

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 6 No. 13 18th April 1987

FOR
FAST,
FABULOUS, AND
FASCINATING
WORK

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MILITARY MUTINY?

Minister of National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali announced on Friday, 10th April that the Government had unilaterally decided to observe a truce for ten days.

Unfortunately, the promise of a cease-fire has once again been observed in the breach, just as it was during the Thimpu talks.

Just before the truce came into force the Security Forces at the Elephant Pass Camp petrol bombed the LTTE sentry point by helicopter, killing two militants. The same day Koddady was shelled once again by the Jaffna Fort camp.

More incidents followed after the truce was supposed to have come into force.

We summarise below the details:

On 12th April, round about 10.50, A.M. two shells hit Koddady Area. Another shell fell in the bazaar area at 4 p.m.

On 13th April, the third day of the truce, witnessed severe shelling from the Naval vessels stationed off Mathagal coast. Mini Camps at Kattuwan Kurumpasiddy, and Tholakatty Ashram Continue to sent panic through its uncontrollable snipers. Erambu Pathmanathan (37) was injured.

On 14th April, New Year's day, two farmers who were returning from the temple after New Year's day worship were shot dead at Uylankulam in the Mannar district by the Security Forces

on patrol. Their bodies were reportedly taken in a tractor by the Security Forces. On the same day a Muslim youth Cader (20) was injured by sniper fire, close to the Kurumpasiddy Army Camp.

The Government would like everyone to believe that these were its real intentions in declaring the cease-fire.

But past experience has shown that its real intentions are much more devious, if not sinister. It used the

A mutiny seems to be in the offing.

Soldiers who had wanted to go home on leave for the New Year were refused permissions to do so. This led to a clash between some soldiers and Officers at the Jaffna Fort. On 9th April, one soldier Chandra Weerasinghe was killed and one Officer injured. The injured Officer was reportedly transferred to Anuradhapura Hospital by helicopter.

On 13th April, Monday, at the Monkey Bridge Camp in Trincomalee a soldier Vasantha Kumara shot dead Corporals Senanayake, Karunaratne and Lalith. He then committed suicide.

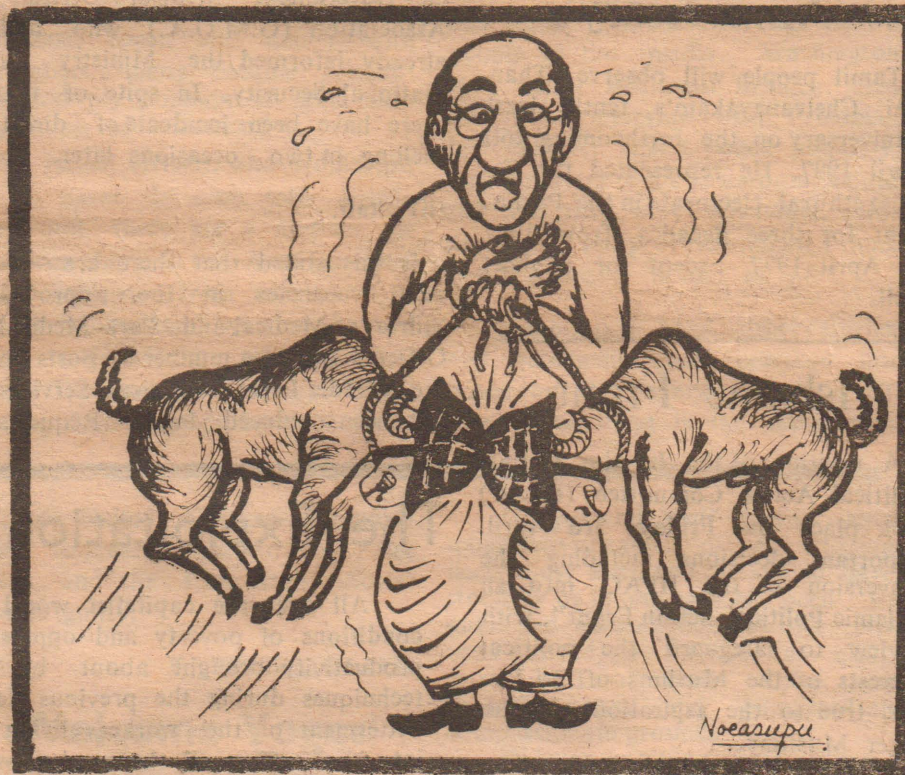
Sometime earlier, a soldier in Kandy committed suicide after declaring that he could no longer serve in the Forces. At the Mandaitivu Army Camp too a soldier committed suicide after he was refused leave to go home.

On Wednesday, 15th, an Army camp at Pallekele in Kandy was attacked by an armed group which took away 19 machine guns. There is reason to believe that the attempt succeeded because of collusion.

There are unconfirmed reports that nearly 500 soldiers have deserted so far.

All these points to seething discontent among the rank and file which wants to go home. But the officers acting on Government's orders are forced to keep them away from home. This seems to be the Government's declaration of a truce before the New year.

To pretend that the truce is an act of magnanimity is only duplicity.



What was the Government's real intention in a unilateral declaration of a cease-fire?

Was it magnanimity on its part? A desire to convince international opinion that it is striving for a negotiated Political solution?

Thimpu cease-fire period to build up the military strength to launch even more ferocious attacks on Tamil areas than before.

Is history going to repeat itself this time too?

There seems to be an even more significant reason for the Government's halt to hostility.

7 Soldiers Killed

Seven soldiers were killed when their armed personnel carrier ran into a land mine on 16th April — the sixth day of the truce — at Uylankulam in Mannar district. Six other soldiers were critically injured and taken to the Anuradhapura Hospital.



The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) observed Martyrs' day on 19th April. The composite picture shows 509 oil lamps arranged in the shape of the Traditional Tamil homelands in the North and the East, to mark the 509 LTTE militants who have died in battle so far; A chorus of girls singing the Martyrs' salutation and a section of the participants.

Shells Hit Church

The incumbent of St. Thomas's Church, Point Pedro, Rev. Vincent De Paul has stated that his Church was damaged by army shelling on 11th April. It may be recalled that this Church was earlier slightly damaged by Navy shells.

Saturday Review

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Engineers Meet

Professional Engineers of the North assembled recently at the YMCA Hall, Jaffna and decided to form an association to bring all members of this profession close together and work for the advancement of this profession and economic progress of the region. The new organisation will take the form of a branch of the Institute of Engineers, Sri Lanka. It was decided to meet again on the May Day at 9.30 a.m. at the Hindu Lodge, Nallur to finalise arrangements for a formal inauguration and seminar.

WEEK END SHELTERS

Due to repeated attacks by Security Forces on civilian targets by bombing and shelling during week ends, people now take refuge in Temples and churches on Saturdays and Sundays to avoid these attacks.

My most grateful thanks to the most sacred Heart Of Jesus and St.Jude for two favours granted.

—J.P.S.

Jaffna Hospital

HOW THEY CARRY ON?

At a recent Hospital Committee Meeting The Director Dr.C.S. Nachchinarkiniyar said that the position regarding fuel shortage remains the same.

The large oxygen cylinders sent by ship has been safely returned after being filled in Colombo, although there was a delay of two months to get the cylinders sent and returned. The small cylinders continue to be sent by Government Transport bus up to Vavuniya Railway Station and then by Train and back.

The Chairman Mr.C.V.K.Sivagnanam tabled a letter sent to the Hon'ble Minister of Women's affair and Teaching Hospitals regarding

S. J. V.'s 10th Anniversary

Tamil people will observe Thanthai Chelvanayakam's tenth death Anniversary on the forthcoming 26th April 1987. He represented the Kankesanthurai electorate in the Parliament for three decades from 1947 to April 1977 except for a short spell.

Islamic Front

A meeting of the Interim Islamic Political Action Committee (IIPAC) took place on Friday, 3rd April. Important decisions including the conversion of the IIPAC into an "Islamic Political Action Front", with a view to safeguard the political interests of the Muslims of Sri Lanka, true to the aspirations of the larger Muslims.

According to the press release issued by its Secretary Mr. T.M. Aluharuddeen, this has become an urgent necessity in view of the fact that there is no proper Muslim political Organisation to represent their interests nor to design or implement a realistic political programme for them.

Among other matters the IIPAC will also consider ways and means of ending the armed hostilities in the North and the East by helping in whatever way possible to bring about a negotiated, just and peaceful solution to the ethnic crisis.

"The IIPAC is willing to play a mediatory role to the point of making both sides to sit round a table and to resume the peace talks, if the Government and the militants so desire" states the press release.

the allocation for Maintenance of Buildings for 1987. He has stated that the allocation agreed upon for the current year was Rs.800,000. But the allocation has been reduced by 50./- considering the size and the population served by this Hospital he requested that the reduction to be restored.

The Chairman also tabled another letter sent on 21st March in which he has drawn the attention of the Hon'ble Minister to the following matters.

(i) Security of the Hospital, the Patients & Staff.

It stated that this matter has been brought to her attention off and on. There is an unofficial "NO FIRING" Zone covering the Hospital Area, brought about due to the effort of the Government Medical Officers' Association (G.M.O.A.) who had already informed the Ministry of National Security. In spite of this there have been incidents of direct shelling in two occasions later.

(ii) Staff.

It was stated that there are several vacancies in the approved cadres of Medical and Para-Medical Officers and even number of posts in the Middle Level Technical Services has been reduced lately. Requests

made to fill all these vacancies in the course of the year.

(iii) Drainage

It was stated that there is a private system of Drainage For this Hospital. The sewerage is pumped into the Jaffna lagoon with the help of a pump. After the occupation of the Telecommunication Buildings at Pannai by the Security Forces the Pump operators are refusing to go to work at Pannai due to the fear of their lives. Now the Hospital Authorities, with the help of the water pump, pump the waste water into the surface drains. This is a health hazard to the whole town.

Operation Mullaitivu

Alampil, Semmalai villages in the Mullaitivu District were surrounded by the Security Forces recently. In the shooting that commenced soon after, one person was killed and another injured. More than 300 persons were taken into custody.

Nearly 400 soldiers were brought to the scene of the operation by helicopter and sea. Those taken into custody were between the ages of 14 and 50. Maniam lost his life and Veeraputhran (52) was seriously injured.

The Exploitation Of Man By Man

All over the capitalist world the workers labour under miserable conditions of poverty and oppression. The tremendous increase in productivity brought about by machinery and improved capitalist techniques during the previous decades has meant very little in the betterment of the workers living standards. The main benefits flowed into the coffers of those who owned the industries and the national resources.

History shows that capitalism does not ensure a rapid growth of the economy. Capitalism brings privation and suffering for the working people. If the economically weak countries take the capitalist road, they will inevitably be doomed to remain backward. Social inequality will grow, and that means that the working class will be condemned to exhausting toil, the fruits of which will be appropriated by a handful of capitalists.

Socialism, on the other hand, brings happiness to the people. It ensures the rapid growth of the economy and of culture. For a study of how socialism has done away with the exploitation of man by man, social inequality and unemployment, read the book "Lenin and Asia" by Attorney-at-Law T. Duraisingam, a pioneer of the socialist movement in our country.

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

Price Rs. 10/-

Council for Socialist Studies
31, Wilson Street, Colombo 12

When Leandro Despouy, in his capacity as Head of the Argentinian Delegation to the 43rd Sessions of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, deposited the resolution (L74) relating to the situation in Sri Lanka at three minutes to 6 O'clock on 5th March 1987 (the dead line being 6 p.m.) only carrying his sole signature, the instant reaction of the Sri Lankan delegation was one of incredulity and shock. In spite of a number of detailed interventions by NGOs and some Government delegates relating to human rights violations in Sri Lanka that preceded the submission of the draft resolution, the Sri Lankan delegation headed by H. W. Jayawardene was confident that, as in previous years no draft resolution would find its way into the agenda. The lavish entertainment and a campaign of malevolent disinformation indulged in by Sri Lanka failed to do the trick this time.

LEANDRO DESPOUY was a victim of the former Military Junta and spent eight years in exile in France from where he conducted a relentless campaign against the human rights abuses in Argentina under the military regime. During his exile he had attended the UN Human Rights Commission as a representative of Pax Romana to plead the cause of human rights. The respect he earned then enabled him later to be elected as an Expert member of the Sub-Commission on Human Rights.

An intellectual with a sharp and analytical mind and an orator who speaks with few or no notes to assist him, Leandro Despouy presently enjoys the elevated position of an Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary under the civilian democratic government of President Alfonso. Neither his commitment to the

Commission" was one intemperate response from one of the Sri Lankan delegates, to which, I understand, a member belonging to the delegation of another Asian Country had retorted, "Aren't they satisfied with the blood-letting that is already taking place in their country?". Another Sri Lankan delegate was heard to say, "We will go down firing". Still

practice of torture in Sri Lanka. The Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances listed several hundreds of cases of disappearance of persons, taken into custody by the security forces, but unaccounted for by the Government. The Report of the Special Rapporteur on Summary Executions also had several paragraphs relating

of Sri Lankan affairs had not realised that Argentina had already had discussions with other countries which had assured support for the resolution.

CALL FOR RED CROSS INTERVENTION

Before the draft resolution was formally tabled, an initial draft

Sri Lanka's Shame At The UN

Our Special Correspondent in Geneva, exposes the Sri Lanka Government's latest "behind the scene attempts" to thwart the resolution on the Human Rights Violations in Sri Lanka.

Despite the "untiring efforts" of several Junior and Senior diplomats from Sri Lanka, the UN Human Rights Commission had its final say.

Instead of wasting Career diplomats' time and energy the Government could have sent one competent Prof(essional) from the Government Media Centre. He would definitely have given a better "face-lift" for Sri Lanka, as he is most accustomed to do here.

another young Sri Lankan junior diplomat who had flown in from Colombo agonised, "We have the feeling of a virgin woman having been raped". What this young man did not realise was that in the course of the dirty war that the Sri Lankan regime had launched against a section of its own people, not only large number of women had in fact been raped, but also thousands of persons women children, old and young men, mainly belonging to the Tamil community had been wantonly and

to allegations of arbitrary killings in Sri Lanka. By its simultaneous appearance in these three reports Sri Lanka had graduated into the notorious league of the worst violators of human rights in the world. And in this context, if Sri Lanka expected to avoid international scrutiny, then those at her helm were only deceiving themselves.

Following their initial shock and desperate angry and agonising responses, the Sri Lankan delegates

had already been circulated among delegations deeply concerned with the situation of human rights in Sri Lanka and the developments in the ethnic conflict in which the government was resorting to a military solution. Two detailed well-prepared documents, one on Arrest, Detention and Torture in Sri Lanka, and the other on Extrajudicial and Arbitrary Killings had already been distributed among delegates and NGOs as background material. Thirteen Non-Governmental Organisations jointly made an open urgent appeal calling for immediate action by the Human Rights Commission and intervention of the International Committee of the Red Cross. NGO after NGO spoke describing in detail the various gross abuses of human rights in Sri Lanka. They attacked the military offensive launched by the government in the Tamil areas of the north and east of the country. With equal force, they denounced the use of foreign mercenaries by the government of Sri Lanka.

Martin Ennals the Secretary General of International Alert and an English gentleman was seen handing a copy of the initial draft resolution (it had until then been circulated only among a select group of countries) to Harry Jayawardene of the Sri Lankan delegation, and discussing Sri Lanka's reaction to the prospect of getting the Commission to adopt such a resolution. It would appear that the Sri Lankan delegation arrogantly refused to entertain the idea of even a single line resolution. They were all out on a 'no resolution' platform.

INDIAN ATTACK

While some government delegations and NGOs were canvassing support for a resolution on Sri Lanka the Head of the Indian delegation launched a vehement attack on the human rights situation in Sri Lanka and the Government's action in resorting to military means in the ethnic conflict. He referred to the arbitrary killing of several hundreds of innocent civilian Tamils by the security forces. This intervention not only reflected a breakdown in Indo-Sri Lankan relations but also signalled that India would bring to bear its immense international influence in support of a resolution against Sri Lanka.

(Continued on page 4)

SRI LANKAN DELEGATE:

BLOOD WILL FLOW ON THE FLOOR OF THIS COMMISSION.

DELEGATE FROM ANOTHER COUNTRY:

AREN'T THEY SATISFIED WITH THE BLOOD - LETTING THAT IS ALREADY TAKING PLACE IN THEIR COUNTRY.

cause of human rights nor his natural affinity to Non-Governmental Organisations concerned with human rights has in anyway suffered in consequence of his elevation. That such a person should take the lead in highlighting the gross abuses of human rights in Sri Lanka came as no surprise to those who knew him.

DESPERATION AND ANGER

As the fact that a draft resolution had been placed on the agenda began to sink into the rather impenetrable heads of the Sri Lankan delegation, the initial shock gave way to sheer desperation and anger. "Blood will flow on the floors of this

cruelly killed. Further, what this young diplomat did not learn was that, despite the elaborate efforts to present an outward appearance of a nice face, the true inner ugly image of Sri Lanka had become all too obvious to everybody in the context of the unmitigated gross abuses of human rights in that country.

The fact that Sri Lanka found itself in the unique position of being pilloried in the reports of three important UN Working Groups demonstrated the sheer scale and extent of human rights violations brought to the attention of the U.N. The Special Rapporteur on Torture had expressed 'great concern' at the

engaged in ridiculing the Argentinian delegate for his stupidity in presenting a draft resolution with his sole signature. They thoughtlessly inferred that the resolution did not attract the support of the other 42 member countries. As time passed, ridicule gave way to vituperation and abuse that Argentina was taking revenge on Sri Lanka for having voted against Argentina and in favour of the UK in the 41st General Assembly of the UN on the resolution relating to the Malvinas (Falklands). It is to be noted that Sri Lanka was one of only three countries to vote with the UK, the others being Belize and Oman on that occasion. The puny minds that governed the conduct

(Continued from page 3)

On the following day, Harry Jayawardene responded. His intervention, by its tone and content, served only to alienate even those delegations which would have until then given the benefit of the doubt to Sri Lanka. His interventions were grossly negative, gratuitously offensive, openly abusive of NGOs replete with falsehoods and distortions and abrasive and arrogant in tone. The brutal and indiscriminate military force that was being employed within the country found ample reflection in the tenor and tone of his contribution. Besides his familiar attacks on 'Tamil terrorism' and regurgitation of the theoretical, but ineffective remedies available under the Sri Lankan Constitution in regard to human and fundamental rights abuses, he accused the NGOs and some states (no doubt meaning India and Argentina) of being politically motivated in their attitude to Sri Lanka. Referring to 'Non-Governmental Organisations and self-styled human rights watch-dogs', Jayawardene said that they "masquerade as dedicated human rights workers behind the facade of well-meaning world figures" (no doubt) a reference to Martin Ennals, the Secretary General of International Alert). He engaged in patent falsehood when replying to the charge made by the Indian delegate that 23 farm employees of a prawn farm had been killed by the Special Task Force on January 28, Jayawardene claimed, "Sadly 3 civilians were killed in the cross-fire". He even went to the extent of misquoting the Managing Director of the prawn farm who had in a press statement asserted that 23 of his workers, including the Manager, had been deliberately killed by the forces in the eastern province.

The exchanges in reply that followed between the Sri Lankan and Indian delegations reflected the serious deterioration in relations between the two countries. The Indian delegate firmly reminded the Sri Lankan delegation that India's mediation efforts in the ethnic conflict were at the invitation of President Jayawardene, but Brother Harry was playing a different tune in Geneva.

FALSE CALCULATION

The draft resolution tabled by Argentina had been deliberately couched in such a way as to allow for further discussions and compromise with other delegations with a view to maximising support. While the delegations of Argentina, Norway, Canada, Belgium, and Australia were discussing the draft resolution in private, the Sri Lankan delegation, either from arrogance or

a mistaken calculation of the support they could muster against the resolution, flatly refused even to talk with the Argentinian delegation. In fact, Sri Lanka prevailed on the Pakistani delegation to move an amendment, which in effect was not an amendment but a counter-resolution extolling the efforts of the Sri Lankan Government and condemning the Tamil groups. Such were the high hopes in which Sri Lanka was deluding itself!

The Arguments advanced by the Sri Lankan delegation behind the sce-

to send back the Tamils once the ICRC had been admitted into Sri Lanka. When it was suggested to him that Sri Lanka could not have it both ways to accuse the Tamils as economic refugees and openly calling for their deportation to Sri Lanka on the one hand, and on the other they should express horror at the prospect of their return. The fact of the matter is that the Sri Lankan delegation had been confident that so long as Tamil refugees in large numbers continued to remain in some European countries, the governments of these countries would

for unlimited periods under the Emergency Regulations. Sunil de Silva replied, "Detention orders issued under the emergency regulations were valid for one month only and detainees could not, therefore, be held indefinitely" (Summary Record, E/CN.4/1987/SR.34* Add.1, page 9). He suppressed the fact that Sri Lanka had been ruled under a State of Emergency uninterruptedly since May 1983, and there are in fact several hundreds, if not thousands, held in detention for unlimited periods.

SUGGESTION FOR COMPROMISE

When the Non-Aligned bloc of countries of the Human Rights Commission met during the morning of 11th March, the question of the draft resolution on Sri Lanka was raised by the Chairman and it was suggested that Argentina and Sri Lanka being members of the same bloc should attempt to negotiate with a view to reaching a compromise. Following this suggestion and finding that support for the resolution was gradually building up, Sri Lanka climbed down from its previous high pedestal and initiated talks with the Argentinian delegation. One Sri Lankan delegate later confessed that they agreed to negotiate when those countries which had previously promised to support them were gradually moving in support of the draft resolution. He further added that they suspected that on the morning of 11th March the resolution would have attracted a majority of 12 votes.

During the negotiations which commenced during the afternoon of 11th March and lasted until midnight the Sri Lanka delegation used every endeavour to remove all the important aspects of the resolution including the reference to the Working Group on Disappearances and ICRC intervention. The countries that had by now agreed to co-sponsor the resolution, namely Norway, Canada and Argentina, gained the impression that Sri Lanka was trying to gain time by unnecessarily prolonging the negotiations. It was known that the Sri Lankan Foreign Minister, Shahul Hameed, had been despatched to London and Paris to canvass support for his country. Additionally, a Sri Lankan career diplomat flown in from New York and a son of Harry Jayawardene, also a junior diplomat, were pressed into service in addition to the five member Sri Lankan delegation to lobby against the resolution.

When the delegations of the co-sponsoring countries found that Sri Lanka was not negotiating in good

Sri Lanka's Shame...

There wasn't a single Tamil delegate in any of the delegations of member or observer countries.....

nes against the draft resolution were dishonest and self-contradictory. Having known that the draft was being sponsored by Argentina with the support of some Latin American and West European countries and India, the Sri Lankan delegation went about describing it as a 'Tamil sponsored resolution'. There wasn't a single Tamil delegate in any of the delegations of member or observer countries except Malaysia which had included a Tamil, Mr. N. Parameswaran. But, Malaysia did not involve itself in the resolution not being a member of the Commission on Human Rights.

TRUMP CARD FAILS

While publicly charging that the Tamil refugees in European countries had come over seeking 'greener pastures' and as economic refugees, and openly inviting the governments of these countries to send the Tamil refugees back to Sri Lanka, the Sri Lankan delegates were telling some non-European delegations and NGOs that the reason for some European countries supporting the draft resolution was because they wanted the Tamils sent back to Sri Lanka. In fact one senior member of the Sri Lankan delegation told this correspondent that the NGOs who had campaigned for the non-return of Tamil refugees to Sri Lanka had fallen into the trap set by the 'Western moral imperialists' whose only aim in supporting the draft resolution, which included the call for intervention by the International Committee of the Red Cross, was

not back any resolution, however horrendous the human rights situation might be in Sri Lanka, because such a resolution might be invoked in support of the claim for refugee status by the Tamils. In fact, a Sri Lankan diplomat told this correspondent that the presence of Tamil refugees was Sri Lanka's trump card. But unfortunately this time the card had been trumped by the sheer scale of the carnage and violations that have taken place in Sri Lanka.

The Sri Lanka delegation also engaged in their usual attempt to mislead the Commission with brazen distortions. An NGO representative in the course of her intervention, accused the Sri Lankan government of extending its term to twelve years through a referendum which, according to the recently published Election Commissioner's Report, was characterised by several malpractices. In reply, a member of the delegation, Mr. Sunil de Silva, who also holds the post of Deputy Solicitor General in the Attorney General's Department, and who excels in the art of scoring cheap technical debating points in true court room fashion, said that he had a copy of the Report of the Elections Commissioner and had gone through it from cover to cover and could not find a single allegation of violation of the electoral law, when in fact what the NGO alleged was true and what Sunil de Silva said was a total lie. Again a representative of another NGO in her intervention alleged that persons had been kept in detention

(Continued on page 5)

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faith, they tabled an amended draft resolution (L. 74 / Rev. 1) by 11 p.m. on 11 March. The resolution on Sri Lanka which was to have been taken up for discussion that day was put back for the following day, the Chairman expressing the hope that there would be a consensus resolution.

PUBLIC NEGOTIATIONS

On the following day, 12th March at about 12 noon, all other resolutions had been voted upon and the only one remaining was the one relating to Sri Lanka. At the request of the Senagal delegation, the Chairman adjourned proceedings for further negotiations. When the Commission was reconvened at 4 p.m., it was found that no agreement had been reached, and by now Senagal was acting as the mediator to bring about a consensus. The sessions were again adjourned, but all the

After the resolution was adopted India and Sri Lanka made statements followed by angry exchanges. Harry Jayewardene had disappeared from the scene for the entire sessions that day, and the hard-pressed and obviously broken-hearted Sri Lankan Ambassador, Jayantha Dhanapala, had been left to carry the can and to face an ignominious defeat. His statement following the adoption of the resolution reflected a mixture of bravado and personal defeat. After all he is the Resident Ambassador for Sri Lanka in Geneva attending mainly to UN functions. He had, to some extent, salvaged Sri Lanka from dire straits in the past by the application of his personal qualities and charisma. His warm and likeable personality has earned him much personal respect among his fellow Ambassadors. Even such a person could not defend the indefensible happenings in Sri Lanka with much hope of success.

Commission failed last night...What was most significant at last night's historic decision was that the whole Indian campaign failed. India could not muster a single Asian country or a single Arab country to support its resolution." One could note the deliberate omission of all the three co-sponsors, Canada, Norway and Argentina, from this report. (After the vote, a senior Sri Lankan delegate abusing the African countries, said, "Even those African pariahs like Mozambique let us down and turned sides".) The Island 'The Island of 13-3-87 reported a tirade against Argentina and India by President Jayewardene under the heading "Countries with Ailments Trying to Cure Others". Speaking at a public meeting in Colombo, President Jayewardene was quoted as follows: The President said that a visit to either India or Argentina would manifest 'ailments' they suffer from. The problems in India

glories of the past and a caricature of the reality of the present.

The fact is that the resolution adopted on the situation in Sri Lanka is historic for more than one reason. Firstly, never before in the history of the United Nations a resolution submitted by a single country was eventually adopted unanimously. Secondly, Sri Lanka is the first new country to have been made the subject of a resolution for the last three years at the UN Human Rights Commission. Thirdly, Sri Lanka can no longer parade its false image of innocent virtue, and it has joined the league of the worst violators of human rights in the world. Fourthly as one senior delegate observed, the resolution on Sri Lanka was like a bomb placed in every block — Western, Eastern, Latin American, African and Asian block of countries. By attracting support from countries of every bloc, it broke the traditional voting pattern on a block ba-

SRI LANKA'S SHAME AT THE UN:

Surrender to A Concensus

Resolution

delegates, observers, representatives of NGOs and pressmen, numbering over 500, were glued to their seats watching the public display of the 'negotiations' taking place in small groups. An exasperated Belgian delegate was heard to say, "We now know how Sri Lanka has been conducting negotiations with the Tamils on the ethnic problem".

The public "negotiations" continued for nearly two hours in full view of all those present and with Senagal playing the lead role as a go-between".

Sri Lanka was exposed as an intransigent, unreasonable and difficult customer during the negotiations. At one stage, the co-sponsors threatened to abandon all negotiations and to move the original draft resolution (L74). Eventually, when the Commission reconvened about 6 p.m. Argentina, on behalf of the co-sponsoring countries moved the resolution and announced that they had agreed to certain amendments to be proposed by Senagal. The Senagalese delegate moved the agreed amendments and finally the resolution was adopted unanimously. Faced with an inevitable defeat by an overwhelming majority, Sri Lanka had abjectly surrendered to a consensus resolution.

SELF - GLORIFICATION

The self-glorification in which those at the helm in Colombo indulge and the self-delusion they suffer from were reflected in the Sri Lankan press following the adoption of the resolution. The misrepresentation was unbelievably typical. It did not even mention the Pakistani counter-resolution mooted by Sri Lanka which was unceremoniously dumped by the Commission even without mention. The resolution adopted by the Commission was hailed as a glorious victory for Sri Lanka and as a crushing defeat for India and Argentina against which there was a torrent of abuse. The much respected President of Argentina was depicted as a puppet in cartoons.

Before the resolution was adopted 'The Island' crowed about "...a massive international support for the Sri Lankan Government's handling of the ethnic crisis had been committed to Sri Lanka according to firm indications received by the Sri Lankan delegation in Geneva...". The same paper on 13-3-87, under the heading "Indian Move to Condemn Sri Lanka Fails" reported, 'All Indian efforts to condemn Sri Lanka for violating Human Rights

and the jails in Argentina show the 'sicknesses' that exist in these countries... these countries should first cure their own 'ailments' before attempting to heal the 'sicknesses' of others". What the President failed to mention was that the jails of Argentina are presently filled with those of the former Military Junta convicted for grave abuses of human rights during the 'dirty war' they conducted against the Argentinian people; and that in Sri Lanka the perpetrators of these crimes are not punished, instead they are promoted and hailed as national heroes, and even sent abroad as Ambassadors.

TRIUMPH FOR SRI LANKA

The government owned Daily News published a report datelined 14th March under the heading, "Lanka 'hijacks' Indian Resolution." The report said, "Anti-Lankan Indian diplomacy suffered a further setback in Geneva on Thursday when Sri Lanka 'hijacked' what originated as an Indian inspired draft resolution tabled by Argentina and co-sponsored later by Canada and Norway, to turn it into what political observers described as a major diplomatic triumph for Sri Lanka."

This type of self-congratulatory news management, while reflecting the self-deception those in authority in Colombo indulge in, also keeps the mass of the people from getting to know the reality of the depths to which Sri Lanka's international standing and image had sunk. The people are being fed with an exaggerated version of the

and the jails in Argentina show the 'sicknesses' that exist in these countries... these countries should first cure their own 'ailments' before attempting to heal the 'sicknesses' of others". What the President failed to mention was that the jails of Argentina are presently filled with those of the former Military Junta convicted for grave abuses of human rights during the 'dirty war' they conducted against the Argentinian people; and that in Sri Lanka the perpetrators of these crimes are not punished, instead they are promoted and hailed as national heroes, and even sent abroad as Ambassadors.

THE VERDICT

Following extensive discussion on the situation in Sri Lanka during the 1986 sessions of UN Human Rights Commission, this correspondent concluded his commentary as follows: 'Although no judgement was pronounced by the Human Rights Commission this year, there was no doubt that Sri Lanka was on trial. And those concerned with human rights and fundamental freedoms would appear to be determined to prosecute this trial to its logical conclusion in the coming period'. The verdict was delivered by the Human Rights Commission this year in the trial which commenced last year. And the verdict is unambiguous.

No longer can Sri Lanka escape international scrutiny for its persistent and gross violations of human rights. Sri Lanka is now placed on probation for good behaviour failing which it will face stiffer penalties for its accumulation of villainy. Past conviction will no doubt be taken into account in any future proceedings.

HOW THEY HIT

Here is the full text of a memorandum sent to the President by Maharaja Sri S. D. Shanmuganatha kurukkal, the hereditary trustee and chief High Priest of the historic Skantha Shrine of Maviddapuram

It has become absolutely necessary to place before Your Excellency special heart rending instances of horrifying alarms and disasterous effects that the numerous worshippers at the Maviddapuram Skantha Shrine—the priceless and peerless spiritual centre with a historic tradition of several hundred years—had to experience recently.

Your Excellency would be well aware of the spiritual sanctity of the Buddhist 'Nikini Poya' which full moon fastings and prayers are equally endearing occasions of holy meditation and humble dedication, when

direct targets, two Milch cows belonging to the temple, both of which staggered to suffocating death as if butchered. Seven hundred and twenty tiles in the roof of the inner courtyard of the temple were totally damaged. A bullock cart that was garaged in the courtyard was blown to smithereens and the outer wall was damaged. Two devotees succumbed to the firing. What was more woeful was the pitiable plight of the gathering of worshippers, forced into starvation, even unable to reach for water to quench their craving thirst, and the suffering was in suppressed silence, as no purpose would have been served by registering any complaints.

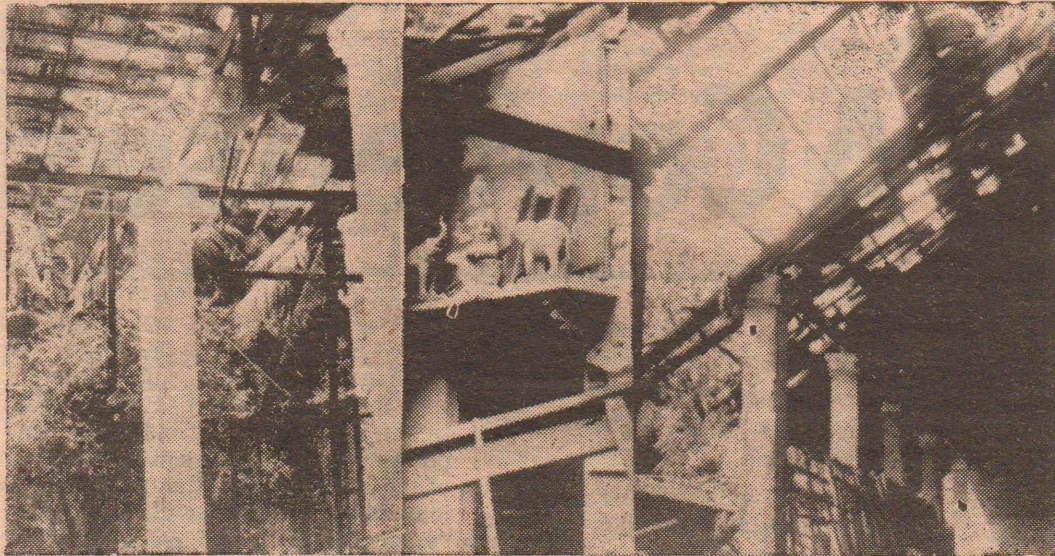
The Majestic, Tower the tallest in Sri Lanka, that picturesque pinnacle on the western courtyard, the spiritual beaconlight to the sacred, space served by this Skantha Shrine, was among the wanton wreckings inflicted on that terrifying occasion. The Palani Andavar Shrine, just beneath this imposing Gopuram, had its roofing uprooted. In the inner courtyard as many as 1430 tiles were totally damaged. The Vasantha Mandapam—the retreat hall that has been the pride of the saiva public ever since it was planned and constructed with the conspicuous aid so very magnanimously extended from the

and even the Secretariat of the temple did not escape being damaged.

Most regretfully, the sacred 'Kanch Tree' that symbolic plant of special import, like the sacred 'Bo Tree' of ancient Anuradhapura, had its spreading branches chopped off and so were many other plantations in the temple garden.

To add to the horrifying calamity, alas, the Milch cow including the young one along with another lost their lives.

It is indeed regrettable that these terrible disaster had taken place within the sacred premises of the time honoured temple of Skantha properly known as Maviddapuram Kanthasamy Temple, Mavai Atheenam. This is a spiritual centre not merely for the Saiva Public of this country but also for the religious minded of the wide world. The log entries made by visiting Foreigners would bear testimony to this statement. Let me take this opportunity to mention that devotees of all other Faiths too make periodical pilgrimages to this shrine, to quote a few, the highly respected Sarvodaya leader Dr. A. T. Aiyaratne, the Venerable Japanese Thereas. The Hon. Imbulana the Minister of Local Government, not to speak of the Officer-in-Charge of the Kankesanthurai Police from time to time, and the various administrative heads and their deputies of north.



The entrance of Vasantha Mandapam (the Hall of Spring) at the Maviddapuram Kandasamy Temple after shell attack.

Saiva devotees in their thousands congregate at Maviddapuram, forgetting for the time being, themselves and their temporal attachments.

It will be quite appropriate here to pinpoint these sacred days that marked the year 1986, the prayerfull period of one hundred thousand chantings of Vedic Manthrams adorning the spiritual image of Lord Skanda with selected flowers of serene fragrance immersed in the holy waters of the temple *theertham* (Holy lake.)

The seventeenth day of January 1986 started with this rare spiritual exercise and extended to the twenty sixth day of the same month. Of these suspicious days the twenty third and the twenty fourth days of January, 1986, were the most significant days, that attracted more devotees, and on these fateful days pandemonium reigned as a result of sudden shelling at the western entrance to this temple. The intermittent firing from a helicopter of the Security Forces and from the land based firing squads took as

Ironically enough, during the same period of spiritual exercise this year (1987) i.e. 26th February, 1987, the Maha Sivarathiri occasion, when a very large concourse of devotees anxiously preparing themselves for the rare night of vigil to feel the Majestic Glory of the 'Maha Sivalingam' had to be confronted with another anxiety in the form of the alarming roar of helicopters all around the holy premises punctuated by the punches of shells that were strown all over and the frequent firing, as if there was raging a pitched battle of course, with the one side unarmed and unprotected, that lasted for full four and three quarter hours. Here was pandemonium, women and children weeping and screaming, the aged shouting for shelter and some perspiring and fainting. I myself, as the Chief Priest braving the bomb scare found it impossible to alleviate the feelings of the horror stricken devotees, but however managed to provide first aid to three persons who were in fainting fit, but I could not find the means to rush them to hospital immediately.

'President's Fund' amounting to One Hundred Thousand rupees — also became part of the target of terror resulting in 810 tiles being blown to pieces. Various Mandapams used by several temple staff and artistes

WHO TOLD YOU

Who told you
That our Government
Has ignored the
North and the East

More and more
Model villages,
In the South and the West!
In that manner
More and more
Army Camps
In the North and the East!

Construction of Houses
Under grand projects
In the South and the West!
Destruction of Houses
In that Pattern
In the North and the East
Increasing Population
In the North and the East

Is being controlled
By shelling and Bombing
Of houses,
Kovils, Hospitals and Schools;

All the Aid
And Assistance
are being diverted
Towards North and East
Not for Development
But for "Tiger-Hunt"

These are some of them
These are some of them
And there are so many!
Do not repeat please
That the North and the East
Are being ignored
By our Government!

— "Saravanas"

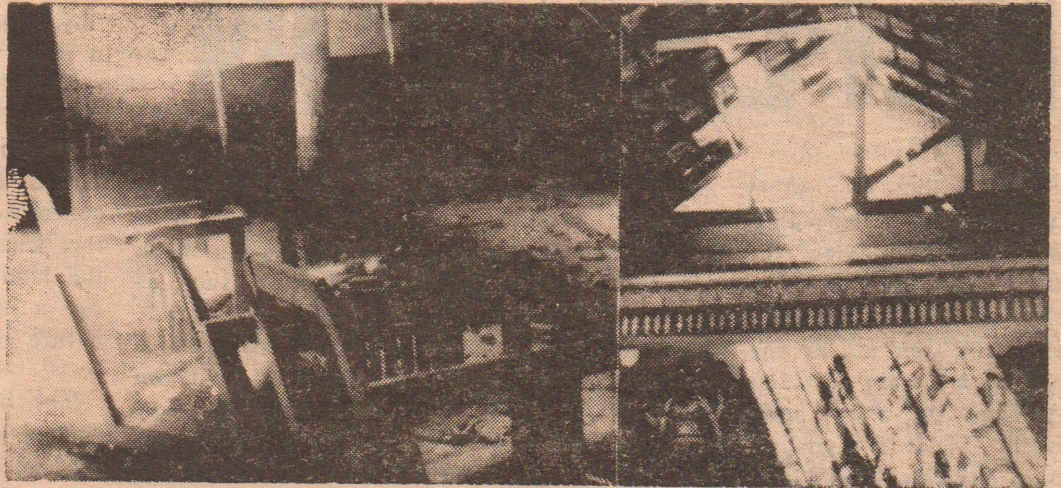
MAVIDDAPURAM TEMPLE

To make a special mention, it may be recalled that the credit of securing a telephone service for the Mavai Atheenam, undoubtedly goes to Mr. Weeratunga, the Army Commander, who willingly and conscientiously channelled our representations in this respect to the Ministry of Telecommunications, through the Prime Minister and obtained Your Excellency's gracious support.

It is appropriate here to refer to the cordiality that existed between the Tissa Vihare at Kankasanturai and this Mavai Atheenam in the real spirit of spiritual centres of similar aspirations. The Viharathipathy will bear out these facts. Another instance of the relevance of your Government's assistance and support was when the temple air-lifted a massive bell, which was cast in India, according to Hindu cultural specifications, and installed in the architecturally constructed 'Belfry' the like of its magnificence cannot be seen anywhere else in Sri Lanka.

We believe and are consciously confident that Your Excellency, inherently having the Dharmistic duty of preserving and protecting this spiritual seat of providence, popularly known to the wide world as 'Mavai Atheenam', an ancient shrine traceable to the timeless tradition of spiritual significance embedded in the sculptural inscriptions and religious records of the pristine past would

The damaged houses of the Priests after the shell attack.



pay deserving heed to our humble prayer.

Hence, our humble yet necessary appeal to Your Excellency that this spiritual seat of rare recognition, this ancient shrine of 'Athmic Amity'—inspiring reverence, this Mavai Atheenam and its extensive temporalities be sheltered from the sudden, savage and spasmodic effects of shell firing of the Security Forces stationed in the northern sector.

We also feel it our duty to place before Your Excellency our feeling that recompense for this ruinous damage caused to a shrine that throughout the ages had grown from structure to structure, by the begged benefactions of the public by the temple authorities, should be provided by the Government.

“Whole Ward Was Full Of Smoke And I Felt I Was Injured....”

A young man with a fully grown beard walked into the office of the SATURDAY REVIEW on 9th March in the hot afternoon. His left arm was fully plastered and he was trembling while speaking to the SATURDAY REVIEW.

Rangasamy Singarajah (32) was among the injured when the Jaffna General Hospital was hit on 30th March.

“I am the owner of ‘Singam Cafe’, a tea kiosk at Vavuniya. At present I have closed the kiosk for want of sufficient business and I am employed as a waiter at Selva Vilas, a big hotel in Vavuniya,” said R. Singarajah, and continued while his young beautiful wife seated besides him.

On 5th March I was admitted to Ward No.20 of General Hospital Jaffna for heart ailment.

I was informed by the Physician who treated me that I would be discharged from the hospital on 1st April.

On 30th March at about 1.30 a.m gun shot and explosions were heard in Jaffna Town.

Patients were told that the shells, gun shots are being fired from the Jaffna Fort Army Camp towards the residential areas.

Most of the patients including myself through fear went to the ground floor and stayed there till 5. a.m.

At about 6.20 a.m a shell fell in Ward 20 and exploded with a loud noise.

The whole Ward was full of smoke and I felt that I was injured

(Continued on page 8)

THE DAMAGES

1st Occasion: — Damages caused on 23rd January, 1986, aerial attack by Helicopter - Gunships.

1. Red Cow (12 bottler milking)	Rs. 4,700-00
2. Red Cow (Virgin)	Rs. 1,500-00
3. Temple roofing tiles damaged (720)	Rs. 2,880-00
4. Bullock cart damaged	Rs. 3,000-00
5. Temple Madam roofings(230 tiles)	Rs. 920-00
6. Boundary wall damaged	Rs. 5,000-00
7. Feeding and other aids to these assembled as refugees in the temples	Rs. 740-00
	<u>Rs. 18,740-00</u>

2nd Occasion: — Damages caused on 26th Feb, 1987.

1. Temple roofing tiles (2240)	Rs. 17,920-00
2. Temple's various Mandapams and Madams(1200 titles)	Rs. 9,600-00
3. Rafts and Beams	Rs. 5,000-00
4. Blackish red milk cow (14 bottler)	Rs. 6,000-00
5. Calf 9 months old	Rs. 500-00
6. Brown Cow	Rs. 3,000-00
7. Repairs to the Grand Tower that has been heavily attacked	Rs. 60,000-00
8. Refugees Aids including feeding	Rs. 1,200-00
9. Carfare to hospital to admit those who fainted in the temple	Rs. 200-00
	<u>Rs. 103,420-00</u>

3rd Occasion: — Damages caused on 26th and 31st March 1987

	Rs.	cts.
1. Electricity Fittings	—	3,000-00
2. Vasantha Mandapam Eastern wing -total wreck	—	26,000-00
3. Southern Shanmugar Entrance - roofing wreck	—	15,000-00
4. Inner Courtyard roofs	—	30,000-00
5. Assistant Priest's quarters - total wreck	—	90,000-00
6. Chief High Priest's quarters	—	45,000-00
7. Vedдай Mandapam's roof	—	27,000-00
8. Musician's Rest - total wreck	—	50,000-00
9. Northern Madam total wreck	—	50,000-00
10. Masonary damage whole part of the temple	...	40,000-00
11. Repairs to Granite structure	...	22,000-00
12. Plantation damage	...	5,000-00
13. Loss to Properties	...	10,000-00
14. Loss to Sanskrit books and Ola Scripts	...	10,000-00
15. Repairs to Grand Sapparam
16. Repairs to Raja Gopuram	...	250,000-00
		<u>708,000-00</u>

A GOOD FRIDAY REFLECTION

The writing of history involves interpretation, depending on the writers' world-view of what life and events are about. Such a world view may be based on history as class-struggle or as the coming to age of a nation subduing all others. Amongst the oldest and profound of world-views is that of history of both individuals and communities as being a sequence determined by past moral choices. This is the message of the Bible. Whilst focussing on individuals it has the exciting sweep of history running through the vicissitudes of empires, from Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Macedonia, Persia, down to Rome. The moral view of history is not confined to the Bible alone. It is inherent in the notion of Karma. The Greek scholar F.M. Comford writing in 1921 says, "Fourteen Years ago, writing under the impression of the South African war, I may have overstressed the financial aspect of imperialism. Since 1914 Thucydides' moral interpretation of history has seemed more profound". 1914 marked the start of the underscribable calamity of the first world war. Thucydides was of course the 5th Century B.C. Greek historian who wrote on the Peloponnesian war which marked the beginning of Greek decline.

For the last thirty years our community has largely subscribed to the idea of a Tamil people labouring under the perfidy of Sinh-

"Whole Ward..."

(Continued from page 7)

and bleeding from my left shoulder and left knee.

I lost consciousness and when I recovered I found that I had been removed to Ward.5.

Even now I am not in a position to move my left hand.

I have five children, four sons and a daughter all under 10 years and school going.

I am the only earning member of my family and I will not be able to do any work for about six months.

lese governments. This has tended to divert attention from our own moral choices. Our means can make a mockery of sound aims such as liberty, equality and brotherhood. In recent conversations two sensitive senior Hindu doctors said that we were part of the problem. One confessed that we have developed a group mentality where we derive satisfaction from the sufferings of others. A friend who came from

Singapore to visit his family told me, "my relations told me of fires in the neighbourhood. I did not inquire, for I knew that it will give me great pain I do not wish to return to live in my land." This person is one who was actively concerned for his people. Thus even the friendly and familiar feel of the land of our nurture has taken on a sinister edge. Such is the nature of internal strife.

The Bible goes beyond a moral version of history. It reveals a God of love who is intimately concerned with moral choices made by men. A God in whose nature it is to

suffer when we make the wrong choices. Thus did God shew forth his love by meekly dying on the cross by the injustice of men.

In the view of the Biblical writers, it is the forgiving nature of God to give individuals and communities fresh opportunities again and again

by **Rajan Hoole**

to repent their ways. Some like the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar do so and receive peace, others, like the Pharisees, resort to even greater heights of frenzy and destructive folly. Perhaps such a view of the recent history of communities in this country will bring about insights which in turn may suggest a way out. The choice is ours.

An Easter Thought:

Crucifixion And Resurrection

Crucifixion of Christ Jesus on Good Friday may be said to be the starting point of Christianity.

The Crucifixion of Christ was not a mere accident. It had been prophesied throughout the ages by Men of God.

Thus Good Friday was not a day of mere fulfilment but a day of consumation of human Salvation.

The Cross is not merely the joining of two pieces of wood at right angles. On the contrary, it signifies the crossing point of divine and human hopes. From the Godly heights of Golgotha the divine hands of Christ reaches out through space and time to human hands.

The Cross is the climax of man's wickedness.

The rebellion of man in the Garden of Eden plunged the world on a sinful course. The Way of the Cross—the sorrowful Way—was to lead man on to the Path of Righteousness.

The Last Words of a dying man are, and in most cases bring out philosophical truths. In the case of a man sentenced to death, he brings out his traumatic and mental strain he is undergoing.

The Words of Christ on the Cross have been meditated upon throughout the ages and they are basically expressions of the fulfilment of his Mission of Salvation.

When Christ fell into the hands of his enemies, his disciples and

followers deserted him and their faith crumbled into the dust before them. It was their fervent belief that this Christ, Messiah would set up an independent kingdom in this world against the Empire of Rome. This is evidenced in the conversation of the two disciples on the road to Emmaus, after the death of Christ.

The Scribes and Pharisees found to their dismay that instead of leading a revolt against Rome, Christ began to expose their hypocrisy, superficial beliefs and bring their spiritual short-comings to the ridicule of the people. They were now

out for his Blood. With the connivance of the masses, they brought about the Crucifixion of Christ and by so doing they thought they could once and for all bury "this Rebel and His teachings"

But this was not to be. Christ rose from dead and the Resurrection of Christ is the central fact of Christianity. Death is swallowed up in Victory! Easter is the greatest of feasts and is the resplendent celebration of our Redemption. It symbolises the Victory over Evil, Light over Darkness.

— S. Patrick Balarajah

Operation Poonakary

Nachchikudah and Mulangavil in Poonakary in the Jaffna District has witnessed a large concentration of Security Forces in recent days. These areas had to bear the brunt of a search thrust which resulted in undue harassment of the people of these areas in spite of the cease fire on force. The Security Forces were reported to have converted a muslim school at Nachchikudah into a minicamp. About 800 soldiers from this camp conducted a search opera-

tion during which they took into custody three young men of Mulangavil. During a search operation at Mulangavil on 13th April, the house of the Principal of the School of that area was damaged and the houses of some of the members of the staff were damaged and goods seized by them.

British Minister's Visit

The Deputy Home Minister Mr. David Waddington is on a four-day official visit to Sri Lanka. He met the National Security Minister at Nuwara Eliya on 12th April and visited Vavuniya and Trincomalee on the 13th. The rest of the North is probably taboo to the Minister, probably because of too many skeletons in the Government Cupboard. The Media Centre would, however, say that it was a "Security Risk."

7 Commandos Killed

Seven Commandos were killed instantaneously when the jeep in which they were travelling on their return journey after a search operation hit a land mine at Kanchirankuda in the Amparai district.

Appeal From The Welikade Death Cells

We appealed to you once again by our Memorandum of 22nd March, 1987, to release immediately or bring to trial all those who were arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) and detained for periods over 18 months or remanded indefinitely.

The Fast unto Death launched by us on 8th August, 1985 on this matter was broken by force. In our Memorandum of 22nd March, 1987 referred to above, we pointed out, with great disappointment, that though we brought this matter to your notice several times since then, no relief had been given and requested yourself to take immediate action.

Having been affected very badly due to severe tortures and distressed due to prolonged confinement, we staged a token hunger strike on 25th March, 1987 in order to show our sorrow and to request redress. We have continued this for ten days on a rotation basis with ten persons taking part daily, commencing from

26th March, 1987. Still, we have not been given any relief. Your Government has not tried atleast to contact us and find out our grievances.

Hence, having lost all our hopes, we have decided to launch on a Fast unto Death tomorrow. (5th April.)

The Tamil speaking Political Prisoners at Welikade have sent the following letter to President Jayewardene. Earlier, on 22nd March, a memorandum was sent and no reply given by the Presidential Secretariat.

The following appeal was signed by T. A. RAJAMOHAN from Ward A, S. SANTHIRALINGAM from Ward B, P. SRITHARAN from Ward B2, G. A. Felix from Ward C and T. Kirupakaran.

When some Honourable Members of Parliament, who had some sympathies with us and who do not approve of this cruel Human Rights Violations, raised this matter in the Parliament recently, your Govt. "Explained" that a person cannot be detained for over 18 months under the Prevention of Terrorism Act but it is possible under the Emergency Regulations.

This amply proves that your Government is looking for loopholes to justify and perpetrate this Human Right Violations instead of releasing all those who in detention without any trial for periods over 18 months and some, even for over 41 months.

Section 9 (i) of the PTA empowers the Minister of Defence to Det-

This is how hundreds of persons are being detained under the Emergency Regulations or Remanded indefinitely for periods over 18 months, now. We do not wish to enter into a legal squabble as to what provision under which these persons are detained. We only appeal to you to give up this inhuman act.

When appeal for the release of those who have completed over 18 months, It should not be construed that we condone or recognize as justifiable the Human Rights Violations of detaining persons on suspicion for 18 months under the guise of 'Investigation'. There is no humanist who has failed to condemn this uncivilized piece of legislation. What we request is to stop at the detention of persons exceeding the maximum limit of 18 months under various laws violating even the draconia in Prevention of Terrorism Act. Won't your Government lend an ear at least to this request? If not, we shall go on a Hunger Strike until we die.

(ON BEHALF OF TAMIL SPEAKING POLITICAL PRISONERS)



ASH UNDER THE LIME TREE

father of three, his eldest son is just in Grade five while the youngest in Grade one. His close associates called him "Raja" and was a "noble soul".

These two brothers along with the younger one's wife and children were seated peacefully outside Ponnampalam villa", when the Security Forces descended on them like a tornado.

They chased the wife and children into the house and took the brothers into custody.

The fate of the two men in custody was not known inspite of pertinent inquiries made by their relatives through the Government Agent and the Citizens' Committee from the Army.

Soon after a call went out to the people to return to their dwelling houses at Kattuvan which they had been forced to vacate due to the incessant escapades by the Security Forces. Rumours were afloat which seem to have had the blessings of one of the influential members of the Citizens' Committee that the

brothers were in the custody of the Army.

Worried beyond endurance, the relatives went to see their ancestral home and Shanmugaratnam's father in-law anxiously inquired from the escort "black trousered gentleman" as to the whereabouts of his son-in-law.

The reply was curt and down to earth. He said they had burnt the bodies of "two terrorists" and even volunteered to show the exact location—a lime tree under which they were cremated! On hearing this brutal news, Shan's wife collapsed. She is yet to recover from her mental illness that ensued.

Ironically, it was only the day before, being unable to take their mother's ashes to Keerimalai as was the custom, but due to the activities of the Security Forces at Kankasanturai they were compelled to leave the ashes at the Crematorium with a view to taking them on the 31st day of her death.

The Security Forces decided otherwise. They could not even take part on the 31st day ritual of their late mother. The Tamil trio should now enjoy blissful Nirvana—thanks to the black-uniformed men.

Shanmugaratnam's wife found that all their possessions including jewellery had disappeared except an aluminium pot which was the only souvenir of the rampage.

The coup-de-grace given by the black uniformed soldiers is that the College founded by the late K. Ponnampalam namely Gnanodaya Vidyalaya is now under their occupation.

Why Dear Them?

Palitha Karunatileke of Harispattuwu who was one of the commandos taken prisoner by the LTTE during the attack on the mini camp at the Jaffna Police Station on 23rd March condemned the action of the Government in debarring the Buddhist monks from visiting Jaffna. He emphasised that the Government along with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. A. C. S. Hameed were not interested in obtaining their release and for no reason they have prevented the monks from endeavouring to obtain their release. He also stated that they were being treated well by the militants.

HOW ABOUT R & R FACILITY TO PROF.?

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Thank you, Mr. Editor for publishing A. J. Wilson's article Ethnic Crisis Political and Constitutional Options (S.R. 11th. April, 1987).

Your Introduction states that this is the text of the statement by A. J. Wilson Professor of Political Science, University of New Brunswick at the Hearing on Sri Lanka on 12th, March, 1987 by the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs Committee on Foreign Affairs Congress of the United States.

Professor A. J. Wilson started on an autobiographical note mentioning the fact that he is the son-in-law of the Leader "of what originally the leading Tamil Political Party in the Ceylon Tamil areas of the North and East in Sri Lanka. The Tamil Federal Party which later became the principal component of the Tamils' United Liberation Front.

Prof. Wilson mentions some interesting information about Sri Lanka's Former Ambassador in Washington, Ernest Corea (a cross-eyed editor, if ever there was one) and Wickrema Weerasooriya whose sister is married to Gamini Dissanayake (The Land Baron of the 20th. Century Sri Lanka)

Prof. Wilson has this very interesting item:

"The advantage in the United States supporting proposition A, B, or C (See S. R. 11th April) is there will be non-negotiable Tamil unit and unconditional control over its democratic composition is still a possibility. I must caution, however, that in historical perspective the end result will be that what has been sighted in A or B or C or two separate units". Prof. Wilson, who has been dropping a lot of information about inside politics in Sri Lanka, has very thoughtfully omitted to mention where he was educated.

We have to ask this because the Professor in a responsible statement at a responsible body has said the following:- "The advantage in the United States supporting propositions A, B, or C is that the Tamil unit is more reliable in its adherence to the rules of International Diplomatic System than the Sinhala unit. There has been a long long tradition of education through American Mission in the Tamil unit. The Tamil people are morally obliged to the U.S. Institution which spent so much time over their education.

Any agreement therefore, with the U. S. Government will be honoured. It will therefore be a sounder pro-

position for the U. S. to have broadcasting arrangements and other necessary facilities in a Tamil state than in the Sinhalese where public opinion is subject to violent, volatile and unpredictable changes of mood."

Prof. Wilson is the brother of a Christian Padre. The U.S. demands not merely "broadcasting arrangements".

They also insist on Rest and Recreation (R. & R.) facilities. Every one knows that this is an euphemism for whoredom.

Prof. Wilson, brother of a Christian Padre, would you also ask for R. & R. facilities in the Tamil unit?

A. RAJAN

Jaffna

Heal Thyself First

The Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

From the Bangalore SAARC conference heights, President Jayewardene preached about Ahimsa and non-violence, about the Buddha and the Mahatma, and more still, showed his heart that was bleeding over the killings in his country by service and "terrorist" bullets alike.

He maintained this lofty state and likened himself to the Buddha and quoted the story of the Buddha and the abusing Brahmin, when, some weeks later, the Indian Prime Minister made some critical remarks about the tactics he was adopting over the ethnic issue.

Unfortunately for him, he could not continue to maintain his 'holier than thou' attitude when Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi criticised him again some weeks later. President Jayewardene fell down from his sublime heights to hard earth and, like any other human being prone to turn abusive when cornered in an argument, retorted to Mr. Gandhi, "Physician, Heal Thyself First!".

Now, his Prime Minister has from Egypt, made an appeal to the affluent nations to divert a mere 2% of the money they spend on armaments to the needy developing countries, of course, including Sri Lanka. But the irony of this appeal is that the Prime Minister had forgotten, in the process, his own country's Malady.

The mob orator in him must have made him ignore that his Government is spending today a fifth of its annual budgetary provision (which includes a sizeable proportion of loans and gifts from the affluent nations) in killing and maiming tens of

thousands of its own people and destroying billion dollars worth of houses, schools, hospitals, temples and churches etc. all for the purpose of maintaining the "divine" right of a mythical Aryan people to rule over the Dravidian section of the country's population. While Mr. Premadasa is trying to earn for himself international fame by his appeal for homes for the homeless, his Government's armed forces are destroying, on a conservative estimate, one house for every two he is building.

Well may some one turn round and tell Prime Minister Premadasa, "Physician, Heal Thyself First."

K. SIVANANDASUNDARAM
Point Pedro

Let's Dream

The Editor,
SATURDAY REVIEW

Apart from inaccuracies in reporting from both sides if one were to consider the actual situation in the North and the East, the statement of Minister Thondaman that the activities of the Security Forces to be completely stopped for Ten days (may be even for a month), will be a most common sense ap-

LETTERS

proach in view of the fact also that the militants are active only when there is instigation from the other side.

If there is a high percentage of success, of course this could be extended and could be the nucleus for the much wanted (from both sides) 'talks' to begin, of course with the concurrence of India, so, that the intransigence of the militants regarding implementations could be removed.

As a pre-condition for such talks, it will be prudent for the President and his Government to admit logically the fact that the Tamils are a distinct nationality in Sri Lanka and that the North and East are their homelands traditionally.

This, Mr. Editor, I should think should work wonders if one were to consider the actual situation in this part of this beautiful motherland of ours and also from purely a common sense angle.

C.V. SUBRAMANIAM
Chavakachcheri.

The Big 'Who's

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Wars are waged by various countries in the world and they go on for years. No country has so far

been reported to have sprayed ACID from the air on the enemy.

In Ceylon, spraying of acid from Helicopters is not on the Freedom Fighters who fight the Government to win back the freedom their motherland has lost, but on innocent school children who go towards their schools with their books in hand and their Lady Teachers who are on their way to the same schools to impart the knowledge, that these children are badly in need of.

This technique is known only to the Air Force of the so-called Republic of Sri Lanka.

All religions believe in a Supreme Being. Whatever their teachings are, paths to reach the same goal.

To be ambitious is human nature. Anybody who starts in the lowest rung wishes to go up as high as possible. To attain this, different people adopt different methods. One who is conscientious, adopts fair methods, but one who is used to crooked ways adopts unfair methods. It all depends on the surroundings he moves in. There are others who wish to become popular by boasting that they had been in the company of people like Mahatma Gandhi and Sri Ramakrishna. They are those, who are normally called Hypocrites. There are a number of such people in our country, especially Politicians.

In Christianity who was Jesus Christ and who was Judas, who betrayed him?

Even though Buddhism teaches Ahimsa, who else but a Buddhist Priest shot down Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, who was responsible for the Sinhala Only Bill, and who gave all power to the Buddhist Priests?

During the Sinhalese-Muslim Riots, did Sir, P. Ramanathan risk his own life to go to England. To espouse whose cause? The Tamils or the Sinhalese?

During the first ever Public Servants' Strike, didn't the Police shoot down Kandasamy, who was one in the procession from Hyde Park to Kolonnawa? Who ordered the shooting? What happened to the Memorial that was erected by the Public Servants at McCallum Road?

Our Politicians who are now in power, if they ask their conscience (if they really have one) will get the correct answer.

In Ramayanam, who was responsible for Raman's Exile and in Maha Bharatham, for the exile of the Pandavas?

(Continued on page 11)

Israeli Manipulation Of U. S. Media Exposed

American media coverage of Israeli and Middle East affairs is often manipulated by Israel, asserts a new report published in the United States.

A recently published report by American freelance journalist Robert Friedman warns that the American press' 'kid gloves' approach towards Tel Aviv 'has resulted in a distorted media image of Israel... and a skewed view of the Arab-Israeli conflict'.

Negative reports about Israel are often buried or overlooked by the US mainstream media with the result that the country's efforts to act as an honest broker in the region have been totally undermined. This approach 'has crippled the United States ability to make realistic foreign policy judgements and has undermined US efforts to act as an honest broker in Mid-east affairs the report adds

In his lengthy study, the writer notes that many mainstream journalists in the United States, Christians as well as Jews, feel they should defend Israel. 'And many others who have tried to defy this orthodoxy have come under unrelenting attack from the Israeli lobby — a coalition of editors and publishers, pro-Israeli PACs (Public Action Committees) and wealthy businessmen—which tries to silence dissidents with accusations of anti-Israeli bias or anti-semitism,' he said.

The report also shows evidence that when Israel and its supporters do not get the coverage they want in the American press through friendly means, they resort to pressure.

According to Menachem Shalev, a former press officer for the Israeli consulate in New York city, press relations are a 'top priority' of the Israeli Government. 'It is crucial that Israel gets favourable press in the United States. The stakes for Israel — billions in aid and continued US support — are very high.'

In a conversation with Friedman last May, Shalev also said: 'I had breakfast, lunch and dinner with journalists... many became friends. I turned my position of trust into a position of influence.'

An Israeli official, who would not let his name be used, told Friedman that there are a number of American Jews in the American television industry 'from network executives to bookers' who are 'more loyal' to Israel than to their employer. This translates into 'favours' ranging from sympathetic coverage

of Israel to getting negative stories about the country ignored.

The same source said he knows of at least three instances in which Israel was able to get 'negative' news segments left out of broadcasts. Friedman says that 'the official wouldn't say whether Israel was able to do this by convincing executives that the stories were wrong by applying some kind of pressure, or whether dual loyalty came into play.'

Statements about the support American journalists feel towards Israel also came from several well known people in the media. Washington Post editor Benjamin Bradlee said during an interview with Friedman last October that if polled privately, the reporters in his newsroom 'would say that they were pro-Israel. Not pro-Syria, not-pro-Palestinian, I think that's probably a fact of life'.

On the other hand, other stories and statements cited pressure imposed on the American media. 'If there is anything in the papers that

smacks of criticism of Israel, my editor's phone starts ringing,' said David Lamb, who covered Egyptian affairs for the Los Angeles Times. He went on to add that editors were much more careful when dealing with Israeli stories than they were with those pertaining to the Arab World 'because they know they will come under a lot more pressure'.

The report said that the most active organisations involved in pressuring the media are the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress and the anti-defamation league of B'nai B'rith.

To illustrate the might of these and other such organisations Friedman notes that the American Jewish Committee leapt into action in March 1986 when it tried to suppress *Flashpoint* a three part documentary by the Public Broadcasting Station (PBS) on the Middle East that included a segment portraying Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza strip. Thirty-six stations dropped the broadcast, including those in Washington D.C. and New York city.

Friedman says that the US media's 'love affair' with Israel did sour temporarily as a result of the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. Following the Israeli action the American Jewish Congress helped establish the 'Hasbara', or propaganda project, an internship programme that places Israeli officials in advertising agencies in New York to learn how the experts handle public relations. Before the Israeli participants returned to Israel, they were invited to meet top editors and executives at the New York Times, the *Washington Post* and all three network evening news shows.

'After the hullabaloo over Lebanon the press doesn't do anything without calling us for comment,' the unidentified Israeli official told Friedman. However, as Friedman points out, stories that are omitted from the American press because of the pressures brought to bear on journalists, are regularly covered by the Israeli press.

Clearly the Israelis have a very successful public relations system in the US but, as Friedman warns, those who silence the media and stifle debate are a threat to Israel, to the Arab nation and to the prospects for peace in the region.

— Third World Network Features / The Middle East.

The Big 'Who's

(Continued from page 10)

Who was responsible for the Chelva-Bandaranaiké agreement not coming into effect?

Who was responsible for the Federal Party not being in Parliament today?

Not one but two judicial officers have in giving their verdict on the inquests on the bodies of those who were killed as a result of the shells that emanated from the Jaffna Fort held that they are murders.

If the Armed Forces confine themselves to their barracks instead of going up into the air in Bombers, Helicopters and Sea Planes in Armoured Cars into lonely villages and in Naval vessels around coastal villages, the Freedom Fighters will automatically lay down their arms, leave aside their surrendering their arms to the Government, which has not kept its word.

Refusal by the Government to Grant permission to the International Red Cross Society

and the United National Organisation Representatives to visit the North and the East itself shows who is guilty.

Jaffna K. THURAIRAJAH

Welcome Yoges!

The Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

After his mysterious disappearance and hibernation for a little less than four years in the sub-continent of India and the U. K., our one time "Courageous" M.P. for Jaffna, Mr. V. Yogeswaran, is believed to have made his sudden appearance in Jaffna, a fortnight ago, virtually shedding crocodile tears at the plight of his Tamil brethren here.

To make thing worse, he has in his well-conceived statements to two Tamil dailies taken the stand of the Pharisees and Scribes of the old.

All right-thinking, Tamil-speaking brethren like to pose the following questions to the seemingly courageous, nay crafty, M.P. for Jaffna and his Gurus who had in 1983 left us in the lurch.

Did you and your Gurus leave us all into quagmire of a Utopian uncertainty when you all should have stood by us in our hour of need to guide and encourage us in our efforts? Instead, you all did a hasty retreat to Tamil Nadu where you have been petted and pampered on compassionate grounds.

Did you or your revered Gurus at any period of your somewhat long hibernation make a genuine attempt to hop over to North to assess the prevailing conditions here and see for yourselves the nightmarish trauma and mental agony hitherto suffered by your brethren? Had you all been here and raised your voice in protest, even at the risk of your previous, much previous lives, we would certainly have made martyrs of you? Instead you have been leading a comfortable carefree live in the Haven of Tamil Nadu — exposing your fear and cowardice to face stark facts.

Come, come Mr. Yogeswaran— you seem to have performed the Houdini Act once again leaving your Gurus, the Thalopathy and vociferous fighter from Vadamarachy to fend for themselves. Had they too joined you in this Great Act, What a strange Trinity it would have made to administer the Last Sacrament on your beloved Tamil Brethren!

VICTOR S. KIRUPARAJ
Jaffna.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Arms Stolen At Gunpoint

12 T. 56 Assault rifles and seven sub-machine guns were reported stolen on 15th April at gun point by a four man gang at an Army Camp in Pallekelle in Kandy District. The guards at the Camp were huddled into a room and the gang

made good their escape in a hijacked Vehicle.

The Police which later mounted search operation had recovered six T 56 rifles and three submachine guns, according to SLBC report on the night of 16th.

ANOTHER BOBBY SANDS?

All norms of civilization have gone astray and the political detenus at Welikade and Bogambara have again on a fast unto death. (see also page 9) At the time of going to press reports from Welikade indicated that at least six of the fifteen youths were in a critical condition, and admitted to the prison hospital.

They have also specifically asked the prison authorities not to admit the Tamil Minister (Mr. C. Rajadurai it is learnt) to see them. They have also in a Memorandum to the President stated that if the Government does not accede to their demands more youths will join the fast.

Fr. Singarayer observed a one day token strike in support of the fasting detenus.

Vijaya Kumaranatunge has also addressed a letter to the authorities to take necessary steps to take legal action or release and stated that he was in full accord with the fasting youths.

The detenus have rejected the new clothes given to them as a token of protest. Some religious leaders have acted in consonance with the suggestion put forward by the Gener-

al Secretary of the Sri Lanka Mahajana Party.

Earlier, permission to interview the fasting detenus by volunteer organisations was turned down by

the Prison authorities. The intention of these volunteer organisations was to explore the feasibility of an amicable solution. Meanwhile, it was also reported that the visiting Deputy Home Minister, Mr. David Wadd-

ington could visit the detenus at Boosa and Welikade.

But, we were unable to verify whether Mr. Waddington has actually visited the camps. Owing to the complete suspension of Telecommunication facilities by the Government.

Government Employees Killed

The Army shot dead a Cement Factory employee and a harbour employee on the afternoon of 10th April. The shooting was done by soldiers posted to cover the movement of a convoy from Kankesan-turai harbour to Palaly.

Mr. S. Veeravagu (No. 1302 of the General Works Section at the Cement Factory) was shot dead at Thaiyitti while cycling towards the KKS Rd. Mr. Veeravagu, aged 59,

had lost his wife recently when a Government helicopter shot up his home in Palaly.

Mr. Rasalingam, aged 35, was a slightly disturbed harbour employee who was shot dead whilst having a sea bath between the harbour and KKS junction. He had little cause to fear the Army as he worked closely with them in the harbour.

KKS was considered fairly safe while the unwritten truce operated which allowed the Army use of the KKS Palaly Rd. for the transport of supplies. Even during former periods of tension the truce had held leaving the civilians relatively safe. The local civilian population had reportedly played an active role in trying to keep the truce going. The atmosphere which followed in the wake of the Government's January offensive proved too volatile. KKS too had become a scene of fighting and landmine attacks.

TOMORROW MAY BE TOO LATE

Your Excellency,

It is with a heavy heart we write this letter to you. We hope this will receive your personal attention before referring it to the Secretary Ministry of Defence for necessary action, because we are becoming desperate.

We have been writing to your Excellency repeatedly, whenever our members were affected by excesses of the Security Forces or whenever hospitals were damaged. We expected some degree of restraint from the Security Forces. But what we experienced on the morning of the 30th of March was unbelievable and unforgettable.

At about 6.25 am on the 30th of March a shell from the Jaffna Fort fell on Ward No. 19 & 20 (Male Medical Wards) killing eight PATIENTS instantaneously. A hospital employee on duty and two other patients died

on transfer to the casualty ward. Another 25 patients and the staff nurse on duty sustained severe injuries, and more are bound to die of the injuries sustained.

This is not the first occasion that a shell had fallen on the Hospital. During the month of March alone the hospital was shelled on three occasions (on the 7th, 23rd and 30th). On the 7th of March a shell fell in the Hospital corridor and killed a Hospital employee and injured 15 persons. On the 23rd of March another shell fell on Ward No. 19. Fortunately it did not explode. Had it exploded several patients would have died.

Prior to this, two shells had fallen on the V. D. Clinic and another in the Children's Ward. Altogether the Jaffna Hospital was shelled on six occasions.

However, much the State media operating in Colombo may report that the mortar fired by the militants had deviated and fallen on the

hospital. We who live and work in the hospital know that these shells which fell on the hospital came from the direction of the Jaffna Fort Camp.



We would also like to bring to your Excellency's notice another gruesome incident that occurred in the early hours of the 4th of April. An ambulance belonging to the Department of Health Services which

was bringing severely ill patients to Jaffna Hospital was fired at by the Security Forces killing the driver and at least one patient.

Your Excellency, you may have been annoyed by frequent complaints from us regarding your Security Forces. But we have always felt that as a responsible Association, we will be failing in our duty if we do not place on record the real situation that exists. Further, the elder members of the Association feel that we are probably one of the few links that exist between the North and the South of Sri Lanka.

When our generation fades away, the possibility of a peaceful solution to the ethnic problem will also fade away. Hence if something has to be done, to avert disaster it has to be done today. Tomorrow may be too late.

Yours faithfully,
DR. N. SIVARAJAH
PRESIDENT, JAFFNA MEDICAL ASSOCIATION