

Saturday Review SRI LANKA

Vol. 5 No. 40 25th October 1986

**இனி
INI**

A Monthly, altogether different from any other Tamil publication in India.
A new touch of Culture, Arts, Fiction and everything that calls for attention.
Edited by : **S. V. Rajadurai**
M 23/10, Muthalamman Kovil Street,
West Mampalam,
Madras 6000 33
INDIA.

VIJAYA (2) LANDS IN JAFFNA...

Mr. Vijaya Kumaranathunge, son-in-law of the former Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Sirima Bandaranaike and presently leader of the Sri Lanka Mahajana Pakshya, made a dramatic entry into Jaffna on Tuesday 21st October.

Mr. Vijaya Kumaranathunga, the well-known Sinhala film actor cum politician arrived in an Air Force Aircraft at the Palaly Army Camp.

He was later ferried to the Jaffna Fort Army Camp by helicopter on Tuesday, 21st October.

The SATURDAY REVIEW understands that from Jaffna Fort Army Camp he had contacted Kittu the Jaffna Area Commander of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and was later moved out of the Fort Army Camp to the Town to meet the two prisoners, Lance Corporal Nimal Fernando (24) of Moratuwa and private M. H. Bandara (22) of Yatiyantota, who had surrendered to the Liberation Tigers in a direct confrontation at Adampan in Mannar last week.

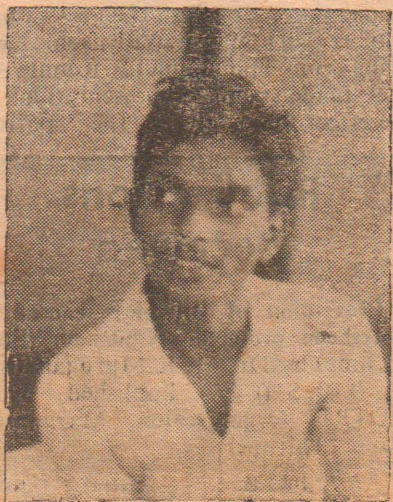
On the 21st October around 8-15 a. m. seven vehicles carrying armed militants including their Commander Kittu came along Main Street of Jaffna moving towards the Jaffna Fort Army Camp.

Later, Theeliban who is in charge of the political section of the LTTE and Rahim—a front rank LTTE’R—got down and proceeded towards the entrance to the Fort Army Camp. Photographers and reporters went behind them. In the meantime Kittu was at the Resthouse Junction waiting for them.

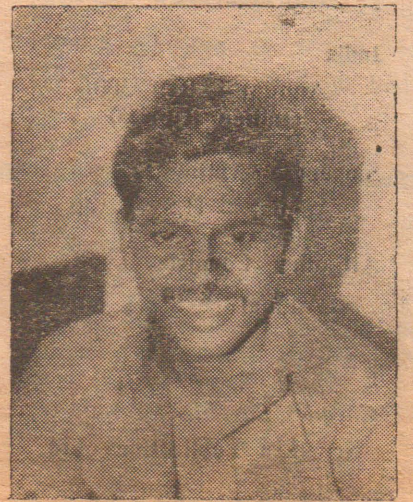
Rahim and Theeliban stopped in front of the Fort Army Camp and signalled to Captain Kotawalawa to come out of the Fort. Then Captain Kotawalawa, Colonel Anantha Weerasinghe and Colonel Wimalartat-

ne, the officer in charge of the Fort Army Camp and a few soldiers came out. With them came Vijaya Kumaranathunga, Ossie Abeyagoonasekara and Party Organiser [of] Ja-Ela-Felix Perera and Vijaya Kumaranathunga's own photographer. A foreign reporter, a video photographer and a Colombo reporter also accompanied them.

Captain Kotawalawa and two Army Colonels shook hands with the LTTE



FERNANDO



BANDARA

top rankers Theeliban and Rahim and had a talk with them.

At this meeting more of them had any arms with them.
(Continued on page 12)

...BUT HE TOO FAILS

I was moved to tears when I saw the two captive Sinhalese soldiers in the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) camp at a certain place in Jaffna on 23rd October.

Two more poor soldiers sent as cannon fodder by the powers-that-be in Colombo.

How much is their life worth?

If they were Captains, Majors or Colonels, the Government probably would have been quick to respond to the LTTE demand to swap them for two of its many members detained in prisons in the South.

But so many days have passed — they were captured on 12th October — and the Government remains insensitive about their plight.

For they are ordinary soldiers.

I asked them why they joined the army. "For a job", one of them said. "It is the easiest way to find employment."

I asked them how they are being treated in captivity.

"Fine" they said. Not being strung upside down, as some Tamil youths have been treated at some

Army camps. They were lying in comfortable beds with all facilities provided, including medical aid.

As I waited talking to them in their native language, an orderly came in and gave them the prescribed drugs at the proper time (as indicated on a chart hanging on the wall)
(Continued on page 12)

BANDARA'S LETTER

සමගින්

ආදායමක් ලබා ගැනීම

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NOT THE NEWS

DEMOLITION TRAINING

For some time now since the massive militarisation of this country, residents, planters and CWC officials had been complaining to the authorities of the army training camp in Diyatalawa about the inconvenience caused by flying objects during artillery practice. Shells aimed at Bandarawela are known to have fallen in Haputale and Bogawantalawa, Army instructors too complained that with the target area necessarily having to be very wide, it was difficult to locate where the shells had fallen. To locate them one may have to creep through tea bushes at Ohiya or take a dip into the swimming pool at Gurutalawa. With some lobbying from Thondaman, Ronnie de Mel made strong representations to the effect that given the parlous

Publications Received

Prevention of Blindness caused by Polythene protected "Chunnam" (Slaked lime) by Dr. M. K. Muruganathan, M. B. B. S. (Cey.) Published by the OOTRU Organisation, Mariamman Lane, Thirunelvely.

An educative, essential reading for all.

Congress Views. Journal of the Ceylon Workers' Congress, No. 72, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, P. O. Box 1294, Colombo. 7. The C. W. C. Launches its own media. **International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) News Letter No.29**

Depicting the activities of ICJ. Surevey April/June '86.

Vivarana—A new Sinhala monthly, 57/1 Rajagiriya Road, Rajagiriya. Price Rs.5/-. An alternative voice for the Third World and the oppressed.

Yukthi. A bi-monthly trilingual publication (Sinhala, Tamil and English) from the Secretariat of the National Justice and Peace Commission of Sri Lanka, 133, Kynsey Road, Colombo.8.

An essential reading for those who are concerned with Church, Politics and the Third World.

MATRIMONIAL

Tall and handsome professional in his forties from a leading and respectable Vellala family, now permanently settled in London with own house, car and senior position in the Public Service, desires to meet Tamil Roman Catholic — View marriage. Moral standards and sense of values are more important than other attributes. Photo appreciated. All letters will be replied in the strictest confidence. C/o. Advertiser, SATURDAY REVIEW 118, 4th Cross Street, Jaffna.

state of the economy we could ill afford to lose tea bushes and tea pluckers. The Ministry for national security was then instructed to be on the look out for a location where the surroundings and its human fauna were dispensable. This resulted in a shifting of artillery training to Jaffna Fort with entirely happy results. There was no need to go out looking for where the shells had fallen. Commander Cotwally merely has to sit by his phone after the cannons discharge. The results go something like this:

"Hello there commander, I am the surgeon from Jaffna hospital. I was just removing a patient's kidney when a shell came crashing through the operating theatre roof".

Commander: "Thats alright, the next time we will remove the patient".

Surgeon: "He wouldn't mind that. Only he would like to tell his family first."

Commander: "Right ho, we'll give him time. Gunner, 1 degree up, 2 degrees East".

OR: "Hi commander, I was just getting married when I received your

airborne greetings. Can you send another packed with confetti? That will give colour to the occasion".

OR: "Commander, I am Panchalingam from St. John's College. I was teaching my Geometry class Euclid's 39th theorem and was about to draw a circle on the black-board when your shell arrived and saved me the trouble, I need to draw a triangle to teach Euclid's 40th theorem. Can you send a triangular shell in the same direction?"

Commander: I am sorry Sir, the mistake was mine. You know Sir, we are short of toilet paper and someone has torn away the page containing cosines from my Trigonometrical tables and I was looking at the sine tables instead".

Panchalingam; "What? You don't know the difference between sines and cosines? From which school are you? Royal College? Never mind. Come and see me at the Vice-principal's office. First six of the best with my bamboo and then I will explain the difference".

And so it goes on. When the shelling from the Fort becomes slack, there are young men outside to liven things up. After all, who wants armies if there are no wars?

It is now known that a construction firm in Singapore looking for a demolition team has signed a contract with the Sri Lanka artillery brigade.

WANTED

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The Acting Medical Superintendent,
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Bisection The Snag

The oft uttered assertion that the demand for amalgamation of the Northern and Eastern provinces is the snag in the solution of the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka is a myth.

The area comprised by the Northern and Eastern provinces is geographically contiguous and demographically homogeneous, thus forming a single integer. The demarcation of this integer into the Northern and Eastern provinces was an exercise in the abstract of the British Colonial administration.

The demand of the Tamils since the wake of independence is for a Tamil Linguistic State comprising the said integer in a federal set up with the rest of the country. The endeavours in this regard made by the Tamil representatives through non violent and peaceful means till 1976—for over two decades—had proved futile. What the Tamils received instead were more and more suppression, oppression, harrassment, discrimination and deceit. It was in 1976 that the Tamil polit bureau, through sheer disgust, resolved at the Vaddukoddai Convention to campaign for the restoration of the state of Tamil Eelam, that too by non violent means: and it was when such peaceful approach towards that end to did not render any tangible results the youth who have been most affected in regard to their destinies were compelled to launch the armed struggle which is underway for nearly a decade resulting in unprecedented civil commotion, bloodshed, carnage, destruction of property collapse of economy and disrepute to Sri Lanka in the eyes of the world.

Through the friendly intervention of India towards a political solution the President has, after much dilly-dallying, just moved with a proposal to dole out two separate provincial councils, for the Northern and Eastern provinces, bisecting the geographically contiguous and demographically homogeneous unit of the Tamil homeland, along the artificial line set by the British Colonial administration. The T.U.L.F. vehemently opposes the proposed bisection and demands that the integrity of the Tamil homeland should remain undisturbed in the evolution of any solution.

The ONE-NESS of the traditional homeland of the Tamil speaking people is constituted by concrete and substantial characteristics of geographic contiguity and homogeneous demography from time immemorial, whereas the TWO-NESS envisages and insisted upon in the President's proposal is based merely on the

artificial line of separation. It is the substance that matters and not the artificiality. Therefore the aspirations of the Tamils that the ONE-NESS in substance of their traditional homeland should remain as such is natural and normal, and the proposed bisection of it along the artificiality of late is abnormal and meddlesome. Hence the snag in the political solution is identifiable as BISECTION and not AMALGAMATION.

The argument that 'at present the Sri Lankan Tamils are a minority in the Eastern province while the Sinhalese and Muslims together co-

genuity, and contended at the inquiry before the village headman that the bull belonged to him and not to the complainant owner as, according to the latter's description of the horns of his bull pointed in the opposite direction. A disparaging nickname "Horn Turners" (in Tamil "கொம்பு திருவிகள்" attributed to the people of this village down to this day is said to be a legacy derived by them from this horn turner ancestor.

That is about turning the horns of a bull. In the matter of the turning the demography of the East there is evidence in preponderance to bear out that the area compri-

by

C. S. Sebaratnam

stitute nearly 60 % of the population' (vide part I of Sri Lanka's observation on the TULF proposals published in The Hindu of 17th February, 1986) advanced against the so called amalgamation, but which is really in support of the bisection is most untenable. Just as that of the Tamils, the language medium of the Muslims in Sri Lanka for all intents and purposes such as education, trade, employment, legal pleadings, social intercourse, religious and cultural activities is Tamil. By religion they are Muslims. This difference cannot vitiate against their alignment with Tamils as the Tamils themselves profess different religions such as Hinduism, Roman Catholicism and Christianity. The pattern of increase in population in the Eastern province can be noted in the following table of census.

	1921				1946				1971				1976			
	S	CT	M	IT	S	CT	M	IT	S	CT	M	IT	S	CT	M	IT
Trincomalee	4.4	53.2	37.1	1.3	20.7	40.1	29.2	4.4	28.81	35.2	31.6	3.0	31.6	32.8	32.2	3.1
Batticaloa	4.59	52.8	39.6	0.58	5.9	49.7	42.0	0.59	17.6	44.9	34.6	2.2	26.5	40.2	32.	2.0

S — Sinhalese CT — Sri Lankan Tamils M — Muslims IT — Indian Tamils
1921, 1946, 1971 — Census Dates 1976 — Dates from Delimitation Commission Report.

When the Muslim population in Batticaloa and Trincomalee which constituted 32% in 1976 is discounted from the near 60% claimed against the Tamil population the percentage of the Sinhalese population there drops down 28%. Besides how did the Sinhalese population attain this 28% in 1976 from 4.49% in 1921? It had been managed over the years by state aided colonisation with intent to cut down the political power of the Tamil speaking minority. The adverbial phrase "at present" in the statement of the argument signifies acknowledgement of this management. This reminds me of a legend of a particular village in North Sri Lanka that once upon a time a man from this village, having stolen, a bull, turned its horns towards its tail, through some in-

ted by the Northern and Eastern provinces is the traditional homeland of the Tamils namely :

1. The report made in 1799 to the Colonial Office by Sir. Hugh Cleghorn read: "The different nations from a very ancient period, have divided the island. First, the Sinhalese in its Southern and Western parts, from the river Walawe to that of Chilaw, and secondly, the malabars in the Northern and Eastern districts." 2. K. M. De Silva in his book "A History of Sri Lanka" states: "As a solution of those difficulties the Kandyan Chiefs, the most influential Kandyan political organisation, put forward a scheme (to the Donoughmore Commission in 1929) for dividing the island into three self governing areas: (1) The Northern and Eastern provinces in which the Tamils predominate. (2) The Kandyan pro-

vinces. (3) The Southern and Western provinces peopled mainly by Low Country Sinhalese." 3. From ancient times till the enactment of the Matrimonial Rights and Inheritance Ordinance of 1876, the Malabar (Tamil) settlers in Trincomalee were governed by Thesawalamai Law which was based on the customs and practices of the Tamils while the settlers in Batticaloa and Puttalam were governed by Mukkuwa Law which was analogous with Thesawalamai.

4. The Tamil character of the area comprised by the Northern and Eastern provinces was recognised in the Bandaranayake - Chelvanayakam pact of 1956 and Dudley - Chelvanayakam pact of 1965.

5. The present government and the predecessor government,

had, in their constitutions, recognised that the area comprised by the Northern and Eastern provinces was linguistically Tamil. Provision for the use of Tamil in Judicial proceedings in the Northern and Eastern provinces was made in article 11 of the 1972 constitution. In the 1978 constitution articles 22 and 24 provide for the use of Tamil also as language of administration as well as in original jurisdiction in the said provinces.

6. According to the census of 1921 the percentage of the population of Sinhalese in Trincomalee was 4.4 and in Batticaloa 4.59. The balance of 95% in each of these districts was constituted by Tamil speaking people Ceylon—Tamils, Muslims and Indian Tamils.

Before the advent of the Portuguese, the kingdom of Jaffna existed as a separate entity. The foreign conquerors ruled the kingdoms of Kandy, Jaffna and Kotte separately, and it was on the recommendations of the Colebrooke Commission that they were merged together in 1833 by the British rulers. The part played by the Tamil speaking leaders in securing independence was not second to that of the Sinhalese leaders. The British Monarch was not overthrown by the Ceylonese in the battle field. Appreciating and respecting the right of the Ceylonese to self-determination the British Monarch granted independence to Ceylon. The cessation of the British rule, therefore, marked the de jure restoration of the status quo of the Tamils and Sinhalese as distinctly independent nations. Nevertheless, the two nations acquiesced with the unitary set up of government left over by the British in mutual trust and understanding that one would not dominate over

the other. But, taking undue advantage of the majority Sinhala representation, the government has, over the years, suppressed and oppressed the Tamil speaking minority and led it to the warpath the objective of which on the part of the militants being the restoration of the state of Tamil Eelam.

Yet, the TULF, representing the Tamil moderates has, in a spirit of indulgence, indicated a willingness to accept the alternative of an autonomous linguistic state with adequate powers for the traditional homeland comprising the area of the Northern and Eastern provinces as a single integer in a federal-set up with the rest of the island whereby conceding a major share

(Continued on page 10)

Trans Addicts Zero In On Third World

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Malayan Tobacco Company (MTC) ran a front page story in its newsletter recently showing its intrepid salesmen in a Sarawak longhouse. Braving rapid and leeches, tramping up jungle paths and sleeping on the bamboo floors, these missionaries of modern life brought Lucky Strike and Gold Flake to the tribal people of upriver Sarawak.

Strange? Not really. Iban children, like those of many tribal groups in Sabah and Sarawak, start smoking home-grown 'leaf' cigarettes very young. As teenagers many of them will join the urban drift to town to work for wages. It is important to addict them to MTC brands *before* they go.

Capturing new markets is the unrelenting imperative of transnationals like MTC (majority owned by British American Tobacco), regardless of the effects on public health.

Sophisticated market surveys identify the "segments" most vulnerable to the companies' products, multi-million dollar advertising campaigns soften them up and an aggressive sales force moves in to separate the consumer from his money and his health.

The huge multinationals who control the alcohol and tobacco industries spend more than US\$6 billion per year on advertising, according to a report on 'The Global Corporation', presented by Frederick Clairmonte, Senior Researcher at UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development), to a recent seminar in Penang.

The thrust is to expand markets by carving out new segments of the population not previously smoking or drinking.

'As the brand has gotten bigger,' an advertising executive of Brown-Forman remarked of his Jack Daniels campaign, 'we have kept looking for places to find new drinkers.... vodka has done alright with women, but women are a big untapped category for whisky.'

Youth is another prime target for both alcohol and tobacco multinationals, Clairmonte's work reveals. Transnational Corporations (TNCs) can tone in on the entry-level age group to recruit consumers at a formative age..... it is immensely easier to recruit a non-drinker to a specific brand.....'

All the advertising skill that money can buy goes into projecting an image of youth, fitness, and outdoor adventure to contradict the medical facts of the impact of tobacco and alcohol on the body.

In an unrelenting drive to expand into new markets, the multinational corporations which control the huge trade in alcohol and cigarettes, are moving in on youth and women. In the Third World as

But with the health and fitness movement gaining ground in the West, the Third World has become the fastest expanding market for alcohol and cigarettes, as well as a host of other products harmful to health.

In the process TNCs are using an array of techniques to obtain leverage with communities and governments in order to prevent the kind of legislation which restricts their activities in some of the democracies of the developed world.

In Malaysia, MTC pioneered the commercial cultivation of tobacco, and now buys locally-grown leaves to supply part of the needs of its Malaysian plant.

It is working with several state, government agencies 'with the intention to increase the number of farmers who could both grow and cure

their own tobacco,' according to MTC's 1985 Annual Report.

This is in spite of the fact that, to quote the same Report: 'Prices paid for Malaysian tobacco are now

well they try every means to gain political leverage over governments to prevent legislation which would dampen the growth of addiction.

over 300 per cent those paid for similar grades in Indonesia and Thailand, and well above prices paid to smallholders in the United States.'

It would be hard to argue that MTC is motivated by pure concern for the poor peasant, since a parallel corporate strategy aims to supermechanise the plant and shed 'ex-

by

Halinah Todd

cess manpower,' that is, production-line workers.

The motive is rather the political hold the tobacco companies will have over the government once a significant proportion of the Malay rural voters (whose political support is crucial to the Malaysian government) are dependent for their income on growing tobacco.

There are now around 15,000 hectares of land in Malaysia under tobacco, employing an estimated 147,000 farmers.

The government, under the leadership of medical practitioner, Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, has publicly endorsed an anti-smoking Campaign, banned cigarette advertising from television, and imposed stiff taxes on cigarette consumption.

But these measures have not prevented a steady rise in cigarette consumption. Companies easily circumvent the advertising ban through sponsoring televised sports and cultural events watched by millions.

Writes researcher Woo Yuen Pau in an published study of an anti-smoking campaign, organised by Malaysia, is leading consumer organisation, the Consumers' Association of

Penang; 'With high taxes paid to the government, jobs provided to small farmers in the east coast and sponsorship of sporting and other popular social events, the industry is rapidly building allies both inside and outside the government. (This allows) the divorce between health concerns and support of the tobacco industry.....'

These methods illustrate the enormous resources available to TNCs and the pressure they are able to put on Third World consumers and governments.

A mere six TNCs control the tobacco trade, Clairmonte's paper points out. Most of them are integrated backwards into growing and forwards into manufacturing besides maintaining equity in banks, insurance companies and shipping.

Discussing the global corporations, drive into new and Third World markets, Clairmonte concludes: '...when we we are talking about tobacco and alcohol,..... we are not simply talking about cancer. Cancer is an offshoot: the health element is, in a sense, a very minor aspect. We are talking about power-how that power is distributed among nations and for whom these profits are being made.' — Third World Network Features.

Jaffna Hospital Staff

ANGRY PROTEST

The staff of the General Hospital (Teaching), Jaffna have again written to the Authorities concerned, about the continued mortar attack on the Hospital.

We have brought to your notice and to your security and civil administrative agencies on repeated occasions, to prevent attack on the hospital. We find you are unable to stop this."

The desperate and angry voice of he staff alleges the Government. They categorically denied that any of the militant groups ever 'stationed' at the premises of the General hospital. Below are excerpts from their letter :

On Saturday 11th of September '86 at 5-55 p.m, the Venereal Disease.

Clinic building adjacent to the paediatric ward had been destroyed by Mortar fire from the Jaffna Fort by the Sri Lanka Security Forces. We categorically assure you that there were no firing from within or near the hospital and we are shocked at the false statements made over the State media, that the hospital had been used as a place of militant action. The Director of the Institute who spoke to the authorities was told that this was an accidental event and at no stage did they inform us that militants were inside the hospital.

The only way hospital personnel can be safe from attack from the Security forces is to remove the Security Forces from the Fort which is only half a kilometer away. Since you are unable to hold their Mortar attack on the hospital.

DIPLOMAT WITH A PAST

Rarely has a diplomat kept so low a profile yet frayed ties so badly between two friendly countries as Sri Lankan High Commissioner Tissa Weeratunga.

The envoy, a relative of Sri Lankan President J. R. Jayewardene, was dispatched to Ottawa as a reward for (armed) services rendered: he was the officer who commanded the army's brutal campaign against Tamil separatists.

Probes by human rights investigators from Amnesty International amassed testimony by Sri Lankan Tamils that Brig.-Gen. Weeratunga (at the very least) tolerated torture and disappearances of Tamil civilians while he was stationed in Jaffna in 1979. This week, a Tamil refugee visiting Canada from Paris claimed he was personally tortured by Brig. Gen. Weeratunga.

The Canadian Government has been loath to rock the diplomatic boat over the controversial diplomat. External Affairs Minister Joe Clark was aware of most of the allegations when the Sri Lankan was nominated for the Ottawa Post, but made little effort to verify them. External tried for a few months to discourage Colombo from sending him, but, Mr. Jayewardene vouched for his kin's innocence and Ottawa finally accepted him.

Faced with new accusations aimed at this ex-officer, however, Mr. Clark has belatedly decided to make "cautious inquiries" about him. Anything less would be a betrayal of the UN Convention on Torture, of which Canada is a signatory. In contrast to the circumspection — to the point of recklessness — that Ottawa has shown, Colombo has been all too quick to escalate the controversy.

Two Sri Lankan cabinet ministers on 24th September issued provocative statements, one demanding the extradition of the Tamil refugee who is visiting Canada from France, the other threatening reprisals against Canadian diplomats if Ottawa pursues its inquiries concerning Brig.-Gen. Weeratunga.

Mr. Clark should be equally blunt. Canada does not extradite exiles wanted for political offences. But Canada is prepared to expel diplomats if there is solid evidence they have committed war crimes. Or if Canadian diplomats face reprisals for inquiries into such abuses.

— The Toronto SUN.

REAGAN AIDE QUILTS OVER GOVT. LIES

WASHINGTON: The chief spokesman of the U.S. state department, Mr. Bernard Kalb, resigned on 18th October because he believes the Reagan government has been telling lies to destabilise the Libyan leader, Col. Gaddafi.

Announcing his resignation at a State Department press briefing, Mr. Kalb said "You face a choice — as an American, as a journalist, as a spokesman — whether to allow oneself to be absorbed in the ranks of silence, whether to vanish into unopposed acquiescence or to enter a modest dissent.

Mr. Kalb, a well-known journalist, obviously chose the path of dissent. He protested against what has come to be known as the Reagan administration's disinformation camp-

by **J. N. Parimoo**

The Times of India News Service

aign—a programme of lying to the press and public—against the Libyan leader. The programme of lying, which came to light early last week, raised doubts about the Reagan administration's credibility, particularly about what it might have been saying about other governments or countries.

Mr. Kalb said he had decided to resign because he felt that a programme of planting lies or half-truths on the press and public would have a serious effect on the credibility of the United States. "Faith in the word of America", he explained, "is the pulse beat of our democracy. Anything that hurts America's credibility hurts America."

FIRST BREAK

The Reagan administration's programme of lying about Col. Gaddafi came to light in rather unusual circumstances when a newspaper known for its highest professional standards, the "Wall Street Journal," became its first victim. On 25th August the "Wall Street Journal" came out with the front page story that the U.S. was once again on a collision course with Libya.

The story suggested that the U.S. was once again planning some action

against Libya because Col. Gaddafi had resumed his terrorist activities. This was generally understood to mean that another attack on Libya might be in the offing.

Surprisingly, the report was denied by the White House. Mr. Larry Speakes, White House spokesman, said the report was "unauthorised but highly authoritative." These words must have been used deliberately to bait the press because the "Journal" was followed by a spate of despatches in other important American newspapers, suggesting that some action against Col. Gaddafi was likely.

SECRET CAMPAIGN

It was only last week that the "Washington Post" came out with the sensational disclosure that "Wall Street" story and all the stories that followed in other newspapers and TV programmes and talk shows were part of a secret deception campaign that had been launched by the Reagan administration to destabilise Col. Gaddafi.

The "Post" said it had seen a memo written by the national security council advisor, Mr. John M. Poindexter, to Mr. Reagan. The memo outlined a "disinformation plan that would combine real and illusory events with the basic goal of making Col. Gaddafi think that there is a high degree of international opposition to him within Libya, that his key trusted aides are disloyal and that the U.S. is about to move against him militarily".

According to the "Washington Post" this disinformation policy was approved on August 14th at a meeting of the national security planning group which was attended by Mr. Reagan, his national security advisor, Mr. Poindexter and nine officials from relevant departments. The President later signed a national security directive putting the deception plan into effect.

Mr. Reagan has denied the reports that there was a deliberate plan to tell any lies. But when asked about Mr. Poindexter's memo he admitted: "There are memos moved back and forth... I cannot deny that".

Note by Editor: President Reagan not to worry, we can supply any number of replacements from the Media Centre in Colombo.

FROM CANADA WITH LOVE

The Canadian High Commission in Colombo has at the request of the community Development Committee of St. Mary's Cathedral Parish, Jaffna, on behalf of the people of Thirunagar gifted a substantial sum for the establishment of a Creche at Thirunagar a slum area in Gurunagar, Jaffna. The appeal was made when the former Canadian High Commissioner was in Jaffna recently.

The people of Thirunagar, most of whom are Catholics are the most downtrodden of the Jaffna populace, living under sub-human conditions. His Excellency, the former High Commissioner was taken round to see the repulsive and appalling conditions under which these people have been living for so many years, almost ostracized by the rest of society.



—Courtesy: The Toronto SUN

The Village That

FIFTY years ago Gandhi went to live in Segaoon (as it was then called), a village near Wardha in Central India. "I am trying to become a villager," he wrote on 6 July 1936 to Henry Polak, his friend and associate of South African days.

"The place where I am writing this (letter) has a population of 600—no roads, no post-office, no shop." The move to Sevagram was the culmination of a chain of events which even Gandhi's closest colleagues had not anticipated; it also contained a message which is no less relevant today than it was in Gandhi's lifetime.

BEFORE setting out on the Dandi March in March 1930, Gandhi had declared that this was going to be his last battle, that he would not return to his ashram until Swaraj was won. After release from jail in 1933, the Mahatma visited Ahmedabad, but in accordance with the vow he had taken, he did not stay in the Sabarmati Ashram. He decided to dissolve the ashram, and offered the land and the buildings to the government. The government did not accept the offer. Gandhi then decided to turn over the ashram properties to the Harijan Sevak Sangh. It was at this time that Jammalal Bajaj reiterated the offer he had made to the Mahatma 18 years earlier to find the land buildings and funds for the ashram if he agreed to come to Wardha. Vallabhbhai Patel was keen that Gandhi should transfer his ashram to Bardoli and not leave Gujarat. Gandhi had not quite made up his mind when he paid a visit to Wardha in September 1933. He stayed there for six weeks before leaving for his Harijan tour. He returned on 10 June 1934, and the first thing he did was to call on Vinoba Bhave who had been managing a branch of the Sabarmati Ashram in Wardha since 1921. The Mahatma attended a meeting of the Congress Working Committee at Wardha on 12 and 13 June, and soon afterwards resumed his travels to campaign against untouchability.

Meanwhile the Political landscape was changing. The suspension of civil disobedience and the re-emergence of a parliamentary wing had created new tensions in the Congress. The nascent socialist group was very critical of the Congress leadership. Gandhi sensed that some of his adherents had tired of his methods and pretended to accept policies with which they really did not agree. His renewed emphasis on the spinning wheel as "a lung of the nation" seemed misplaced to many people, as did his moral and religious approach to the problem of untouchability. But it was on the crucial

issue of non-violence that he felt most deeply the differences between himself and the intelligentsia. After 15 years of preaching and practising non-violence, it almost hurt him to see how little it was understood by those who professed to follow him. Mass civil disobedience had struck the imagination of most Congressmen, but this was only one aspect of his non-violent technique. There was another aspect, the constructive programme, which he non stressed and which struck his critics as irrelevant to the struggle against imperialism. It was this divergence in outlook that drove Gandhi to announce his retirement from politics when the Indian National Congress met at Bombay in October 1934.

The resolution of the Bombay Congress, which formally registered Gandhi's retirement, also authorised the formation, under his guidance, of the All-India Village Industries

The erroneous impression that Gandhiji idolised the village persists. It is the result of ignorance. Most of us have not studied Gandhiji's life even cursorily though we call him the Father of the Nation. The Mahatma was fully aware that the Indian village had become a cesspool of disease, ignorance and bigotry. Indeed, that was one reason why he spent so many years in Sevagram. He wanted to fight the evils of the Indian countryside—not from a distance but from close quarters. And, as a true revolutionary, he recognised that if India was to become a more just and equal society, the change had to be extended to villages.

B. R. Nanda, the most authoritative living writer on the great man, tells the story of why and how Gandhiji took to Sevagram.

Association to work "unaffected by and independent of the political activities of the Congress," for the revival and encouragement of the village industries and the moral and physical advancement of the village.

The formation of the All-India Village Industries Association offered an opportunity which Jammalal seized with both hands. He offered to house it in Wardha and to donate for it his large garden-house, with its 20-acre orchard. Gandhi accepted the offer. The Association was established in December 1934, with Srikrishandas Jajoo, Jammalal's friend and collaborator since his youth, as president, and J. C. Kumarappa, a chartered accountant and Gandhian economist, as general secretary. The house in which the Association was situated, and, in which Gandhi and his party resided, was named Maganwadi, after Gandhi's favourite nephew, Maganlal Gandhi, who had been the first manager of the Sabarmati As-

hram and who had died a few years before.

From the beginning of 1935, Wardha became the centre of Gandhi's activities. The fact that he had recently shed direct responsibility for Congress work meant that he would tour less, and spend more time at Wardha. There was enough to engage him in Wardha. The constructive work which Vinoba Bhave and Jammalal Bajaj had been nurturing for a decade received fresh impetus. Gandhi visited some of the villages, addressed constructive workers, and encouraged them to work out the most effective methods of improving the conditions in which the villagers lived. Jammalal's diary contains some fascinating vignettes of Gandhi at work. On 6 May 1936, there was a Khadi Yatra exhibition: "After some songs Vinoba gave a fine and impressive talk. Then Bapu (Gandhi) spoke. Then we all plied the charkha and takli

far from normal. As Mirabehn recalled in her autobiography:

A few of the old Sabarmati Asramites were still there, but a strange medley of various kinds of cranky people had collected around Bapu. Since we were all cheek by jowl in one building, there was no peace and no escape. Even at night the disturbance went on. For one of the inmates was a somnambulist and when he walked in his sleep, another inmate who had St. Vitus Dance, always got up and tried to catch him with the result that at the dead of night blood-curdling shrieks would rend the air. In spite of this Bapu carried on with a prodigious amount of work.

Mirabehn found the atmosphere in Maganwadi suffocating, and sought escape from it by going for long solitary walks in the early mornings. In order to reach the open country, she had to go through a village, called Sindi. She was shocked to see that, while inside the little houses were clean and tidy, the village lanes and surroundings were dirty. She broached the subject with Gandhi. "If that is so" the Mahatma said, "we should do something about it. We have come here to help to improve the villages". It was decided that Mirabehn should try to improve the sanitation in Sindi with the help of two or three members of Maganwadi Ashram. These efforts did not meet with much success. Gandhi was unhappy at the lack of response from the villagers. Suddenly one day he announced that he would go and live in Sindi all alone, taking such help as he needed from the village itself. The announcement caused consternation in Gandhi's entourage. He was in his sixty-sixth year; his work-load was already heavy; his blood pressure fluctuated violently. His health and his life were national assets: were they to be jeopardized in response to a whim? How could he insulate himself from the many problems which claimed his attention even after his formal retirement from politics? Mirabehn came in for sharp criticism; her meddling in the affairs of Sindi had created an unnecessary crisis. In a desperate effort to save the situation, she offered to go and live in Sindi, if Gandhi abandoned the idea of going there.

Chosen Village

Gandhi accepted the compromise, Mirabehn went to Sindi to stay in a

between 2.30 and 3 p.m. From 3 p.m. there was introduction of constructive workers. At 5.30 p.m. Vinoba gave his concluding talk. I also spoke. At night we had devotional songs by Tukodji. We returned to Wardha after 1.30 a.m." On the following day Gandhi addressed the workers of the Gram Seva Mandal.

Part of the building in Maganwadi was occupied by J. C. Kumarappa and the offices of the All-India Village Industries Association; the rest accommodated Gandhi and his entourage which included many of his associates from Sabarmati, Kaka Kalelkar, Mirabehn (Miss Slade), Mahadev Desai, Mashruwala, Pyarelal, Sushila Nayer and others. Mira behn tells us about the Mahatma's dietetic experiments. He was so impressed by the nutritive value of soyabeans as a source of protein that they were served with every meal—until they disagreed with everybody including Gandhi. Some of the inmates were



Was His Kingdom

one-roomed cottage. She could not make much headway with the problem of sanitation, but she argued that Sindi was really a suburb of Wardha. If the idea was to understand and solve the problems of the villages, a better sample had to be chosen. Gandhi agreed to depute someone from the Maganwadi Ashram to stay in Sindi, if Mirabehn could find a more typical village in the neighbourhood. She walked out day after day in all directions, and was dismayed by the hard, dusty, countryside and the unresponsive, even hostile, attitude of the inhabitants of most of the villages. Her choice finally fell on Segaon, a village four miles to the east of Wardha, which seemed to be "the least unsatisfactory". Its greatest asset was that it had an orchard and a farm belonging to Jamnalal Bajaj. Mirabehn then spoke to Gandhi and Jamnalal, and was allowed to move to Segaon, and to live in a small hut made of wood, bamboo and mud-plaster with a tiled roof.

Meanwhile Gandhi had a breakdown because of high blood pressure and went to Ahmedabad for a change. He sensed from Mirabehn's letters that she was not quite happy in her new surroundings. He wrote to her that if she was unable to stay on in Segaon he would go and live there. Gandhi's proposal to move to Segaon raised a storm. Practically everyone was opposed to it. Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel considered the proposal preposterous. The Mahatma's doctors shook their heads. His colleagues in the ashram failed to see what would be gained by moving from Maganwadi, which was a sort of a village, to another village a few miles away. Above all, Jamnalal Bajaj was wholly opposed to the proposal. There was nothing to recommend Segaon. It was not even connected by road with Wardha; it did not have a post-office; it was infested with snakes; it was situated in a lowlying area, in accessible during the rains, and its stagnant pools of water made it seriously malarial. There were even stories of robberies and murders in the neighbourhood. These disqualification notwithstanding, Gandhi's resolve to settle in Segaon was unshaken. On the morning of 30th April 1936, he walked from Wardha to Segaon to select a site for his cottage; on the way he met Roodmal, Jamnalal Bajaj's manager for agricultural operations. Gandhi told him that he was going to Segaon. "Mahatmaji, you have taken away Maganwadi from

Jamnalal. Now you will also snatch Segaon from him", Roodmal remarked. "What else do you expect from a man like me?" Gandhi quipped. He spent the night in Segaon in an improvised shelter under the trees; the evening prayers were held in the village. The Mahatma's speech in Hindi was translated into Marathi:

I have come (Gandhi said) to your village to serve you. Mirabehn who lives amongst you came resolved to stay with you permanently. She may not be able to do so, not because she does not want to do so, but because she is not physically very strong. I thought I should complete the work which Mirabehn may not be able to do... However I would not want to inflict myself on those who view me with suspicion or fear. The fear arises from my dedication to fight against untouchability... I can only try to persuade you to shed (your) ideas. Gandhi told the villagers that, besides working against untouchability, he would help in the cleaning of the residential areas and the revival of dead or dying village handicrafts. They welcomed him but an old Patel stood up and said: "We are hap-

built the cottage, to stay with him. But then others came along. "How-ever radical he may be Gandhi's Secretary Mahadev Desai wrote, "he is conservative in his tastes and attachment to friends and co-workers. Old co-workers gravitate towards him and he gravitates towards them". By the end of July 1936, Kasturba, Manu Gandhi, Dr. Khan Saheb (the Congress leader of the North West Frontier Province) and Tukodji Maharaj, a melodious singer of devotional songs, were lodged in Gandhi's one room cottage. The quiet and privacy he had dreamt of in a village seemed to elude him. "This has become" he wrote to Mirabehn on 20th July 1936, "a confused household instead of a hermitage it was expected to be. Such has been my fate! I must find my hermitage from within".

Early in 1937 Gandhi was persuaded to shift in to a smaller cottage, which Mirabehn had originally built for herself. It came to be known as **Bapu Kutir**, and has been preserved to this day, as it was in Gandhi's lifetime. The American Journalist, Louis Fischer, has left a pen - picture

by

B. R. Nanda

py that you are coming here, but we do not accept what you say about Harijans" Gandhi laughed and said: "Gradually you will understand the truth of what I have told you". The same day there was a quarrel in the Segaon village. A man with a bleeding head was brought to the Mahatma; somebody had struck him on the head with a lathi. "Do not take this to the police". Gandhi said, "both sides will suffer; whoever has hit the man is guilty. Try to settle your quarrels within the village by mutual accommodation and understanding".

Segaon was nearly four miles from Wardha. There was another village in Maharashtra called Shegaon on the Nagpur - Bombay railway line; to avoid confusion, the government decided, with Gandhi's concurrence, to change the name of Segaon to Sevagram.

When Gandhi started living in Sevagram, it was his intention to live by himself. At first his was the only hut. It had a large room measuring 29 feet by 14 feet, with a seven feet verandah running all-round it. Gandhi yielded to the entreaties of Munnalal and Balwant Singh, who had

of the Mahatma at work in this cottage in 1942.

When I entered Gandhi's room, six men in white were sitting on the floor of his room. A woman in a black sari was pulling the rope of a fan. There was only one decoration in the room, a glass-covered, black-and-white print of Jesus Christ, on which were printed the words "He is Our Peace." There was a board behind his back and a pillow between the board and his back.

In the first few weeks Gandhi seemed to savour the solitude of Sevagram.

The cottage here (he wrote on 12th July 1936 to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur) is a picture. I have just now a young Sadhu Tukdoji Maharaj, He is a great bhajani, a singer of bhajans of his own composition. He will be with me for a month. I occupy one corner, he occupies another; the third is occupied by Munnalal, a co-worker. All round is open and beautiful. Fresh breeze blowing throughout the day. It is quite cool. Perfect walks all over.

Amrit Kaur was so fascinated by this account that she joined Gandhi

in Sevagram and hers was added to seven or eight beds which were squeezed into the one-roomed cottage.

"Whatever it may be to others." Gandhi wrote on 12 August 1936 to a correspondent, "Seagon is to me an inexhaustible source of joy." Life in Sevagram was, however, no picnic for Gandhi or those who joined him there. He had moved in when the monsoon had already broken. Those who came to meet him had to pick their way along muddy tracks. And soon everyone seemed to be falling ill. Mirabehn was down with typhoid. Balwant Singh had an attack of malaria. Dysentery and cholera were endemic in the village. Amrit Kaur was so run down that Gandhi packed her off to Simla for recuperation. Gandhi himself had a virulent attack of malaria. Dr. Mahodaya, a local doctor, felt that it was necessary to take Gandhi to the civil hospital. Gandhi was reluctant, but yielded when the doctor's advice was backed by Jamnalal Bajaj. "I have just learnt by telephone," Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to Agatha Harrison on 3 September 1936. "that Gandhiji is seriously ill with malaria. I have no particulars yet. Malaria by itself is not uncommon or dangerous. But in his state of health it is a disconcerting business. He has been removed from his village but to the hospital at Wardha. I am afraid, I do not appreciate his living in village huts."

Gandhi later regretted that he had been talked into entering the Wardha civil hospital. This illness gave him a fresh insight into the health problems of rural India:

I rarely have fever (he wrote in the **Harijan** of 19 September, 1936.) The last attack I had was 12 years ago, and I had treated myself. There is all the greater reason for me now if I have another attack of malaria, or another ailment, not to stir out of Segaon in search of health; and if I must have medical assistance, I must be satisfied with what I can get without fuss and without having to leave Segaon.

My malaria has quickened my resolve to study the problem of making Segaon malaria-proof. All round me the fields are water-logged.....

If I had listened to friends' advice to postpone settling in Segaon till after the rains, I would have missed the rich experience I have-gained during the heavy rains of the past two months.

.....if I am to make my approach to the village life, I

(Continued on page 8)

The Village That Was His Kingdom

(Continued from page 7)

must persevere in my resolve not to desert it in the hour of danger to life or limb....

There was no road from Wardha to Sevagram; there was a cart track which raised a lot of dust and became unusable during the rains. Gandhi was not enthusiastic about a road connection with Wardha; he wanted the national leaders who came to see him to understand the problems of those who lived in villages. Jannalal Bajaj had improvised a curious vehicle—which he called "Oxford"—for journeys between Wardha and Sevagram; it consisted of the back portion of an old Ford motor car, pulled by a pair of oxen. This was the vehicle which was used by Nehru, Patel, Rajagopalachari and others; it was, however, a fair-weather vehicle. On several occasions the ordinary bullock cart had to be used. There is an interesting entry in Jannalal's diary of 21 July 1937: "Maulana (Azad) and I went to Segaon in a bullock cart. It had rained heavily and a drizzle continued. On the way, one of the wheels of the bullock-cart came off; it delayed our arrival there; we had only a brief discussion with Bapu."

Unlike Gandhi's previous ashrams at Phoenix, Tolstoy Farm and

Sabarmati, the one at Sevagram was the least planned. His original idea of living all by himself in Sevagram proved impracticable; he had not the heart to turn away those who had given their lives to work with him. Quite a few of those who were originally lodged in Maganwadi moved over to Sevagram; it was only to be expected that Kasturba, Mahadev Desai, Pyarelal and his doctor sister, Sushila Nayar should follow him. But others joined him too; among those were K.G. Mashruwala, the ideologue of Gandhian philosophy and president of the Gandhi Seva Sangh; Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, who was eager to serve the Mahatma as secretary; E.W. Aryanayakam, the Cambridge-trained educationist and his talented wife, Asnadevi; Maurice Friedman, a Polish engineer, who had become a convert to the Gandhian conception of a handicraft civilization based on non-violence; Parchure Shastri, a Sanskrit scholar, a victim of leprosy, who was housed next to the Mahatma's hut so that he could personally tend him; the eccentric Professor Bhansali, who had roamed in forests naked and with sealed lips, subsisting on neem leaves; a Japanese monk, who "worked like a hermit," merrily beating his drum in the morning and evening. It was a motley crowd

which led Vallabhbhai Patel to describe Sevagram a "menagerie."

With the increase in activities in Sevagram, the ashram could not but expand. So heavy was the incidence of illness in the village, and so poor the medical aid, that a dispensary became indispensable. The need for milk led to the organisation of a small dairy. Some of the organisations for constructive work which Gandhi wanted to supervise personally, such as Nai Talimi Sangh manned by the Aryanayakams, shifted their headquarters to Sevagram.

The sprawling colony in and around Sevagram, however, never acquired the organisation and discipline of Gandhi's earlier ashrams. There was no attempt to enforce a daily regime and a strenuous time-table in Sevagram. All that Gandhi expected from the ashramites was that they would exemplify the principle of non-violence in their daily lives through selfless service. Their loyalty to Gandhi and his ideals, despite their diverse background and idiosyncrasies, gave to most of them a sense of purpose. They cooked their own food, washed their own clothes and cleaned their own latrines, besides performing the duties assigned to them.

GANDHI had wanted to settle in a "typical" Indian village. Sevagram, however, turned out to be an uncommonly backward village, and almost impervious to progressive impulses from outside. Some of the psychological resistance he encountered in Sevagram may have been due to adverse political influences from his political opponents in nearby Nagpur. But the real bane of this village was the strangle-hold of untouchability on its inhabitants. It was a caste-ridden village. The majority of its population consisted of Harijans who were not only denied access to temples, but could not avail of the services of the local priests, tailors and barbers; they were forbidden to draw water from the wells, to send their children to schools, and even to use certain roads. Gandhi used every weapon in his non-violent armoury to make a dent on this tyrannical system. He engaged Govind, a Harijan boy, to cook for him. He refused to have his hair cut by the village barber so long as he denied his services to Harijans. Despite high-caste opposition, he caused a private well in Sevagram owned by Jannalal, to be opened to Harijans. He argued patiently with the leaders of orthodoxy, who professed to revere him, but were reluctant to shake off their prejudices. "Everything is permissible," said the village headman to Gandhi "to a Mahatma like you, but not to fellows like us."

To Gandhi untouchability was not merely a religious issue, a question of the interpretation of scriptures; it had a direct bearing on the village economy. The occupation of the **bhangi**, the scavenger, was the most despised; he was kept at arms' length even by many Harijans who had their own social hierarchy of ritual purity. This irrational prejudice made it difficult to improve sanitation, and fight disease in the village; it also operated against the use of human and animal excreta as manure.

Gandhi's preoccupation with these problems jarred on some of his colleagues. They wondered why he should fritter away such seeming trivialities, when momentous political issues were crying for his attention. Mahadev Desai tells us about a conversation Jawaharlal Nehru had with Gandhi on 3 October 1936 when he visited Sevagram along with Vallabhbhai Patel. He compared Gandhi's insistence on personally nursing patients to the effort of King Canute to hold back the tide. "That is why," Gandhi quipped. "we have made you King Canute so that you may do it better than the others" Gandhi was referring to the fact that Nehru had been elected Congress president for the year.

"But is there no better way?" Nehru asked. "Must you do all these things yourself?" "Who else is there to do it?" Gandhi replied. "If you go to the village nearby, you will find that out of 600 people there, 300 are ill. Are they all to go to the hospital? We have to learn to treat ourselves. How are we to teach these poor villagers except by personal example?"

"Why am I in Sevagram?" Gandhi asked in an article in December 1936, and answered: "Because I believe that my message will have a better chance of penetrating the masses of India, and, may be, through them the world" If one village could be rid of poverty, ignorance and disease, it might serve as a model to the rest of the country.

Startling Results

It was an uphill task; performance fell woefully short of expectations "It is no use," Gandhi told Bharatan Kumarappa in 1939, "expecting startling results as those of the Five-Year Plans in Soviet Russia...Our acid test is...Have we organised any single village according to our programme? Have we introduced food reform there? Are their roads and their lanes clean and perfect? Have we revived any industries? Have we tackled the problem of drink and vice? If we could do this even in one village, I should think we had achieved a great deal. From individuals you may get a response, but I should not call it making headway. Making headway is touching one whole village."

He sensed two main hurdles in his way, the passivity and inertia of the long-suffering population of the villages, and the death of earnest and selfless workers who could dedicate themselves to the service of the villages. There was in fact a resistance, conscious or unconscious, from the urban educated classes to essential reforms which could raise the masses from the depth of poverty.

MECHANISM OF THE WORLD MARKET

Lenin's proposition that, under imperialism, the winning of political independence does not mean that a nation has acquired economic independence, is of exceptional importance to this day. "Finance capital is such a great, such a decisive force in all economic and in all international relations, that it is capable of subjecting, and actually does subject, to itself even states enjoying the fullest political independence."

Nations oppressed by imperialism, Lenin taught, must seek not only political, but also economic independence. But colonial and semi-colonial, the small and weak nations cannot hope to obtain genuine economic aid from the imperialist powers. On the contrary, under the guise of "economic aid" the colonialists try to tighten their stranglehold on these nations.

For a study of how imperialist capital is able to subordinate and exploit independent countries as well as former colonies, pillaging them without military occupation through the mechanism of the world market, read the book "Lenin and Asia" by Attorney-at-Law T. Duraisingam, a pioneer of the anti-imperialist movement in our country.

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

PRICE Rs. 10/-

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

A PALESTINIAN WOMAN GUERRILLA ON FEMINISM

The most important role of the GUPW (General Union of Palestinian Women) is to mobilise Palestinian women, to organise their potentials so as to enable them to participate effectively in the national struggle against Zionism, imperialism and Arab reaction. We have a women union because there is a women's cause; as Palestinian women. We share the oppression of our brothers, but we face additional oppression due to the backward social and political system. To achieve this goal of mobilisation and organisation, we need specific programmes—political, economic, social, educational—that help us promote the situation of Palestinian women. Our women are uprooted from their homeland and have less employment and educational opportunities. So we work on two levels: general struggle, and socio-economic programmes such as kindergarten, nurseries, literacy campaigns, political lectures... cadre trainings and production centres. All are activities that help to change the situation of women.

Of course, we as Palestinian women see our role as part of the Palestinian national movement. When a women's union was first established in 1921, we perceived our role as a national one against British colonialism and Zionist settlements. We never thought that there could be a women's movement separated from the national struggle, because we can't liberate when our homeland is colonized and our society oppressed by Zionism and imperialism.

We faced many difficulties when the GUPW was formed in 1965. Most of the Arab regimes did not allow any mass or separate movement for the Palestinians. It was difficult to work in the different countries. This changed much after 1967 and the war, when the resistance became stronger..... women began to join the struggle gradually and our role was to help them to overcome the backward values that has blocked their participation in the past. So we witnessed a start of women's mobilisation after 1967 in Jordan-Lebanon, Syria and occupied territories, but there were few women cadre, so it was difficult to really have a women's movement from the grass roots to the leaderships. May be our leadership had much to learn, but we also lacked a base.

A very important development is that the new cadre from 1967 on

came from the base. I remember at that time I was in Lebanon and we were trying to create a local leadership in every local camp. Of course, there was enthusiasm, a readiness to die for Palestine to carry arms, but at the same time there was a lack of cadre who were politically conscious and committed to full time work. We faced the problem that when they married their time was less, if they continued at all, as they were not solid cadre who could really defend their position and their right to struggle as women. But this started to change after 1967. Before that some resistance organisations were starting to organise, but it was difficult and mainly underground, so building cadre was hard. It is not easy to build women cadre, as they must face their society and family, and find time to work at home and in the struggle. So we can see that having professional and committed cadre is now one of the main achievements of the women's movement. These cadre are found in every camp,

This article is based on an interview with JIHAN HELOU, a member of the General Secretariat of the General Union of Palestinian Women (GUPW).

and our main cadre are from the camp.....

Social Contradiction :

It is not enough to say that our primary aims as the GUPW is to mobilise women into the national struggle. You have to facilitate this by changing her social and economic situation to at least some extent as you cannot make real root changes without a liberated land. All the programmes that we sponsor are aiming to objectively change the situation of women in general. When you have, for example, a kindergarten, you are helping to educate the children, but are also easing some of women's burdens, thus facilitating women's ability to struggle. Our aim is to alleviate these handicaps and burdens.

My experience with my parents—prompted me to discuss how to deal with our families. It is not an easy thing. I still remember when it was difficult for a woman to say that she was participating in politics. It was not accepted in our society, especially in the camps. Socially, we were very conservative. Some time people, when they try to preserve their national identity, hold onto the

negative as well as the positive aspects of their traditions, thinking that this is the way that they can confront cultural imperialism. In the absence of the revolution, the camps were very conservative and tried to preserve all the old traditions, thinking this would make us better Palestinians. Of course, when we began to struggle, to carry arms, and regained our national identity and our self confidence, then it became much easier to begin dropping some of the old values that don't help our struggle. That doesn't mean we drop them all. I'm always speaking about a process. It is also important to preserve the national identity of the Palestinian people.

First we tell our women cadre to talk to their family about the national struggle. This makes it easier for the families to accept, as they also want to go back to Palestine, to achieve liberation. Their resistance to women's participation comes from fear, they don't want to hear people talking about their daughter, saying she is coming home late or walking in the camp looking for a bridegroom. In our society, it's easy to be criticized.

We tell the women to struggle with their parents, as they represent values that are holding us back, but to cut all the links. It's not easy. Our experience is that the woman who is not able to struggle with her parents does not become a good cadre. If she is totally submissive and does not have the zeal to take rights, without cutting her social relations, she will not usually continue in the movement. Those of us who did struggle with our families—and really it one most difficult struggle—became better cadre. We tell our women to struggle for their rights because their parents and society will respect their participation some day. The vanguards have to pay a higher price and patient. The few women cadre in the beginnings had to bear much talk and criticism, but later on they became personalities and are seen vanguards.

Many women find difficulties with their husbands, May be he's in the revolution, but still thinks, he should go home and find food prepared every day. He wants to maintain the traditions he was born into, and doesn't want his life disturbed by changes. There is a contradiction between what he says and what he

practices. We discuss these things in our lectures and meetings. It's better to discuss in a group than for every one to face this alone. Unfortunately, we don't really have the obligatory programmes and laws that are necessary. We are still building new traditions only, but we have proceeded well.

Speaking about women, you must always identify at what stage of revolution we are, what threats we face. You can't speak in a vacuum. As a resistance movement, we still defend our existence. In the camps and parts of the south we have what looks like a liberated land. But it's not really. You can't compare it to a liberated land, as in other revolutions. We don't have an economy—we are still part of the Lebanese economy, as is our education system. We are proceeding with building our institutions and practicing our authority as a revolution, but we cannot practice it fully as we don't have an economic base, and you can't really have laws without this. So it is difficult in defensive stage to make really radical changes. We must speak about passing civil and family laws but at the same time we face daily Zionist and Fascist attacks and we must have priorities. That's not to say the revolution is not taking responsibility, but we need some, rules and regulations, at least for people who are committed to the revolution. We can't have laws for the Palestinians everywhere, but really as a revolution we, can have some civil laws applied to those who are part of our institutions. Here, I make a self criticism for us as the GUPW, we have a responsibility to really start to struggle in this level, to make studies and present a programme to the leadership and Palestinian National Congress (PNC). Yet we must recognise that many unwritten norms have been developed within the revolution now girls can study outside, choose their husbands freely, not be dependent on a dowry, etc.

Mass Mobilisation :-

It's wrong to speak about Palestinian women as an absolute: you must look at different geographical areas. The revolution's influence is mainly in the areas where there was struggle, mass mobilization and confrontation with the enemy, be it Arab reaction, Zionist occupation or other tools of imperialism. Mass mobilisation for men and women is much as less out of hotspots. We must also look at the stage of the revolution.

(Continued on page 10)

A PALESTINIAN WOMAN GUERRILLA ON FEMINISM

(Continued from page 9)

Though our organised struggle has been for 17 years, and our people have been unfortunately not reached an equal balance of power with the enemy. We are part of Arab liberation movement and imperialism's schemes are aimed not only at the Palestinian people but at the Arab masses and resources. Now we are passing through a bad period; Arab reaction is dominating parts of the Arab world. We must recognise our objective conditions. But this doesn't mean that we as Palestinian women leaders do not have shortcomings, especially in preparing the most urgent social programmes to stop the suffering and lessen the obstacles that stand in the way of our women's participation. We need to elaborate such programmes though it may take some time and struggle for them to be adopted by the political leadership and applied to at least our revolutionary institutions. We have achieved much but the aim is still to be struggled for.

Today we have many institutions that we didn't have 10 years ago because of lack of cadre and means. Now we are supported by friendly organisations, the socialist community and U.N. institutions we have developed strong relations with national liberation movements, women's organizations in the socialist community and the third world and progressive women's group in the capitalist countries. Our role with the U.N. has increased, at the women conference in Copenhagen, Palestinian women were a special topic on the agenda.

WOMEN'S SELF PERCEPTION:-

We are able to assess the women's problem scientifically, but then we come to the value system we carry inside us as society and as individual men and women. I know from my experience that first of all, we don't have enough self confidence. We were brought up in men's world and were limited to the household and working with our mothers. We are raised to see marriage at our goal, while men are oriented to a profession and self fulfilment. So we have a sort of inferiority complex in a man's society. At the beginning of the struggle if a woman was responsible politically or organizationally over other woman, even other women cadre, she was not accepted. There was a feeling that any man is better than a woman. This is not easy to struggle against, that is why we say that a woman must struggle against her own value system.

Another thing we face is that we live in a bourgeois society-so how do we perceive ourselves as real human beings and not just objects in con-

sumer society? We are influenced by the mass media and by the education system. It is not easy for a woman to change the outlook of society. People say, oh, he married a beautiful woman: they never say that she had good understanding or potential. We are not against beauty, but beauty is related to how much a woman spends on cosmetics and clothes. Here the revolution has really helped us in getting rid of these ideas. Our participation in the revolution has increased our confidence. Now women are ready to work with each other and accept each others' leadership, as they see this is how we can gain our rights. Not in a chauvinist or solely feminist way, but through understanding our humanity and potentials.

There are many good and progressive men in the revolution. You cannot have a women's movement without the support, understanding and co-operation of men and the political organisations. But I think that women have a greater and more immediate advantage in understanding the necessity of their liberation, so there is an opening in their mind to the knowledge that women's liberation connected to the broader struggle. Men understand theoretically, but, in practice, they feel as if they are losing a lot. We tell them that on the strategic level it's to their advantage, it's better to live with a comrade as your wife instead of someone who cooks well but is not developing. Men say that we have hundreds of years of backward traditions, or that the work is much important. This is partly true, but is also an excuse, if they don't struggle themselves against these values, they can become reactionaries in practice; only using progressive words, being two men in one.

When women have even a small change to change, they do, even our mothers and grandmothers; when they don't have chance, they, appears as if they are defending their oppression I remember when I was in Bourjal Barajinch camp, in 1969, giving a mass lecture. I said: You should participate in the struggle. Aren't we equal to men?" Many of the older women said: No, of course, not. It's not easy to say we are automatically equal. When I discussed with these women I found they were bitter, and had lost many opportunities in their lives. Still, it's important not to present the problems as a war between men and women. We must see the objectives conditions and what can be solved. You cannot say: housework is bad, your husband must help, etc. We should not make the women simply rebellious or extreme. The man should provide the support, but the rea-

lity of our society is that the home is still the responsibility of the woman until we can achieve social and economic changes in the process of production. Only then can we find real alternatives and solutions for all our society.

An example of women perpetuating traditional values is the mother-in-law syndrome: women suffer much abuse from their mother-in-law, but when they become one themselves they act in the same way. This is result of the traditional society, and was true in China and Vietnam. People tend to perpetuate the roles of the society they are born in to if they are not given alternatives. Also, here a woman is sad if she has a baby daughter. This is because she knows what the child's future will be and also because she sees with the eyes of her husband. She doesn't defend the backward ideas, but she cannot see the light of her liberation. It is comparable to the working class; many times, when they are not organised in the parties or unions, they are tools in the hands of the bourgeoisie because they are afraid of losing the few benefits they have. They feel it is their

destiny to be oppressed, so they don't struggle. Not because they like their situation, but because they don't see any alternative and are afraid.

It is the role of vanguard of women to present an alternative. As the GUPW our first aim is how to change women from being passive human beings in society to active human beings. This is very important... she is passive. She doesn't really care what happens outside her home, in society or politics. It is enough that her husband, daughter or son in participating, but not she. How do we change her outlook? This is why we stress social and economic programmes. Of course, she will say "I love Palestine" but she doesn't think she has a concrete role in the struggle. So we start with the concrete programme to change her self-outlook. The mere fact that may be she comes to a production centre at a certain hour means that she has the opportunity to meet other women, to gain new ideas-then she may begin to be more active and productive.

We often say, though not in chauvinist way that women are more revolutionary and patient. We women have a double interest in the liberation of Palestine, as Palestinian people and as women. We can't see now our problems will ever be solved unless we build a progressive society in Palestine.

Bisection and...

(Continued from page 3)

of the more important central government to the Sinhalese Majority. They are also prepared to canvass the militants to agree to it.

Regional autonomy meets with the state principle of sovereignty and territorial integrity and the minority's principle of self determination. It cannot cost the Sinhalese any diminution of power over their destinies. Two more regional autonomous states-one for the Sinhalese of the Kandyan provinces and the other for the Sinhalese of the Maritime provinces could be set up along with the autonomous Tamil state in the federal set up. Establishment of sub autonomous organs, under each of the three autonomous regional states, in areas where there are substantial concentrations of citizens united by a community of ethnic interest sharply different from the demography of the regional autonomous state in which they are will be a viable proposition to provide a reasonable measure of self government to such minority communities of Sinhalese in the Eastern and Northern province, Indian Tamils in the Central and Uva provinces and Tamil speaking people in the Western province. The principle of regional autonomy is not unknown to Sri Lanka. It was embodied in both the B-C pact of the SLFP government and the Dudley-Chelvanayakam pact of the UNP government though the pact of each party was aborted by the other playing Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.

If the devolution of powers envisaged in the proposal receives con-

sensus but cannot be accommodated within the framework of the constitution that is no reason to reject it. It is open to the government to amend the constitution, or repeal and replace it with a new contribution. Such an exercise is not unfamiliar with to the government of Sri Lanka. The constitution of 1946 was replaced in toto by that of 1972 and that too was replaced in toto by the present constitution of 1978 keeping pace with the progress of the citizens.

In the circumstances, it is incumbent on the part of the President to welcome the proposal of the TULF for a single unit of Tamil autonomous state for the area comprised by the Northern and Eastern provinces and to bring the on going bloody warfare to a halt. Enough, it has gone beyond the length of world war 2 steadily heading the country towards bankruptcy. Instead, his proposition to BISECT the integer of the Tamil homeland and render two provincial councils vested with diminutive powers. Such an award is far short of the single unit of linguistic autonomous state proposed by the TULF as a humble alternative and very far short of the independent state of Eelam which is the heritage of the Tamils from the pull out of the British rule.

What then is the ideology behind the tenacity on the part of the Sri Lanka government? Is it an assumption that the post independence Prime Ministers and Presidents of this country have walked, in succession, into the shoes of the British Monarch which she has jettisoned? If so at what price?

A COMMON FUTURE FOR HUMANITY

—Pope John's Prayer

All of you know that on the, it would 27 of this month, at my invitation, there will be held in Assisi an ecumenical and interreligious Day of prayer for peace. Those responsible for your Churches and Christian communities as well as those of many other religions have already responded favourably to this initiative.

Our common prayer for a peaceful future of humanity will bear fruit to the degree that those who are engaged today in armed conflicts will agree to take an active part in this initiative. For, if the political and military Heads of the nations and the groups involved in armed conflicts would support with a significant gesture the invocations of al-

most all the religions of the world, it would testify that also for themselves violence does not have the last word in the relations between individuals and nations.

Thus on this day of the feast of Saint Francis, apostle of evangelical peace, from this city of Lyons, at the conclusion of our ecumenical celebration, I wish solemnly to launch a fervent and urgent appeal to all the nations in conflict in the world that they will observe, "at least throughout the whole day of 27 October, a complete suspension from fighting".

I launch this appeal with trust because I believe in the value and spiritual efficacy of signs.

May the truce of 27 October be an incentive for the nations in conflict to undertake and pursue a reflection on the motives that compel them to seek by means of force, with its consequence of human misery, that which could be obtained instead through sincere negotiations and recourse to the other means offered by law.

I make this appeal also to those who seek to achieve their purposes by means of terrorism or other forms of violence. May they experience once again without delay humane sentiments.

May these persons and those they represent, may all the peoples and the factions in conflict be able to hear the appeal that God makes to their consciences to take into consideration the initiative of religious people and the unanimous desire of peacemakers, to join with those who pray, and to witness by means of their adherence to the universal truce of 27 October that they also have the desire to bring an end as soon as possible to armed violence for the honour of God and the tranquillity of people.

The UN day was observed on 24th October. The mothers' Front, Jaffna Traders Association, and various other Organisations have called on the people to observe this day as a Black day. We publish this article to mark the UN day.

The experience of mankind over the ages made man believe that at the general rule of the survival of the fittest must necessarily fail, if the culture and civilization of humanity as a whole were elevated to a point of being recognised as a proud achievement. Nevertheless, has mankind achieved this? It is a tragedy that mankind has still not gained by past experience. Man repeats the folly of the men of the past.

Fights generated by ego - the desire to be superior to fellow - human beings manifested by variegated considerations, subdued fellow-men and subjected them to many a suffering - the loss of the right to live excluded.

At the end of World War I, eight lakhs of soldiers alone and many lakhs of innocent civilians lost their right to live due to the intolerant attitude of a few seated in the pedestals of power. The world at large lamented this, and at the birth of the League of Nations. But it was not an effective forum to diffuse tension and promote understanding among the few intolerant power - hungry men. The Second World War broke out and ruthlessly took away the right to live of several soldiers and innocent civilians. The worst of all was the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The war ended and peace - lovers organised themselves into the United Nations Organisation.

The U.N.O. in its pre-ambble said that since war begins in the minds

of men, it is the minds of men that defences of peace must be constructed. How far as the UNO achieved this? We saw the meaningless wars of Korea and Viet Nam. We see the escalation of the arms build - up - the instruments of destruction of human lives. Once again it is the survival of the fittest - decisive factor being the most des-

tructive of the weapons. All this is because of aberrated thinking of a few who ride the seats of power.

All this chaos is due to the lack of accommodating the other peoples' view-points. The countries which are fortifying themselves with arms as the sole defence, are also faced with the problem of a difficult economy. They are forced to maintain their arms build - up through income realized from the sale of arms—of course arms of inferior quality. In order to promote sale of arms, they are also compelled to promote war within regions and within countries as well. They are cashing on the weakness of men in being susceptible to appeals of race, religion, language, caste, colour and what not. These are stark examples of aberrated thinking that inevitably will result in the destruction of culture and civilization.

When there is violent opposition to oppression and suppression on

grounds of colour, race, religion, language, caste etc. those in power and those who are responsible for those naive action call it 'Terrorism'. What is Terrorism. Terrorism is the dislocation of peaceful life in a community or society through the use of force—the forces of arms. Violent manifestation of resentment to oppression by the oppressed when all other means failed is not terrorism. On the other hand, oppression at the point of arms is also terrorism. We saw how Ferdinand Marcos of Philippines was carrying on state

the people of the soil—an ignoble tyranny of white majority. There are some countries the world over, members of the UNO and signatories to various UN declarations on human rights which are practising racism of the highest order and through disinformation and misinformation are justifying their actions while condemning the agitations of the minorities, as even terrorism, the latest terminology in hypocritic democracies

Martin Luther King said that "Peace is not the absence of tension; it is the presence of justice". A Chinese leader said that — "There can be no peace if there is no peace below the diaphragm."

Recently, we witnessed in Ethiopia the cruelties of famine. The people there due to the unprecedented draught, faced the grim. They died, young and old, in several thousands unwept and unsung. At the same time the killers of humanity, the manufacturers of sophisticated arms are flying across the borders of countries selling their products even by giving monetary inducements. Even a fourth of the money spent on this criminal and wasteful exercise could have saved the people of Ethiopia from death. What a tragedy! Even the monies spent on arms to subdue agitations within

CAN UN SUCCEED?

terrorism against muslim minority and was accusing the minority agitators of being Marxist terrorists. That was the only way he could get foreign assistance to keep himself in power despite his depotism. Only when he was unmasked some hometruths came to light.

The principle that Democracy is the rule of the majority is very often mistaken for rule of the majority with scant regard for the minorities. Minorities are creations of ac-

by

A. Thevarajan

cidents of history and does not mean that they should forsake their interests and fundamental rights. The position that majority will should prevail undeterred in a democracy is nothing short of tyranny of the majority. Democracy is rule for the benefit of the majority of interests as possible and does not mean that the rights of minorities can be abridged.

South Africa presents an ugly situation in a civilized world. The rule is nothing short of the law of the jungle. Yet South Africa is in a sense decent enough to accept

countries for legitimate basic rights are more than enough to grant and accommodate them and ensure peace and harmony.

It is, therefore, incumbent on the United Nations' Organisation to avert this ugly and inhuman trend and bring in a new and meaningful order. If not, the time has come for the peace-loving nations and peoples of the world to think of a new vibrant and effective organisation to preserve the fundamental rights of all mankind. Oh Ye man! Whither thou?

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

DON'T TALK BIG, MAHANAYAKES

After 26 months of negotiations to find a political settlement to Sri Lanka's ethnic problem, where do we stand?

Back at square one, it seems.

None of the parties concerned—President Jayewardene's Government, the Tamil United Liberation Front or the Tamil militant groups—has been willing to make those conciliatory moves that are necessary for an accord to be hammered out, despite all the prodding of the Indian Government.

Meanwhile, the killing goes on through firing and shelling and land mines.

More and more innocent lives are being sacrificed, including those of poor Sinhalese soldiers planted in the North who do not seem to know what they are doing or whose interests they are serving.

The Sinhalese Buddhist 'patriots' of the South—politicians, Mahanayakes and all the rest continue to talk big.

But He Too.....

(Continued from page 1)

Tigers eat human flesh also but not all the time.

They can be human, too.

One of the captives gave me a letter to be sent to his parents.

Here is a transliteration of the letter:

Bandara's letter to his family

23rd October, 1986

Devas' blessings!

To my Mother and other beloved ones.

We are living well here. Please say that we will come home quickly. Though I was shot in the leg, the wound is not serious. That day Vijay (Kumaranatunge) came and spoke to us.

Written in haste.

Wish the blessings of the Devas on all of you.

BANDARA

No concessions to Tamil people. No regional autonomy. No provincial councils. No nothing.

"We are the majority community and what we say and decide will be the last word" is their joint cry.

Famous last words:

The ramifications and implications of the ethnic problem extend far beyond what most Sri Lankans can visualise.

It is going to affect generations to come, of all communities, Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims.

The country, thrice-blessed by the Buddha, according to the Mahavamsa, has already gone to the dogs.

Very soon it will go to the buffaloes and donkeys, which appear to be fast breeders in the once humane society that was Sri Lanka.

Amen!

Mr. Vijaya Kumaranatunge, the famous film actor but who is a novice in politics, came to Jaffna last week to secure the release of the two captives.

Vijaya II came, he saw but he failed to conquer.

But it was not a vain visit. He achieved something which no other politician from the South has been able to achieve in recent years, not even President Jayewardene. He succeeded in establishing some rapport with the main militant group.

I wish him well. But he has many more political lessons to learn, chief of which is that anyone who aspires for national leadership should not try to score cheap and temporary political points over one's opponents.

The two captive soldiers are in safe custody, I have the assurance of the LTTE commander, Mr. Kittu, that they will be released unharmed even if the Government refuses to budge.

Mr. President, the ball is now in your court.

—GAMINI NAVARATNE

NAVATKULI ESCAPADE

Before the arrival of Vijaya II on Jaffna's soil, the security forces stationed at the Navatkuli camp launched a salvo of shells on the morning of—21st. October. In this firing 2 sisters from the same family—very young children—had their heads blown to smithereens, while their younger brother and father

were admitted to the Jaffna Hospital with injuries.

When Vijaya Kumaranatunge arrived at the Hospital to see for himself the damages caused by Army shelling, this tragic incident was brought to his notice by a sorrow-stricken father, Sivanadiar Panchavarnan (30).

VIJAY CHATS WITH KITTU

If the Government accepts our humanitarian request to release two of our militants in return for the two captured soldiers in our custody, we'll release the two soldiers.

This is what KITTU—the Jaffna Area Commander of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam LTTE—told Vijaya Kumaranatunge.

If the Government rejects this request, we'll be forced to take alternative steps, Kittu had told Vijaya.

The conditions we have laid down for the release of the two soldiers (see SR, 18th October 1986) conform to international norms, Kittu told Vijaya. They were captured in bat-

tle, Kittu said, but we spared their lives because we are humanitarians, not savages—as the Sri Lankan Government's media whores try to make us out.

Vijaya met Kittu in a heavily guarded Tiger Camp.

Vijaya was taken round Jaffna Town by a heavily armed Tiger convoy.

Kittu had told Vijaya to come back to Jaffna again, with the parents of the two soldiers, if he's able to successfully negotiate with the Government about the release of the captured soldiers.

Full text of the talks will appear in our next issue.

Vijaya (2).....

(Continued from page 1)

Then Captain Kotalawela introduced Vijaya Kumaranatunge and his party to the LTTE representatives. At this time Rahim told Captain Kotalawela pointing out to Kittu who was standing about 50 yards away that Kittu was there to welcome them. He told Captain Kotalawela that he could meet Kittu there. Captain Kotalawela just smiled and told Vijaya Kumaranatunge to proceed.

Then Kittu welcomed Vijaya Kumaranatunge and his party and took them in their vehicles to their headquarters to meet the two prisoners.

They met the two prisoners, comforted them and gave them encouragement. They talked to them for about half an hour.

Later Vijaya Kumaranatunge and his party spoke to Kittu about the

release of the two prisoners for about 40 minutes.

Then they were taken to Nallur Kandasamy Temple and there they worshipped. After that Vijaya addressed the crowd that had gathered there. Then from there they proceeded to the Headquarters of the LTTE where Vijaya Kumaranatunge had a press conference.

After that Vijaya and his party had refreshments in Rolex Hotel in the Grand Bazaar. Then Vijaya and his party were taken to various places including the Hospital escorted by armed LTTE personnel in vehicles and at 3.30 p.m., Vijaya and party were taken to the Fort Army Camp and entrusted to Captain Kotalawela. He thanked the LTTE personnel and took them back into the Fort.

Vijaya and party were taken to the Palaly Camp by helicopter from the Fort Army Camp and later flown to Colombo.



Kittu (left) and Vijaya Kumaranatunge (Centre) at Nallur Kandasamy Temple.