

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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WORLD AT YOUR FINGER TIPS

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ATTENTION

To-day we publish without comment the full text of a leaflet from the Security Forces air-dropped by helicopter on Jaffna city this week — because no comment is necessary.

THE SECURITY FORCES HAVE BEEN GIVEN THE

TASK OF MAINTAINING LAW AND ORDER IN YOUR AREA. THEREFORE IT IS NECESSARY FOR THE SF TO DISARM ANYBODY WHO OWNS OR CARRIES UNAUTHORIZED WEAPONS. IF ANYBODY IS FOUND CARRYING OR KEEPING WEAPONS THE SF ARE FORCED TO DISARM

THEM. IN DOING THIS, INNOCENT PEOPLE MAY BE HURT. THIS WE WANT TO AVOID THEREFORE WE EXPECT YOU TO KEEP AWAY FROM THOSE CARRYING, KEEPING AND USING WEAPONS OR EXPLOSIVES. YOUR HOMES ESPECIALLY ARE NOT THE PLACES IN

WHICH WEAPONS AND EXPLOSIVES SHOULD BE KEPT. TELL YOUR CHILDREN THAT IT WILL BE DANGEROUS TO ASSOCIATE EVEN INNOCENTLY, WITH THOSE ARMED WITH WEAPONS OR EXPLOSIVES. THIS WE SAY FOR YOUR OWN SAFETY.

CO-ORDINATING OFFICER
Government Press, Sri Lanka.

M. G. R. RIDES THE HIGH HORSE!

(BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN MADRAS)

No sooner the latest set of proposals for a settlement of the ongoing ethnic crisis was announced, followed by Amirthalingam's shuttling between Madras, Colombo and New Delhi, moderate opinion once again soared to high peaks.

About the same time, a crisis surfaced within the movement for the liberation of the Tamil people, particularly after the LTTE-TELO internecine war which left TELO almost unheard of in Sri Lanka.

A number of youths left the movement disillusioned by the "no win and kill-in" situation.

The new politico-military map of the Eastern Province proposed in the settlement proposals also caused serious "turns" in the mental framework of the people in the East despite the vehement pulling of strings from the "semi-liberated zones".

The Indian media began writing on the lines of a Sri Lankan accord. For them — Punjab, Assam, Mizoram and after that Sri Lanka. The logic is simple: an accord and accord only.

Amita Pratab, writing in the Indian weekly "SUNDAY" went on further to assert that the Sri

Lanka accord would be signed on August 15th.

But nothing of that sort happened and whether it would ever happen is also a matter for conjecture. The concept of an accord is becoming elusive more and more.

The Government of India, however, persisted in its efforts to bring about an accord on the lines of the Punjab and Mizoram accords. But the Sri Lankan National Question could not simply fit into that pattern. Even the stranglehold of all the parties by the Government of India failed to.

See pages 6 and 7 for an exclusive interview with Mr. R. Shankar of the EROS. The ENLF memorandum is on page 9.

Mr. V. Prabhakaran, leader of the LTTE, told the SATURDAY REVIEW in Madras: "The Tamil people have given us a mandate. That is to establish Tamil Eelam. To deviate from that is a betrayal I will not betray the people. If pressures of any sort comes, I am ready to fight until the last cadre, of my organisation is dead."

The militant groups are not against a negotiated settlement, as the ENLF memorandum submitted to the Government of India on the latest proposals clearly stated. It called on the Government of India to continue with the efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement to the Nationality problem that would ensure and guarantee a just, fair and permanent solution and enable our beloved people to live with honour and dignity. (See page 9) The ENLF was not and is not in favour of the TULF.

It appears that the ENLF views the role of the TULF as not conducive to the betterment of the struggle. In fact, the ENLF is of the opinion that there cannot be a moderate voice or stand. The ENLF stand antagonised the well-guarded optimism of Amirthalingam.

Except in its talks with the Sri Lankan and Indian Governments, the TULF appears to have no place. Some of its politbureau members have already been absorbed into some of the militant streams, either directly or indirectly. The rest of the members have yet to decide in which way they are to go.

When the leaders of the Tamil militants were in New Delhi last

month for a brief consultation with the officials and Ministers, a certain degree of consensus was reached regarding the proposals.

V. Balakumar, member of the Executive Revolutionary Committee of the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation, took the initiative and repeatedly convinced the other leaders to accept a stand that should be taken (hopefully) on any future stand vis-a-vis the proposals for a settlement.

But to the surprise of all, any meetings of importance did not take place. Even the treatment meted out to the militant leaders were reportedly shabby, from transport to lodging. Gone were the gay days of Thimpu!

(Continued on page 12)

EXHIBITION AT ST. PATRICK'S

The Jaffna Renaissance Society and the Students' Front have jointly organised a Scientific and Agricultural Exhibition at St. Patrick's College, Jaffna.

The Exhibition will be held from 12th September to 20th September between the hours of 8.30 a.m. and 5.00 p.m.

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TORTURE

WORLD'S SINISTER SECRET

Nearly 100 countries in the world practise torture, CYNTHIA KEE travelled to Athens to meet the woman who founded the world's first hospital to rehabilitate victims.

'TO KILL a foe is worse than death', said Dr. Inge Kemp Genefke. So far, she and her team of 20 at the Centre for the Rehabilitation of Torture Victims in Copenhagen have led some 250 souls from living death back into their mended bodies again 'I have had a very happy life. I chose torture because it is the most evil thing in the world,' she said.

I met Dr. Genefke in Athens, the cradle of Western civilisation where slavery was the institution on which ancient Greece prospered and where slaves—foreigners, assumed to be naturally suited to slavery—were regularly tortured to tell the truth. (Free citizens, however, were held to be capable of telling the truth on oath.) She was there last Tuesday to collect yet another prize awarded to her Centre—'I have lots but most of them don't come with money'—and £ 35,000 from the Onassis Public Benefit Foundation which was set up, according to the founder's will, in 1979 to reward and encourage those 'inspired by the human values that lie at the heart of Greek philosophical thought and civilisation.

The phenomenon of a civilised world containing within itself the most primitive expression of hate and destruction towards those that it feels to be 'other' is still with us. Substantiated evidence collected by Amnesty International showed 66 countries to be practising torture in 1985, and 32 others in which it is practised but unsubstantiated to a precise degree. 'The people don't realise how these things happen. They are sleeping. It is something like a dream, says an ex-torturer from Chile on a tape broadcast by BBC External Services (Onassis prize winners in 1984).

'We show to our victims that it is the torturers who are degraded, not them. But torturers are never punished. In our experience, they never show remorse,' said Dr. Genefke. Of 75 ex-ESA policemen tried and imprisoned in Greece in 1981, only one is said to have shown remorse. 'I think it is because their training, which is hard and sophisticated, has dehumanised them so deeply they no longer have feelings for others.

In other words, they have regressed to a stage of infantile development (under three) at which the capacity for pity does not yet exist and primary impulses are still uncontrolled. The word torture itself is one that has little meaning for those who have had no direct contact with it. It belongs to a compartment of concepts generally acknowledged as bad but too disturbing to think about; the struff of nightmares and dark fantasies. Yet it is latent in everyone, as complex and as simple as human nature itself. The circumstances that bring it to the surface at constant, from the witch hunts of the Middle Ages, through the Inquisition, the Stalinist purges, the Nazis, the the Greek colonels of 1967—74 to the repressive regimes today—and recognisable so long as they occur far enough from home.

No faces, no sex

Whenever an insecure system tries to maintain power in the face of protest and challenge it falls back on coercion and intimidation. An elite force is built up which acts without the law but in the service of a higher authority, be it God or Government.

Its opponents are seen as outsiders, less than human and then reduced by inhuman methods to a state of helplessness which is indeed hardly recognisable as human, thus proving the initial premise. 'Communists don't have faces or sex,' said another ex-torturer. And they do not, to themselves at any rate, when the torturers have finished.

'Torture is not about plain information or confession. It is about breaking people, especially the strong. When I first met victims of torture here in Athens in the Seventies I wanted them all to be my friends,' said Dr. Genefke. 'It was really horrible in the early years of our work when we tried to help them by medical science alone. They didn't get better. Then we learned that the psychological trauma is as great as the physical one; that we must give them psychotherapy, physiotherapy, occupation and art therapy, social counselling and look after their families too. Now we know we can help.'

She is a slight, lively person with a very pretty face. A neurologist by profession, she is 48 years old, married to 'a professor of

philosophy, the best-known in Denmark,' and childless. On the first night I met her, she came straight up, looked me in the eye and smiled. The smile was a real one and I trusted her immediately. You have to teach torture victims of like their own bodies again" she has written: she is clearly at home in her own.

The centre she runs in Copenhagen (as medical director) was the first of its kind in the world. She set it up in 1980 with a Danish medical group of Amnesty International. There are several such centres now including one in London (The Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture, National Temperance Hospital, Hampstead Road). She feels there should be networks of trained professionals in every country and travels extensively with her team teaching and encouraging local medical personnel to set them up—which they do, often at considerable personal risk.

Talk and touch are two key elements of the Copenhagen Centre's programme, which is highly structured and recorded. 'We treat each person as an individual. We never ask about their political involvement never write any thing down', she said.

As she spoke, she placed her fingers firmly on my temple, on the bums at the back of my head and on my shoulders. Under the warm Athenian night she referred to a couple of cases which made my scalp crawl. One was of a man, a Children who had been subjected to 'the telephone' (simultaneous blows to the ears with the palms of the hands), his nervous system partially destroyed by electricity and infection induced in the 'banera' (submersion in a bath containing urine, faeces and vomit). He was then put in solitary confinement for a couple of months. Upon release—into a concentration camp—he had no idea he was deaf.

Children

Another was of a Filipino woman under the Marcos regime: Iacarcerated, her children of three, four and five were brought to visit her in prison. As they ran to her, an iron door dropped down and they crashed into it. 'This happens many times,' many times said Dr. Genefke. Because the same

(Continued on page 11)

GROWING UP UNDER THE GUN

Half the people who live on the West Bank and Gaza are children under 15 years old. And they learn early the basic fact of life — that they live under a hostile foreign occupation.

LEANNA wouldn't talk to anyone all the way to Neblus. Her coffee-brown eyes were fixed on the road ahead, her chin rested on her chubby hands to cushion the jolts of the shaky little car her mother drove. She didn't speak until we arrived at the prison.

At two years of age, she sat quietly outside on a cold stone bench and waited to see her father. She knew the routine by heart: the names, the frisking, the soldiers at every gatepost.

Once inside she pushed through half-open doors, squeezed under tables and gates, past the electronic surveillance, determined to get as close as she could, and leaving her mother and grandmother far behind.

In the visiting room she stood on the counter and hung onto the

heavy screen separating prisoners from their families. Her father and uncle were first out, smiling, kissing through the wire mesh, passing candy to Leanna's happy fingers.

With coaxing from her mother, she sang a song for them..... I never met a Palestinian child who didn't know it..... *Baba jabli hadiya, rashash wa bandugiya, lamma bsir kbir kbir, badkhal fi jaysh at-tahrir,*

by

Jaysh at-tahrir alamna, kefnu harir awtannah, mansuneen, mansureen, ala amerika u israel 'My father brought me a present, a machine gun and a rifle, when I grow very big, I will join the liberation army. The liberation army taught us how to liberate our country, we will be victorious over America and Israel'.

Half of the 1.5 million people in the occupied West Bank and Gaza are children, under 15 years of age. They begin life with an Israeli military — issued identity number and they learn early the overall equation in

their life..... that they live under a hostile foreign occupation.

They have also learned to spit on foreigners or, conversely to try to win them over by using the hypocritical greeting of the occupier — 'Shalom'.

The children attend government-run schools where Palestine has been excised from texts, maps and curriculum but not from consciousness.

ANITA VITULLO

There is a constant war in the West Bank and Gaza between children and the occupation. Their weapons against soldiers' guns are stones, burning tyres, chants, flags and graffiti.

High walls and fences have been constructed around schools and camps adjacent to main roads to stop kids from stoning settlers' cars.

Parents are forced at gunpoint to paint over the pro-PLO slogans left by their children. Cars are stopped and drivers ordered to remove

the flaming tyres, remnants of halted demonstrations.

Children run makeshift Palestine flags up telephone poles and then lie in wait to see how long it takes soldiers to notice.

There are no days of national celebration but a long list of days to commemorate tragedies and defiance: Balfour Day, Land Day, Prisoners Day, Sabra and Shatila memorial, the June 1967 and June 1982 wars, Dier Yassin Day, the day of the Catastrophe.

It is the children who take to the streets on these occasions, stealthily gathering in city corners, darting about with pockets full of stones, whispering to shopkeepers to strike, avoiding Israeli soldiers but taunting them all the same. The boys encourage the girls and older students the younger; the centre of activity is always in the camps and UNRWA schools where the loss of homeland is a constant.

Children take great risks in this game of cat and mouse with armed

(Continued on page 10)

BOOKS SHARE MORE THAN A COMMON PUBLISHER

These two books have more in common than their publisher, or their support by the Law and Society Trust of Sri Lanka. Their authors have both studied law at Harvard (and, in the case of Ms Coomaraswamy, also at Yale and Columbia), and both are associated with the excellent Marga Institute in Colombo. More important, both books deal with a common problem: the evolution of legal institutions in a developing country which, for the best part of a century and a half before independence, had deeply absorbed the values and procedures of the Anglo-Saxon legal tradition.

Dr. Tiruchelvam's book deals in scholarly depth with what seems at first a narrow subject: the development of Statutory Conciliation Boards, which dispense (sometimes quite literally) palm-tree justice in Sri Lankan villages. Their modern embodiment dates from 1958, when they were introduced by the great reforming Minister of Justice M. W. H. de Silva. He saw them from a "reformist" stance, as enabling the poor villager to obtain quick and simple justice without having to go through the contorted and lengthy formalities which the Ceylonese legal profession had learnt, from their

English masters, to encrust on their legal system. But the new institution was also supported by two quite other strands of ideology:

The Ideology of Popular Justice in Sri Lanka: A Socio-Legal Inquiry. By NEELAN TIRUCHELVAM, (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1984 215 pp. SLRs. 250).

Sri Lanka: The Crisis of the Anglo-American Constitutional Traditions in a Developing Society. By RADHIKA COOMARASWAMY.. (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1984. 192pp. SLRs. 250)

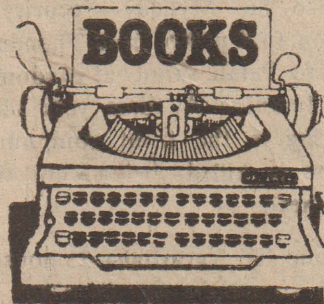
Marxists, who saw it as an embodiment of "socialist legality", following the precedents of comrades' courts in the USSR, and similar institutions in Tanzania, Burma and China; and "revivalists", who saw it as resurrecting the ancient village courts (*Gamsabhava*) of the Kandyan Kingdom in pre-colonial days. As Dr. Tiruchelvam shows, the new tribunals in fact lived up to none of these models, but developed a dynamic, and some predictable central/local tensions, of their own.

There is a delicious chapter giving a graphic account of what actually happens at one of these "people's courts", culled from a period of several months which the authors spent in direct observation of this hybrid institution. But, somewhat curiously, although the book was published in 1984, it reports nothing

after 1972, and we are left to wonder what President Jayewardene's UNP administration has made of this inheritance.

The other book is much shorter (since more than half its pages are taken up with valuable reprints of

Sri Lanka's three constitutions since independence), and covers much wider ground. Consequently, though not lacking in scholarship, it is a slighter work. That makes it in some respects an easier read, and



certainly does not diminish the importance of its subject: tracing the politics and ideologies behind the processes which have made Sri Lankan constitutions in modern times the over-shuttlecocks of partisan politics. It is a fascinating phenomenon of legal and political

history, and much more remains to be written about it. (Nihal Jayawickrama's excellent PhD thesis, written at SOAS, still awaits publication.

Some important insights emerge albeit sometimes elliptically. Unlike the Indians, the Sri Lankans did not need to fight for their independence constitution: Lord Soulbury handed it to them on a plate. As a result, it was never the precious object, wrung in blood from the colonial oppressor, that it has become in India. As in other traditional societies, Anglo-Saxon notions of the rule of law and the ultimate power of the judiciary over the executive have waged an unequal battle with patronage and corruption. And Sri Lanka has been no more successful than many other developing—and come to that, developed—countries in reconciling the value of "decisional mobility" with that of accountability, and with safeguards against abuse of power.

The book ends with a chapter entitled "Beyond Liberalism". Since the author's stance is neither radical nor Marxist, it never becomes clear what she would put in liberalism's place, though her critique is fair enough as far as it goes. Perhaps, for a nation like Sri Lanka which has an indigenous civilisation quite as old as Europe's there is in the, end no viable alternative.

—PAUL SIEGHART

(International and Comparative Law Quarterly)

(Continued from last issue)

June '86 **Bambalapitiya** — Government communique: 63 kilograms of gelignite traced buried at a residence. 4 Tamils from North arrested.

11-6-'86 **Kotahena, Colombo** — At about 8.55 p.m. as patrons leave the 'Gaiety Cinema' screening a Tamil film a bomb explodes. One person is killed and several injured.

11-6-'86 **Trincomalee** — At about 10 a.m. time-bombs explode in 2 buses. 25 persons are killed and about 70 injured. In the next 3 days 221 Tamils are arrested and detained by the Security Forces. Except for 39 persons all others are later released. Night curfew imposed on 11-6-'86 is still being enforced.

11-6-'86 **Akkaraipattu** — 6 persons are arrested by Security Forces.

June '86 **Malwattai, Amparai** — A Tamil husband and wife are found dead being shot through the head. Their 3 children are orphaned.

12-6-'86 **Manthai, Mannar** — Security Forces on foot and in a convoy of about 35 vehicles are attacked by militants. Militants claim 9 Servicemen are killed and several injured and that 1 militant is also killed. (Government communique) 1 Servicemen killed and 4 injured. Security Forces resort to artillery and shell fire from the Army Camp. 15 houses in close proximity to the famed Thiruketheeswaram Temple are damaged.

June '86 **Batticaloa** — The Batticaloa Citizens' Committee in a petition to the Army Co-ordinating Officer states: "in the last 6 months — Security Forces have arrested over 400 persons and shot dead about 30 during search operations and that the whereabouts of 50 persons are not known."

12-6-'86 **Mihindupura** — 20 Tamil refugees accompanied by 3 Government employees and 2 Village Headmen who collected items of food provisions from Seruwila for the Tamil Refugees camped at Ichchilampattai and proceeding in bullock-carts are way-laid by armed Home-Guards, led into the jungle, ordered to squat with hands raised and shot at. 21 persons are killed: 2 are injured and 2 escape. Of those killed, 19 are Tamils and 2 are Muslims.

Army report on the same incident states 3 Village Headmen transporting dry rations to refugee camps shot dead by terrorists who did not want supplies to reach the refugees. (NOTE: There is no mention of the other 18 killed even as a news-item in the English press. Reports say some Home-Guards have been arrested and the

injured persons hospitalised at Batticaloa have been removed to Trincomalee to identify the culprits.

13-6-'86 **Natpiddimnai** — Government communique: Terrorists in a hijacked vehicle are pursued by Security Forces and 2 terrorists shot dead.

13-6-'86 **Vavuniya** — Over 1000 Security Forces are engaged in search operations. 210 persons including students and postal employees are arrested and detained.

13-6-'86 **Parappukadanthan, Manthai, Mannar** — Government communique: A helicopter is fired at by a group of terrorists travelling in 2 vehicles. In a counter-attack, 26 terrorists are killed.

14-6-'86 **Oluvil, Akkaraipattu** — Special Task force personnel arrest 7 youths. They are removed in an Army vehicle to Oluvil where three are shot dead. The dead bodies are removed to the Camp.

15-6-'86 **Chempionpattu** — Security Forces arrest 6 persons.

June '86 **Thirukovil** — Security Forces arrest 15 youths.

15-6-'86 **Point Pedro** — Security Forces forced to retreat to the Camp by militants, fire shells into residential areas. Several buildings including sections of the St. Thomas Convent suffer damages.

June '86 **Mahiyangane** — Police arrest 10 youths (7 Tamils and 3 Sinhalese) reason given — behaving in a suspicious manner.

June '86 **Badulla** — Police arrest 3 persons believed to be residents of Colombo — reason given — unable to explain their presence in the area.

15-6-'86 **Maligawatte, Colombo** — 2 Tamils arrested on suspicion by Police as terrorists remanded till 18-6-'86 and released on 19-6-'86.

15-6-'86 **Kuruwituwa, Trincomalee** — Government communique: a leader of the EROS terrorist group is shot dead by Security Forces.

16-6-'86 **Myliiddy** — Security Forces on foot patrol from Thondamannaru to Palali shoot at random from the Junction. A three year old girl playing in the front compound of a house is killed, being shot through the head.

June '86 **Vasavilan** — 23 houses have been set alight by Security Forces after their setting-up Camp at the Vasavilan Central College on 17-5-'86. 93 families have fled abandoning their homes and farms, and face starvation.

16-6-'86 **Sampaltivu, Mankarai Salli** — Security Forces during search operations fire injuring a 35 year

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old woman and a 17 year old youth who are both hospitalised. 9 persons are arrested.

June '86 **Trincomalee** — 23 persons are arrested by Security Forces.

16-6-'86 **Jaffna** — A shell fired from the Jaffna Fort Army Camp falls and bursts near the Jaffna Central College causing fear and tension among the students.

June '86 **Kotahena Colombo** — 12 Tamil Shanty families are ousted from their make-shift homes by thugs. Their personal belongings are looted. These families seek refuge in a Hindu Temple and at the Office of the Ceylon Workers Congress.

16-6-'86 **Idaikaadu** — Security Forces on foot patrol apprehend a 19-year old student. He is questioned ordered to run and shot dead.

16-6-'86 **Puliyankulam** — Government communique: Security Forces shoot killing a terrorist caught in the act of planting land mines. The grand-mother of the killed youth complains to the Village Headman and to the Citizens' Committee that her grand-son Iruthayaroopan aged 14-years had been wantonly shot dead by the Security Forces when the youth was on his way to buy some medicine.

16-6-'86 **Tampalakamam** — 4 Tamil villagers are killed by Home-Guards. Tamil residents flee as refugees.

17-6-'86 **Bazaar Street, Trincomalee** — 17 persons are arrested by Security Forces. none of them have been released.

17-6-'86 **Paddiruppu** — Government communique: Special Task Force personnel arrest 4 terrorists.

June '86 **Pampaimadu, Vavuniya** — Security Forces arrest 6 terrorists.

17-6-'86 **Valvettiturai** — A shot fired from the Army Camp causes serious injuries to a 54 year old woman.

17-6-'86 **Tampalakamam, Pudukudiruppu** — 8 Tamil farmers are reported missing. Next-of-kin lodge complaints with the Assistant Government Agent.

18-6-'86 **Chenkaladi** — 7 persons are arrested by Security Forces.

18-6-'86 **Mannar** — Government communique: Passenger who attempts to throw a hand-grenade at Security Forces inspecting the vehicle is shot dead. 4 others are arrested.

Other reports say that a youth is shot dead by Security Forces on foot patrol when they shoot at random.

18-6-'86 **Poonthoddam, Vavuniya** — Security Forces arrest 8 persons of whom 5 are released after questioning.

18-6-'86 **Mullikkulam** — Security Forces and militants in direct confrontation. A Government communique: states 3 Servicemen are injured, of whom one succumbs to his injuries.

18-6-'86 **Kalmunai** — Government communique: — 12 terrorists are arrested by Security Forces.

18-6-'86 **Oorany, Batticaloa**: Government communique: — Security Forces during search operations shoot killing 1 terrorist: 5 are arrested.

18-6-'86 **Kaddaiparichchan** — Government communique: — 70 terrorist suspects are arrested by Security Forces in a cordon and search operation, 33 are released; 37 are detained for further questioning.

18-6-'86 **Mamangam, Batticaloa** — 2 youths are arrested by Security Forces in the night. On the following day the 2 are found dead, the dead bodies lying in separate locations. The Batticaloa Citizens' Committee calls upon the Government to appoint a Commission of Inquiry.

19-6-'86 **Mannar** — 20 men, women and children of Mandaitivu deprived of their sole means of livelihood due to the ban on fishing, and fleeing to India in a boat as refugees are arrested by Navy personnel. 2 Navy personnel ferrying the boat to Mannar are attacked by a group of militants and killed. The refugee fishermen return to Mandaitivu.

Government communique: — 2 soldiers escorting a boat load of captured terrorists shot dead and terrorists rescued.

19-6-'86 **Puthukudiruppu** — Over 100 Security Forces who move out of their camp at Mullaitivu are confronted by militants. 2 Security Force personnel are reported to have suffered injuries. Later 2 bomber Planes drop bombs. 2 civilians are killed and some houses suffer damages.

19-6-'86 — 20-6-'86 **Pandiruppu** — In search operations conducted on 2 consecutive days about 40 persons including the Priest and 2 Committee Members of the Mariamman Temple Society are arrested. The arrests in the temple take place when the Annual Temple ceremony is in progress. Of those arrested 2 are found dead at a cemetery and these bodies are later removed to the Army Camp.



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19-6-'86 **Trincomalee** — 8 Tamil Government employees engaged in anti-Malaria work are arrested by the Security Forces on 9-6-'86 immediately after the bomb blasts in 2 buses. They were released after 11 days.

19-6-'86 **Palaioortu, Trincomalee**—Gnanavel (40) is shot dead when in his residence by a Home-Guard.

20-6-'86 **Tholagatty, Vasavilan**—Security Forces enter the Tholagatty Rosarian Monastery through a fence. Brother Wenceslaus of the Monastery aged 65-years is questioned by the Security Forces and shot dead. He was in the garb of a religious when shot.

Government communique: Brother shot dead by militants on suspicion that he is an informant.

20-6-'86 **Thondamannaru** — A 65-year old woman is injured when a helicopter strafes certain areas.

20-6-'86 **Colombo** — 200 Tamil youths are arrested.

20-6-'86 **Maha-Rambaikulam, Vavuniya** — Security Forces surround a village in the early hours and arrest 12 youths.

20-6-'86 **Puthukudiruppu**—Government communique :- 8 terrorists are killed by the Security Forces in a shoot-out.

20-6-'86 **Kankesanthurai**: Government communique :- 16 terrorists fleeing in 3 boats pursued and shot dead by Navy personnel.

20-6-'86 **Point Pedro**—Government communique :- 6 terrorists in a boat arrested by Navy personnel.

20-6-'86 **Morakottanchenal** Government communique :- 9 terrorists arrested by Security Forces.

20-6-'86 **Trincomalee**—Night curfew in force. Home-Guards fire at a jeep. 2 Policemen are seriously injured.

20-6-'86 **Nachchikudah**— 34 in a boat from Gurunagar to India as refugees attacked by Navy personnel. 32 are killed; 15 of the dead bodies being found on the boat washed ashore. Several decomposed bodies are washed ashore. 2 manage to swim ashore being unhurt, and relate details of attack.

June '86 **Anpuvalipuram, Selvanyagapuram, Anuradhapura Junction, 3rd Mile Post; Trincomalee**:

Government communique - Security Forces surround areas and arrest 250 terrorist suspects.

21-6-'86 **Wilgamwehera**—Militants claim that 7 Home-Guards were killed in an attack.

June '86 **Vavuniya**—A dead body is handed over at the Government hospital by the Security Forces.

21-6-'86 **Wilgamwehera**—Unknown persons shoot killing 4 Sinhalese.

21-6-'86 **Kathiraveli**—Special Task Forces board and travel in a passenger bus during search operations. A youth about to board the bus seeing the Servicemen flees and escapes. Security Forces then fire at random killing 2 persons working in a farm and remove the bodies in the bus.

22-6-'86 **Pahall, Vasavilan**—Security Forces moving out of Camp meet with heavy resistance from militants, and are forced to retreat. From the Camp Security Forces resort to shell fire.

A 45-year old man and his 17-year old daughter are killed when a shell falls on their hut and bursts. Some are injured by a helicopter strafing in the area.

22-6-'86 **Vellaveli** — Government communique 1 terrorist killed by Security Forces.

22-6-'86 **Kaludawalai**—Government communique - 1 terrorist killed by Security Forces.

22-6-'86 **Thiriyai** — Government communique 4 terrorists killed by Security Forces.

22-6-'86 **Anpuvalipuram** — Government communique - 75 terrorist suspects arrested by Security Forces. Of these 14 are released after questioning.

June '86 **Colombo** — 3 Tamil labourers of the State Trading Corporation are arrested by Security Staff for allegedly reading Eelam literature. They are remanded when produced in Court.

22-6-'86 **Periyaporativu** — Government communique - 3 terrorists arrested by Security Forces.

22-6-'86 **Minneriya** — An armed gang of Sinhalese attacks the Tamil passengers on a train from Batticaloa to Colombo, and 10 Tamils including an Engineer are kidnapped before the train arrives at the Railway Station. At the Railway Station Security Forces arrest 25 Tamil youths mostly workers proceeding to their work-places at Colombo.

22-6-'86 **Kantalai**—In the morning when a mass of people are congregated at the Sunday Fair a bomb explodes. 2 are killed and 20 injured.

As a reprisal, 12 Tamils are got off a bus at the 4th Mile Post at Trincomalee by Sinhalese thugs. The fate of the 12 is still not known.

22-6-'86 **Maradana, Colombo**—A Magazine with the LTTE leader Prabaharan's picture on cover is exhibited for sale at a Hotel. This is an Indian publication, registered as a newspaper in Sri Lanka. Police confiscate the magazine and arrest all 30 at the hotel. All the arrested persons are later released.

22-6-'86 **Kathiraveli**— 2 more persons are shot dead by Security Forces in random firing.

The Citizens' Committee of Batticaloa calls upon the Government to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to investigate these wanton killings.

23-6-'86 **Valaieravu**—Over 20 persons are arrested by Security Forces.

23-6-'86 **Navatkuli**—Security Forces moving out of Camp are forced to retreat by militants. In shoot-out 1 militant youth is killed. Militants claim at least 10 Security Forces killed. Government Communique: 5 terrorists killed. Security Forces fire shells from Camp; some are injured, some houses are hit and suffer damages.

23-6-'86 **Mullaitivu** — Following a shoot-out between Security Forces and militants (in which unconfirmed reports say 4 Security Forces were killed and 6 injured) shells are fired from the Camp. A helicopter strafes and bomber planes drop bombs. An elderly woman and a man are killed and 5 are injured.

Government communique - 11 terrorists killed and one woman killed in cross-fire.

23-6-'86 **Pesalai** — Security Forces on patrol shoot killing a 17 year old student and burn the boy's body on the road-side.

24-6-'86 **Jaffna** — A clash between 2 groups of Muslims leaves 5 persons dead and several injured. Tamil militant groups restore peace. The Daily News of 26-6-'86 reports as follows: "4 Muslim children killed when hand-grenades are thrown by members of LTTE." While the "Island" of 8-7-'86 states- "5 killed in clash within Muslims."

24-6-'86 **Tirukoil** — About 300 persons are arrested by Security Forces and removed to the Army Camp.

24-6-'86 **Valaieravu** — Security Forces arrest 17 persons who are removed to the Army Camp.

24-6-'86 **Trincomalee** — In an unprecedented search operation in which all 3 armed services and Police are deployed. 1036 persons are arrested

and detained in the blazing sun at the Esplanade. On the following day after about 100 had been released, about 900 persons are transported in vehicles to the harbour where they all put on a vessel to be taken to the Boosa Army Camp.

Due to an urgent appeal made to Minister Thondaman this ship is recalled and the 900 odd persons are removed to the Naval Base.

On 29-6-'86 this vessel again leaves for Boosa with 497 detainees, the others having been released. Of this 497, 48 are students and others include Government and Corporation employees.

A hartal is observed at Trincomalee on 2-7-'86.

English mass media of 26-6-'86 state that all the arrested are Indian trained terrorists.

24-6-'86 **Uyilankulam**— Security Forces on patrol with helicopter cover shoot killing 2 Tamils.

25-6-'86 — Three incidents of land-mine attacks:

(1) **Ulukulam** — On border of Anuradhapura private bus hits land-mine. 45 persons injured.

(2) **Seruwila** — Vehicle conveying Home-Guards hits land-mine. 16 persons are killed.

(3) **Pulmoddai**—Police jeep escorting passenger bus hits land-mine. 7 Special Task Force personnel injured.

26-6-'86 **Colombo** — A bomb explodes opposite the Office of the Ceylon Workers' Congress.

1 Sinhalese is seriously injured. 5 others escape with minor injuries.

June '86 **Mutur** — Government communique - In last few days 34 guns confiscated by militants from Home-Guards.

26-6-'86 **Thampalakamam**—Workers of the Lakshmi Rice Mills and the wife of the proprietor of the mill are kidnapped by armed Home-Guards. The Proprietor a polio victim is left behind. Later, 34 dead bodies including those of women are recovered from the jungles. All bodies showed signs of having been tortured before being killed.

26-6-'86 **Sampaltivu**—5 including a woman are shot dead by the Security Forces. Thangarasa, a taxi driver is burnt to death with the Taxi. Next-of-kin protest to the Citizens' Committee re these wanton killings.

26-6-'86 **Kiran**—Government communique: Security Forces repulse an attack by militants — 3 civilians killed in cross-fire. 59 suspected terrorists arrested.

(To be continued)

Q. HOW DO YOU VIEW THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE STRUGGLE?

A. We look at it as either a stalemate, stagnation or a turning point. The peace process which is going on now should indicate in a few weeks as to which way it is going to turn. My feeling is that the stagnation is for a dramatic change in the struggle.

Q. IS THERE ANY POSSIBILITY FOR RECONCILIATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF SRI LANKA?

A. Reconciliation with the Sri Lankan Government is a very difficult proposition to think about. I am sure most of the Tamil-speaking people and generally the international public itself have witnessed the most atrocious and genocidal events in Sri Lanka in the recent past. It would be almost impossible for the present generation to look at the past and present events and reconcile with the government of Sri Lanka. Having said that, let me qualify by saying that the desire to reconcile with the Sinhala people is always there. It must be there and I hope that chauvinistic myths and the racist elements will be removed from the present conflict and in that process we should be able to have better understanding. Reconciliation with the Government of Sri Lanka would take a long, long time.

Q. I THINK THE EELAM STRUGGLE - IN A WAY - HAS BEEN BOGGED INTO THE POLITICS OF TAMIL NADU. HAVE YOU ANYTHING TO COMMENT?

A. I tend to agree. Since July 1983 there had been a lot of involvement of Tamil Nadu politicians and political parties with some of the groups. Some of these people looked upon the political leaders in Tamil Nadu not only as their guides in thinking of political decisions but also upon them as political god-fathers. And to this extent we, the EROS in particular, have taken a lot of care to keep ourselves neutral between the major political parties and to avoid involvement or being identified with any political party or organisation.

We have indeed very strong organisational links with the people of Tamil Nadu in the form of Eelam Friendship Organisation (EFOS) and various other cultural and social organisations through which we seek to reach the people of Tamil Nadu and obtain sympathy and support. But as we have witnessed in the recent past the involvement of some of the groups with the majority political parties in Tamil Nadu is inter-

THE EROS

fering in our day-to-day functioning of the Eelam struggle.

If you look at the whole struggle of the Tamil speaking people—apart from the struggle in the land where the militant groups and the people are involved—we have the Tamil Nadu Government and the Tamil Nadu people as the second phase; then the Government of India, India being a sub-continental power. Lastly the expatriate Tamils who form a major propaganda base. In this the people of Tamil Nadu do play an important role. We took this factor into serious consideration and forged an alliance with some of the grass roots level organisations here.

Q. HAVE YOU ANYTHING TO SAY REGARDING THE TARGETS IN SOUTH SRI LANKA?

A. Basically, the EROS right from the beginning wanted to evolve a dif-

ferent military strategy towards our struggle. Unfortunately, with the various groups on the scene having different strategies we have been forced to adopt changes in the process. One of this is that we should concentrate on sabotage and subversion, particularly in South Sri Lanka, on economic targets and industrial and multi-national targets as well. In keeping with this criterion, our operations are intended to inflict economic damage and as much as possible no civilian casualties or the minimum possible.

He is tall, fat but chubby. His Lenin beard extends up to the sideburns. Speaking softly but firmly, he explains without gestures.

R. SHANKAR, one of the members of the Revolutionary Executive Committee of the EELAM REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATION (EROS), talked at length with this correspondent in a small hotel room in a coastal city of Tamil Nadu.

Shankar, who is basically an agricultural engineer, is a founder-mem-

ber of the EROS and has had experience in the battle-fields of the Middle East. He is in charge of the overall military operations of the EROS and responsible for the international solidarity network of the EROS.

We did take sufficient care and in most of the operations prior warning had been given as to the intended military operations. In certain situations all officials concerned did not take the warning seriously enough and this too had been responsible for more than the usual number of casualties in these operations.

One of our motives in the recent series of operations in South Sri Lanka had been that, since the breakdown of the Thimpu talks, there had been a lot of rumours and the peace process was continuing. There was some motivation from Foreign Affairs Minister Hamid's visit to New Delhi and Chitamparam's visit to Colombo. The whole scene was confusing. We felt that a series of military operations perhaps could bring sufficient pressure on the Government of Sri Lanka in giving into the demands of the Tamil-speaking people. It should come forth and in that process we could call the bluff of President Jayewardene that he is serious or sincere in solving the problem through negotiations.

I wish to re-iterate that our struggle is not against the Sinhala people. Our action is against the fascist Government and its agents like the Israeli Mossad, the SAS, Pakistani and South African mercenaries.

Q. A UNITED FRONT IS A MUST FOR ANY NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE. BUT THE PRESENT SITUATION OFFERS A GLOOMY PICTURE REGARDING A UNITED FRONT OR A NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRAMEWORK. WHAT IS YOUR OBSERVATION?

A. I agree. In fact, EROS has been struggling for this from the very beginning of the present escalation. We played a vital part in bringing about an understanding between the three groups, viz. EPRLF, TELO and EROS. We indeed went further to bring the LTTE into this as the ENLF in the hope that PLOTE would come along. Several attempts were made to bring the TULF under this umbrella.

It is a historical fact that the delegation which went to Thimpu had worked in unison and showed that a United Front was there. It was an achievement.

The breakdown of the Thimpu talks and the fratricidal inter-group rivalry and assassination of Comrade Sabaratnam of TELO brings a new element into the situation - a United Front. As in any liberation struggle, various groups with various ideas are formed and in the process get eliminated or assimilated in the process of the struggle. We believe the historical realities of the situation would forge some kind of understanding among the various groups and the recent developments necessitate such unity.

We hope that the initiatives which were taken in New Delhi will bring about such an understanding among the various groups initially and perhaps with the TULF at a later stage.

Q. AT PRESENT ALL THE MILITANT GROUPS ARE MORE OR LESS YOUTH-ORIENTED AND YOUTH-DOMINATED. WHAT WILL BE YOUR FUTURE STRATEGY FOR THE MOBILISATION OF THE MASSES?

A. It is true that most of the groups are youth-dominated because of the historical and political development of the struggle with the older group identifiable with the TULF which is a non-violent political form. The youths took upon themselves the task of carrying the struggle through armed resistance. In that there is concentration of youths in the leadership. We expect to rectify this imbalance.

We have formed various mass-based organisations. In the home-front, the "Eelavar Munani" (The front of Eelavar) which I am sure is spearheading the change which we are trying to bring into the struggle and involve the masses other than youths. As for the mobilisation of the masses, I am sure most of the groups are realising now that they themselves cannot be the liberators of the people. The participation of the



people means that they cannot be spectators. We also have started organising self-contained units based initially on political awareness, involvement of their basic needs through economic and inter-projects and units which can look after their own defence so that it would be a combination of political, economic and military units where the masses would have a major thrust in various places. Once it starts getting a definite shape with the involvement of the ordinary people into the defence units, the mobilisation would be a much meaningful exercise in the present state of the struggle.

Q. IT IS NOT SO QUIET IN THE EASTERN FRONT. THE EROS IS SAID TO BE THE FORMOST ORGANISATION REGARDING ACTIVITIES IN THE EAST. DO YOU PERCEIVE ANY CHANGES ON THE POLITICO-MILITARY MAP OF THE EAST IN THE NEAR FUTURE?

A. Yes. Definitely. Before I go into that I wish to say that the EROS had been concentrating in the areas where we believed that serious contention could arise. Right from the beginning we felt that the Peninsula was ours with 100 percent Tamils. Of course, there are other areas where serious military confrontations arise and the East was one of those where we could start activities. Because of the difficulties of the demography of the Eastern Province and because of the strategic difficulties, it had not been an easy task as in the Northern Peninsula where we have a semi-liberated situation. Having achieved a particular weighted advantage in the Northern Province we are concentrating on areas where there are confrontations. I am sure that if the present peace process breaks, I feel — our own intelligence report also confirm — that a major Government offensive is imminent.

A serious contention particularly in the East would arise. My opinion is that with this phase, there would be a change in the politico-military map of the East.

Q. WHAT IS YOUR COMMENT ON A MODERATE VOICE VIS A VIS THE TULF?

A. The TULF is the last democratically elected Tamil leadership ten years back. Historically, they have played a role for the last three decades of negotiating and getting concessions on behalf of the Tamil people. The present state is such that they are not members of Parliament and since 1983 most of the members are now undergoing a self-imposed exile in Tamil Nadu

and in all sincerity and seriousness they are not functioning as a political party or movement. Of course, the remnants of the political influence once they had still lingers on with the older generation and because of the difficult and delicate role the Government of India is playing in the process of a negotiated settlement, the TULF is considered one of the components of the Tamil leadership. But we have said more than once that they do not represent the Tamil leadership at all and in that a genuine fear and suspicion arises. The TULF is inclined to agree for a settlement which will be less than the majority aspirations of the Tamil-speaking people.

Q. SUPPOSE THERE IS AN ACCORD, WHAT WOULD BE YOUR POSITION REGARDING A TOTAL REVOLUTION IN SRI LANKA?

A. The question has many variables and is hypothetical. Nevertheless in political reality we do see such a possibility coming up. We have said right from the beginning that the revolution will continue till the masses are liberated. So, the accord to us would be an interim solution to present aspirations. First of all we have terrible reservations whether the accord will come or not. Even if an accord is reached, I can very well say that the EROS shall not form any part of the administration in the interim accord. Hopefully we will have room for our political activity in the new set-up and we will continue our struggle for the total liberation and emancipation of the people of Sri Lanka.

Q. A UNITED FRONT AMONG THE VARIOUS LIBERATION ORGANISATIONS IS VITAL FOR THE STRUGGLE. IT APPEARS THAT THERE IS A TENDENCY OF IDENTIFYING RIGHT AND LEFT FACTIONS WITHIN SOME LIBERATION ORGANISATIONS. THERE IS A VIEW IN GENERAL THAT EROS HAS BEEN CLOSER TO THE LTTE THAN ITS IDEOLOGICAL ALLY EPRLF. ANY COMMENTS?

A. The unity of the left forces is paramount in any struggle. But the historical orientation of the various groups and the way this has brought about the politico-military situation, it has not taken a clear position as to exactly where this Left and Right is divided.

STAND

Secondly, we wonder whether we should bring this about at the present phase of the struggle. We are very clear that there are reactionary forces under various socialist and Marxist cover.

I agree the among that many groups EPRLF is the most identifiable left ally for the EROS. It is not true that we have better understanding with the LTTE or perhaps have closer relationship. What we try to do is to keep the balance between the ENLF grouping — EPRLF and TELO on the one side and the LTTE on the other. EROS is the only group that is accessible to most of the organisations. Sometimes our efforts are misunderstood — even if we mediate on the request of other groups — as we have a better understanding. That does not show that there are serious difficulties or differences about the understanding with the LTTE. But we would like to see the present balance continuing to the point where a definitely identifiable progressive alliance could be reached. If we try to bring about a premature progressive alliance before we become a re-

majority in the Eastern Province without being linked with the North. We would like to say that the whole question of this linguistic region and indeed the present struggle is a failure to implement the accord and understanding that was reached in 1956 — The Bandaranaike — Chelvanayakam pact — where the Tamil areas had already been identified. It was recognised that the North and East would be recognised as Regional Councils. So where is the question of identifying Tamil areas now? One tends to ignore the fact what state oppression means where the Tamil people have been brought into a situation where there is state-sponsored colonisation.

In our view the Tamil areas have been identified as the North, East and the plantation areas. Of course a boundary commission is necessary to identify the areas of the Tamil speaking people in the Central Province and perhaps to identify those Sinhala Majority areas which ought to be linked with the North Central Province. It is very difficult for us to comprehend and identify the new Tamil areas. I have already mentioned that autonomy and self-determination refer to the linkage of linguistic regions but also the plantation areas and in particular to the plantation areas where the people could look after their affairs and

by a special correspondent
In Madras

cognisable force itself, the progressive forces may be wiped out.

Q. WE RELIABLY LEARN THAT THERE HAS BEEN A GENERAL CONSENSUS ON THE DEVOLUTION OF POWER TO THE PROVINCIAL COUNCILS. HOWEVER, THE QUESTION OF NORTH-EAST LINKAGE OR TO SAY TAMIL LINGUISITC UNIT COMPRISING NORTH AND SOME POCKETS IN THE EAST HAS NOT BEEN AGREED UPON. WHAT IS YOUR POSITION?

A. There have been several rumours and serious commentators have also mentioned about the degree of devolution. There has been substantial agreement. Even Mr. Amirthalingam himself has said in one of his interviews in Colombo that on the law and order issues — apart from one or two issues — the questions have been settled. And the same with the land question.

It is also said that an element of accord has been reached in all these issues and that one could leave the question of linkage to a boundary commission which would identify the areas where the Tamils are in a

that is the only hope of economically and politically developing themselves in these areas.

Q. PROMINENT SINHALA LEFTIST LEADERS HAVE VISITED MADRAS TO MEET THE MILITANT LEADERS. WHAT WOULD BE THE OUTCOME OF THESE VISITS?

A. Our initial reaction to the visits of various political party leaders from Sri Lanka may be that it is better late than never. Of course, the EROS did wish that such a meeting or opportunity was there for us much earlier than 1986. We in fact tried to organise this way back in 1985, even a meeting in the form of a steering committee for such a conference to be fixed in Bangkok with the assistance of progressive comrades in the South. Our intention at that time was to see how much we can forge an alliance, co-ordination and a political programme through which we can overthrow President Jayewardene's regime which would benefit not only the Tamils but also the Sinhalese people themselves. But we

(Continued on page 8)



PALMYRAH HAS A BIG FUTURE

The Jaffna branch of the Palmyrah Development Board is going great guns under the dynamic leadership of Mr. K. Nadarajah.

Evidence of the enterprise of the Jaffna Palmyrah Development Board was provided at an exhibition of its products held at Yarl Beach Inn on 7th September.

The chief guest on the occasion was the Bishop of Jaffna, Rt. Rev. Dr. B. Deogupillai.

Despite the shelling from the Army Camp in the Jaffna Fort from before dawn, there was a sizeable gathering to admire and buy the products of the Palmyrah Development Board. The products ranged from hats and baskets to cakes and ale.

The basket-ware was exquisite. So were the wines and the arrack.

The basket-ware was from the Palmyrah Handicraft Unit (Resource Centre for Research and Development) at Puthur. It is doing a good job.

Yarl Beach Inn Proprietor Mr. S. Siluvairajah hosted all the guests to a lavish lunch, mostly palmyrah products.

The Man Behind The Show was JOE EGERTON.

Jaffna resilience and self-reliance were evident throughout the exhibition.

We hope this spirit will prevail in the years to come.

Here's a press release issued by the Jaffna Palmyrah Development Board.

The palmyrah industry has an immense potential as a base for rural industrialisation in the North but it has been neglected over the years.

The palmyrah palm is strong, sturdy and upright and can withstand the rigours of the elements. It has a history of several centuries and man has made use of its resources from ancient times but only a minute fraction of its potential was tapped. This was due to ignorance and the absence of a scientific approach to solve the various problems inherent in the process of development. Though the Board was established in 1979 it became active only in 1982.

The major problems confronting the industry can be identified under three broad categories: Marketing, Research and Technology and Production.

These areas of activity are necessarily inter-linked and are therefore not mutually exclusive.

Commercial marketing of palmyrah products has not advanced noticeably beyond a primitive stage. This is equally true of the domestic and export market to service which sophisticated marketing techniques are necessary. The available palmyrah products require further refinement in craftsmanship processing and packaging in order to match these techniques. This would apply to handicrafts as well as food products such as sugar, syrup, treacle, jaggery, cordials and jams. The production should be linked with marketing. The retail shops in Colombo and other places in the name of 'Katpakam' should be improved and expanded further.

Research and technology must be basically linked with adequate market research. Consumer preferences should be catered to by improved production techniques, attractive sales packs and competitive pricing. Appropriate technology is an urgent necessity. The nucleus for this has already been established by the industrial complex at Thikam. The progress made by the

P. D. B. in setting up a research centre at Kaithady and organising a research project with the United Nations Development Programme aid deserve commendation.

A basic prerequisite for the progressive development of any industry is the free availability of both raw material and manpower. The palmyrah industry enjoys an abundance of both. It has been estimated that nearly 10,000 persons are directly involved in the tapping industry. It is an admitted fact that these people are grossly under-employed. This is a problem which requires urgent solution. It has been suggested that the effective functioning of distilleries which are already set up for the manufacture of palmyrah arrack will result in an increased demand for tappers. This would alleviate in some degree the problem of unemployment and under-employment. It should also result in further recruitment of trained personnel.

Continuous market research linked to improved products and more sophisticated production techniques will naturally be reflected in better markets for palmyrah products both in Sri Lanka and abroad. The palmyrah fibre and processed fibre products are potential foreign exchange earners because this fibre is recognised as the best natural fibre in the world. There is a good market for palmyrah arrack both here and abroad. These are areas of activity which merit planned development and improvement of quality.

It is interesting to note that there are 23 co-operative societies functioning efficiently in the North which have the necessary finance, manpower and expertise to rapidly expand production and they make a significant contribution to the economic welfare of the people involved in the industry.

Now the viable areas of development have been identified and the beginnings made to go ahead with implementing the projects envisaged. Every product in the market today can form the basis of a separate industry. It is now the responsibility of all those interested in the economic welfare of the people to come forward and involve themselves meaningfully to make use of the opportunities offered to them by the P. D. B.

SOCIALISM BE PURSUED AS A SCIENCE

Frederick Engels, the co-founder with Karl Marx of scientific socialism, formulated the profound idea that the proletarian party can fulfil its historical task only if it equips itself with a revolutionary theory. This theory proves the inevitability of the emergence of a new, socialist system which is to replace capitalism. It is this theory, creatively developed by Vladimir Lenin and successfully applied in Russia, that led to the establishment of the world's first state of workers and peasants.

Engels considered it the duty of socialists to study theory constantly. He wrote: "Socialism, since it has become a science, demands that it be pursued as a science, that is, that it be studied".

To gain a basic knowledge of scientific socialism, read the book "Lenin and Asia" by Attorney-at-Law T. Duraisingam, one of the founders of the proletarian party 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.

The Eros Stand

(Continued from page 7)

find that some of the political leaders and particularly the Sri Lanka Mahalana Party (SLMP) leader, Mr Vijaya Kumaranatunge had come to Madras to save Mr. Jayewardene from his difficulties.

Q. DID THEY NOT ONLY PROPOSE AN APC OR A PPC THAT WAS ACCEPTED BY JAYEWARDENE, BLESSED BY HIM BUT ALSO THEY CAME AS ME-

DIUM BETWEEN THE SRI LANKA GOVERNMENT AND THE LEADERSHIP OF THE TAMIL MILITANTS HERE?

A. It is very unfortunate that these parties have given importance to such a development and we hope they will realise in the process that Mr. Jayewardene is not going to bring peace to the Tamils and alleviate the hardships and sufferings of Sinhala peoples.

Eelam National Liberation Front Tells India:

Support Us Fully

Subsequent to the request from the Government of India and the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu to state our position on whether we accept the latest proposals of the Sri Lankan government as a basis for negotiations, we give below our collective decision and the rationale behind it. Our position is derived from a careful and a thorough consideration of factors pertaining to the structure and essence of the proposal, as well as the overall politico-military and civil situation prevailing in the country.

DECISION

We do not perceive the latest Sri Lankan proposal as a basis for negotiations for the resolution of the nationality problem or, to what could be termed the Tamil National Question in Sri Lanka.

Rationale

THE PREVAILING POLITICO-MILITARY AND CIVIL SITUATION

A. The Sri Lankan armed forces acting under instructions from the Sri Lankan Government is continuing with its military offensive in the Tamil areas in the Northern and Eastern provinces.

B. Although our armed resistance has been successful in repelling and blunting these offensives, the loss of civilian lives has increased. In short, the genocidal situation has further deteriorated and the Sri Lankan Government has openly admitted to this as being inevitable in its pursuance of a military option. It has further stated that the military offensive would continue till the Eelam liberation movement is militarily annihilated or accepts an imposed solution. This is tantamount to blackmail and threat and our acceptance of this would imply an unconditional surrender. Although our people are peace-loving they are not prepared to accept peace at any cost.

C. Search and cordon operations by the Sri Lankan Security Forces have been intensified after the submission of the proposal to the Government of India. In these operations more than 5000 Tamils have been rounded up over the past week particularly in the sensitive area of Trincomalee. The deliberate displa-

cement of Tamils from their domicile and disruption of their socio-economic existence through the destruction of crops, curbs on fishing activities and transport of essentials makes a total mockery of the offer of a negotiated settlement by the Sri Lankan government.

D. Despite the restoration of citizenship rights to plantation Tamils, there has been a drastic deterioration in their fundamental democratic and human rights, in addition to, immediate threats to their lives and property. The incidents in Talawakelle over the past few days where plantation Tamils were brutally attacked by Sinhala

vailing in the Island, it is clearly evident that a congenial atmosphere does not exist for the renewal of direct talks with the degenerate, racist Sri Lankan government.

The Proposal

A. The proposal by stressing on the permanence and the misplaced sanctification of the unitary character of the constitution, prevents any meaningful dialogue on the further widening and deepening of devolution of power. This belies the claim made by J. R. Jayewardene that the proposal is only a

as a country inhabited by two distinct nationalities with their respective languages, culture, heritage, contiguous territories and socio-economic and political histories. More importantly, it does not recognise the fact that the Eelam People are oppressed as a distinct nationality. As a matter of fact, no where in the proposal is there a reference to the Tamil People or to their homeland; instead, it merely speaks of communities and arbitrary provincial boundaries.

The delegation of power mentioned in the proposal is a mere exercise in administrative reforms in relation to delegation of power from the centre to the periphery and does not even pretend to be a solution to the nationality problem which has shaken the very fabric of the Sri Lankan polity.

In addition to the above, the decision by the Sri Lankan government to unilaterally implement the proposal is a flagrant violation of the inalienable right of self-determination of the oppressed Tamil nationality of Sri Lanka. Not only does this stand tantamount to a blatant act or provocation, but it exposes the insincerity and the insensitivity of the J. R. Jayewardene regime.

We wish to take this opportunity to thank the government of India for the support that it has extended to our beloved people who have been displaced and dislocated from their domicile and have sought refuge in India. We also call on the Government of India to continue with its efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement to the nationality problem that would ensure and guarantee a just, rare and a permanent solution and enable our beloved people to live with honour and dignity. In the meantime we appeal to the Government of India to extend maximum political, moral and material support to the Eelam Liberation Movement in enabling it to protect the Eelam People from national oppression, state-terrorism and genocide.

Here is the full text of the memorandum submitted by the Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF) to the Government of India on the latest proposals of the Sri Lankan Government.

The memorandum was signed by Mr A. Selvam, General Secretary, Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO); Mr. V. Balakumar, member of the Revolutionary Executive Committee of the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS) and Mr. K. Pathmanabha, Secretary - General of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF).

The LTTE, which has been the main component of the ENLF is now abstaining from participating in the ENLF meetings since the LTTE-TELO internecine clashes in May 1986. There are no detailed statements or indications whether the LTTE has come out from the ENLF at all. However, Mr. V. Thilagar, who represented the LTTE in a session at the recent Asian Student Association (ASA) and the General Union of Youths and Students (GUYS) — sponsored International Solidarity Mission to Eelam, said in July that the LTTE had not left the ENLF but at the moment they were not participating in the sessions and the meetings of the ENLF.

goondas by the security forces is a case in point.

E. There has been an increase in the arrests and incarceration of Sinhala human rights and political activists who have been expressing their opposition to the genocidal situation facing their Tamils brethren as well as against the increasing pauperization of the Sinhala masses. At the other end of the spectrum, the forces of Sinhala-Buddhist chauvinism have intensified their campaign to oppose any political concessions to the Tamil people.

Thus, given the above politico-military and civil situation pre-

minimum and there is scope for further expansion.

B. The proposal does not recognize the concept and the reality of a Tamil homeland. Instead, it seeks to bifurcate the Tamil homeland by treating the Northern and Eastern provinces as two distinct entities. The proposal also seeks to separate the plantation Tamils and the areas developed and inhabited by them from the Tamil homeland.

C. The proposals do not recognize the Tamils of Sri Lanka (or the Eelam People) as a distinct nationality or of Sri Lanka

FLASHBACK

The talks failed and the Tamil-speaking people became disappointed, having fervently hoped for a satisfactory settlement. They also realised that the Government was not keen enough to protect their rights, however reasonable and fundamental they were. Mr. Chelvanayakam presiding over a mass meeting at the Jaffna esplanade on 12th April a few days after the talks had failed, said:

"As the political parties in South Ceylon treat the Tamil question as a suitable issue to play upon the emotions of the Sinhalese voters and enthrone themselves on the seat of power, these parties or their politicians refuse or are unable to see the justice of our demands."

The Tamil-speaking people felt themselves humiliated. Naturally, they decided there was no alternative but to strengthen the resistance movement. Although public opinion in the North and East was otherwise the Federal Party halted the intensification of the satyagraha Campaign during the absence of the Prime Minister who had left for the London Conference, a step that was much lauded by world newspapers

Growing up

(Continued from page 3)

troops. Scores of children have been killed or injured by soldiers and settler fire.

On 3rd June 1986, a 13-year-old boy was shot in the stomach when Israeli soldiers fired into a demonstration in Balata camp near Nablus. A 6-year-old child was shot dead at a Gaza roadblock in 1985.

Even children on school or scout outings cannot escape the military surveillance and possibility of an incident.

Women's committees have been especially concerned with the damage done to children by the violence around them.

In the last five years the committees have established over 150 preschools in the West Bank and Gaza but almost all are small, overcrowded, ill equipped, without trained or properly salaried teachers.

Still, these preschools are considered a great achievement locally. Except for them there has been virtually no advancement in children's health, education and general welfare since the occupation began in 1967.

Instead of building new schools to accommodate an ever-increasing student population, the occupation authorities operate schools on double

like the 'The Hindu'. Now with the failure of the talks the Federal Party had to yield to the wishes of the Tamil-speaking people. Thus by way of intensifying the campaign the Tamil Arasu (Federal Party) Postal Service was inaugurated by Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam on 14th April, 1961. This day at 12 noon the satyagrahis stood up as usual and were in silent

The EELAM PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY LIBERATION FRONT (EPRLF) started a Postal Service in Jaffna on 5th Sept. 1986.

We reproduce here Chapter 16 from S. PONNIAH'S book titled SATYAGRAHA written after the late S. J. V. CHELVANAYAKAM inaugurated the TAMIL ARASU (FEDERAL PARTY) POSTAL SERVICES on 14th APRIL, 1961.

prayer for two minutes before they sat down again. Immediately thereafter, the postal service was started in the Pension Branch Office opposite to the main Kachcheri building in breach of the postal laws as an act of civil disobedience. This momentous occasion was witnessed by nearly 10,000 people although the exact time of the inauguration was not intimated to the public. The queue of people who had waited to purchase the Tamil Arasu stamps extended to such a length that it

shifts and shortened days. There are severe shortages of labs, libraries, playgrounds, updated texts and teacher training programmes.

There are only 25 paediatricians working on the West Bank, and only two are board-certified specialists. Many children, especially among the majority of the population who live in villages, never receive basic inoculations, or see a doctor until they are well past school age.

Elementary school is compulsory, but 20 to 30 percent of the children are forced to leave school at the preparatory and secondary levels, to help the family at home or by working in a job.

Child workers are a common enough sight: working in the back of West Jerusalem restaurants, sweet shops, rock quarries, sewing factories.

But wherever you see these Palestinian children of occupation with dirtsmudged faces emerging from the back of an Israeli work bus, jumping over water drainage channels in a crowded camp, shepherding goats on a village road, selling plastic slippers at Damascus Gate, being interviewed from a hospital bed . . . they raise their fingers in a defiant 'V' the signal of the dream of eventual victory they carry from the children of 1948, their grandparents.

(Third World Network Features)

winded into streets and lanes. The people cheered the leader Mr. Chelvanayakam, as he got into the post office counter dressed in all pure white national dress. The post office sold out 2500 stamps, 2500 stamped envelopes and 3,000 post-cards, in a little more than an hour. This sale in that brief period far exceeded any other sale of stamps in such a period

in the history of the Island's postal service. Thousands went away disappointed, not being able to purchase any more stamps. The Federal Party for very good reasons, had limited its first sale. The office had the general look of a post office. On the wall was written "Tamil Arasu Postal Service". Close to the wall there was a letter box, all painted in bright red. On it

styled themselves as postal peons and set out to deliver them by motor-bicycles.

A letter to the Government Agent was also sent by Mrs. Amirthalingam. By that letter she complained that the Government had planned to starve the Tamil speaking people of Jaffna and subjugate them by denying them rice rations. She further pointed out that even the women folk were prepared to die of starvation in the course of their just struggle for their basic rights without ignominious surrender. This letter was delivered to the Government Agent by the "peon" Mr. V. Tharmalingam, M.P., Tamil Arasu Post Boxes were placed at the Federal Party Office and in front of St. John's College Jaffna.

An Englishman and his wife visited Jaffna and they took particular care to be present at the opening of the Tamil Arasu Postal Service. They purchased stamps, stamped envelopes and post-cards to the value of Rs. 50/- They appeared to be quite happy in the midst of the satyagrahis. The Englishman was



EPRLF's First - day Cover

was written in Tamil "Tamil Arasu Post Box". Across the upper part of Mr. Chelvanayakam's national dress was written in green "Tamil Arasu Postal Authority." When this service was being inaugurated thousands of Tamil-speaking people mobbed the post office and acclaimed it at the top of their voice—"It is our post office. It is the People's Post Office."

Mr. Sivasundaram, Member of Parliament in a letter written by him to the Superintendent of Post and Telegraphs, Jaffna, informed him that the Federal Party had started a postal service of its own. The envelope carried on it Tamil words which meant "Tamil Arasu Postal Service" This letter was delivered by Mr. A. Amirthalingam M. P. A. similar letter was handed over to the Superintendent of Police by Mr. M. Sivasithamparam, M.P. These two members of Parliament,

heard to say to a group of satyagrahis.

"We have seen, with our own eyes the satyagraha you are performing in defence of your just rights against heavy odds such as the burning heat of the sun and rain fasting and praying, toiling and suffering. But I am certain that if there is justice in any part of this country, it will hear you. May God bless you!"

Again on 17th April, Mr. Chelvanayakam inaugurated a Federal, Party postal service at Kankasanturai. Altogether twelve post offices were opened in the Kankasanturai electorate. Everywhere the opening of the postal service attracted vast crowds who shouted slogans wishing long duration of the service.

Mr. S. Nadarajah, Proctor of the Supreme Court and a leading member of the Federal Party was the Postmaster General.

END OF THE LINE

For 155 Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka (Ceylon), after a trip of horror and despair Canada was the end of the line. Originally escaping from the murderous state terror of the Lankan government of J.R. Jayewardene, more immediately they were fleeing West Germany, where they had been placed in virtual concentration camps with little hope of obtaining asylum. From the starvation conditions on their overcrowded lifeboats, they were rescued off the coast of Newfoundland. Canada is granting them asylum for one year, though in true Reagan style Ottawa threatened to deport any refugee found to be a "terrorist"—i.e., who supports "Tiger" guerrillas fighting for a Tamil Eelam separate from the majority Sinhalese Lanka state. Meanwhile they have become the targets of racist outcry in Canada.

The exodus of this group of Tamil refugees has received wide publicity, coming to symbolize the plight of thousands of dark-skinned Third World refugees who increasingly find the borders of the imperialist countries closed to them, and who, if they manage to get past the borders, fall victim to virulent chauvinism and discrimination.

When they arrived there was none of the warm welcome given to Nazi war criminals, Polish anti-Communists and all manner of Counter-revolutionaries who have found safe haven in Canada. Instead, the Tamil refugees were met with a backlash of white racism. Fomented by the bourgeois media with headlines screaming "Send them back," "Close doors to phony refugees" and "Canada's a sucker for illegals"

(all from the *Toronto Sun*), this chauvinist hysteria has been picked up by the fascists. A former leader of the paramilitary Western Guard, now with the anti-Soviet "Canadian Coalition for Peace Through Strength," has called a race-hating anti-Tamil demonstration in Toronto.

These racist terrorists have us all lined up in their crosshairs! Yet Ed Broadbent, leader of the social-democratic New Democratic Party, scandalously called for "a tougher look at all our immigration procedures" to prevent "abuse" by 'quick-buck artists.' The Trotskyist League of Canada issued a press statement demanding. "The labour movement, socialists, blacks, East Indians and other minorities must mobilize together with all fighters for social justice and opponents of racist terror to demand: full, immediate and unconditional political asylum for all Tamil refugees and full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers!."

Since 1983, when hundred of Tamils were burned and hacked to death by the racist mobs and troops organized by the Jayewardene government, over 300,000 have fled Sri Lanka. Many took one of the few means of escape from the island that exists — a Soviet Aeroflot flight to East Berlin and then travelling by subway across the open frontier to West Berlin. They did not run into Western patrols as the dividing line between the two halves of Berlin is not recognized as a border by the American, British and French NATO allies who still share with the Soviet Union occupation rights over the

city. In the first half of this year alone, some 40,000 political refugees fleeing terror in Iran, Turkey, India and Ghana have made use of the West Berlin loophole.

However, passing through this "gateway to the Free World" they are met with contemptuous treatment showing that the West German successor state to the Nazi Third Reich has forgotten nothing of its Hitlerite past. At first they were dumped on the streets and in train stations; later it was tent camps and boxcar-like barracks. From there they are shipped to special camps for political refugees, where they are effectively imprisoned. They are not allowed to leave city or (in most cases) village limits and applicants for political asylum are routinely prohibited from working. West German citizens are banned from entering these heavily guarded stalags without special permission. Refugees have been attacked on the streets and camps have been fire-bombed by skinheads and neo-Nazis.

The West German state obviously hopes that this barbaric existence will force refugees to leave "voluntarily" to return to torture and death at home. Alternatively, it is common to force refugees to sign statements in a language they do not understand agreeing to deportation. According to *Der Spiegel* (11 August) this method was used by the Bonn government to get rid of over 400 asylum seekers in the month of July alone. Also in July, Francis Asare, a refugee from Ghana, hanged himself in his prison cell after signing such a statement claiming that he was not a political refugee, but had just wanted to escape poverty.

The plight of these refugees highlights the intersection of Cold War anti-Sovietism and racist terror. For the desperate Tamils, the seemingly generous constitutional provision granting the right of asylum to "all political refugees" is a cruel hoax. The frontier is only meant to be "open" to anti-Communist refugees fleeing the Soviet bloc. No East German or Pole is ever rejected, and 72 percent of Afghans are accepted — but those fleeing "Free World" terrorism need not apply. The 25th anniversary of the Berlin Wall, a bureaucratic measure to stem Western attempts to drain the East German economy of skilled labor, led to an orgy of anti-Sovietism from the Vatican to the White House. West Berlin mayor Diep-

gen demanded: "Berlin's border has to become more penetrable. This is the same man who, as part of the rightwing German nationalist backlash against "foreign infiltration", complained about open borders.

—WORKERS' VANGUARD

World's Sinister Secret

(Continued from page 2)

phenomena (variations on beating, cutting, and poisoning or defiling) occur so frequently, she believes there must be an international exchange of information in torture techniques. Speculation about underlying psychology does not concern her. Effective therapy does.

"I am often shocked," she said. "I must be, but the work is rich. There are moments of breakthrough when someone recognises the person he once was; when nightmares turn into dreams. Only today, I heard one of our patients had come through an operation in an outside hospital and done as well. That made me happy."

It takes a long time of establishing trust to prepare victory of torture for medical treatment, let alone surgery. We "use very few drugs," she said "We never do anything we don't want us to do and always give morphine after operation. They must feel pain. We had to create our hospitalisation system. No one can imagine what happens during a torture session and tell the victims we know words are lacking to extract what they suffered. Indeed we think the torturers try to induce so much suffering, humiliation and guilt into their victims they will never be able to explain their sufferings to human beings. Therapy is antithesis to torture. The priority of victims are strict persons who before the imprisonment had worked, fought against oppression, better social conditions for people, for a better world."

"It is much more expensive to torture people than to be them. It is up to us, to you, me, if we don't want an inhuman world."

Dr. Genefke refuses to discuss politics or to point fingers. I would like to add that during researches for this article indeed for instance, that the United States trains torturers, (on the evidence of torturers) in the Panama and military centres in Germany, and that a Britisher in the Midlands has experienced instruments of torture such as leg irons and gang chains that when questioned in the House of Commons on December 1983, Norman - bit replied: "If this country does not export them someone would."

Following an outcry, export of these by particularly was curbed — not banned — months later.

— THE OBSERVER WEEKEND

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DIRECTOR

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

WHO SAID 'SPARE THE HOSPITAL'?

Again, the Jaffna General Hospital has been hit.

This time one of the Senior House Officer's room which is occupied by three Senior medical officers was extensively damaged by shrapnels as a result of shelling which continued from midnight Saturday, 6th September.

On 7th night at 8.45, the shrapnels pierced the wooden and glass covers of the room and went just above the beds there and struck the wall three inches deep.

Dr. Jayachandran and Dr. Sris-kandarajah, the two senior medical officers had just left the room prior to the incident and unfortunately prevented from entering the Heaven.

Again on the 8th September at 6.45 p.m. another shell struck the Children's Ward. Fortunately, there were no casualties but some children were injured, five doctors, seven nurses and several children had a narrow escape.

This Children's Ward was recently renovated with the aid from the "SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND" (Britain) at a cost of five and a half lakhs.

Several similar incidents have occurred in the recent past causing grievous injuries to in ward patients and hospital employees. There was extensive damages to a Consultant's room and several hospital buildings despite assurances given by the authorities that the hospital would be "spared".

"Over the past two weeks" complained a Senior Doctor, "there had been several nights where the resident medical officers had to run away from the quarters to safer surroundings".

The occupants of the house officers' quarters have informed the Director of General hospitals that they had no option but to stay away from the quarters even during the day unless and until an alternative, safe and secure place is found for them.

"The mental anguish which we are undergoing by the unbearable

sounds of explosive shells is beyond description and the agony of sleepless nights which all of us experience is terrible" Dr. K. Ganesharatnam, Secretary of General Medical Officers' Association (GMOA), Jaffna told the SATURDAY REVIEW.

The G. M. O. A. has further requested the Director, General Hospitals and stressed on the immediate need to shift the House Officers' quarters to a relatively safer place, at least temporarily.

The Staff of the Teaching Hospital, Jaffna along with the employees of the General Hospital numbering over 1,000 took to the streets on the 9th in a Silent Protest March.

A memorandum has been forwarded to the President, through the Govt. Agent, Mr. M. Panchalingam. Below are excerpts:-

"The Army Camp in the Fort (Jaffna) is situated within a Kilometer of the hub of activity in Jaffna—the Hospital, Bus-stand, Govt. Department Buildings, the Courts, many Schools, Business Establishments and Markets to name a few—are all situated close to the Camp.

Shelling from the Army Camp has in the past caused loss of civilian lives, damage to the buildings (including hospital wards, House Officers Quarters, Administration Block) and disruption of all activities. Despite protests from many quarters.

We regret no action has been taken so far.

The last week's continuous shelling from the Camp has again resulted in loss of Civilian lives, damage to the buildings and disruption of activities. We wish to emphasise that three Doctors in the House Officer's Quarters narrowly missed death when a piece of shell broke through the window of the room and struck the opposite wall. Only last night (8th Sept.) a shell damaged the Paediatric Observation Unit frontage injuring one child. Another piece of shell fell into the bicycle park.

M.G.R. Rides The High Horse

(Continued from page 1)

Instead of meeting the militant leaders in New Delhi, the Ministerial trio, of Bhuta Singh, Chidamparam and Shiv Shankar came to Madras in midnight on a well-publicised visit. Along with M. G. Ramachandran, Panrutti S. Ramachandran, Power Minister of Tamil Nadu State, and Karupiah Muppanar, Congress (I) Secretary, the Ministers met the Tamil militants at Ramavaram Gardens, the residence of M.G.R.

Most of the observers felt that the meeting was useful and could well be a turning point.

But, informed sources told this correspondent that M. G. R. demanded that the militants should hold their fire for a month. He had reportedly told the militant leaders that he had been praying for the unity of the groups.

M. G. R. appears to be cynical nowadays — particularly after the knife episode — in which he asked his fans to carry knives in order to protect themselves in the case of the state police's inefficiency. He reiterated his plea for the carrying of knives and the frenzy made over knives has been on the increase.

His cynicism was very clearly evident at the meeting of the militant leaders also. The Ministerial trio who had travelled all the way from New Delhi allowed M.G.R. to dominate the whole show, despite his inability to pronounce clearly and definitely. Very often, this led to sheer confusion and sometime contradictions. Even the assistance rendered by Power Minister S. Ramachandran in trans-

literating M.G.R.'s talk was of no help.

At one stage, M.G.R., in his own eccentric way, reportedly "warned" the militant leaders. That word also could not be understood clearly and he had to call for a paper and pen to write it out clearly. He wanted the militants to comply or pack up. M.G.R. did not allow the militant leaders to make any observations.

M.G.R. WARNS. On behalf of the Centre? Or did he warn the militants on his own volition? The question however is not that.

His attitude undoubtedly annoyed the militant leaders. A few days later, the ENLF came out with a statement that as long as the Sri Lankan Army was there in the North it would continue its attacks.

Douglas Devananda, chief of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), the armed wing of the EPRLF, told the press in Madras on 27th August that holding the fire was impossible. He said that they could not allow the Tamil people to be massacred.

From all accounts, it seems that there would not be a transition from a no-win situation to a no-war situation in the near future.

WITH LOVE FROM THE ARMY

Jaffna and its precincts has been subject to a series of 'pamphlet-raids' by army helicopters for the past few days. One such notice cautions the Citizens of Jaffna to keep away from 'ammunition dumps' and 'firearms' etc.

We wish to reiterate that we are citizens of Sri Lanka and we are entitled to protection by the Government of Sri Lanka. Moreover, patients and medical personnel in keeping with the traditions of the International Red Cross must be protected at any cost. We are often told "why don't you ask the 'terrorists' to stop attack on the army Camp."

We wish to state categorically that we as law abiding citizens we have the right to ask the Government and its law enforcers for protection and it is not within our purview to identify "unlawful elements" and take action nor do we think can it be fruitful

when the Government itself is finding it difficult.

Despite assurance the shelling is continuing and we feel the only solution is the withdrawal of the Camp. We also see no purpose in the shelling when past experience has shown that it is the civilians who are affected and not the "unlawful elements". We cannot help but point out that such continuance of shelling can only result in loss of confidence in the Government."

Copies of this letter have also been sent to the Director General, Teaching Hospital, the Brigadier, Army Camp, Palaly, and the Government Agent, Jaffna.