers, and change the course of events and the status quo”.

These are not the words of some scholars in the late fifties. That is what Muruganandan put forward as his objective as a writer in an article in the “Eelakesary” as early as 1942. These words go to explain

what the burning issue was in his bosom, what was his goal.

His story *Manithamadu* (the Human Bull) relates the trials and tribulations of a rickshaw-puller and the very title describes him as a human bull that bears the heavy weight of another person or persons and at times even their arrogance. This story and others reveal his sensitivity to social inequalities and human sufferings.

by

V. Varathasuntharam

Muruganathan who had served on the editorial boards of Eelakesary, Eela Nadu and Virkesary and who had himself edited a Magazine “Erimalai” during his sojourn in Trincomalee, employs the dialects of his characters in his stories.

He was elected President of Marumarchy Sangam in 1942 which incidentally was the first Tamil Writers' Front in our country.

Publication of literary work and their release have been regular events in Jaffna in recent times. Writers of

today here are in the enviable position of publishing their works as soon as they have completed them.

Their sales are also quite encouraging. Several of these writers confided to me: “I have no copy even for record”, That indicates the progress of sale. It certainly is a healthy wave.

But this was not the kind of experience our elder writers faced. False values of society, lack of recognition and respect for Tamil writers, their poverty etc. stood in

the way of publishing their works. That was Muruganathan's poor plight.

His book *Manithamadu* was published only last week and he tells us: “My book of stories appears for the first time in print after I have completed nearly a century in the field of Tamil literature.

His stories in the forties and fifties depicting the Jaffna scene and its life have not been swept away by the current of time and still retain currency even to-day.

## TAMIL HOUSING CO-OP GETS OFFICIAL START IN CANADA

Braving below freezing weather and slush, snow, and mud, two hundred members of the Toronto Tamil community joined representatives of four levels of government on the afternoon of January 11 to commemorate the official start of construction of Tamil Co-operative Homes. The ceremonial sod turning took place at the construction site on Wade Avenue in Toronto's west end and was followed by a reception at Perth Avenue Co-op in the same neighbourhood.

Joining together in wielding the silver shovel used to turn the first symbolic load of soil for the foundation excavation were the four government representatives, the president of the Co-op and the president of the Society for the Aid of Ceylon Minorities (SACEM). As president of the non-profit Co-operative, Mr. Mahe Thurairajah welcomed the guests and led the ceremonies. Representing the Govern-

ment of Canada, which through its agency, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), guarantees the 100% mortgage financing and provides an annual operating subsidy, was Mr. Ken Holder, Toronto branch manager of CMHC. The Ontario Ministry of Housing, which also provides an annual operating subsidy and rent-g geared-to-income assistance for half the project's 129 households, was represented by Mr. Bill Munro, a Ministry official.

While the municipal governments are not involved in the financing of the Co-op, both the City of Toronto Aldermen, Betty Disero, and the Metropolitan Toronto councillor, Richard Gilbert, had been involved in getting community support and municipal approval for the eight storey apartment complex. Ms. Disero was able to take part in the ceremony while Councillor Gilbert was represented by his assistant, Mr. Rob Maxwell.

SACEM, the sponsoring organization which first began pursuing the development of a housing co-operative in 1984, was represented at the shovel by its president, Mrs. Rosaline Rajanayagam.

To complete the official activities, the site was blessed by three clergymen. In the preface to his prayer, High Priest B.B. Iswaran of the Hindu Temple Society of Canada, brought laughter the shivering crowd by noting that his benediction should be delivered in bare feet and in a minimum of clothes.

Rev. Bruce Sinclair a United Church of Canada minister, was invited to add his blessing because of his long standing interest in the conflict in Ceylon and support for Tamil refugees to Canada.

The third clergyman to take part was the Rev. Bobby Mather of the recently formed Tamil Christian Church of Canada.

The reception that followed the outdoor activity was an excellent

opportunity for community members to socialize and the guests to learn more about the project. The Co-op's supporters catered the event, providing various delicious cutlets and a passion fruit punch which helped everyone think of the warmer months ahead.

In the more comfortable atmosphere of the reception room, most of the official representatives took the opportunity to expand on their earlier comments. Mrs. Rajanayagam gave a spirited and comprehensive overview of the activities of SACEM, noting in particular the relationship of the housing Co-operative to the larger task of welcoming recent refugees to Canada and publicizing the nature of the troubles in Ceylon.

The construction of the rental project will take around 14 months with initial occupancy beginning in March or April 1988. Marketing will not get under way for at least six months though the Co-operative is seeking volunteers to help and those interested in becoming residents can put their names on a mailing list. To volunteer or to put your name on the mailing list, contact Lantana Non-Profit Homes, 761 Queen Street W., Toronto, Ontario M6J 1G1, Canada. Telephone (416) 366-3746.

# Will Thanthai Chelva Memorial Trust

## Keep Its Promise?

The 89th birth anniversary of the late S.J.V. Chelvanayakam falls on 31st March.

Sir P.Ramanathan and his younger brother Sir P.Arunachalam were both sent to their political graves nearly fifteen years before their actual death, in all the historical accounts written by Sinhalese authors, so as to enable them to retain the two brothers for their own political purposes as National Heroes.

They hid the parts played by Sir P.Ramanathan in opposing the Cole-

by **S. Anandan**

brooke reforms by stating "That Colebrooke means Tamils no more" and the formation of the National Tamil League by Sir P. Arunachalam, after his break away from the Ceylon National Congress of which he himself was a founder member.

This was recently exposed by the late Mr.Vythilingam in his book 'The Biography of Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan' (Volumes 1 & 2).

Likewise, of late there is a subtle attempt being made not by the Sinhalese but by some interested persons amongst the Tamils to put an end to

Chelvanayakam's political career before his actual demise on April 26th 1976, so as to make the Tamils believe that he was one who sought the Federal solution to the Island's ethnic issue and went no further even when frustrated by the Sinhalese masses in his peaceful attempts to achieve the same.

After winning the K.K.S. by-election which he himself created by resigning his seat in Parliament to prove to the world that the Tamil People have rejected the 1972 constitution, Chelvanayakam announced that thereafter he would endeavour to restore and reconstitute the lost State of Tamil Eelam. He had repeated the very same sentiment in Parliament while delivering his maiden speech after the "referendum" held at K.K.S., and numerous other occasions as well.

The famous Vaddukoddai Resolution was formally passed after it had been first ratified by the constituent member organisations of the T.U.L.F, understandably excluding the Ceylon Worker's Congress. The Tamil Congress Central Committee and the Special Convention of the Ilankai Tamil Arasu Kadchi (F.P.) held at

Mallakam had both passed the Eelam resolution.

Thereafter Chelvanayakam had consistently continued to espouse the cause of Tamil Eelam both inside and outside Parliament until his death. Hence, it would be wrong to say that Chelvanayakam did not abandon his Federal solution even after the abrogation of the two pacts (B.C. pact & D.C. pact) signed by him with two Sinhalese Governments.

To prevent people who were not even acquainted with Chelvanayakam during the period while he launched his peaceful struggles to achieve a Federal solution to the ongoing ethnic problem, attempting

now to misquote him to serve their own selfish political purposes the publication of a true biography of Chelvanayakam has become a necessity.

This issue was raised at last year's birth anniversary of Chelvanayakam and the Secretary of the Thanthai Chelva Trust and former Chairman of the now defunct Jaffna District Development Council Mr. S. Nadarajah, responded by saying that Chelvanayakam's biography would be published before the next birth anniversary. One hopes that the Thanthai Chelva Memorial Trust will keep its promise, by releasing the biography at the forthcoming celebration.

## Girl Trainees Pass Out

Mr. V. M. Panchalingam, Government Agent of Jaffna, gave away the certificates to 32 girl trainees who were trained in handcraft, Agriculture, Poultry keeping, Sewing and Cooking at the District Agricultural Centre, Thirunelvely, Jaffna, on 28th February '87, at a function held before a large gathering.

Before the certificates were awarded the G. A. and other invitees were taken around by the Asst. Director of Agriculture Mr. Krishnapillai and shown the products that those trainees produced during their course of studies.

The exhibits specially the Palmyrah Products were so attractive and the Administrative Secretary of Palmyra Development Board Mr. Sin-

nadurai offered to buy all of them if the trainees are to sell their produce. At a meeting held following the exhibition Agricultural Officer Mr. A. Ramanathan explained the motive behind the training course and said that these trainees not only should make use of their knowledge to earn a living for themselves, but also to assist others who are engaged in Agriculture to develop and adopt new methods to increase the production with less cost and damage.

Farm Manager Mr. P. Tharmalingam welcomed the gathering and Mrs. Sivasubramaniam thanked the parents and well wishers for their support and assistance.

Following the exhibition and meeting a cultural show was staged by the Trainees.

## Free, Partly Free And Not Free At All

Despite threats posed by terrorism and communal violence, India remains a free society surrounded by neighbours living in less than free conditions, according to a "Freedom house" survey.

The 1986 world survey by the New York human rights group found Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh, Maldives and Bhutan "partly free" and China and Burma "not free" at all.

The self-styled assessor of freedoms ranked countries along a seven-point scale for political and civic liberties. A rating of one signifying freest, and seven, least free.

In political rights, India was rated two--behind 32 western and other countries ranging from the U.S. to Barbados. In civil liberties, it was rated three -- behind 47 nations, which included Mauritius, Fiji and Grenada.

"Sikh terrorism and the necessity for police response brought unrelieved tension to Punjab", an American scholar explained.

Prof. Lucian Pye of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology noted that India also faced a rising autonomy demand from the Gorkhas.

Another expert wrote that in spite of all its problems an effective federal system has been a plus for India's rating within the third world.

On both counts, Pakistan's record was worse than some of the other "partly free" countries like Nepal and Sri Lanka, the survey showed.

Pakistan had the same degree of civil liberties as Hungarians or Poles (trailing countries and the same extent of political rights as Moroccans and Sudanese (trailing 76 countries).

Prof. Pye listed Pakistan and South Korea as "crisis cases" where the

potential for instability because of repression of freedom is the greatest.

### MARGINAL PROGRESS

Mr. Pye noted that the test of strength between an authoritarian regime and a fragmented opposition had led to violence and the arrest of the Pakistan People's Party leader, Benazir Bhutto.

The study showed that Bangladesh took a step towards democratisation, albeit a small one.

The inability to satisfactorily meet the legitimate demands of minority peoples depresses the ratings of countries such as Burma, Indonesia, Sudan and Bangladesh.

"Elections in Bangladesh and the ending of martial law were an advancement" wrote the survey director Mr. Raymond Gastil.

"But they were so marred by violence, repressions, boycotts and probable

vote miscounting, that the country's democratic advancement was only marginal," he added.

Mr. Gastil reported a promising trend of liberalisation in China. Even though it remained "not a free" society--rating six on both counts, a shade better than the Soviet Union.

Repression in the fringe areas of China such as Tibet has also greatly eased. Of course the system remains ostensibly Marxist--Leninist and those who question on its control mechanisms face jail.

Stressing that non party systems are generally not democratic, the study said that Nepal's was "one the most democratic attempts to establish such systems."

But it added that "in Nepal...the transfer of power from the monarch has remained incomplete.

Freedom House rated racist South Africa among the worst of "partly free" countries.

## MALAYSIA

This paper was originally prepared for discussion by the Old Alumni of the University of Malaya in Singapore and is the basis of his lecture to the Institute of Advanced Studies, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur on 7th January 1987.

Malaysia has excellent prospects of entering the 21st century as a developed country with a rapidly-rising standard of living.

We are uniquely qualified for the role of a high technology nation that can assist other developing countries to acquire and utilise new technology by providing training and consultancy. Some of the factors that give us this advantage are our modernised population the plurality of our cultures and language competencies, and our facility with the English language.

We are not alone in having ethnic conflicts. Indeed there is hardly a nation in the world without ethnic disputes. Our people are tolerant and friendly numerous strong friendships and common interests exist across ethnic lines. The professional societies and the trade unions function successfully across ethnic lines. There is an appreciation that the most attractive features of Malaysian life arise out of its plural cultures, and that the temperament and character of the communities here redistinct, even estranged, from the Indonesian, Chinese and Indian cultures that were their roots. Nevertheless, the balance of population makes us a nation of minorities and historical developments have given a sharp edge to ethnic issues. There is potential for great disruption.

## A WARNING

The experience of other countries that have erupted in a civil war—Cyprus, Northern Ireland, Bangladesh Lebanon, Sri Lanka—provide two lessons that we should take to heart. Firstly there is a point of no return inter-ethnic group relationship which all parties fail to recognise until they have crossed it. Secondly, once events move beyond this point, the most reasonable formula for settlement meet with no response as communities come to believe it is no longer possible to live together.

Ethnic conflict in Malaysia has the potential of attracting the intervention of the great powers as well as of regional powers. We are in an important part of the world, flanking a strategic straits and pro-

# THE CRISIS IN ETHNIC RELATIONS

ducing still vital raw materials. We have historically been contested territory and we possess long coastlines. Only a powerful cohesiveness of our people can enable us to survive as a nation.

## ETHNIC CONFLICT

A substantial body of citizens are of the opinion that inter-ethnic relationships have deteriorated since Independence. Ten issues that have divided us since Independence are:

The disparities in income distribution of members of different ethnic groups.

The differences in population distribution of each ethnic group between urban and rural areas.

The relative status of the languages of each ethnic group and the place of the English language.

Differences in treatment of citizens by the state and its organs.

by

Dr. M. K. Rajakumar

Share of representation in Parliament for different groups.

Access to education and employment in all sectors without discrimination based on ethnic origins.

The distribution of benefits arising out of state intervention in the economy.

The place of ethnic cultural life in Malaysian society.

The status of and the relationship between future generations of young citizens.

The reconciliation of expectations regarding governmental policies beyond 1990 and the sort of Malaysia that will emerge.

It is my belief that these problems cannot be solved by negotiations between racial lobbies, that they are irreconcilable if considered in terms of the rights of ethnic groups. We have painted ourselves into a corner: the natural reluctance in our cultures to bring up differ-

ences in public is reinforced by a legal ban on the discussion of 'sensitive' issues. What is seen as a recognised consensus by one side is regarded as a unilateral imposition by the other. Communication has virtually ceased and even when intellectuals of different ethnic groups meet, they confine themselves to telling polite lies to each other. An ominous calm overlies the political scene.

## DRIFTING APART

The growing distances between communities is reflected in the failure of non-racial institutions to develop: In politics, only political parties that in practice champion a single ethnic group have survived. All political issues are now stated in ethnic terms and the ladders for climbing in politics have ethnic issues as steps. Anyone raising his or her voice on an ethnic issue is assured of attention and influence, while anyone seeking to make a non-

communal stand will be regarded as impractical or even ridiculous, perhaps traitorous.

The institutions of the state, specifically the Civil Service and the Armed Forces, have not emerged as institutions that transcend ethnicity to represent the impartiality of the state between ethnic groups.

In public life all societies that deal with government have sought the ethnic approach. Thus, we have Chamber of Commerce, trade associations, co-operatives and other societies that believe that they can make a stronger case with Government if they were confined to one ethnic group. In education for example, there is a belief that each ethnic group must look after the interests of its own.

The cultural Institutions of our people have also retreated into their own shells. There is a great revival of ethnic cultural life and of religious activity. Other than at a

Western cultural event, it is a rare ethnic event that can attract an attendance from without that community.

The Universities have become the home for ethnic ghettos and young people behave as though they feel insecure out-side their own closed ethnic circles. Professional associations have preserved a fragile unity that may not survive this decade.

There are no longer generations of young people who passed through school and university unaware of ethnicity as a source of conflict, and formed strong friendships and shared a common life-style that transcended their ethnic origins.

In the schools both children and teachers are aware of their separate destinies and see themselves not as members of a single nation but as "us" and "them". The springs of our nationhood are thus already poisoned.

We are seeing nothing less than the silent and steady disintegration of our nation. There are no leaders in political life who endeavour to project themselves as leaders of all Malaysians and no symbols in the state that generate shared emotions across ethnic lives. This is a profoundly saddening state of affairs.

## SHARED ELEMENTS

There are economic and social consequences that can be traced directly to the growing distances between the communities. In our cultural life, a reluctance to accept each other's cultural forms and values has resulted in an imported imitated Western culture to emerge as the lowest common denominator of our common cultural life. The emergence of shared elements in our social life has been overwhelmed by the non "sensitive" styles of a degraded imported subculture that the mass media can offer to all ethnic groups. Whilst this country remains one of the very few elected democracies in the developing world, a heavy price in loss of liberties has been paid on the grounds of preserving communal harmony.

## THREAT TO FUTURE

The economic success of Malaysia is impressive and only the deformation produced by communal politics cast doubts on its continuation. The prosperity of the country and the observation that all ethnic communities are equally unhappy with policies has been given as a perverse confirmation of the justness of these policies. We might

(Continued on page 9)

# AMERICA'S GRAND DESIGN

The US strategy of economic expansion in South Asia is an extension of her strategy of expansion in the Pacific region and South East Asia. The strategy consists of market penetration and massive capital investment followed by her naval presence, ostensibly for protecting her vital interests. Such expansion is not prompted by a desire for imperialist dominion. It is dictated by the imperatives of U.S. economic growth as growth is necessary for stability. Because of its outward orientation, expansion in external markets, production of armaments and the militarisation of space are economic activities necessary for its structural stability.

The U.S. perceived its opportunities for economic expansion in Asia. When the Pacific region and South East Asia had served her interests and proved inadequate, the U.S. has turned to South Asia. Her strategies here are inexplicable unless they are seen as a drive towards three targets: 1. Delinking India from the USSR, 2. Winning over the markets of South Asia, especially the large market of India by technological penetration, capital flows and market penetration, 3. Protection of her vital interests by her naval presence.

Pakistan and Sri Lanka have already been integrated into the open market network. India appears to be gradually inducted into the open market economy.

In order to induct India into the open market, U.S. strategies are: 1. Sri Lanka's entry into the open market and her benefits are being advertised. The UNP which is Sri Lanka's proponent of the open market is being supported and defended against internal and external attacks. The Tamil people's separatist movement, which is an attack on the UNP is being ruthlessly suppressed because if it succeeds, the UNP will be thrown out by the Sinhalese people. 2. The political integrity of India should be undermined and thereby its economy should be made dependent. Activating the seeds of India's disintegration inherent in her own constitution (which provides no machinery for the emergence of national leaders and therefore falls back on dynastic succession) disaffection should be promoted in the constituent states eg. Punjab, Tamil Nadu, and non Hindi States. 3. U.S. should offer India an attractive development prospect which her rival, the U.S.S.R., cannot offer. U.S. has offered tech-

nology for the modernisation of India's economy. The U.S.S.R. cannot match it because she does not have market-oriented production technologies though she may excel in military technology. In the protected internal market of U.S.S.R. and the captive markets of Eastern Europe, there was no competitive development of market-oriented production technologies.

Surprisingly Mr. Rajiv Gandhi announced this ready-made programme of technological modernisation of India immediately on his accession to power. High technology for market-oriented production is not available outside U.S.A. except in Japan and Western Europe which are U.S.'s partners in market penetration everywhere. Japan has already entered India's automobile industry.

Technological penetration is usually followed by capital transfers because the transfer of technology does not take place by the transfer of books but by the shipment of machinery, equipment and personnel which embody such technology. Such capital flows are not possible without long term capital market inter-

by

vention. They are financed by the World Bank and U.S. commercial Banks, but there is a pre-condition, namely, the removal of trade barriers.

It is in the interest of the U.S. to create the necessary political climate for the integration of India into the open market network. Good neighbourly relations between the countries of South Asia would provide a suitable climate for investment. Wars between them could generate a demand for armaments but the gains of arms sales would be shared by many competitors. In any event it would be a short term gain.

Surprisingly again Mr. Rajiv Gandhi spelt out this major foreign policy as good neighbourly relations in South Asia immediately after his accession to power. This policy has particular relevance to Sri Lanka. Four External Affairs Ministers or Secretaries were unceremoniously bundled out of their offices for various seemingly harmless actions or for no reason. They all had a common feature along with G. Parthasarathy, namely, they all voiced as much concern for human rights of

Sri Lankan Tamils as of the South African blacks. They made forthright statements of facts of the Sri Lankan ethnic war. These statements off-ended the policy of good neighbourly relations.

The U.S. perceived the need to further protect her protege, Sri Lanka, from 1. Indian and other foreign military intervention against human rights violations, 2. Political interventions in support of oppressed minorities, 3. diplomatic interventions in support of the U.N. Charter of human rights.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi readily obliged by proclaiming to the whole world that Sri Lanka geographically lay within India's defence perimeter and that it was India's prerogative to keep the peace in the region.

In 1984 when the Argentine proposed a resolution in the U.N. condemning human rights violations in Sri Lanka, the U.S. and India lobbied against it and stopped it saying India will act as a mediator and restore peace in Sri Lanka and that there was no need to internationalise an internal conflict. The repr-

S. R. Asirwatham

ieve was used by Sri Lanka to escalate the human rights violations have dramatically escalated.

In Jaffna there is a story about the proverbial mediator. He embraces one of the antagonists tightly pretending to stop the fight. The other antagonist pounds his opponent even harder. In the present case, the mediator regularly and ritually expresses sorrow, shock and deep concern, in that order, with an eye on the Tamil Nadu voter. He has not only arrested and confined one party but has also confiscated his arms, while the other party is being provided by many neighbours with a plentiful supply of arms. The confiscation of arms was followed by the beating of chests in New Delhi and Madras and pretensions of shock. Ultimately the blame was conveniently put on a cop!

The mediation process was largely confined to an exchange of letters between New Delhi and Colombo and an occasional dialogue. The process has dragged on for over three years, and it appears it could drag on for many more years. It appears that India has no concern in the matter but is acting like a proxy.

It is necessary for U.S. interests in South Asia prevent an Indian invasion of Sri Lanka and her taking over of naval bases on which the U.S. has long set her eyes. Rajiv Gandhi blandly declared to the world before assuming the mantle of mediator that India will in no circumstances invade Sri Lanka. It was a promise extracted by Sri Lanka challenging India to invade. It naturally encouraged Sri Lankan intransigence in negotiations.

It was also necessary for Sri Lanka to hold her powerful neighbour India down in a position of neutrality and prevent her from taking sides in the ethnic conflict. Sri Lanka offered India a mediatory role as the best way of ensuring her neutrality; for a mediator must at least be neutral.

India readily accepted the offer and curiously went a step further which served Sri Lanka even better and promoted the grand design in South Asia. He violated the neutral stance expected of a mediator and openly supported Sri Lanka's rigid position against the Tamil people's demand for separation.

These two self-imposed preconditions imposed serious constraints on the mediator, they stifled India's power to impose a settlement. The mediation process became a sterile discussion. It gave Sri Lanka immunity in her pursuit of human rights violations.

India may not attach any importance to the destruction of human lives and property in a part of Sri Lanka or take serious note of the protestations of the people of Tamil Nadu and all political parties in India and thus alienate them. It could only activate the seeds of India's disintegration, but India will be well advised in her own interest to be more sensitive to U.S. grand design in South Asia, Pakistan's bid for hegemony of South Asia, the recent Colombo conferences on the Indian Ocean and Israel's emergence as a U.S. appointed policeman in South Asia.

## Picketing By Pawnners

The picketing campaign by pawnners demanding the return of their jewellery pawned with the People's Banks is continuing. The Government Agent, Jaffna in an interview emphasised that he had done whatever possible in regard to this matter but no finality in the matter has yet been reached.

# THE TAMILS AND THEIR FUTURE

MY FATHER-IN-LAW, S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, once told me when I said that the Jaffna man knows how to look after his interests, that my statement was not correct. He responded that the Tamils had been deceived once when they were persuaded to go along with the disfranchisement and decitizenisation of the Indian Tamils. The same thing could happen again unless there was a vigilant Tamil party to safeguard their interests. That explains one of the reasons for the birth of the Tamil Federal Party. On another occasion, I told him some time in 1954, that Ceylon will one day become part of the Indian federation. He immediately replied "We will then join as two states, not as one". I think he was quite accurate.

I have stated all this as a prelude to the current discussions that are going on with a view to ending the ethnic crisis in Ceylon. I shall pose two views before I proceed to answer my main question: A Postscript on the Tamils and their Future?

(1) In August 1979, President Jayewardene, in an interview he gave the news weekly, *Tribune* (18 August 1979) stated that on the question of education (higher) "I am wondering whether we can't go on a racial basis." On employment, he was more positive. He said "I want to go on a racial basis".

(2) The Report of Committee 'B' of the All Party Conference of 1984 stated that Dr. Stanley Kalpage (Secretary of Higher Education and Chairman of the University Grants Commission) had enquired "whether ethnicity could be a criterion only for University admissions. What of other areas like employment, trade and business etc? Was it to be a determining factor in all other fields? Would it be desirable and acceptable in the interests of an integrated Sri Lankan nation?" My interpretation is that Dr. Kalpage was discounting merit and advocating racial proportionality in the interests of an "integrated Sri Lankan nation".

The two views tell two things to the Tamils. Firstly, they should not be deceived. Secondly, there is no hope for them in the present sovereign entity of Ceylon.

I have earlier referred to deception because of what is contained in the present package of proposals put forward by the Ceylon Government.

(1) Annex 2 of the President's address to the Political Parties Conference states National Policy on all subjects and functions are exclusively reserved for the Colombo Government. There is no meaning to devolution or even decentralisation when a blanket statement encompasses the subjects reserved for the provinces.

(2) The powers of the Provinces are minimal. They are also similar in design to the dyarchical pattern contained in the Government of India Act of 1919. Powers over certain subjects are devolved to the unit. The Centre exercises control and supervision of these powers. This is not specifically stated. But that is the interpretation. It is a trap we should not fall into.

(3) The concurrent list makes it doubly certain that the provinces are only participatory Kachcheris. Most of the powers in the provincial list are repeated in the concurrent list though in devjous ways.

(4) Parliament can vary these powers by simple majority and dismantle provincial councils and with-

by

draw powers by a two-thirds majority. The Sinhala Only Act had the support of a two-thirds majority because the two major Sinhala parties united in passing the legislation. The same thing could happen again.

(5) Local bodies, especially Pradeshiya Sabhas and Gramodaya Mandalayas, are to be set up within the boundaries of Provincial/District Councils. What does this mean? There will be one party in a majority at the council level and other parties in power at the local body level. If not in power, there will be a few elected members from the ruling party in these local bodies. These Sabhas and other local bodies with majorities of the ruling party as well as odd ruling party members in all these bodies will function, as the ruling party's patronage dispensaries. These will nibble away at the powers of the main District/Provincial Council.

(6) We have reserved the cruellest jest for the last. The President has powers of disallowing provincial emergencies. He has emergency powers to deal with provincial emer-

gencies. Most ludicrous is that President Jayewardene in his address to the Political Parties Conference stated (page 2, section 10a) "Executive Power (including all matters in respect of which Provincial Councils have power to enact legislation, shall be delegated to the Governor, and shall be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him".

This would mean not the Chief Minister or his Board of Ministers, but government officials. It would be a negation of parliamentary and cabinet government. The exercise of devolution and decentralisation are obfuscated and nullified: only a person versed in Sinhalese political culture can understand that the whole exercise is a waste of time and void of content.

President Jayewardene and his advisers can be excused for not being conversant with the whole concept of "political cohabitation" that goes on in France today. There they have a Socialist President and a Conservative Prime Minister and the two are able to work without a coalition. In a way President Jayewardene and Prime

Prof. A. J. Wilson

Minister Premadasa work the system in the same way. They keep a safe distance from each other. In France however, President Mitterand forced his Prime Minister, Jacques Chirac to walk three steps behind him on all ceremonial occasions!

A presidential and a parliamentary provincial council system cannot be juxtaposed. The way out is an adaptation of the French Fifth Republic and the American presidential system. The District or the Province or the State, as the case may be, elects the Governor (as in America) just as the Executive President is elected. The Governor then appoints the Chief

Minister and his Board. In such a system there is every likelihood that the majorities will be coincidental and not contradictory. If they are contradictory, the principle of political cohabitation can make the constitution function.

There is yet another way in safeguarding minority ethnic rights. A modified version of the Scottish Committee in the British House of Commons can play a role in Ceylon's National State Assembly. All Tamil-speaking members should be in this committee. All legislation which has a bearing on ethnic minority rights must be approved by a majority in this committee before Parliament enacts such legislation into law. In these various ways the sanctity of the unitary state can be maintained.

But there is nothing sacred about the sanctity of a unitary state. Most unitary states in the modern world are fast federalising. Ministers hobble the excuse that they must seek the verdict of a referendum if certain changes are to be made. My view is that the present constitution should be scrapped. Parliament should convene again as a constituent assembly and then design a federal constitution which will satisfy the aspirations of the Tamil minority.

My doubts are that the first alternative I suggested will not work. The Sinhalese culture must be understood in all its depth to know why pacts, agreements and gentlemen's understandings are broken in the most perfunctory manner. My conviction is that Mr. Chelvanayakam's prophecy will materialise. Sooner than later we will federate with India, not as one state but as two separate states.

--TAMIL TIMES, January 1987

## More Atrocities

Alankerni in Trincomalee was the scene of atrocities perpetrated by the Security Forces during their search operations on 26th February. It is reported that 12 Tamil youths were shot and killed. More than 500 soldiers surrounded the area and in a house-to-house search, they put the occupants and made the youths stand on one side and the elders on the other. 150 persons

were taken into custody. They were released with the exception of 12. The next day when the parents of these youths made representations to the authorities in the Camp, they were informed that their children had escaped from the camp. The parents not being satisfied with the explanation, continued their search and eventually found them half-burnt bodies of their children in a cemetery.

# Kilinochchi Faces Famine

Text of a memorandum sent by the President of the Citizens Committee, Kilinochchi to President Jayewardene.

We have been directed by the Citizens' Committee to bring to your notice that consequent to the 'Flushing Out' operation performed by the Security Forces in Kilinochchi from 7th to 14th of February 1987 after declaring 48 hours curfew from 18-00 hours on 10-2-87, about twenty innocent civilians died and ninety-three sustained serious injuries. Consequent to the confrontation between the Security Forces and the Militants in June 1986 the entire population of Kilinochchi town of about 65,000 people vacated their residences and moved interior into the adjoining villages like Jayanthinagar, Uruthirapuram, Murasumodai, Vaddakachchi Kumara-

puram and Paranthan. Now these villages have become the target of shell attack, shooting by helicopters and bombing by bombers.

As a result of this attack about 3000 people in the Paranthan area got displaced and the people in Kilinochchi surroundings adhering to the instructions contained in the leaflets dropped from the helicopters moved into Gurukulam, Fatima Roman Catholic School, Murippu C. S. I. Farm and Uruthirapuram Hindu Maha Vidyalaya. Those occupants of the houses which had been the target of shell attack and destroyed, are now rendered homeless and have been compelled to continue their occupation in refugee Camps until alternative arrangements are made to rehabilitate them.

This is the third successive year that these types of unfortunate incidents have been taking place during the Maha Season of paddy cultivation, and the present activities

have commenced when the farmers have just started harvesting. Further the situation has been aggravated with the fuel ban and economic blockade. Eight to ten litres of Diesel would be required for threshing an acre and winnowing could cost Rs.150/- per hour for one acre. The farmers who have done intensive cultivation in about 52,000 acres in this district with a view to reap a rich harvest are unable to spray Insecticide, Pesticide and Fungicide with Power Sprayers which need half-a-gallon of petrol per hour.

However, on our representations. Lt. Colonel G.P.Kulatunge, the Coordinating Officer, Kilinochchi has since authorised the following part of our requirements as an immediate relief to the farmers:-

#### Karachchi South MPCS

Diesel.....	8400 litres.
Kerosene.....	8400 litres.
Petrol.....	210 litres.

He has also authorised the same quantity of fuel to Karachchi North and Poonakari MPCSS. The Private dealer Mrs.V.R.Thambipillai too has been authorised 8400 litres of Diesel and 8400 litres of Kerosene.

As the monsoon rain has failed during the Maha Season the water level in the major and minor Irrigation tanks have already gone down to 8½ feet and it would be absolutely impossible to do the cultivation during the oncoming Yala season. The cash crops such as green gram, black gram, Red onions and chillie cultivation have been grossly neglected due to the fuel ban. Kilinochchi is the feeding centre of rice and other cash crops to the Peninsula and the adjoining Provinces.

There are of about 40,000 daily wage earners who have settled down in this district from hill country districts after the disturbances in the country in July 1983. These entire daily wage earners have already been thrown out of employment as labourers in the paddy fields, public market, transportation stations and in highland cash crop cultivation etc. In view of the failure of monsoon rain and ban on fuel, this district consisting of 131000 people has to meet the challenge of FAMINE up to next Maha season.

In addition, due to the closure of the Base Hospital in Kilinochchi in June 1986, the entire poor population has been compelled to obtain treatment from the Government Dispensaries. As the water is polluted in the surroundings thousands of people including the young and the old ones are suffering from Malaria and Scabies. There are a few suspected cases of Encephalitis (Brain Fever) too.

In the circumstances, taking into consideration specially the difficulties the 40,000 daily wage earners and the farmers are threatened with, we shall thank you to lift the ban on fuel and economic blockade in Kilinochchi district and to make arrangements to issue dry rations to the poor peasants as done in Mannar and Trincomalee districts.

## HEAVY RESISTANCE

According to militant sources, in spite of Government's claims to the contrary, the Security Forces are still meeting with heavy resistance from the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Batticaloa, Mannar, Trincomalee, Vavuniya and Kilinochchi areas. Their spokesman, Kittu emphasised that they would fight till the Government forces are removed from the North and East. He underlined his words by exhibiting a phial of cyanide and said that they would die for their cause. The Government forces could never eliminate them as guerilla force.

## Chakmas Suffer Like Tamils

The Netherlands - based Chittagong Hill Tracts Committee, an organising body of 127 global human rights organisation, has appealed to the Indian Government not to send back the 36,000 tribal refugees currently sheltered in South Tripura, in view of the "prevalent abnormal situation" in the hill tracts. According to a report in "The Times of India" from Agra, capital of Tripura state.

A recent press release of the committee, received here today, said that the Bangladesh Government should immediately withdraw its army and para-military units from the Chittagong hill tracts as a first step towards normalisation of the situation in the area.

The committee also called for an immediate halt to further settlement of non-tribals in the Chittagong hill tracts and the withdrawal of government-sponsored settlers, along with the restoration of ancestral land to the tribals in the area.

The committee also asked the Bangladesh Government to ensure free access to the region for humanitarian organisations, journalists and other independent observers, and called upon the President, Mr. H.M. Ershad, to stop using foreign aid and development projects to the "detriment" of the tribal population in the area.

The campaign committee has already formed an "information network" for the Chittagong hill tracts at the Copenhagen-based International Working Group of Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) for monitoring the "emergent situation" in the Chittagong hill tracts.

It has also decided to set up an "international commission" of independent observers to gather first-hand information for the assessment of human rights in the Chittagong hill tracts.

In an open letter to Governments of India and Bangladesh, the Chittagong campaign committee has alleged that over 2,00,000 people in the Chittagong hill tracts have been killed in "one of the most serious violations of human rights in recent times."

The open letter said that "reports of indiscriminate arrests, torture and attacks on tribal people were escalating" in the Chittagong hill tracts.

In a four-point appeal to the Bangladesh Government, the campaign committee has asked the Bangladesh military regime to 'stop the genocide in the Chittagong hill tracts by moving the army and new settlers there.

It has also asked for "opening the Chittagong hill tracts for provision of relief to the victims of genocide" and restore human rights in the area.

It also urged that repatriation of refugees from Tripura be held in abeyance till normalcy returned.

Over 1,300 more Chakma refugees have crossed over to South Tripura from the embattled Chittagong hill tracts of Bangladesh during the past 48 hours, according to official sources.

Sources said that the refugees had been sheltered in the Kathalchari evacuee camp. The tribals were subjected to inhuman "torture and atrocity" at the hands of the Bangladesh army and Muslim resettlers following fresh fighting between the outlawed "Shanti Bahini" and security forces.

Meanwhile, the Tripura Government announced the opening of one more evacuee camp in the state to accommodate the new refugees.

At present, 36,000 Chakma refugees have been sheltered in our evacuee camps — Silachari, Kathalchari, Korbuk and Takumbari in the South Tripura district.



# COMPENSATE INJURED

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

On account of the recent shelling many innocent people were killed in Jaffna Town, for example, two Muslim women, mother and daughter, aged 65 and 40 years respectively were killed by the shelling. Fortunately the children were away at school.

One Mr. Makbool, aged 38 years, father of five children (The eldest is a girl and the other four are boys between the ages 12 to 3) was injured and his left leg was amputated up to the thigh at the Civil Hospital, Jaffna. He is lying in Ward No. 25. This incident took place on 21-1-87. Still he is in the hospital.

I appeal to the President of Sri Lanka (Dharmista Govt.) to appoint an Independent Presidential Commission (one man) with wide powers to inquire into the grievances of

those injured by Army shells and to grant them relief and necessary compensation.

K. M. Amsa

Jaffna

## 'Kota Uda' Tax

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

Recently I read a news item in a Tamil Daily that the G. A. Jaffna has asked vehicle owners to pay their vehicle taxes before a certain date, after which date a penalty will be levied.

The G. A. is supposed to be a mediator between the Government and the Public. I fail to understand why one should pay the taxes when the vehicles are garaged or in other words 'Kota uda' due to the fuel ban and not allowed to run on all eight legitimate roads. The G. A. must understand that if a vehicle is not in use, the owner is subject

to so many losses: battery will run down—loss Rs. 1000; brake and clutch will seize—loss around Rs. 3000; shock absorbers will fail—Rs. 6000; tyres will start cracking—loss Rs. 4000; body and radiator tend to corrode—loss Rs. 7000. After all these losses, why should one pay taxer for a 'Kota uda' vehicle?

Ramesh

Manipay

## LETTERS

### How's that, Umpire?

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

We were happy to note that sometime back the Jaffna Cricket Umpires' Association celebrated the Silver Jubilee of their existence. I would like to pose the question as to how far the Jaffna Cricket Umpires have progressed in the field

of Umpiring? Have they always exercised that element of "neutrality and integrity" which are the true hall-marks of good umpiring?

Umpires do err in their decisions but how do such decisions influence the course of a game?

I have been witnessing cricket matches for many seasons in Jaffna but some decisions seem to cast aspersions on their neutrality and integrity. Regrettably one seems to get the impression that their decisions are tainted and tailor-made to suit one team or another.

Such action may well toll the death-knell of cricket and they may unknowingly be perpetrators of such folly. It is not necessary for them to waste 10 hours in the blazing sun to ensure such a situation! They are also wasting the time of the poor spectators who have come to watch an even fight unmarred by poor decisions.

It is time that the Umpires realize that when "The Great Scorer comes to write your name, it is not that you won or lost that matters But How you played the Game"

Jaffna

A Spectator

## The Crisis !n...

(Continued from page 5)

wish for a different measure. It remains true that our prosperity has been unevenly distributed, that substantial numbers of our people remain in poverty, and the gap within rich and poor within each community has widened. Great and ostentatious new wealth is obvious and there is widespread belief that the principal source of new wealth is not entrepreneurial but corruption. The seeds are there for great social conflicts.

The outsider looking in may consider that the alienation of ethnic groups from each other is virtually complete. The Malays still regard the non-Malays as alien and threatening. The Malays cannot project superordinate goals to unite the country because they feel insecure like a minority, although they are a demographic minority. The non-Malays regard policies aimed at reducing Malays' disadvantages as a cover for pretensions to a "master-race" status. In fact the key programme initiated by government can be defended on non-ethnic terms and one can make a strong case that admirable restraint has been shown in the pursuit of ethnic advantage. Recent years have also seen the emergence of non-communal groups amongst the intelligentsia in arts and literature, in environmental and consumer activity against poverty and corruption, and in the pursuit of higher ethical standards and civil liberties. Even in the Civil Service and Armed Forces, the quest

for efficiency and effectiveness by a highly professional young generation tends to erode ethnic commitments and reinforces a trend to see national problems in terms of objectives and expertise. These fragile shoots carry the promise of a vigorous Malaysian nationhood, if they could survive.

### SERIOUS OBSTACLES

There are several serious obstacles to the strengthening of non-ethnic institutions and trends in our public life. Some of these are that:

Each election has produced a politically weaker leadership although the educational quality of those in politics has grown immeasurably.

There are numerous contenders to office and recourse to communal issues is the natural outcome;

The growing corruption in public life makes it difficult for a honest public leader to survive. It will have to be a very strong Prime Minister indeed to challenge ethnic politics as well as fight corruption at the same time.

The extent of a foreign manipulation of our life is increasing. Significant numbers of our people are more susceptible to foreign models and opinions than to anything from a local movement or leaders. This diminishes our ability to determine our own destinies.

### FINDING A ROLE

Is there anything an individual can do? In the face of an apparently inexorable drift to racialistic policies, the individual only succumbs to depression. Yet we must not give in to despair. The future of the patients cannot be entrusted to politicians and bureaucrats. As citizens we must take the initiative. We have to find roles that fit our limited capacities. If we sought a

consensus in the simplest terms it would be:

Is there a group of citizens who are profoundly happy to belong here and who believe that the attractiveness of this country lies in its diversity?

Is there a strong emotion to see this country as a prosperous and progressive nation that can be a model to the whole world?

On such a tenuous consensus, we should be prepared to work together. We should be able to find groups of people who will have the following characteristics:

Will actively seek to make friends outside their own ethnic group and encourage other members of their family to do so too.

Will seek to experience the culture and cuisine of other ethnic groups.

Will, whenever possible, express their opinions on public policies in non-ethnic terms and openly express their distaste of those who seek to champion issues in terms of defending ethnic interests.

Will join special interests groups that do not involve ethnic interests, in particular against corruption, favouritism and nepotism, for modernization, for good education and health care, and against poverty.

Will look at the merits of the candidate when voting and not only at his or her ethnic origin.

Will share pride in building a nation of citizens noted for goodness of character and excellence in work in a socially just and progressive society.

Even such a slight consensus cannot survive unless Government po-

licy and practices are supportive. It must be seen that Government:

Makes policies that are instruments to achieve ethnic fairness, principally by tackling poverty and inequities in geographic distribution of wealth and benefits.

Tackles the issue of corruption, favouritism and nepotism as the common concern for all citizens.

Rewards institutions, societies and commercial organisations that project a non-ethnic character in control and ownership.

Encourages non-ethnic special interest groups in our public life and honours leadership in non-ethnic activities.

Develops the institutions of the state as models of non-ethnic organisation of expertise and function.

Eliminates all consideration of ethnicity in the treatment of children and encourages the involvement of young men and women in idealistic campaigns, especially against poverty.

Makes a rallying cry the objective of becoming a modernised society based on science and technology in the 21st century.

The example of other countries is a grim warning to us. Nations generally do not learn from the experience of others and we may yet, like the Garderenes, rush down the slope to our own destruction. However it would be a counsel of despair for us to abandon efforts to solve problems that may appear at this moment in time to be based on irreconcilable clashes of interest. Those who would wish a different fate for ourselves and for our country must be prepared as an act of faith, to stand up and be counted for their beliefs, take unpopular stands and difficult decisions and commit their utmost efforts to heal the divisions amongst our people.

# CANADA TO CHECK IMMIGRANTS

The Canadian government is considering a proposal to introduce transit visas for foreign visitors, the immigration minister, Mr. Benoit Bouchard, has announced.

The proposal comes on the heels of recent incidents involving refugee status seekers who arrive at Canadian ports of entry and take their claims to stay on in the country. A lot of them board flights and during scheduled stopovers for refueling or otherwise, step out and claim they are refugees.

Responding to a question from the Conservative M.P., Mr. John Oostrum, who said Canada should require a transit visa from visitors from all countries except the United States, the minister said a decision would be taken "in the coming weeks."

Mr. Oostrum said he had spoken to many Canadians about the Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka and the boat people, who arrived in two liferafts off the Newfoundland coast last August and were rescued by fishermen, as also the recent influx of Turkish citizens, hundreds of whom arrived and claimed refugee status in Montreal last December.

"Canadians are not against immigrants or refugees," the M.P. said. "But they don't want them to lie. The Tamils lied about where they were from, and the Turks lied in the sense that they are not really refugees. They are seeking better economic conditions, but aren't persecuted in their own country."

## ASSURANCE TO TAMILS

Canadian employment and immigration minister, Mr. Benoit Bouchard, has assured Sri Lankan Tamils seeking refugee status that they will not be deported.

The assurance came in the wake of reports that another boatload of Sri Lankans from West Germany was planning to illegally enter Canada.

Mr. Bouchard was responding to questions yesterday about a report published by "The Toronto Globe" and "Mail" on Tuesday that said the West German authorities had warned Canada that some 250 Tamils each paid 5,000 marks for a passage by boat to Canada in April this year.

Last August, 155 Tamils landed off the eastern coast of Canada

after being brought there by a West German ship chartered by Mohammad Dawood - Lebdi, a Tamil resident in West Germany. All 155 were later accorded refugee status by the Canadian government.

Mr. Bouchard said the refugees would not be deported because Canada did not deport Sri Lankans.

Amnesty International, the London-based human rights organisation, had reported last October that Tamils forced to return to Sri Lanka were arrested without charge on their arrival there.

However, the Canadian authorities are preparing to tighten rules so as to limit the influx of refugees. Under West German law, the authorities can take no action to stop this scheme. While the West German police tips off Canada from its end, it is up to the Canadian authorities to take action.

The immigration minister said new regulations would be introduced in the next few weeks as an interim measure before new legislation relating to immigrants and refugees was introduced.

The new regulations were not, however, being designed with the Tamil refugees in mind, he said.

While the Tamil refugee issue has been surrounded by controversy, Canadian authorities are more concerned about Latin American refugees coming to the country from the United States at the rate of several hundred a day.

Gerzensee (Switzerland) Government experts from ten European nations, Australia and Canada have begun three days of talks on coordinating the way refugees are handled in Western countries.

Another aim of the informal meetings is to increase co-operation between receiving countries and the U.N. high commissioner for refugees.

In an opening address, the Swiss justice minister, Ms. Elizabeth Kopp, warned that pressure on some western countries to restrict immigration has mounted because refugees, mostly from third world nations, are streaming in after laws were tightened in other countries.

"This vicious circle ultimately is removing us ever further from a solution and we are obstructing the way towards friendly co-operation," she said.

Asylum seekers who under international law cannot be considered refugees fleeing persecution must be sent back home, she told the meeting.

## A Message To India....

(Continued from page 1)

He slipped in quietly and sat on the floor. No remark could anger him. When one of the speakers said, "It is this little man who I can put into my pocket who is delaying us", he laughed loudly and beckoned him to do so. The resolution was passed unaltered and then Gandhiji spoke.

He spoke for about an hour. There was no interruption. Even those on the platform crowded round the speaker to hear his words. There is no doubt that Mahatma Gandhi, though he was not a member of the Congress, was still its leader, nay, its dictator. He said so himself. The Congress, he said cannot be a democratic assembly when it is waging war. It must become a fighting unit and have one general. As long as they wanted him as general, he wanted unquestioned obedience. If they wished, they could change him and follow another. But could they? Thus concluded the meeting of the subjects committee, and then to the open session.

Three days had been allotted for the open session. The members of All-India Congress Committees (numbering over 1,000) throughout In-

dia were entitled to vote. At one end of the stadium was a platform and a rostrum for the president. The first day was set apart for the presidential address and the other two days for discussion of motions. A crowd of over a lakh had assembled by 5 p.m. on March 19. The president, Maulana Azad was expected at 5.30. p.m. More were coming in, when the rain began. In half-an-hour the vast amphitheatre was one sheet of water and in some places the water was knee-deep.

After the president's speech, which was a stirring call for Hindu-Muslim unity and a most eloquent counter against Jinnah's two-nation theory, the proceedings of the first day of the open session ended. The next morning as the amphitheatre was still wet, a makeshift session was held under the Asoka Pillar, and in a few hours the resolution urging "independence outside the orbit of the British empire", was passed. By the evening the crowds had started to leave. In a few days Ramgarh assumed its normal quiet. The jackals wandered through the empty streets and huts. The aborigines wove into their history the legends of Ramgarh, the story of

a town which sprang up in a few days, of motor cars, trains and electric lights: of an "avatar", an incarnation of God, whom they saw... Mahatma Gandhi.

But what did Ramgarh mean to India and to the world? How did we in Ceylon adjust ourselves to the results that flew from Ramgarh? Two facts were clear. Firstly, India was united in her demand to be free and she wanted her freedom outside the British commonwealth of Nations; secondly, Mahatma Gandhi was the supreme leader of India. There was opposition to his leadership.

S. C. Bose held a counter show at Ramgarh proclaiming his anticompromise and Forward Bloc ideals. These meetings were attended by the kisan (peasant) organisations and had the support of large gatherings. The opposition was not however to Gandhiji's leadership: it was to his refusal to begin the fight. His opponents wished to push him to act at once. He said that the country, was not ready, and if he was the leader he must give the signal to begin. In the Congress itself there was little opposition.

That India would begin her struggle again was sure. That she would soon be free was also not in

doubt. In their minds and in their actions Indians were free. They wore clothes made in India.

They did not recognise the British flag nor the British connection. To the men and women who fought, the British crown, British ideals and customs meant nothing India was determined to travel on her own path—that was the Mahatma's message.

We in Sri Lanka can learn many things from those times. Firstly, the idealism and political absence of racial or personal feeling, which characterised the political discussions at Ramgarh, were a contrast to the petty methods prevalent everywhere. No man or woman we met leader or follower, talked except in terms of ideals, of social and economic reconstruction, of a new world order, based not on exploitation, but according to a planned economy. In the field of politics, the masses of India were being trained to think, not in terms of race or religion, but in terms of social equality, equal opportunity for all, and social justice. Can we in Sri Lanka close our eyes to these great movements which Gandhiji initiated and led?

Is it not the duty of our leaders, our men of letters, our newspapers and all those who love their country, to quicken their national consciousness and help them too to feel the impulse of the idealism which animated India then?

(Courtesy: "SUNDAY REVIEW"  
15th February 1987)

# NO LONGER MIDNIGHT CHILDREN

A bold new idea is set out in this year's *State of the World's Children* report from the Executive Director of UNICEF, Mr. James Grant. "In the last forty years," says the report, there has been a major change in global morality. Today, the world no longer allows millions of its children to die in drought or famine anywhere on the planet. Whether the crisis be Africa or Kampuchea, the attention of the mass media means that peoples and governments act to prevent mass deaths."

Forty years ago, the report points out no such ethic prevailed. In the early 1940s, for example, over 3 million men, women, and children starved to death in Calcutta and Bengal while the world knew little and did less.

"Such a change", says the report, "is a significant step towards a more truly anniversary, UNICEF's message to the world is that the time has now come to take the next step."

The greatest emergency facing the world's children today is the unpublicized "silent emergency" of infection and undernutrition. "No loud emergency, no famine, no drought, no flood has ever killed 280,000 children in a week. Yet that is what this silent emergency is now doing - every week".

Even during the African crisis of the last two years, for example,

more children have died in India and Pakistan than in all 46 nations of Africa put together.

"It makes no moral difference that these millions of children did not die in any one particular place at any one particular time," says the UNICEF report. "But it does mean that their suffering cannot be framed in the viewfinder of a camera. And it does mean that their deaths are therefore not news,

and that the world is not shamed into action on their behalf. Yet these victims of the silent emergency are just as dead. And the love and the hopes of their families are just as surely turned to grief."

UNICEF points out that the world could now defeat infection and malnutrition on a massive scale - even in such difficult economic times. And because of this new potential, UNICEF's fortieth anniversary mes-

sage to the world is that "the time has now come for governments and people to decide that it is just as unacceptable for so many millions of children to needlessly malnutrition and infection as it is for them to die in sudden droughts or famines." **NOTE: Hundreds of children die in Sri Lanka also every year, not by malnutrition and infection alone but also by the bullet and the bayonet. The latter category, of course, cannot be UNICEF's concern because its assignment is different.**

## CENTRE FOR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

A proposal has emerged to institute a focal point or centre, which will undertake Studies in Regional Development for the various Provincial areas and formulate development ideas, policies and proposals, for use by all who may be interested.

Such a Centre (functioning as a single identity or a network of centres in each Province) will be entirely non-political and purely Professional and technical. All assistance received shall be entirely without pre-conditions.

Its only premises of political relation will be: that Government (Central & Provincial) supports the development priority; that the lack of an economic programme, or prior thinking on it, could be a sure

cause of political failure of the instituted unit of devolution of power, that its work is not dependent on any chosen political framework of devolution as may be decided by the political process, so

Prof. C. Suriyakumaran, Visiting Professor, London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) has sent us the following communication:

long as the development imperative is recognised and the scope for its expression is not inhibited; and that it does not preclude inter-provincial planning or co-operation. (In purely technical terms, not simply

inter-provincial but multi-provincial co-operation may be involved).

It is proposed to set-up a modest temporary office or operational point in Colombo to start with, as soon as the necessary capacities for it are organised and the procedures completed.

This Notice is, therefore, to invite the interest and possible participation or support of competent members of all communities and from various parts of the country (only excluding, in keeping with accepted practice, Government servants and those engaged in the political field).

The main functions of the proposed Centre would be to: Undertake Area Resource Surveys of human and natural resources; Prepare Techno-Economic Studies of potential development resources; Formulate Programme and Project proposals that foster productive Investments (including encouragement of participatory Capital bases of investment, as distinguished from those solely dependent on general borrowing or public debt)

Promote the 'development priority', generally and in specific ways; Support collateral social and cultural programmes developed in the regions, including co-operation programmes, as part of overall development of economic and social well-being and prosperity.

Those who may be interested in the proposed Centre, in particular by virtue of their deep commitment or their professional/technical expertise in the implied areas of work (including interested Institutions), are respectfully invited to write to The Centre for Regional Development Studies C/o 19A/2 ALFRED PLACE, COLOMBO 3.

—Times of India

## 200 LTTE MEN TAKE CYANIDE

A Tamil rebel leader disclosed that more than 200 Tamil militants have committed suicide by swallowing the ampoule of potassium cyanide that each wears around his neck in case he is captured.

Some wear the tiny capsule of white powder, which brings death in seven seconds, along with crucifixes for Christians and other talismans for Hindu soldiers.

It is better to take cyanide and take your own life than to be subjected to inhuman torture," said Raheem, a lieutenant of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the rebel group controlling the northern Jaffna peninsula.

"We are only human. No, one can withstand torture. We would reveal secrets, and so we choose

an honourable death rather than betray our liberation struggle," he said.

Raheem said each of the 5,000 soldiers wears the container. Even 14 and 16 year-olds wear the deadly charms.

Since 1982, he said, more than 200 "Tigers" have committed suicide with cyanide.

Raheem, or Subramaniam Kanagaratnam, is in his early 20s. He joined the "Tigers" four years ago after the anti-Tamil riots in Colombo that sparked off the separatist struggle and estranged Tamils and Sinhalese.

His claim of cyanide was endorsed by Gerry de Silva, Military Commander of the Jaffna peninsula. He said that "more than 50 percent take cyanide" but could not supply casualty figures.

"They are a fairly tough, well-trained and committed lot," he said "We take no chances.

In Colombo, meanwhile, a government statement said fewer than one dozen Tamil "Tigers" have committed suicide in more than three years.

"This only proves they are fanatics and have no regard for human life," it said.

The "Tigers" in the north and east say they will continue fighting the army and continue taking cyanide rather than face torture.

"The difference between the government soldiers and the "Tigers" is that we are willing to die for our cause, we are not frightened," says Kittu, LTTE Commander in Jaffna.

# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## India-A Silent Witness?

Despite the conventional wisdom that there are both hardliners and softliners in the Sri Lankan Power structure the Government of India seems to believe that there are only hardliners. Therefore, it has a point in hesitating to reactivate the mediation process while the military onslaught in the North and East has escalated to an unprecedented level.

Refugees are pouring into relatively safer areas from several places in the North including Eralalai Kadduvan, Tellippalai and Maviddapuram. The tally of victims continues to rise.

Mixed signals have been coming from the Government's side, as far as last week's events are concerned.

A communication from the Indian Premier, Rajiv Gandhi sent last week to President Jayewardene has created a stir in Government circles here. No official statement was available but political observers have hinted that the communication was an 'arm twist' of a sort.

The President held a hush-hush meeting with his Ministers and Opposition Leaders, on 2nd March. According to ALL INDIA RADIO Sri Lankan High Commissioner in India, Mr. Bernard Tilekeratne had a meeting with Indian Premier, Rajiv Gandhi when he handed over a message from President Jayewardene.

The Radio broadcast also said that President Jayewardene offered to halt the military offensive and lift the oil embargo on Jaffna if the militants stopped their offensive.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in a statement to the Lok Sabha on 3rd March categorically affirmed that no more talks would be held with the Sri Lankan Government until and unless

it ceased all its military activities against the people in the North and in the East. At the same time he told the members that the Sri Lankan President had still not rejected the proposals of 19th December.

The Times of India commenting on the continuing offensive by the Government despite India's serious reservations noted: "At best Colombo can hope to eliminate the armed resistance altogether. At worst it should succeed in weakening the LTTE's bargaining position even if subsequently a military stalemate of a sort emerges.

"Latest reports indicate that Government troops had been making significant headway against the LTTE in the Northern province. The real test will of course come in the Jaffna Peninsula which constitutes the heartland of LTTE support and which it must hold if it is to be reckoned as a serious political force. Thus despite the tragic blood letting which is not sparing Tamil Civilians there is no reason to believe that Colombo is going to call a halt to its present campaign un-

Vigneswara Vidyalaya at Puttur, 10 miles from Jaffna was the target for cannon-fire by two helicopters which had circled the area on morning of 5th March and attempted to land on the playgrounds. At this time the students of Vigneswara Vidyalaya were holding their Athletic Meet. Two brothers, Rasiah Jeyaruban (9) and Rasiah Jeyakaran (6) and

### Avro Grounded?

An Avro plane preparing to land at Palaly airport around 10 a. m. on 4th March was fired on by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The plane caught fire and limped on the tarmac. Some damage to the plane was reported by eyewitnesses to this incident. Soon after this incident, firing of shells commenced from the Army camps at Palaly, Jaffna and Thondamannaru resulting in injuries to many persons and damage to houses.

## JEKYLL AND HYDE

We reproduce without comment the following news item published in the Island of 27th February.

A foreigner by the name of Goldfarb Eric Ralph spent a night at the Lizzie Villa Guest House, Ella recently. He had left the following morning having settled his dues.

Mr. M. D. Rodrigo, the owner of the Guest House, when tidying up the room occupied by the foreigner, found a wallet under the pillow on the bed used by the foreigner.

Mr. Rodrigo promptly took the wallet to the Ella Police Station where in his presence the contents of the wallet were listed by the OIC, Ella Police, Mr. Jenaratne.

It contained the following items: (1) Israleli Passport No. 2891958 (2) US Passport N 5846579, (3) One UTA air ticket, (4) One MAS air ticket, (5) Sri Lanka Rs. 2,200, (6) US dollars 1210 value in rupees 36,300, (7) One Blue Sapphire valued at Rs. 4,500.

less it is compelled to do so on the ground or by pressure from New Delhi".

At present one cannot expect New Delhi to exert effective pressure on Sri Lanka as all the issues concerning the Sri Lankan Tamils have been made an effective mess by the Indian Premier, Rajiv Gandhi.

President Jayewardene, very shrewd in assessing and activating the situation lost no time in getting the military to entrench themselves in the areas where the Tamils have been chased away as refugees.

The thorny issue which always disturbs New Delhi is their suspicion towards the LTTE. Certainly, the LTTE is persona non grata for New Delhi. In fact, the inadequate response from the Indian Government

to the latest military offensive is one of the saddest aspects.

The formation of a United Front comprising the Eelam People's Revolutionary Front (EPRLF), the People's Revolution Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) and the Tamil Liberation Organisation (TELO) also gains significance in this context.

"It is no one's case" correctly asserts the Times of India, "that New Delhi should give unconditional support or uncritical support to the LTTE or to the other Tamil militant groups. But it can have no interest in being a silent witness to the carnage that is now going on or to the complete decimation of the LTTE as fighting outfit."

The Sri Lankan Government by its present action has undoubtedly veered towards a military solution and no amount of protestation to the contrary will make anyone believe otherwise. Prime Minister Gandhi and the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran should bear at least partial responsibility for the latest attack on the Tamil people.

## HELI'S BLIND FURY

Retnam Saraswathi (52) were among the seriously injured. The condition of one is stated to be causing concern.

In another incident in the same area near Veeravani Nachchimar Kovilady some persons who had jumped into a well to avoid helicopter fire were machine gunned from the air around 10 a.m. in the morning. Two members of a family were injured.

## PICKETING CALLED OFF

The pawnners who picketed the Jaffna Secretariat for the past week demanding the return of their jewellery pawned with the People's Bank called off their picketing from 5th March on an undertaking given by the Government Agent, Jaffna. It has been agreed that beginning from 7th March the pawned jewellery would be released at the Army Camp at Palaly.

## ET TU, THONDA?

According to a BBC broadcast on 4th March, Mr. Thondaman, Minister for Industries and Rural Development who is on a visit to Tamil Nadu has supported the present military action in the North and East by the Sri Lankan forces. He has stated that no country will accept the position whereby a group of armed men decide to make their own a part of the country they live in.

## 'Bow Out Gracefully'

The Action Committee of the Mass Movement for Human Rights unanimously adopted a resolution deeply regretting the action of the Security Forces in "desecrating the Maviddapuram Temple, especially on Sivarthiri—a day sacred to the Hindus".

They have requested the Minister for Regional Development and Hindu Culture Mr. Rajaduari to take positive steps to prevent repetitions of such incidents in the future, or if he is powerless to bow out gracefully from his post.

### COMMERCIAL PRINTERS AND TRADERS

#### Shifting to New Premises

The above Establishment has been shifted to No. 16, 3rd Cross Street, Jaffna (opposite O.L.R. Church & North Lanka Medical College Adm. Block) with effect from 7.3.87. Customers are requested to contact us for their requirements new premises.