

# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 5 No. 37 4th October 1986

Welikade Death Fast  
27th Day

Boosa Death Fast  
30th Day

Bogambara Death Fast  
9th Day

## Why Did Lanka Come To This Pass?

"We very much desire to live at peace with the Tamils as brethren and friends. If the politicians elected by us had paid due regard to cultural traditions, employment opportunities and the economy at large, our country would not have come to such a pass," writes Mr. R. J. D. Dassanayake a Sinhalese reader of the SATURDAY REVIEW from Anuradhapura.

For "innocent civilians" there is no greater joy rather than living in peace and harmony. This peace cannot be brought by talks, gestures or even settlements which merely exist on paper.

This week, again much talk has been coming from political circles, as to how the jaw-jaw could be elaborated.

Tamil Nadu's Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran soon after his arrival from the US called on Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and had discussions with him on the next round of talks expected to take place between the TULF and the Government representatives.

This was on 1st October.

The TULF delegation met Indian Foreign Minister R. Shiv Shankar and discussed the Government's latest proposals. The TULF also put forward some counter suggestions.

This was on 30th September.

Mr. M. G. Ramachandran is again expected to meet Tamil militants on his arrival in Madras to discuss the latest developments.

The discussions and talks are going on. In various places and in various quarters.

Some reports say that the Indian Government is confident in bringing the militants to the table.

President Jayewardene and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi might look forward to an agreement when they are expected to meet in Bangalore in November for the Second Heads of State and Government Summit of South Asian Regional Cooperation (SARC). For this, much more negotiations may be necessary to bring the militants' views to the Conference Table.

The Indian Government officials, according to reports have not yet

decided whether to meet the militants in Madras or summon them to New Delhi.

Those who wish to talk can talk. Those who wish to discuss can discuss...

We do not know how many topics are left to be discussed and talked.

Much blood has flowed in the North and East since the last round of talks between the TULF and the Government.

Not a single day has passed without a killing or a massacre. The latest being at Kallikulam.

Gone are the days of Cease-fire and talks, the present situation projects talks, and fights simultaneously.

The coming weeks would be crucial as far as the talks are concerned.

### 225 AT BOOSA

About 225 youths mostly from Vavuniya were reported to be in preventive custody at Boosa. Some of them have been in custody for over 2 years. A representative Committee of 4 groups have appealed for their release immediately.

### HOLD ON, LALITH

This week we sent Rs. 25/- to Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali as a further part payment of his legal costs of Rs. 1,575/- awarded to him by the Press Council in a case filed against the SATURDAY REVIEW.

We have asked Readers to contribute only 50 cents each.

We earlier hoped to settle the bill by the end of this week. Unfortunately we could not make it.

### Licensing of Vehicles

According to a press release, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (L. T. T. E.) propose to issue licences in 1987 for all vehicles in the Jaffna Peninsula.

The communique further added that a "competent authority" will issue driving licenses and formulate rules for the operation of vehicles in the area. Such rules have been found to be necessary because of numerous accidents which have taken place due to non-observance of traffic regulations.

### Youth Shot

Jothykumar (17) son of Asst. Supt. of Police, A. Theophilus of Batticaloa was kidnapped and killed by unknown youths at Batticaloa on 29th September. His body was later discovered. Reasons for killing were not known.

### JAFFNA UNIVERSITY SYMPATHY FAST



The pictures show the fasting Jaffna University students (right) and the protest meeting addressed by a student leader on 1st October

Release All The Political Prisoners In Sri Lanka Jails

## Saturday Review SRI LANKA

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## M. R. R. O.

Mullaitivu Refugees Rehabilitation Organisation (MRRO) was recently formed to look after the rehabilitation of families who have been displaced from within the Mullaitivu District and those who sought refuge in Mullaitivu from places like Trincomalee and Thiriyai in the Eastern Province. The number of such displaced persons have been on the increase and the figure now stands well over 12,000.

The following have been elected as office-bearers of this organisation: Mr. S. Balakrishnan, J.P. (President) Mr. V. Sivanadiyar, (Secretary) and Mr. K. Tharmalingam, (Treasurer)

The organisation earnestly solicits financial support from all well-wishers and social service organisations to ensure that these unfortunate people join the main stream of the society.

Those who are desirous of rendering assistance are kindly requested to contact the organisation located at the P.W.D. Quarters, Mullaitivu.

# Guns, Butter & Hospital

At the last meeting of the Jaffna Hospital Committee, a proposal was made that immediate action should be taken to obtain medical equipment for the five storeyed building now under construction, as the State would not be in a position to supply all the equipment. This was accepted.

Jaffna district, with a population over 800,000, needs a big hospital with all modern facilities.

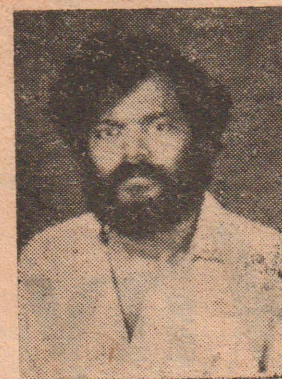
If the Sinhalese-dominated Government is not willing to give the necessary funds—it has enough money for guns but not for butter—then the people of Jaffna should gang together and find the funds.

The SATURDAY REVIEW has already decided to gift a fully equipped ambulance from the Editors Refugee Relief Fund, an ambulance

that will serve the people of all Jaffna.

We appeal to all those who can give, to give generously to make the Jaffna General Hospital a model to the country.

## Kandasamy Released



He is a journalist. He did what he has been doing for years. He sent some news clippings, writings, magazines and other printed matter by parcel to his Head Office in Jaffna by private bus.

At Anuradhapura a search squad found some "subversive" material in the parcel.

What is subversive and what is not, depends on what side of the fence one is in.

The driver and cleaner of the bus were taken into custody.

Later on 14th May, the journalist, Mr. R. Kandasamy, the Colombo correspondent of the Eelanadu was also arrested.

On 14th September exactly four months after his arrest, Mr. Kandasamy was released on bail.

"Charges" are yet to be framed!

## Women pall-bearers

Bastiampillai Jesuthasan (17) of Gurunagar was shot by sentry at the Jaffna Fort on 22nd September while he was going along Beach Road. His body was lying there on the spot till the following morning as the sentry had refused to allow the body being carried by males. So two women pensioners who were going to draw their pensions at the Jaffna Fort Camp were pressed into service as pall-bearers, who tearfully carried the body with difficulty to a vehicle which took the body to the hospital.

## VACANCY

Nuffield School for the Deaf and Blind, Kaitadi is looking for a teacher who can play the accordion and other instruments and is capable of training the school choir. Please apply in person with your credentials on any working day before the 8th October.

Principal

## MATRIMONIAL

Marriage partners professionally and others available even vegetarians in all castes and religions. Mangala Agency, Koiyathoddam, Jaffna.

## Evergreen Memorial Hospital

The Green Memorial Hospital, Manipay, the premier medical institution in this country, is entering its 140th year of its existence. The standards set by this Institution were so high that the name Manipay Green Memorial Hospital became a by-word for excellent medical attention.

The Halcyon days of this Institution were during the era of Jameson, Chacko and Buell whose names have been written large in the medical history of the North.

With decreasing specialist facilities, the drop in the number of patients and the increasing under-utilisation of facilities in the fifties, a crisis loomed large but the escalating ethnic violence gave a new lease of life to the Institution.

We are happy to note that the Management has come to grips with the problems it has been beset. We are sure that soon it will regain its former stature so that it will be of service to the community at large and a land mark in the medical history of the Island.

## THEVARAJAH MEMORIAL PRIZE

The DATACENTER will award the annual P. Thevarajah memorial Prize to the student whose computer programme is judged the best by an evaluation panel, according to a press release from the DATACENTER. The press release adds: The programme should be in basic programming language. The programme should relate to a topics which are of educative value. Programmes involving video games are excluded.

All secondary school children are eligible to compete for the prize.

In the initial evaluation of the submitted programmes credit will be given to Proper documentation, ease of readability and clarity of presentation.

The authors of the three best programmes submitted will be invited to run and demonstrate their programmes prior to final evaluation.

The programmes should reach The Datacenter, 77, Main Street, Jaffna on or before 31st October. The presentation of the award will take place on 14th December.

## S. R. EDITOR'S REFUGEE RELIEF FUND

A contribution to the SATURDAY REVIEW EDITOR'S REFUGEE RELIEF FUND by a leading doctor who wished to remain anonymous has appeared under the list of "disbursements" published on Page 2 of our issue of 20th September. Though we are ready to accept contributions from persons who wish to keep their names out we do not grant relief to nameless parties.

We generally channel relief through recognised social and religious organisations.

As we stated in several earlier issues, applications for relief con-

tinue to pour in but our funds are limited.

We appeal to Readers to make further donations whenever possible because the flow of refugees appear to be unending.

All applications for aid must be endorsed by the Government Agent, Assistant Government Agent or the Medical Officer of Health of the area concerned.

The Sinhalese well-wisher who earlier had donated one thousand rupees, has again sent us one thousand rupees.

## DISBURSEMENTS

Mannar Association for Relief and Rehabilitation (MARR).

Rs. 4,957.82

**MR. V. THILAGAR, FROM THE LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL EELAM (LTTE) ANSWERS THE QUESTIONS. HE BEGINS WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE ON HIS ORGANISATION.**

From the beginning we thought the guerrilla warfare is the only method to achieve our goal. The guerrilla warfare is a suitable form of resistance to wage a war against a superior force. The Sinhalese Government wants to establish a Sinhalese regime all over the island. Naturally, there is resistance from the Tamils.

Now the guerrilla warfare has stepped up into another phase with the help of the people. We could stop the forces coming out of the camps and engage in massacre.

On the political side our cherished goal is an independent state. Some traditional marxist theoreticians still profess that we could join hand with the Sinhalese working class and fight for a Socialist revolution throughout Sri Lanka. But through our experience we found it is not possible. The Tamil working class is the most suppressed, firstly by the State and secondly by the local Tamil bourgeoisie. No possibility of joining hands with the Sinhalese working class arises while they are also dumped into the den of chauvinism.

**HOW DO YOU SEE EELAM WITH REGARDS TO ECONOMIC JUSTICE POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND THE REPRESENTATION OF THE OPPRESSED SECTORS?**

Socialist one; there will be no exploitation of Man by Man and the independent, Tamil Eelam will be a totalitarian Society, and there is a place for private sector also. The Government will look after that the private sector would not exploit the people.

**WHAT IS YOUR STRATEGY FOR A FREE HOMELAND?**

Regarding the strategy, guerrilla warfare is the mode of struggle and gradually we will arm and mobilise the people and teach the people how to fight. Finally it will transcend into a people's war. After achieving our goal we will help the Sinhalese masses.

At present, all the classes are fighting for liberation. At this stage there is no class differentiation among the fighters. After achieving Tamil Eelam we hope the working class will lead our independent land to a socialist one.

**IN A GUERRILLA ATTACK WHAT ARE YOUR TARGETS?**

Specially on armed forces and police. Because they are the oppressive arms of the oppressive regime. We have attacked individual policemen, convoys, camps and so many military targets. At the same time, we have attacked the home guards, armed and trained by the Government. The trained and armed thugs who had been brought into the Tamil areas will also be our targets.

**MR. V. PRABHAKARAN, THE LTTE LEADER HAS SAID IN AN INTERVIEW ON 13th JANUARY, 1986:**

*"In my opinion there must be only one dominant militant group to lead the struggle. We the Tigers*

**BECAUSE OF YOUR BRUTAL KILLING OF MORE THAN 150 SINHALESE IN ANURADHAPURA THE SINHALESE MASSES HAVE LOST ANY FAITH IN YOU (EVEN IF THEY HAD ANY). PLEASE COMMENT.**

First of all I have to tell you that we have not done that. We condemned this blatant act of terrorism.

Marx supported the struggle of the Irish people for freedom from the British. At that time he did not say that there should be a class struggle and Irish workers should join hands with the English work-

fort to bring about a settlement and peace to our people.

**WHEN YOU SAY THE LIBERATION OF THE PEOPLE, DOES THAT ALSO INCLUDE THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN? IF YES, WHAT IS YOUR PROGRAMME TO ACHIEVE THIS AND WHAT IS THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN YOUR LIBERATION STRUGGLE?**

In our Organisation there are no differences between men and women. Education and Training are equal to men as well as women. Traditionally Tamil women are very shy. That is a reason why they have not appeared in the battle front. But very soon we will see them in direct action.

**WHY HAVE YOU LEFT THE EELAM NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (ENLF)?**

First of all, I need to make it clear that we have not left the ENLF. We could not, however, participate in some of the meetings due to certain reasons. We joined the ENLF with the hope that all groups can co-ordinate and fight the enemy but in the process we found that we couldn't co-operate with some of the groups due to certain groups being indisciplined, having in-fights, indulging in corruption and also engaged in anti-social activities. As we were in a common front we could not expose these activities. We even pointed out these short-comings to the leaders for remedial action but to no avail. Apart from engaging in these acts they even began to harass us and started attacking and abducting our cadres. On account of these acts, we couldn't co-operate with them. But with groups like the EROS we could always co-operate because they were dedicated, and disciplined. They did not engage in anti-social acts. For our part we did attempt for a constructive and co-ordinated effort. Our goal will drag on for years and years but if there is a constructive approach, it will make the process easier. We will in the future strive our utmost to co-operate with other groups as long as they are sincere and committed towards the common cause.

Excerpts from the OPEN FORUM held in Madras under the auspices of the Asian Students Association (ASA) and the General Union of Eelam Students (GUYS).

# A Tiger view

by

**A Special Correspondent  
in Madras**

*who were able to foil the Sri Lankan army offensive in many cases, and it is very difficult for the Sri Lankan Army to fight against a united force. Ours is the only single liberation movement."*

**WHAT IS THE POSITION OF THE LTTE REGARDING OTHER LIBERATION GROUPS SUCH AS EROS, EPRLF, PLOT AND TELO?**

Through our experience we have found that the single unifying command is more effective against the enemy. But, there are other movements also. If a movement is committed to the cause, if a movement is disciplined, if a movement is engaged in attacks against the oppressive regime, there is every possibility of coordination. We have had dialogues with various groups, but still there is less possibility of a solid coordination.

**WHO HAS THE MORAL CALL TO DEFINE WHO IS DISCIPLINED AND WHO IS NOT. DO YOU HAVE?**

We don't try to discipline the other groups. A group should discipline itself. When a group tries to destroy us we have to teach them a lesson. We have to defend ourselves. If we were reluctant we would have been destroyed. While we are engaged militarily against the enemy we did not want a group behind us stabbing on our back.

ing class. Lenin also has said, "When there is an acute national contradiction there is no possibility of a class struggle. The National (liberation) struggle in that sense is progressive and revolutionary."

We have support among some progressive Sinhalese groups. I don't like to mention the names.

**WHAT IS YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT AS WELL AS THE TAMILNADU GOVERNMENT? HOW WILL YOU EXPLAIN THE ASSISTANCE BEING GIVEN BY THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT?**

Undoubtedly India is a regional super power. It has its military obligations also. The induction of foreign forces (i. e.) the SAS, Mossad, KMS, South African mercenaries and other imperialist forces are a real threat to the security of India. And on humanitarian basis also India has obligation to interfere and to forge a settlement. Tamil Refugees are a burden to India. India is trying its best to bring about a settlement. But we have very much confidence in J. R., that he would not come to a solution that will fulfil the aspirations of our people. And India is helping and giving its moral support and it has let us to operate here politically. We are very grateful towards India's help and we will give full support in her ef-

# SABRA SHATILA FOUR YEARS LATER

Four years have passed since the massacre at Sabra and Shatila, two Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon.

I first went out to Beirut to answer an appeal for a doctor with surgical experience and skills to look after war casualties. It was August 1982, the height of the bombing. I was working in St. Thomas' Hospital in London then.

I looked up the map and found that Beirut was in the middle East. I switched on the television every night to see what exactly was happening there. The more I watched, the more I decided that I had to go.

After the massacre at Sabra-Shatila, we the doctors and nurses serving in Lebanon spent many, many moments talking of grief. Some of us felt pity. Some of us felt anger.

On my way back from Lebanon I went to Israel to give evidence before the Kahan Commission (into the massacre), because, much as I felt grief and sorrow, I realised that it was my duty to speak up on any platform. The people of Sabra-Shatila—those who are alive, those who are dead, demand to be heard. And people everywhere must know the truth.

Now, four years after the massacre, I do not want to recall all the events, all the misery, all the suffering.

But, I would like to recall something which made me very proud, and made me remember the faces of dignity and the faces of courage.

When I landed in Beirut, the Israelis had been conducting their 36-hour continuous bombing. There were bomb shelters, houses were broken, people without homes hiding everywhere. And yet, wherever I went, people called out: 'Welcome, doctor, welcome'. There was very little food to go round. But everywhere, whatever people had, they shared with one another.

And then the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) evacuated. I had no idea what a Palestinian fighter was, until that moment. Only then did I realise who the Palestinian people really were. People who grew up in the camps, people who had families—children, wives, sisters, mothers.

In other parts of the world these young people would be going to school, learning how to read and write, the girls planning their marriage, the young men looking for a career or maybe playing football.

But here, is the camps, each one of these Palestinians had been driven from their homes, with the understanding that they will never, never return. But there was never a moment of desperation among them. They still carried a rave and victorious spirit.

After the PLO evacuated from Beirut, the Palestinians refugees went back to their camps. I could not believe what I saw. They went back to

**IN SEPTEMBER 1982, SABRA AND SHATILA, TWO PALESTINIAN REFUGEE CAMPS IN LEBANON WERE RAIDED AND OVER A THOUSAND PALESTINIANS, MAINLY WOMEN, CHILDREN AND THE OLD, WERE MASSACRED. A SMALL TEAM OF DOCTORS AND NURSES WHO WERE WORKING IN THE AREA AT THE TIME OF THE MASSACRE WERE DETAINED BY THE ISRAELI -**

the roads with dust, dirt, houses in ruin and rubble. And they started rebuilding.

I had never before seen this aspect of humanity. Most Palestinians had been through this process of having their houses destroyed and rebuilding them many, many times. And here they were building up again from the ruins.

They inspired me so much that I worked day and night. I went up to the Gaza hospital in the refugee camp, swept the floors, and dragged out the mattresses for my patients to lie on.

We were happy. The Palestinians had lost their infrastructure, had lost their political organisation. But the civilians were now guaranteed protection. And the people had this feeling: 'Let the children grow. Let the women settle down. Let the old men retire in peace and watch the children grow up.'

And what happened? The massacre of Sabra-Shatila took place. Over thousand Palestinian men, women and children were killed. That shattered many people. That shattered me.

I was so angry - I could not understand why the 22 of us (the foreign medical doctors and nurses) were allowed to work so hard - to stitch up a few patients, do some operations, work without food and without everything... while thousand were dying outside. I saw the video of dead bodies and I was totally shattered. How could it happen?

I went back to the camp after the massacre, before the military sealed it off to the public. And this was the scenario I saw. The camp was beyond recognition. Houses that were freshly painted a week ago, were completely dynamited. Bulldozed and flattened.

Parts of the camp I could not recognise. Mass graves were being uncovered. Relatives howled and screamed whenever they saw a body or someone they knew and loved. The smell

**CKED GUNMEN WHO RAIDED THE CAMPS BUT WERE LATER RELEASED. DR. ANG SWEE CHAI, A SINGAPOREAN ORTHOPAEDIC SURGEON BASED IN LONDON, WAS ONE OF THOSE DETAINED AT GAZA HOSPITAL. TODAY FOUR YEARS LATER, DR. ANG LOOKS BACK AT THE SABRA - SHATILA MASSACRE, A TRAGEDY THAT OUTRAGED AND SHOCKED THE WORLD.**

of dead bodies was all over the camps—it stank.

As I walked down the camp, a small boy ran up to me. He was a 9-year-old patient I treated for a broken wrist two weeks before. He had been helping his father rebuild their house when he fell and broke his wrist.

When he saw me, he began to cry. He was crying out of relief, he told me later. He had seen the 22 of us (medical staff) being led away by the

It was a very moving moment for me. What could I say to them?

These were children who had lost everything. They didn't know the world knew. They didn't know that everybody knew that they had lost everything that they had no homes, no parents.....

The picture I took of the children showed them standing in front of the rubble and ruins of what had been their homes. They were saying: 'We are not afraid.'

I went home from Sabra-Shatila that night and thought about their plight. I had seen what was courageous and brave of the Palestinian people. And being a member of the Third World myself, I immediately identified with these Palestinian people.

My diary for that day reads as follows: 'After seeing these Palestinians, I no longer feel any fear, although I am sometimes physically tired.'

'History has taught us that people armed with justice will win, even if their situation may look hopeless now. Would the slaves have ever dreamt that they would one day be free and called human?'

'Because they are human, the Palestinians will win. Maybe not today, or tomorrow or even in this generation or the next. But that which rightly belongs to them, they will recover someday. Even if it takes a

by

Dr. Ang Swee Chai

Phalange and he had thought—like many others—that we would be shot.

He was so happy to see me that it took me a while to establish that both his grandparents were dead. His home had been destroyed, and he had gone to live with his aunt.

And then, suddenly, there was a gathering of little boys and girls around me. They all started talking and somebody said: 'Doctor, please take a picture of us.....' I always carried a pocket camera wherever I went to take pictures. 'Please take a picture of us.'

I understood then that they wanted me to take a picture of them because, if they died tomorrow, I could show the world the picture—that these were the Palestinian children who lived in Sabra-Shatila. Their last words to me were very important: '..... And we are not afraid.'

great sacrifice, tenacity, discipline bloodshed, courage.

'The tide of liberation is flowing and these oppressed Palestinian people are flowing with it.'

'When I saw the massacre of Sabra-Shatila, I cried like a young soldier would, one who was ready and prepared for a battle, but who had fallen even before the battle had started. However, after seeing the spirit of the Palestinian people, especially the children, I wept. I wept with joy because I then knew that there were millions who would carry on the struggle.'

—Third World Network Features

—ends—

Dr. Ang Swee Chai is a Singaporean orthopaedic surgeon now living in London. She worked at Gaza Hospital as a volunteer in 1982 and witnessed the Sabra-Shatila massacre. Dr. Ang was one of three medical people from the international team who testified at the Kanan Commission of Inquiry into the massacre, held in Israel.

# Y. W. C. A. PROTESTS

**THIS IS THE TEXT OF A LETTER SENT TO PRESIDENT JAYEWARDENE BY THE Y.W.C.A., JAFFNA.**

It is with a great deal of sorrow and distress that the members of the Jaffna Young Women's Christian Association bring to your kind attention the severe damage caused to our Headquarters building by bombing from Jaffna Fort by the Security Forces. Shells from the Jaffna Fort fell in front of our building on the 7th and 8th of September, and completely shattered all the doors, windows, and the entire frontage and have made it impossible for us to occupy or utilise the building.

The Jaffna Y.W.C.A., which was without a home of its own for more than 35 years was able to launch on a building project due to the selfless and devoted services of its members who collected the necessary funds for the purchase of a block of land from the Methodist Church at Vembadi Road, Jaffna. Friends and well wishers both in Sri Lanka and overseas contributed generously towards

the building project. The Major donors were however the United Church for World Ministries of the United States and His Excellency the High Commissioner readily accepted our invitation and opened the building on 10th March, 1986. We have spent more than a million rupees on this building.

Our Headquarters accommodated the school for Home Techniques which has more than one hundred students who generally come from the poorer sections of our community. We had provision in the building for a Canteen, a Hostel for University students, and Working girls, and Workshops for teaching girls shorthand typewriting, and other handicrafts. We had equipped our building to carry out these projects. Our hopes for this great Institution have been shattered by the constant firing from

the Jaffna Fort, and made it impossible for us to function.

Our Headquarters adjoins the Vembadi Girls' College, and Jaffna Central College, which have more than four thousand students. The Jaffna Civil Hospital which is the largest medical Institution with specialist facilities in the District and is the Teaching Hospital for Medical Students, is in our vicinity and has also been severely affected by the shelling from the Fort. Moreover the Commercial Centre, the Bank, and the Law Courts, are in this area and shelling from the Fort has severely disrupted the life of the people in Jaffna town.

Representations have been repeatedly made to your Excellency by many public Institutions, and Associations

regarding the urgent necessity to remove the armed Forces from the Jaffna Fort. May we appeal to you as President of our Country, whose chief consideration is the welfare and safety of its people, that immediate action be taken to remove this danger from our midst. We earnestly hope that our present appeal would receive your sympathetic consideration and evoke a ready response.

An inspection by the Government Agent, Jaffna District who was himself present at the opening of our building and who is aware of our services to the community would convince him that it would not be possible for us to function unless the armed Forces are removed from the Jaffna Fort.

May we therefore earnestly appeal to Your Excellency, on behalf of our Organisation and the Women of Jaffna to give heed to the distress, suffering and tears of our people who have been so severely affected by the presence of the Army in the Jaffna Fort.

Copies of this letter has also been sent to The Lord Bishop of Colombo—Anglican Church, The President, National Y.W.C.A., The Lord Archbishop of Colombo—Roman Catholic Church; The Chairman, Methodist Church; The High Commissioner for Canada, in Sri Lanka; The High Commissioner for India, in Sri Lanka; The Consul American Embassy, Colombo; The Secretary, United Church Board for World Ministries, New York; The Secretary Board of Trustees for Jaffna College Funds, New York.

## WIDOW'S SAD TALE

My late husband Thurairasa Sivakumar aged 34 years earned a living as a cigar roller. Due to the close proximity of our residence to the Army Camp and the tension that prevailed at Vasavilam on 15th January we moved to a relation's house at Vavunathamba Street at Kurumbasiddy. At about 6.30 a.m., on 17th January about 150 army personnel passed by on foot in armoured cars while about 50 passed through the rear of the compound. My late husband was not at home at that time. He returned home at about 10 a.m. and informed that due to the tension that prevailed work had been suspended for the day.

At about 11 a.m. army personnel came back along the road. My late husband who was in the front entrance of the house with the child in his arms was called by Army personnel. As he proceeded he was asked to hand over the child to me. My husband having given the child to me went towards the Army personnel with hands held up in prayer. As he had proceeded about 10 yards I heard three gun shots.

When I ran up with my child, I found my husband lying motionless in a pool of blood. At that time about 50 army personnel came from the rear of the house with two of our relations Rathinam Thurairajah and Mylvaganam Kirubakaran (21).

They were released on the orders of an officer. Army personnel then attempted to move an armoured car over my husband's body. I immediately went and stood by my hus-

band's body, and cried, "You have killed my husband, kill me also".

My dead husband had two gun shot injuries on his chest and one gun shot injury on the right side of his stomach. My husband's dead body was cremated on 18th January. My late husband was not involved in any anti Government activity. Neither he is a terrorist nor a 'tiger'. He was an ordinary human being. But they killed him. Why?

For many a people in the North and East this has been an unanswerable question, why the soldiers kill innocent people.

Who else can ask search or research for answers? Of course, the soldier's duty is to kill, so they kill at will.

## HOW NOT TO FIGHT TB

Life-saving drugs on the floor; The "laboratory" in a garage; No X-Ray facilities; No proper place to examine female patients; No place for the nurses to get into their uniforms. Not even one shelf or cupboard. The patients stand outside in the hot sun.

That is what was found when the Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW visited the 'Jaffna Chest Clinic' last week.

The Clinic was originally situated at Pannai, but after the Army shelling in the area in May it was closed down. Considerable damage had been caused to the building.

Temporary accommodation was found in a house opposite the Kachcheri which earlier served as the regional centre of the Ceylon National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis.

The Clinic started functioning on 30th May.

On 23rd July, the staff led by the doctor in charge visited the Pannai building on bicycles with the permission of the Army and brought a stock of drugs. No access was possible by cars or lorries.

The doctor in charge inspected the premises on 30th July to find that all the rooms had been broken open and furniture, drugs, linen and other articles had been removed.

An appeal was made through the newspapers in Jaffna to return the articles. A table, eight chairs and four benches were returned on 12th September.

Nobody in authority seems to care about what has happened and is happening though they have been kept fully informed.

This is Jaffna 1986.

## Laugh and Laugh

*Laugh*

*And the whole world*

*Laughs with you*

*Cry*

*And you cry alone*

*One wise man has said,*

*But why cry?*

*When you can laugh*

*at the whole world*

*Laugh, laugh and laugh yet again,*

*at the antics of*

*political pimps and prostitutes*

*At the Military*

*with their pips*

*and pop-guns*

*Laugh.*

*They are there*

*amidst us.*

*What can we do?*

*The ordinary people ask.*

*Laugh*

*And laugh yet again.*

*Never cry*

*though there is much*

*to cry about.*

*Tears alone*

*cannot save anyone*

*from bayonets and bullets,*

*Face life squarely.*

*Accept death*

*an everyday hazard.*

*Be proud in death.*

*The soldiers will weep*

*one day.*

ANON—IX

**THE WORD BUREAUCRACY** can be traced to a French word 'bureau' meaning 'desk Government'. By following the model of the definition of democracy, one may define bureaucracy as Government of the bureaus, by the bureaus and for the bureaus. This is a derogatory description. The precise definition of the term is an academic task. According to the concepts of the German Sociologist Max Weber, the ideal bureaucracy is a formal depersonalised organisation for the management of activities with certain well defined characteristics which made it technically the most satisfactory form of organisation for scientific management. However, it is a wide term and has to be examined functionally / operationally.

With reference to a particular system of administrative organisation wherein a body of officials are empowered to manage within and act in a given way whether the organisation is public or private; With reference to the domination of the general public by this body of persons.

on the public, decisions by precedents, delays, buck-passing, resistance to change and lack of flexibility and displacement of values. This irrational behaviour of organisation is referred to as bureaupathology.

The public sector in Sri Lanka is called upon to handle 70% of the country's trade, 80% of its investment and 85% of its export. It has its work force, massive investment of public funds to provide the basic needs and services to the economy and a quality of life to the people. To accomplish this task the outfit of the Government machinery comprises the following:

1. Ministries, Departments and Secretariats.
2. Quazi Government undertakings such as public Corporations, Boards, Institutes, Bureaus, Authorities, Public Joint Stock Companies.
3. Private sector organisations which have been absorbed by the operation of the business acquisition act. Machinery remains in constant

Separation of administration from ownership.

The above characteristics were envisaged to achieve a rational orientation towards task-load, speed, precision and reliability. The public sector organisations possess these characteristics in varying degrees along several dimensions of bureaucracy. The merits claimed by the characteristics are turned against bureaucracy by the problem of relations between the generalists and the specialists on the one hand and between the bureaucrats and the public on the other hand. The internal conflict is caused among constituent parts to resist actions which do not serve their own purposes. This has manifested in problems of messages within organisations. It also makes their behaviour unpredictable. In regard to relationship between bureaucrats and the public, bureaupathic conditions have arisen by way of aloofness from the public, imposition of decisions without adequate consideration of personal and local fac-

Pay is based more on the number of hours spent at office than that of productivity or results. Generally elementary economics teaches that labour is derived from the demand for the product of labour. However, over the years of having been in different posts by frequent transfers, the bureaucrat learnt that pay is a function of time spent other than results achieved in the production of goods and services. Given a service structure embodied with cadre strengthened by gazetted and non-gazetted time skill, seniority, etc. function of time becomes regularised for getting pay cheques and also increases of these pay cheques as time passes on. Therefore delays in operation or poor public relations are not barriers for payment of salary as the higher bureaucrat tends to back his subordinates as against outsiders.

3. From this follows, the third law—avoid responsibility if you can. This can be done systematically and ability to do so increases with experience. In the beginning the bureaucrat works cautiously looking for precedents in the files. Sometime thereafter, he will look for notings in files which are not negative in character. Opinions are sought from others to see that negative opinions are not expressed after the decision is taken. All this takes time for making a simple decision and this is helpful in giving the impression that the person is being overloaded and overworked. This also goes in with the cautious approach of a prudent bureaucrat to give an impression that he has more work to do than he can handle. This can also lead him to a transfer on occasions. Or on the otherhand work against his transfer in view of the fact that he has significant work to do in the place of his posting. These bureaucrats having followed precedents, work within the ambit of pay as function of time spent.

4. This brings us to the next law i.e. the law of futility. Those who are in charge of effecting changes are supposed to act as change agents. If the background of these bureaucrats is covered by the other laws their attitude towards any programme is, Why try? Sometimes, they tell us as follows:— We had community development programmes of various brands since 1950s to bring about change and the impact they made on the poor people left much to be desired. The question they raise is:— Have we attained self sufficiency in food? In other words

# PUBLIC SECTOR BUREAU - PATHS

As both the organisational and behavioural factors are important for effectiveness, this body of persons or bureaucrats who stand between the Ministers or political executives and the large mass of workers who carry out the day to day task are responsible for the conduct of the whole range of Government activities affecting the public. If their role becomes dysfunctional, the responses of the workers at lower levels also deviate more and more from organisational needs thereby leading to a circularity in bureau-pathic conditions, the essence of which is alienation from the people by features of remoteness, officiousness, indifference and harassment of the public. The behavioural patterns of the officers become bureau-pathic and prevent them from accomplishing the main functions of the public service.

It is observed that bureau-pathology is closely associated with the impersonal, formal structure rigid departmentalisation, hierarchy of authority, salary etc., chain of command, rigid controls, splendid isolation fr-

contact with the political executive and comes in direct contact with the people at a number of points day in and day out.

## Characteristics:

In Sri Lanka the public organisation have adopted the weberian model of organisation with modifications, the characteristics of which are as follows:

Hierarchical structure of persons arranged in a pyramid or rank and positions, a hierarchy authority and a hierarchy of pay.

Specialised groups with expertise in charge of specialised functions.

A Complex system of rules concerning the rights and duties of all to ensure that the decisions of the leaderships are carried out by all lower levels.

A system of procedures for dealing with work situations.

Impersonal quality in carrying out tasks.

Promotion and selection based on technical competition/merit/seniority.

tors involved, lack of adaptability to situations, complicated and expensive procedures, reliance on precedents, delays and inadequate innovative approach. They seem to create the laws of bureaucratic business, which impinge on the dynamism of public sector organisations. Some of the laws are enumerated below:-

## Laws of bureaucratic business:-

1. Never do anything on your own for the first time, if something has already been done or if some action has already been taken on a remedial similar case. A precedent will always be there. Therefore one has to look for a precedent, before one starts action either on paper or in some other fashion.
2. The second law is known to all sincere bureaucrats. It is a fundamental lesson when one enters the safe Government service.



there is an unwillingness to exercise initiative or adopt an innovative approach.

Another manifestation of this approach is the art of postponing decisions, with a view to maintaining the status quo. Some techniques are employed by them. Study committees are used to avoid decision when issues are charged with great emotion and danger for the bureaucracy. The bureaucratic leadership are accused for simply referring the matter to study committees and thereafter to review committees and survey committees. The full thrust of orchestrated committees can keep an awkward problem suspended in inactivity almost indefinitely. The results is the law of futility in action.

#### 5. The alienation of the public by bias and personal considerations

Persons in the higher social classes have access to the middle or higher ranks of bureaucracy through personal friendship or social relationships and are able to have their problems attended to by higher ranks of bu-

accepting their own failures. With all these, one way of guarding against criticism is to avoid big mistake or push the level of big mistakes over the realm of bureaucracy to the political level.

Therefore, in keeping with other laws, responsibility for big mistakes is shifted from permanent bureaucracy to political bureaucracy whereas big mistakes are committed upon, criticised and carried further with the prices and parliament, smaller mistake like delay, indcision etc. are accepted as a normal way of life. So the last law is "shift the big mistakes and keep the smaller one."

Quite a lot of criticism is valid for any democratic public administration. However, the bureaucracy has been modified over the years in order to cope more successfully with the problems that beset them. In order to overcome these pathological conditions, the Constitution of Sri Lanka, (1978) has effected a change in the designation from "State officers" to "Public officer". It was envisaged to develop a sense

of service to the public which means that they are no longer employees of an impersonal state or Government. They are public officers the servants of the people to serve the people. However, the appointment of the Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration (Ombudsman) by the act No. 17 of 1981 is to assist the Members of Parliament in resolving the citizen's problem with the bureaucracy. He is charged with the duty of investigating the reports on complaints, allegations of infringement of fundamental rights and other injustices by public officers and officers of Public Corporations, Local Authorities and the like. However, this does not include malpractices of the bureaucracy which have no bearing on the violation of fundamental rights. All complaints or petitions have to get over a number of hurdles before they may be referred to the 'Ombudsman' by the Committee on public petitions. It is suggested that the 'Ombudsman' should have the power to initiate inquiries.

The performance of the bureaucracy in Sri Lanka inspite of its shortcomings had shown remarkable progress in its capacity to achieve growth in national income and employment. In fact during crisis situations and emergency specially in the North and East of Sri Lanka, the bureaucracy has been working with a sense of dedication, devotion and responsibility.

The bureaucratic problem is not particular to capitalist or mixed economies. For example, in a Socialist country like Russia, the bureaucracy operates under a web of central control which commences from a core of 64 Federal Ministries and 23 State Committees. These entities own and operate 50,000 enterprises and have a state run labour union net work of 132 million employees. The performance of the bureaucracy in recent years has been subject to criticism. On purely economic terms the growth in national income was only 3.1% in 1983 and 2.6% in 1984. Often ideas for reform are expressed in Soviet Journals. This shows that when human activities are performed through large organisations, the problem of bureaupathic conditions prevails in any form of Government.

#### Some possible remedies :-

The organisational culture of the bureaucracy as a whole has a bearing on bureaupathic conditions. In a changing environment, the attainment of organisational objectives depends on changes in the bureaucratic structures, motivations and controls. The bureaucratic issues refer to the wide range of constraints on the preliminary task of recruitment, utilisation, motivation and the integration of persons in it. Also there is an issue of the degree of participation of not only the personnel in the organisation in decision making but also of the people in making and implementing decisions that are designed to achieve the socio-economic goals of the Government.

#### Motivation :

Another factor leading to bureaupathic condition is the lack of motivation. Motivation is a set of attitudes which predispose the person to act in a specific goal directed way. From the organisations point of view, there is a psychological contract between the organisation and the employee for the latter to accept the authority system of the organisation. However, for the acceptance to be meaningful, the employees perception of the contract should be given due weight in enforcing it. The technique for group motivation is suggested for adoption. For instance in Japan,

group motivation has penetrated into each of the organisations as well as trade unions which are organised around each enterprise. The subject of "Group dynamics" is given meaningful form in setting goals and methods in the fulfilment of tasks within prescribed limits. In a number of ways, the bureaucrats can relate themselves to the group or individuals they are supervising. This is tied up the technique used in motivation i.e. sharing decisions by the leadership. Three categories namely :-

Historically compensation is a classical motivation factor in the public service. It has to be viewed in relative terms. The salaries of staff in the public sector are indeed low. Taking into account the considerable responsibilities of various jobs and also the prevailing salaries for comparable jobs in the private sector, it would be absolutely essential to fix the staff's salaries in the public sector on a very realistic and predictable basis.

#### People's participation:

The participation of the people in the administrative system is necessary to prevent bureaupathic conditions in the bureaucracy as well as mis - Government by it.

The phenomenon of people's participation notwithstanding different basis of motivation, is present in all the political systems, be they democratic or authoritarian. In a democratic system, the following conditions are necessary for effective people's participation.

1. It should be well organised at the local level.
2. Local organisation must be given the right to make and implement their own decisions.
3. Local organisation must represent the majority of the people and in whom the people place the confidence.

In Sri Lanka with the Administrative set up having 25 Districts 271, A. G. A. divisions and 4598 Grama Sevaka divisions decentralisation with adequate delegation of powers and people's participation is advocated as a remedial measure for bureaupathic conditions in the bureaucracy. But it will be observed that these measures will not automatically bring about the intended results as the elected members will have to work through experts and officials. Decentralisation helps to merge the bureaucracy with the aspirations of the people. Amongst the important measures adopted for decentralised decision making in the development process are the creation of District Ministries, the establishment of District Development Councils, Pradesika Mandalayas and

(Continued on page 8)

This article focuses on the bureaucracy in the Sri Lankan Public Sector.

MR. K. RAMANATHAR, a senior administrative officer attached to the Jaffna Kachcheri analyses the pathological condition of bureaucracy in the Sri Lankan context.

reaucracy. This situation causes resentment to the class of people who are in the lower strata of society. Sometimes the lower bureaucracy attempt to subvert the directions given by the higher bureaucracy as it is not possible for the latter to deal with all the members of the public. For example, the G.A's order may be just an impersonal. But in the implementation of it, the G.S.N. can make some one who have incurred the displeasure feel the force of that displeasure by trivial things such as his manner, irritation and delays for reasons which cannot be identified. So the material fate of the masses depend on the correct functioning of the bureaucratic officials down the line.

#### Guarding against the criticism:-

In bureaucracy, clients and critics operate together because the Government is at once a client as well as a critic. Client in the sense that the citizen has to get his things done through the Government. But criticism from the client reaches the upper level of the bureaucracy and sometimes even parliament. Therefore, criticism has to be guarded against. So at times criticism come from the highest quarters of the Government. This is one way of giving expression to the law of futility not

of service to the public which means that they are no longer employees of an impersonal state or Government. They are public officers the servants of the people to serve the people. However, the appointment of the Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration (Ombudsman) by the act No. 17 of 1981 is to assist the Members of Parliament in resolving the citizen's problem with the bureaucracy. He is charged with the duty of investigating the reports on complaints, allegations of infringement of fundamental rights and other injustices by public officers and officers of Public Corporations, Local Authorities and the like. However, this does not include malpractices of the bureaucracy which have no bearing on the violation of fundamental rights. All complaints or petitions have to get over a number of hurdles before they may be referred to the 'Ombudsman' by the Committee on public petitions. It is suggested that the 'Ombudsman' should have the power to initiate inquiries.

The unemployment rate has been reduced from 26% of the work-force in 1977 to 12% of the workforce in 1984. According to the Finance Minister (Budget Speech, 1986) the doubling of the investment as a percentage of G. D. P. has its impact on the growth of G. D. P. and em-

# CANADA DISCRIMINATES?

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

Canadian Tamils have shown their displeasure regarding the discrimination against the Jaffna, Mullaitivu Nuwara Eliya - Maskeliya districts in the "Sri Lanka - Canada youth exchange program" which is co-ordinated by Sri Lanka National Youth Service Council and Canada World Youth.

For this youth exchange program annually more than fifty participants had been selected for the training in Canadian education, Art, Culture, English language and in agriculture field. One of the major criteria in this program is that the participants should be selected from all the ethnic groups. This youth exchange program is being held under this criteria as an educational-cultural program.

In 1983-84, Tamil speaking trainees were selected from Northern, Eastern and Up-country regions, including the Jaffna and Mullaitivu districts. It should be noted that this is the first time one representative was selected from the Nuwara-Eliya - Maskeliya district. These trainees were treated differently and also insulted in Sri Lanka as well as in Canada. They were banned from contacting any Tamils living in Canada, either by letter or by direct contact (in person). Even the Tamil trainees who were in different parts of Canada were prohibited to contact each other. They were being trained under the direct surveillance of fellow Sinhalese trainees. At the same time arrangements were made for the Sinhalese trainees to have close relationship with the Canadian Sinhalese families, and also to par-

ticipate in their parties. Even though the Sinhalese trainees also were being trained in different parts of Canada they were allowed and facilitated to correspond each other either by telephone or by mail. It should be noted that racial discrimination is against the basic human rights charter and freedom of Canada.

Even though the Tamil trainees had these types of restrictions, accidentally some of them were able to meet few fellow Tamil Canadians, and after that there were heated arguments between the Tamil and Sinhalese trainees. Later Tamil trainees were threatened by the fellow Sinhalese trainees in order to take revenge. After these developments Tamil trainees decided to stay back in Canada

## LETTERS

instead of returning to Sri Lanka with their fellow Sinhalese trainees. The Tamil trainees are: Mr. Segarajasingham Sivapalasingham, Mr. Velauthar Vivekananthan, Mr. Valli Sri Vasanthakumar, Mr. Abdul Pakirasin Kappor, Ms. Manikayakarasi Thambimuththu, Ms. Yogamalar Vaidivel, Ms. Maheswari Singaravel, and Ms. Kamalawathana Alakaiyan. Among them, Mr. S. Sivapalasingam and V. Vivekananthan were acting as group leaders as well as youth service officers in the National Youth Council. They were also honours graduates of Colombo and Peradeniya Universities respectively.

Mr. Sri Kugan Sri SkandaRajah, Lawyer and a son of late famous High Court Judge Mr. Ponnuthurai Sri Skanda Rajah, helped the Tamil trainees to

explain their plight to the Canadian Government. Eventually they were allowed to stay permanently in Canada. After this, for the past two years Tamil trainees from Jaffna, Mullaitivu, Nuwara Eliya - Maskeliya districts were banned from the Canada-Sri Lanka youth exchange program. The Canadian Tamils regret and displeased by this action. Also they expect that Tamil trainees should be given all the freedom and rights enjoyed by their fellow Sinhalese trainees.

Charles Devasagayam

Canada.

## Playing with Human Lives

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

Is human life, the most precious thing in God's creation, so cheap for those in power to play with? The highest of God's creation, instead of being safe-guarded is being destroyed without any feeling, at least, for a fellow being.

Religion, whatever sect it may be, has always emphasised the sanctity and love that one human being should have for the fellow human being. But what is happening in the world and in Sri Lanka in particular? The whims and fancies of some predominate and supersede in the destruction and manical acts and innocent lives are destroyed without any sort of compunction or feeling.

Religions which teach Karma and retribution and ardent adherents of such religions are promulgating advocating and instigating the destruction of their fellow beings? By these acts where are we leading to? Are we not going towards the path of self-destruction and annihilation?

No doubt, when human beings are impelled by the desire for power and authority may be urged to commit heinous crimes under the guise of safe-guarding law and order and they must realise that Divine Justice is quite different from man made justice. Let them at least realise the consequence of their actions and even at this late hour reform themselves and act like human beings.

There is a proverb that these whom the Gods want to destroy they first drive them mad and ultimately get destroyed without even a tear from their fellow beings.

E. S. Yogi

Karaveddy

## Call Daniel

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

India is the one and only country which did not have any diplomatic or other relations with South Africa from the very day South Africa introduced its, racist policy.

Now the whole world is behind India and following in its footsteps.

Sri Lanka too is a racist country from the day of its independence. But the imposition of its racist policy was much more subtle, well and long planned. S. Africa has much to learn from Sri Lanka.

After independence India was too busy with its own various problems. Yet, its leaders now and then condemned Sri Lanka's racist policy. Noteworthy among those leaders was the late Chakravarthy Rajagopalachariar.

India believed in the statesmanship of Sri Lanka leaders. But gradually that belief began to dim and disappear. Now India has finally decided not to participate in any world conferences held in Sri Lanka. This is the beginning of the end.

Later India is bound to become the first country to sever its diplomatic and other relations with Sri Lanka. After some years the other countries in the world may wish to emulate the Indian example, as they are now beginning to do with regard to South Africa.

If the Sri Lanka leaders are so shortsighted or totally blind as not to be able to read the writing on the wall, they must need to call upon Daniel to do it for them.

—A Student of History

## Flying High

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

A Govt. communique says that the widows and the children of terrorists victims have asked the Sri Lanka Govt. to fly them to Canada so that they may place their plight before the Canadian Govt. and the Canadian public. This is no doubt a fine idea.

It would be better, in my opinion if the parents of the 53 Tamil youths slaughtered inside the Welikade jail in the night of July '83 are also given the same facility to explain to the Canadian public the fate that befell their beloved children.

I am sure it would be best if the hundreds nay thousands of widows, widowers, and orphans created in the Northern and Eastern provinces after the July '83 holocaust in Colombo and the South are also allowed the same facility so that not only Canada but the whole world would understand matters in their correct perspective.

Instead of spending money in flying people to Canada, I would advise them to read the repeated reports of Amnesty International, a fair and impartial body to understand what is taking place in Sri Lanka today. The latest effort of the Govt. is an attempt to escape under a smoke screen after the Tissa Weeratunga episode and the foolish belief that attack is the best form of defence, which will convince none the least enlightened Canadians.

R. D. Thevathasan  
Chunnakam.

## Public Sector.....

(Continued from page 7)

Gramodaya Mandalayas, and the programmes funded by the Decentralised Budget, the Development fund, sectoral allocation of funds. These have created problems of administrative adaptations. The following issues namely; division of responsibilities among the various levels from national to sub-national appropriate skills and attitudes of human resources for programme formulation and implementation managerial competence, organisational decision making, political problems, remain to be sorted out. These require appropriate action.

Conclusion:

The manifestation of bureaupathic conditions due to poor relationship among specialists and between generalists and specialists impinges on organisational effectiveness. This could be sorted out by team work arrangement. Decentralisation is proposed a means of cutting through

the "red tape", highly structured procedures and routines to promote knowledge of and sensitivity to local problems. It can lead to more flexible innovative and creative administration by sub-national or district administrative units. The potential benefits of decentralisation could counteract bureau-pathic tendencies. It is observed that it calls for certain knowledge skills and attitudes. It has become a difficult experience as there are complex problems organisational and political in implementing decentralisation policies. Whatever reforms are made it is important to appreciate that in a dynamic society it is far fetched to expect large Government organisations to be freed from bureaupathic tendencies. The standard operating procedures in these organisations will clash with the requirements of creativity. So it is futile as Warren G. Dennis argues to have an organisational structure which will hold good for more than a few years (5 to 10 years) in a dynamic society. The historical form of organisation like the bureaucratic one will have to absorb team type arrangements.

# "US STYLE BOMBING IN SRI LANKA"

**Mr. Hollis has been subjected to a persistent campaign of abuse, intimidation and harassment by some extremist Sinhala elements resident in Australia for his consistent and outspoken stand on the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. The following are extracts from his speech:**

**MR. HOLLIS (Throsby)** Overseas coverage by Australian media over the past few days has, not surprisingly I suppose, been concerned with South Africa's illegal and totally unjustified attack on three neighbouring states. But the past few days have seen a further stepping up of the genocide being committed the Sinhala Government of President Jayewardene in Sri Lanka against the Tamil minority, as the Government of Sri Lanka attempts a military solution to a communal problem in Sri Lanka. Like many Australians I am distressed and disturbed that Sri Lankan armed forces have commenced large scale military operations in the Jaffna Peninsula, including indiscriminate aerial bombing and strafing of Jaffna City itself, resulting in a large number of civilians being killed and hundreds wounded. Two wards of the Jaffna hospital were hit and I expect casualties there to be very high. As late as last night the coastal town of Valvettiturai was subject to naval and aerial bombardment. Again, I expect casualties will be high. I am awaiting further details of that. Such continued military operations will inevitably lead to a loss of still larger numbers of innocent civilian lives and only prolong the suffering of the people of Sri Lanka.

"How can this massive use of force by the Government of Sri Lanka be justified, especially at a time when Sri Lankan leaders have repeatedly professed their commitment to seeking a peaceful, political solution to the ethnic issue?"

"It is particularly deplorable that such operations should have been undertaken at a time when the governments of India and Sri Lanka were engaged in discussions to find a peaceful, political solution to the problem. Such operations frustrate the process of negotiations.

"It really follows a pattern of hints over the past months from the President that a military solution would be sought. He is attempt-

ing to gain world sympathy for his disastrous policies by blaming these bombing outrages on the Tamils and thus justifying this latest exercise by the President have been more and more extreme and emotive. While threatening military solutions, he talks about the Tamils attempts to install communist dictatorship again in an attempt to gain international sympathy, especially, I suspect, United States sympathy.

"The President and his Government have refused to listen to wise counsel, especially from India, which has been attempting to mediate between the Government and the Tamils and find some lasting solution. But the present Government appears not to want a solution and especially not a peaceful solution. Attacks on Tamils have been a daily occurrence for many years but these have intensified since the July-August 1983 genocidal attacks. There is daily harassment by the Sinhalese security forces and thugs—rape, murder, arson and killings are a daily occurrence. Over 10,000 innocent Tamils have been killed by the armed forces—that were often out of control. Over 200,000 refugees have fled the country. Tamils are now living in countries throughout the world. We must never lose sight of what President Jayewardene meant when he declared that there will only be a military solution to the problems of Sri Lanka. What he means is a complete annihilation of the Tamil people on the island of Sri Lanka.

"The facts are well documented by such bodies as Amnesty International, Law Asia, the International Commission of Jurists and many others. What, I asked in this chamber, can we do? I suggest that time is long past when pious statements can be accepted as enough; and we cannot just wring our hands about it. I appeal to the Minister for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Hayden) to raise the genocide of the Tamils at the United Nations Security Council. We should be asking the United Nations to send an international fact-finding mission to Sri Lanka to establish the facts. The Australian Government must be putting pressure on Sri Lanka to stop the genocide. We must support the valiant efforts of India to bring a lasting peace to this troubled land.

"I remind members of this House that as we sit here in Australia now, the Sri Lankan regime is conducting an intensive bombing campaign on the Jaffna peninsula,

reminiscent of that United States bombing campaign against Vietnam. We cannot leave India alone to do the negotiation for a peaceful solution. We must express our solidarity with the Indian efforts. Express our concern and disgust to the Jayewardene Government, and raise the matter in the United Nations. At this stage it should be of concern to Australians that the only thanks India has received for a valiant attempt at negotiations are unwarranted and baseless statements of the Sri Lankan leadership appearing in the Press critical of the Prime Minister of India.

"It is my view, and also the view of many informed observers, that there can be no military solution to the ethnic issue in Sri Lanka. The current military operations undertaken by the Sri Lankan armed forces will only lead to further worsening of the situation and add to the suffering of the people of Sri Lanka. It is my earnest hope that, rather than take a recourse to the use of force and bloodshed against a significant section of its own people, the Government of Sri Lanka would do well to seek a resolution of the ethnic issue through a process of dialogue and meaningful pragmatic measures to meet

the situation and resolve the problem.

"Since my last speech on the Tamil issue, I have been approached by the Sri Lankan High Commissioner. I have received a number of abusive telephone calls—which I always get; I will probably get more this afternoon—and now a telegram campaign is being directed against me. Many of the letters and telegrams come anonymously. They are claiming that I am supporting Marxist terrorists. People who know me here in this Chamber, will, appreciate that this is absolute rubbish. What I am opposed to are the disastrous actions of the present Sri Lankan Government. I am opposed to the impact that they will have on the Tamil minority. What I am working for, as are many other members in this Chamber, is a peaceful solution—not a military solution but a political solution to this problem, so that the island of Sri Lanka can return to its normal happy state and so that—as is every one's right—the Tamils there can live in dignity and peace in their homeland. I will continue to pursue that cause in this Parliament and I will continue to speak out for the Tamil cause."

(From Hansard, pages 3743 and 3744, 22 May 1983)

## APPRECIATION

### FR. PHILIP PONNIAH

A Charismatic Priest endowed with a pioneering skill and tactful leadership and with a long proud service of nearly half a century, Rev. Fr. Philip Ponniah courageously and with confidence takes upon himself the charge of Our Lady of Refuge, Jaffna in the evening of his life.

Rev. Fr. Philip Ponniah born on the 2nd April 1916 dedicated himself to the service of our Lord Jesus on 26-03-1940, when he was ordained as a priest and joined the ecclesiastical fraternity.

He has the distinction of having undergone the first Evangelical work under the internationally renowned polyglot Rev. Fr. Gnanapiragasar at Nallur.

In 1944-45 he was assigned the function of catering to spiritual needs of the people of the Anuradhapura District, looking after more than twenty stations.

In 1945 having served as the parish priest of Passayoor for a brief span of period, he proceeded to Rome in 1945 where he was conferred a doctorate in Canon Law—summa Cum laude.

On returning to Jaffna in 1950, he was appointed the parish priest of Kayts. In 1953 he started a new mission at Cheddikulam where he built over twelve churches.

The Catholic church hierarchy being impressed by his erudition and his untiring zeal elevated him to the position of the director of St. Martin's Seminary and General Manager of Catholic Schools in the Diocese during the period 1956 to 1961.

After he served in Kilinochchi, Jaffna Cathedral, Vavuniya, Mankulam, Naranthanai, Kopay and Mathagal, in 1980, he was appointed as the first Rector, of St. Francis Xavier's Seminary, Colombagam which from its small beginning of five students rose up to have a substantial student population with its faculties of Philosophy and Theology.

He had the distinction of having been the President of diocesan court for thirty long years and the counsellor for the Bishop of Jaffna.

While being Rector of the Seminary and the Director of Evangelical commission, he started two new missions at Maniyamthodam and Uthayapuram in the suburb of Jaffna.

May the Almighty grant him Longevity so that the people may have the fortune to avail themselves of his inexhaustible fund of knowledge and the benefits of his selfless service both in the spiritual and temporal spheres.

V. Mahalingam  
Karaveddi.

# Some Thoughts On The Merger Of The North and East

This issue of the merger of the Northern and Eastern provinces has become central to the dispute with Tamil opinion increasingly polarized in favour of the merger and Sinhalese opinion virtually unanimously opposed to it. Proposals have even been made to dismember the Eastern province to resolve the dispute. It does not appear that the long term consequences of the different opinions have been fully examined.

It is assumed that any possible solution must grant to the self-governing units adequate powers to control colonisation and maintain internal security. Anything less will be suicidal for the minorities. Given this assumption, there seem to be no significant advantages in merging the Northern and Eastern provinces. In the absence of coercion from outside, those already in the Eastern province will have a common interest in limiting colonisation from outside and in avoiding disturbing the ethnic proportions of the province. In particular, the Tamils and Muslims will be equally interested in ensuring that their population share of the province is not further reduced by unrestricted Sinhalese colonisation. If there is to be any colonisation from outside, that must be negotiated by the centre with the provincial government which must first be given the necessary authority to control colonisation and the numbers to be brought in from outside and their ethnic composition must be approved by the provincial government. Such an arrangement will in fact give both the centre and the provinces incentives to cooperate and avoid discriminatory policies.

If, on the other hand, the Northern and Eastern provinces are united, the predominant fear within the Eastern province will be dominating by the Northern province. On this issue, the Sinhalese and the Muslims of the Eastern province will have common cause to resist Tamil domination. Even the Eastern province Tamils may have occasion to join hands with them on certain issues. Thus there will be communal and regional disharmony within the self-governing unit which can be exploited by those who have political interests in fomenting such unrest. In contrast, if the Eastern

province remains as one unit, such unrest will be minimized and, in particular, the Tamil and Muslim populations will unite, not against the Sinhalese of the Eastern province, but against excessive colonisation from outside the province.

The most disturbing aspect of the problem is the suggestion to break up the Eastern province into Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim sections. In the first instance, the geographical and demographic features of the Eastern province militate against any such division. Such a division is not likely to be permanent as none of the units will be feasible self-governing units. Moreover, it will permit unrestricted immigration into at least the Sinhalese unit, quickly and effectively transforming the demographic composition of the province as a whole. When the Eastern province is reunified, as it surely will be when the broken up units are found to be too small and disjointed to be effectively governable, the new Eastern province will be very different to the present one in ethnic composition—perhaps with an absolute Sinhalese majority. The demographic transformation which 40 years of agitation by Tamil and Muslim leaders has effectively slowed down, will be quickly effected in a few years of unrestricted colonisation from other provinces, albeit to certain sections

of the province only. For the Tamils and Muslims of the Eastern province, nothing could be more disastrous in the long run. The inevitable heightening of communal frictions will rekindle Tamil militancy and harm everyone in the province and cause damage to national unity. Ultimately, we will all be the losers.

Moreover, any tampering of provincial boundaries will inevitably threaten the interests of significant sections of the population transferred from the control of one province to another. It will therefore be wise to leave the provincial boundaries as

by **S. Jeevaraj**

they are. Under provincial autonomy, the Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims will have vested interests in treating well the minorities in the regions in which they are a majority—for others of their community will be vulnerable minorities elsewhere. Any attempt to achieve ethnic segregation will not only be unworkable, but will also have the most undesirable consequences for all.

Granting provincial autonomy need not rule out colonisation from the other provinces completely. For example, the centre should be able to negotiate with the Eastern province government for some small numbers

of Sinhalese, Indian Tamils, Ceylon Tamils and Muslims from other regions to be settled there, in such a manner that the development of the province is promoted without damage to communal harmony and without harming the welfare of those already living in the province.

There are both short term and long term reasons for accepting the existing Northern and Eastern provincial boundaries rather than attempting to redraw them to cover disjointed pockets of land. In the short run, any redrawing of boundaries on an ethnic basis will inevitably generate intense tensions which may prevent or sabotage any agreement. In the long run, it is desirable that the "Tamil" provinces (or regions) should not stand out as distinct from the others in such a manner as to draw their antagonism. In India, while state boundaries have been drawn broadly on a linguistic basis, each state is a contiguous region and does not include pockets of villages enclosed within other states. Such pockets, if detached from the surrounding region will not only be administratively difficult to govern, but will invite the resentment and hostility of the surrounding region, enhancing rather than overcoming the problems of the people residing in such pockets. Furthermore, if existing provincial boundaries are retained, the line up in future negotiations on devolution will not be Sinhalese versus Tamil, but the centre versus the 9 provinces. The latter will be more conducive to further devolution from the centre to the provinces.

## Inside Jaffna Fort: Battle Of Nerves—2

While the Tamil communities in the north and east of Sri Lanka have gathered most of the international sympathy offered to the warring citizens of the country, it is also possible to feel some pity for the much-criticized Sri Lankan armed forces.

It is not much fun for the soldiers to be penned up in camps in the northern peninsula of Jaffna while militants lie in wait at every gate.

They get no enjoyment from being compelled to sit there while the Tamil rebels, seeking the establishment of a separate Tamil state, job home-made but none the less effective mortar bombs at them, together with a mixture of rocket-propelled grenades and rifle bullets.

"We want peace, too, you know," said Brigadier Gerry De Silva, the security forces commander in the Jaffna peninsula. "We miss the company of our families, too. We want this war to end."

After several incidents involving members of the Sri Lankan forces in which Tamil men, women and children were massacred to avenge the deaths of soldiers in guerrilla ambushes, the forces now seem under more perfect control. But the men chafe under what they feel is the unnatural restraint of national policy.

"The men go on leave to their villages and they talk to the priests and so on, and everyone asks what are they doing just sitting here," said the brigadier. "Why don't they get out after the terrorists?"

The Army has increased the strength and depth of its patrols since May, but the only way to bring the peninsula back under military control would be the establishment of army encampments every 10 miles.

The result would be that every part of the district would be within reach of a foot patrol that was within reach of a camp. But the cost in terms of manpower and money would be unrealistic.

Because of this the patrols that do leave the camps are engaged instantly by rebel groups, and there are fire-fights every day. Since many of the camps are in densely populated areas, the risk to Tamil civilians is high.

The Army also still faces some problems of discipline. Last week, for example, a young hysterical soldier shot his officer and two others over a leave argument.

"The indiscipline has been greatly exaggerated," said Brigadier De Silva, but he admitted that it did

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# BISHOP'S HOUSE CLARIFIES

Rev. Fr. M. E. Selvarajah, Secretary to the Bishop of Jaffna, Dr. Deogupillai has sent us the following letter :-

I read with interest the article entitled "The Cross Questions" published in the SATURDAY REVIEW issue of 27th September 1986. In it the author writes as follows: "The Bishop of Jaffna cries out desperately against the massacre of innocent civilians (of course, having done little previously to prevent such death)". The statement within the brackets is not quite correct. Already in 1981 the Bishop of Jaffna had written a letter to the President of Sri Lanka requesting him to make Tamil and English also Official languages along with Sinhala in order to solve the ethnic problem. If this proposal had been implemented then, all the massacres that took place after 1981 would probably have not taken place. I am sending herewith a copy of the letter sent to the President of Sri Lanka by the Bishop of Jaffna.

Here's the text of the letter sent to President Jayewardene on 12th November 1981, by the Bishop of Jaffna.

We appreciate very much the great efforts you and your Government are making to re-establish peace and communal harmony in our dear Country. In order to achieve this noble purpose positive steps must be taken. I wish now to propose to you some positive steps, which in my humble opinion, are absolutely necessary for the promotion of equality, communal harmony and national unity permanently in our dear Motherland:

1. Re-establish legal equality among all the citizens of Sri Lanka by making Tamil also an Official Language:

The present political demand for Tamil Eelam and communal tension between the Sinhala and Tamil Communities are the direct results of the passing of the Sinhala only Official Language Act in 1956. This law conferred on the Sinhala-speaking citizens a definite advantage over the Tamil-speaking citizens and a legal superiority. Therefore, an inequality was created between the Sinhala-speaking citizens and the Tamil-speaking citizens. The Tamil speaking citizens were thus reduced to the status of Second class citizens.

The constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka of 1978 has not taken steps to restore the lost equality to the Tamil-speaking citizens. It has however declared both Sinhala and Tamil as "National Languages of Sri Lanka" (N. 19)

A language can be called a "National Language" only if it is used for administrative purposes throughout the Country. The use of National language cannot be restricted to some parts of the Country only. Sinhala is being used for administrative purposes throughout the whole Country and therefore, it can rightly be called a National Language. If Tamil is also a National Language just like Sinhala, then just like Sinhala it also must be used for administrative purposes throughout the whole Country. Therefore, having Sinhala as the only Official Language of Sri Lanka (N. 18 & 22) is contrary to the declaration that Sinhala & Tamil are both National Languages of Sri Lanka (N. 19).

The Chapter on Fundamental Rights states as follows. "All persons are equal before the law... No citizen shall be discriminated against on the grounds of race, religion, caste, language, sex, political opinion, place of birth..... (N. 12. (2). But before the Sinhala only Official Language law the Tamil-speaking citizens are not equal to the Sinhala-speaking citizens. By it they are

## Inside Jaffna Fort..

(Continued from page 10)

exsit. He also admitted that his men did not have as much training as was desirable.

In places like Point Pedro, the northernmost town of the island republic, the population has avoided the threat from the crossfire, or from the indiscipline, by abandoning homes, shops and markets and moving away from the gates of the camp. Point Pedro has become a ghost town.

But in Jaffna, the capital of the district, this is not so easily done. When the young guerrillas of the People's Liberation Organization for Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) steal up to the Jaffna Fort and fire a bullet or two at the soldiers, as I saw them do, or when they toss a can stuffed with gelignite at them, the Army can be provoked into responding.

being discriminated against on the grounds of Language.

In order to remove the above-noted inequality between the Sinhala-speaking citizens and the Tamil-speaking citizens and the legal discrimination against the Tamil-speaking citizens and to give to Tamil its proper function as a National Language I would strongly urge that Tamil also be declared an Official Language i.e., a language of administration throughout the whole Country.

2. Make English also an Official Language in order to promote communal harmony and National Unity.

The importance of English as a link language for international communication and wider knowledge is acknowledged by all. Its importance as a link language between the Majority and Minority communities in Sri Lanka must also be acknowledged. It is a powerful means to foster peace and communal harmony. Despite all those advantages, though the study of English has been encouraged by the Government, no recognition has been given to English in the present Constitution of Sri Lanka either as a language of administration or even as a language of communication with the Government.

India has felt the need to retain English as one of its Official Languages for the sake of National Unity. Sri Lanka should follow this

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, biggest of the rebel groups has built its own 155 mm mortar and has a small factory turning out aluminium-cased mortar bombs to fit it. Its use provokes the Army to respond with mortars of its own.

"They feel that if they move into a built-up area we won't fire back," said Brigadier De Silva, in the course of a long interview at Palaly Camp, the largest in the peninsula.

"But we must return fire. We have had troops injured and screaming their heads off. At least for the morale of our troops we have to fire back."

The result is that people have died in the town's central market, and that the road outside the local hospital has a shell hole to add to the uneven surface.

"I keep telling people that if they see the terrorists bringing up their weapons they must move out, at least for an hour or so" said the brigadier, who was an officer cadet at Sandhurst in the early 1960s. "We are definitely going to react,"

example and make English an official Language, in order to promote communal harmony and national unity.

Communal harmony and National unity have to be inculcated, practised and fostered from childhood through the schools. This can be done easily if Sinhala, Tamil and English are made Official Languages of Sri Lanka. Then every student could be compelled by law to study his mother-tongue and English. At the University and Tertiary levels of education the students could be given the freedom to do their course of training through the medium of the mother-tongue or English, with English or the Mother-tongue as a compulsory second language.

I sincerely hope that these proposals will be considered without any political bias and accepted by you and your Government for implementation, in order to promote equality, justice, communal harmony and national unity in our dear Country.

## Who Killed The West German ?

A West German Engineer, Ulrich Heberling, attached to the Deutsche Wella Perka radio station in Trincomalee who according to the state media, **Ceylon Daily News**; was killed "by terrorist mortar fire on the evening of 27th September" was actually shot by a Sri Lankan aircraft.

At the inquest conducted by Trincomalee judge, Sunil Rajapakse, a West German colleague of the deceased stated that he and four others were travelling by car towards Trincomalee when they were stopped by some civilians and advised not to proceed further, as firing was going on. They stopped the car and went on foot to the other side of the Erukkampitiya bridge which had been damaged earlier.

Suddenly an aircraft appeared overhead and started to drop bombs on all sides, including the top of the car. They had run for safety into the jungle.

Lt. Punchihewa stated at the inquest that the security forces had received information that 'terrorists' were attacking the area. He and fourteen others went to the spot. At that time there was a land-mine explosion and they counter-attacked. As they could not get out of the area, asked for air cover and they were able to extricate themselves in the night under air cover. He said that he did not see any foreigner being killed but they later heard from the villagers that a foreigner had been killed.

The judge returned a verdict of accidental death.

# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## KATHIRAMALAI KILLED

Mr. K. Kathiramalai was appointed Chief Organiser of Sarvodaya in Vavuniya in June 1982. He established contacts with Dr. Rajasundaram, the leader of Gandhiyam in Vavuniya, and projected himself as a patriot

and forged close links with that organisation. Within 3 months the security Forces destroyed Gandhiyam and Dr. Rajasundaram was arrested.



## HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF AS TRAGEDY

Last year, at this time, the political detenus at the Welikade prison were on a death-fast. Their demands were basic. They were human and they expected a human niche.

Tragically, history repeats itself. This year too, the political detenus at the Welikade prison and the Boosa detention camp have to take up a fast unto death.

The fast, today enters its 29th day. No other political detenus in any country ever fast for such a long period.

Bobby Sands, of course, had to die, and several others followed.

Reports from Colombo state that the Condition of two Tamil youths at Welikade who were among the others fasting is serious. Medical specialists have surmised that if their condition does not improve within the next 48 hours nothing can be done. Meanwhile the condition of other detenus is also deteriorating.

A Committee nominated by Justice Minister Nissanka Wijeratne has visited the Welikade Prison and apprised the fasting detenus of the immediate steps taken by the government and advised them to give up their fast. They were, however, told that until and unless their demands were met they will not give up their fast.

On 30th September, following an unconfirmed report that a detenu had died all other political detenus were on the verge of protest. There was near mutiny. The prison authorities had controlled the situation by confirming that no detenu had died.

Several one-day fasts were held in various places, in the North. Jaffna University students have begun a week-long padayatra in solidarity with the fasting detenus.

More than 3,000 students from colleges and schools in Jaffna and suburbs took part in a protest demonstration on 30th September. This was organised by a Co-ordinating

Committee of students in the Jaffna district.

Uduwarage Henry Perera at the Mahara prison is reported to have joined a solidarity fast. Rev. Fr. A. Singarayar also joined in the fast at Welikade.

Owing to the disruption of telecommunication we could not get information about the fasting detenus. News emanating from various quarters create great confusion as to what the true situation is.

## Citizen Committees Meet

The following resolutions were passed unanimously, at the coordinating committee meeting of Citizen Committees of Tamil area held on 28th September at Hindu Lodge Jaffna.

We are alarmed at the deteriorating condition of the fasting Tamil detainees in Welikade prison and Boosa detention camp and to appeal to President to consider favourably their just demands, to perform a one day fast at Nallur Hindu Lodge on 4th October in protest against the indifference of the Government, in meeting the just demands of the fasting Tamil detainees, in terms of Jaffna G.A.'s letter of 25th September to this, committee, all the citizen committees will render the necessary assistance to the affected persons in their respective areas in perfecting the prescribed application forms, to request the Ministry of Rehabilitation to consider granting similar relief for the period 1.1.77 to 31.12.82, to inform the NGO's that since the citizen committees are in possession of the correct data of affected persons, these committees are available for any assistance required by these funding organisations, to appeal to President and Secretary, Ministry of Rehabilitation regarding the daily deteriorating plight of refugees in the Tamil area, to appeal to President to institute an impartial commission consist-

The Government seems determined to overlook the fasting detenus by neglecting the issue. No official version or communiques have been heard or received so far.

According to some reports, a report has been given by the Presidential Secretariat to the detenus.

The M. P. for Kalawana, Mr. D. M. Gunasekera has contacted President Jayewardene by telephone and stated that the demands of the Tamil youths at Welikade and Boosa were reasonable and suitable steps should be taken immediately to bring them to trial or release them.

ing of Supreme Judges to inquire into the incidents of killing, destruction and rape in the Eastern Province during the month of September 1986.

## ROTARY FOUNDATION SCHOLARSHIPS

The Rotary Foundation is offering the following: — Graduate Scholarships, Undergraduate Scholarships, Vocational Scholarships, Teacher of the Handicapped, Scholarships and Journalism Scholarships.

**Graduate Scholarships** — Requirements — a Bachelor's or equivalent prior to commencement of scholarship studies. No experience required. Age between 18 and 30 years.

**Undergraduate Scholarships** — Requirements — Two years experience prior to commencement of Scholarship studies. No experience required. Age 18 and 24 years inclusive. May not be married for duration of scholarships.

**Vocational Scholarships** — Requirements — Secondary school graduate or equivalent at time of application. May not be eligible for Graduate or Under-graduate scholarship. At least 2 years experience. May be married.

**Journalism Scholarships** — Requirements — Secondary school graduate or

This is one of the main charges the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS) — which has claimed responsibility for the killing of Mr. K. Kathiramalai, the Field Director of Sarvodaya in the Northern Province, on 26th September — has levelled against Mr. Kathiramalai.

The other main charge levelled by EROS is that Mr. Kathiramalai was to be used as a tool by Sarvodaya and the newly formed Sath Sarana — headed by Ravi Jayewardene — to set up a Buddhist Vihara and a Sinhala colony at Kappachi between Vavuniya and Cheddikulam — and a Sinhala settlement at Padaviya-Valioya.

This, according to EROS, would have severed the links between the North and the East.

equivalent (minimum at time application. Application forms for the above scholarships may be obtained from Dr. Wijeyarajah, 498/1, Navalar Road, Jaffna. Completed applications should be sent to the above address on or before 14th October 1986.

## Kalawana MP warns

At a meeting at Akurana the M.P. for Kalawana stated that about 2 lakhs were being sent daily on security forces and this means that we were spending 600 lakhs monthly which a poor country like ours could ill-afford. He is reported to have said that if the ethnic problem is not solved, the situation may well lead to a dictatorship. This meeting was jointly held under the auspices of the CP, LSSP and SLMP at which Messrs. Pieter Keuneman and Bernard Soysa also spoke.

## KALLIKULAM MASSACRE

At Kallikulam in Vavuniya, a combined force comprising Security forces and Home guards who were on patrol in the area opened fire indiscriminately and killed about 20 people including women on 2nd October.