

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 5 No. 44 22nd November 1986

Bangalore Talks

HOPES SOAR— THEN PLUNGE

Will there be peace in Sri Lanka in our time?

The SAARC summit at Bangalore stirred up hopes that at last a negotiated settlement of Sri Lanka's ethnic problem would emerge.

The Government-controlled DAILY NEWS reflected the prevailing euphoria. Its page one lead story on Tuesday (18th November) was headlined PEACE HOPES SOAR.

It also quoted President Jayewardene as saying "I'm not going home empty-handed".

The DAILY NEWS report said "The two-day SAARC summit ended in Bangalore with positive indications that substantial progress had been made in working out a solution to Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict, with President Jayewardene and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi closeted in a fifth round of talks here."

The report also quoted Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi as saying "With the package the President has given now, we believe the Tamils can live in peace and security". Rajiv

had also said the new Colombo proposals were 'good' and would form the basis of negotiations between the Sri Lankan Government and the Tamils.

But the very next day (Wednesday, 19th November), the mood of the DAILY NEWS had swung from euphoria to dejection.

Its page one headline on Wednesday wailed PRABHAKARAN QUEERS THE PITCH AT BANGALORE.

Characteristically, the DAILY NEWS assailed Prabhakaran — the

leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) — for being consistent and principled.

The LTTE leader had said 'No Go', unless the Sri Lanka Government accepts the concept of a Tamil Homeland and the Merger of the North and East.

The Government's tentative offer of three Provincial Councils for the East — one for the Sinhalese, one for the Tamils and one for the Muslims — was turned down by Prabhakaran who bluntly said that acceptance of the plan would be tantamount to political suicide by the Tamils.

(Political observers underline the fact that it was only the LTTE which was invited to Bangalore for consultations; the other militant groups were pointedly ignored.)

Reports about the state of play seem to indicate that things are back to square one. Of course, who's to blame for this deadlock depends on one's point of view: both the Sri Lanka Government and the LTTE view each other as being 'intransigent'.

While some political observers think that something — they don't know what — is going on in India and something will come out of it, the more cynical-minded among them feel that Big Brother has already scripted the scenario and both combatants will toe the BB's line, whatever their defiant public postures.

Meanwhile, the average Sri Lankan — Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim — can console himself/herself with the reflection BLESSED ARE THOSE WHO DON'T EXPECT TOO MUCH FOR THEY SHALL NOT BE DISAPPOINTED.

UNDERGRADS BEGIN DEATH FAST

The first batch of five undergraduates of the Jaffna University and a member of the public began a fast — unto-death on Wednesday (19th November), to protest the involuntary and mysterious disappearance of Arunagirinathan Vijitharan, a third year Commerce student of Jaffna University.

The undergraduates are Kuhnathan (3rd year Science Student), Vimalaswaran (a final year Commerce Student), Selvanayagam (a final year Arts Student), Miss Kohleswary (a final year Commerce Student) and Miss Vijeyakumari (a third year Arts student). The member of the public who is fasting-onto-death is Prasad of Nallur.

The ages of the death-fasters range from 21 to 23.

Vijitharan who is a member of the Students' Organising Committee

of Jaffna University, was last seen on 4th November.

The Students' Organising Committee has spearheaded agitation in all matters affecting the undergraduates, in the absence of a formal Student Assembly: the new University Bill makes such a formal Student Assembly virtually illegal.

Several mass organisations and students' organisations have come forward to show their solidarity with the University students: there have been token fasts and demos in several schools in Jaffna.

Vijitharan's mother, Mrs. Bhuvanewary Arunagirinathan, has—in a moving appeal—asked the militant movements to help find her son.

All the militant movements have categorically denied any involvement with Vijitharan's disappearance.



A. Vijitharan
Mysterious Disappearance

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in a press release issued on Wednesday states that certain interested parties are busy spreading absolutely false, unfounded and malicious rumours linking the LTTE with Vijitharan's disappearance.

The release points out that this has only compounded the confusion prevailing in the public mind.

No, Thanks

The Sri Lanka Government put forward a suggestion that I should be the Chief Minister of the North. I flatly turned this down. Liberation Tigers leader V. Prabhakaran told newsmen in Madras at a press conference, on his return from Bangalore.

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EXAM RESULTS

Results of the Final Examination
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koddai, in April 1986.

Technician Diploma

Electronics & Telecommunication
Engineering

Second Class (Lower Division)
Miss. Vasanthy Rajakulasuriyar
Pass

Velautham Balachandran,
Velayuthampillai Kannan,
Gnanasambanthan Ravibalan,
Miss. Shanthavathani Arumugam,
Subramaniam Suthan,
Miss. Anne Nageswari Ratnasaba-
pathy,
Paramanathan Premakumar,
Nadarajah Jeyantharajah,
Joseph Basil Mohanraj,
Ganesparan Jeevahan,
Selvaratnam Nimal

Electrical Power Engineering

Pass
Sivavakeethar Sivayogan,
Nadarajah Vimalaranjithan

Mechanical Engineering
Second Class (Lower Division)
Subramaniam Balakumar

Pass

Alvappillai Raveendran,
Ariyacuddy Subramaniam Suresh

Civil Engineering & Quantity Surveying

Second Class (Upper Division)
Rajakulasooriyar Mohan,
Ratnasabapathy Sivakumar

Second Class (Lower Division)
Balasubramaniam Sivanesan

Pass

Gnanapragasam Dynecious Arulraj

Computer Programming & Data Processing

First Class

Miss. Jegathiesan Ramani
Miss. Mylvaganam Ahalya
Second Class (Upper Division)
Devasagayam Manoharan

Pass

Miss. Kanagasundaram Kirijadevi,
Miss. Ramalingam Ranjini
Technician Certificate
Automobile Technology

Pass with merit
Sellathurai Srisantharasa
Pass

Manuelpillai Alfiston Uthayaraj,
Jeyarajah Anton Jeyakumaran,
Satputhiran Kugathanan,
Manikkarajah Ragurajah,
Nadarajah Sivanathan,
Thangarajah Vignarajah
Jeyarajah Jeyarajan Andrew,
Sivampillai Jerald Elmo
Air-Conditioning & Refrigeration Tech-
nology

Pass with merit
Sathananthan Kugan,
Venunathan Sri Prema Theva Prasath
Pass

Tharmalingam Kukananthan,
Nadarajah Thillairajah
Craft Certificate
Electrical Installation Practice
Pass with merit
Kanagasabapathy Naganathan

Pass

Francis Xavier Roger,
Gnanasundaram Sukumaran,
Thirunavukkarasu Sabesan,
Thillainathan Sivakumar,
Vijayaratham Sukumar,
Alalasundaram Uruthranathan,
Paramalingam Kumaraguru
Machine-Shop Practice
Pass with merit
Thuraiarajah Sriravindran,
Sinnaiiah Karunarajah

Pass

Kumarasamy Vicknarajah,
Somasegarampillai Gnanasegar,
Karthigesu Jeevarasa,
Sithamparapillai Kantharajah,
Ariyaratnam Mahalingasivan,
Visuvalingam Vignarajah,
Sinnadurai Anandalingam,

Kunaratnam Kunarajah,
Kandasamy Subramaniasivam
Welding Practice

Pass

Thulasingham Sivasubramaniam,
Arulanandam Thavaseelan,
Patrick Ravinthan Innasithamby,
Ariarathasan Jogathanan
Foundry Practice

Pass

Ampalavanapillai Sritharan

STAR WARS THE OBSTACLE

At the recent meeting in Reykja-
vik, it was the Star Wars program-
me that became the main obstacle
to making real progress in the fie-
ld of nuclear arms reduction, stated
Syed Asrarul Haque, Chairman of
the All-India Committee of National
Unity.

Speaking at New Delhi at a pub-
lic meeting organized by the Commi-
tee, he said "The attempts being
made in the United States to revi-
se the understandings reached in
Reykjavik and to speed up the
implementation of the Star Wars pl-
ans are indicative of the inability of
the US leadership to think in a
new way in our nuclear age when
the future of the whole of mankind,
including that of the US people, is at
stake".

MATRIMONIAL

Tall and handsome professional in
his forties from a leading and re-
spectable Vellala family, now per-
manently 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
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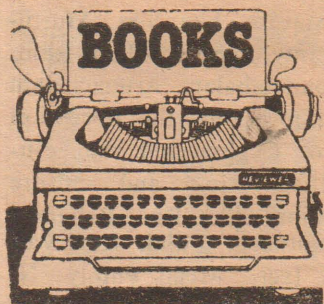
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A CONTINUING DEBATE

**THE DIFFICULT DIALOGUE:
MARXISM AND NATIONALISM,**
by Ronaldo Munck (Zed Books
Ltd., 184pp., 1986).

The epigraph to this book is the following quotation from a veteran Belfast Republican, who says: 'The strongest thing in Ireland is nationalism. I suppose it's the strongest thing in the world; there's millions of men have died for nationalism in various countries, in England, in Russia, in Germany, America, countless millions of people have died, but very few have died for socialism. My experience is that throughout the world men will die for their country but are not prepared to die for an 'ism'.'

This quotation leads into one of the main arguments of Dr. Ronaldo Munck's book—that Marxists traditionally have underestimated the power and the tenaciousness of nationalism. This underestimation goes back to a primal error in the thinking of Marx and Engels—the assumption that capitalism was unifying the globe by drawing all peoples into the world market and thus making national frontiers archaic. What Marx and Engels failed to foresee—even within their own framework of thinking—was that the process of capitalist development was uneven, and that by accentuating differences between regions and states,

it would give a fresh lease of life to nationalism.

Munck in his opening chapter brings out the extent to which Marx and Engels originally depreciated nationalism by drawing a distinction between what they termed 'historic' and 'non-historic' nations: the former were those who were in the mainstream of historical development and progress, and the latter those who had lagged behind and were incapable of building viable national states. This distinction could be used to support expansion by the former at the expense of the latter: thus Engels could argue that it was in the interests of 'civilisation' that California had been taken away from 'the lazy Mexicans' by 'the energetic Yankees'. Later, however, the reality of the Irish struggle against British rule and of the subjected peoples in the Russian Empire brought the two founding fathers of Marxism to modify their position on nationalism, but it remains true that what they left to their heirs was, as Munck brings out, an ambiguous and self-contradictory legacy.

Lenin is usually credited by orthodox Marxists with the achievement of having worked out the 'correct' Marxist position on nationalism. Munck acknowledges that Lenin for the first time in Marxist discourse recognised 'the relative autonomy of the national question' but he brings out clearly the limitations of Lenin's thinking on nationalism. He did not give a coherent theoretical formulation to the theory of nationalism, because

for him it was a pragmatic question of political practice. Fundamentally, for him oppressed nationalities were significant only as necessary allies in the class struggle, and nations were transitory phenomena, which would disappear under socialism. Moreover there was an inherent bent in Lenin's thinking in favour of the centralised and larger state as the vehicle of historical progress.

The potential contradictions in Lenin's position on nationalism surfaced after the Revolution, when Ukrainian and Georgian nationalists wished to exercise the right of self-determination and secession which the Revolution had guaranteed them. Faced with the possibility of a disintegration of the Soviet republic, the Bolsheviks intervened militarily, but Munck brings out the qualms which Lenin felt about this intervention. The sequel to the suppression of the independent (Menshevik) Georgian republic was the conflict between Lenin and Stalin on the eve of the former's death over policy in Georgia. Crippled by his illness, Lenin left the task of combating 'Great Russian chauvinism' at the Twelfth Party Congress of 1923 to Trotsky but the latter failed to carry out this mission—and one of the reasons, as Munck indicates was his own lack of sympathy with nationalism.

All in all, Lenin's efforts to reconcile national self-determination with the building of a socialist state must be regarded as a failure: the codifier of his theory on the national question became also the most ruthless centraliser of the Soviet state under Great Russian hegemony. Munck does not, to my mind, adequately explore the reasons for this failure: apart from the limitations in Lenin's thinking on nationalism described earlier, we have to face the fact that no democratic policy on minority nationalities was ultimately viable within the framework of monolithic one-party rule—and that, a party which was strongly centralised in its internal structure too.

It can reasonably be argued that all victorious 'socialist' revolutions since 1917—which have taken place within the third world—have been fundamentally wars of national liberation (in the case of the Russian Revolution, the nationalist element became dominant in the post-revolutionary era, and was oppressive rather than liberating). The later chapters of Munck's book are devoted to the relations between Marxism and nationalism in the third world: he surveys here the paradoxical phenomenon that the

nations whom Marx and Engels regarded as 'non-historic' have come to be seen as the bearers of the socialist cause. However the reversal, of the earlier Eurocentric standpoint within Marxism has been accompanied by the fact, disturbing for Marxists, of rival and contending nationalisms within the socialist world, culminating in the wars between China, Kampuchea and Vietnam. Confronting this situation, Munck says: 'Ultimately nationalism is not a sufficient explanation of the Indo-China wars, any more than it was for the First War.....There is no evidence of antagonism at the level of the people between the various nationalities, which after all had a long history of common struggle against colonialism' (p. 140). He ultimately concludes that these wars were in the interests only of the bureaucratic castes of these countries. However, this comforting conclusion is at odds with the recognition elsewhere in the book that 'whatever political strategy is adopted, Marxists operate within the framework of specific nation-states, workers feel their particular nationality as something real, and nationalism has immense power as a historical force'. (P. 15).

Although this book is not a profoundly original study of its subject, it is a well-informed and, in the main, objective treatment of it. Munck is a Marxist but not a dogmatic one, and he seems to have no sectarian allegiance to any particular school of Marxism. My principal criticism of the book would be that while Munck in theory recognises the 'relative autonomy' of ideological and cultural factors, he does not give sufficient weight to them in analyses of particular historical situations.

—Reggie Siriwardene

Courtesy: The Thatched Patio, House-Magazine of the International Centre for Ethnic Studies (Colombon)

Carrying Coals To Newcastle

The Jaffna man knows his onions. He has been cultivating them for years and making mints of money through exports to the South.

Now a reverse process seems to have set in. Almost everyday, onions are air-lifted to Jaffna to serve the needs of the Security Forces, though there is no shortage of onions in the North!

This news should be an eye-opener to Sinhalese (Buddhist) 'patriots' about the state of affairs in Sri Lanka today.

THEY WILL FIGHT ON!

*The child is crying
for the mother's milk.*

*The mother is missing.
Gone for work?*

*Gone to buy infant food?
Or gang-raped by the Army
and sent to Chemmany?*

*A ten month agony,
After a moment of bliss!*

Then childhood.

More ecstasy and agony.

Then school.

More ecstasy and agony.

*The little brat
is a bundle of mischief*

When will he be a man?

The mother (and father) wonders.

But in the North

*Children are born to die
by violence.*

Yet they serve a purpose.

A gun in hand.

*Age fourteen
they fight
for freedom.*

*What freedom
in a land
hungry for blood?*

*But they will fight on
for freedom.*

—ANON IX

Arumuga Navalar's 107th death anniversary falls on 26th November.

The Independence movement of India occupies a unique place in the history of the East—it has certain unique features.

The East India Company entered Indian territory for commercial intercourse but later became power hungry and engaged in territorial expansion and succeeded in that too. The Christian Missionaries who came for evangelistic activities took advantage of this situation and escalated their activities. The colonial administrators opened schools in villages without rousing the suspicion of the local people and disseminated education. The Missionaries then built churches adjoining these schools and propagated their evangelistic mission. Those who received English education and embraced Christianity enjoyed many privileges and coveted positions. They became the social elites. A considerable number followed this path.

Commenting on the Indian Independence Movement, K.M. Panikkar the Ambassador-cum-historian states in his book *The foundations of New India*: "The movement which culminated in the emergence of India as an Independent Nation, has three main aspects inter-related in their action, deriving inspiration from common sources but separated in their areas of operation. These may briefly be described as the creation of a spiritual background for political ferment, creating and expressing a broader and universal humanism as the basis of India's new life." He also mentions that those who received liberal English education were at the forefront of these movements. This situation is true of Sri Lanka as well.

Although the Indian Independence movement gained momentum under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the seeds of freedom struggle were sown much earlier. The first to engage in this struggle was Raja Ram Mohun Roy (1722-1833). He was born in an affluent family that commanded respect and possessed wealth. He relinquished his lavish wealth and position and began to think about the situation in the country. He also received a liberal English education. He was in every respect fit to hold high positions both by way of his liberal English education and the traditional wealth and position occupied by his family. But he was drawn to the problems of the country. He was a Bengali and besides

Bengalese, he was proficient in English, Persian and Sanskrit.

His campaign ushered in a new awakening among the peoples of the country. A thirst for freedom based on spiritualism was fostered. Any people who become conscious of their religion, arts, culture and civilization cannot but feel their individuality. Only when they become alive to their individuality do they become a people infused with a thirst for liberation. Harold Laski speaking of nationalism says "The idea of nationality is not easy to define for there is no measurable factor to which it can be traced. We must not fail to notice the way in which solidarity and therefore

Ram Mohun Roy encountered in India. Two years before Ram Mohun Roy's death the Government of Great Britain sent Lord Macaulay and Colebrooke to India and Ceylon respectively to effect constitutional reforms. The appointment of officers from England to attend to ordinary administrative work in India and Ceylon swelled the expenditure and, therefore, they recommended that the appointment of local men with knowledge of English would reduce the expenditure and suffice for the purpose. To achieve this, they recommended that the grant to English Schools be enhanced and that the grant to mother-tongue schools be curtailed. This was implemented in 1933. As

Men of stature like Sirs Muttu-Coomaraswamy, Ponnambalam Ram-anathan, Ponnambalam Arunachalam left their impact on the liberation movement of Ceylon and the resurgence of education and culture. Men of calibre like Rao Bahadur. C.W. Thamotharm Pillai, Kasi Vasi Senthinatha Iyer, Melai Puloly N. Kathiravetpillai left their impact on the religious, literary and educational spheres. Men of stature like Thiru V. Kalyana Sundera Mudaliyar left their impact on the religious educational, literary and national spheres. The great personality that caused this awakening in Ceylon and Tamil Nadu was Arumuga Navalar. But historians in Ceylon and India have grossly failed to acknowledge this and accord the rightful place to Arumuga Navalar in Ceylon and Indian modern history.

As a result of Arumuga Navalar's contributions and achievements, a national awakening among the Tamils of Ceylon and Tamil Nadu was ushered in resulting in participation in the freedom movement.

Otto Jespersen says "The individual, as a matter of fact, can make something new which has influence on the language, on the language of the whole community. This is of course the way in which the countless new formations and transformations which actually show themselves in the language came about..... We may say then theoretically that one man naturally must have been the first to employ the new expression and is therefore in a certain sense its originator" On the basis of this universally accepted position the contribution of Navalar to the Tamil language are unique. The Tamil language, Tamil prose and Tamil journalism received a new impetus. Tamil became a vehicle of modern thought and a pliant and rich language.

It is a pity that a gap has been created by the historians in Ceylon

Arumuga Navalar

And

Ram Mohun Roy

exclusiveness of a nation may be consciously fostered. That may be done by education. "On the basis of this definition of nationalism, one has to accept the position that Ram Mohun Roy fostered the freedom awakening in India and that he was the rising star of the freedom movement in India. Not only that. By issuing pamphlets and religious tracts in Bengali he added a new flavour to the Bengalese language and Bengali journalism. Thus, the historians of India have accorded the rightful place to Ram Mohun Roy in Indian History as the forerunner of the Indian Liberation Movement and as the father of Bengali journalism.

The age of Arumuga Navalar (1822-1879), his contributions and resultant achievements have to be viewed against this background. Arumuga Navalar was not born in an affluent or powerful family. However, he had the requisite English education and necessary support to hold coveted positions. His contemporaries who were less educated in English held high positions. He was offered high positions but he declined them. He was drawn by the situation of his people and the country.

The situation of the country was identical with the situation which

as a result of this, during Arumuga Navalar's period, after Ram Mohun Roy's death, the situation was rendered more complicated. In consequence, the needs of mother-tongue education became more accentuated. But as the law debarring local people possessing a Printing Press was lifted, the local people were able to own Printing Presses. This speeded up the agitation for liberation.

Navalar's campaign spurred the growth of nationalism and a thirst for liberation founded on a spiritual base among the Tamils of Ceylon

by

A. Theva Rajan

and Tamil Nadu. As Navalar's commitments were many, he died without accomplishing some. For example his endeavours to organise a Training Institute on the lines of a University to produce, annually trained men competent to teach Hinduism and Tamil can be mentioned. However, the achievements of Navalar were in no way inferior to the achievements of Ram Mohun Roy. His contributions and achievements caused an awakening among the Tamils of Ceylon and Tamil Nadu. These did not fail to leave their impact on the history of the Indian Liberation Movement and the history of the Ceylon Liberation Movement.

and India in not acknowledge this fact and according Arumuga Navalar his rightful place in the history of Ceylon and India. The leadership and contributions of Arumuga Navalar are comparable to that of Ram Mohun Roy. The place accorded to, Ram Mohun Roy must, in fairness be accorded to Arumuga Navalar.

No one can dispute the fact that Arumuga Navalar was the rising star, the forerunner of the Freedom Movement in Ceylon. It is earnestly hoped that this gap in the history of the freedom movements of Ceylon and India will be filled and rectified by the historians when history books are revised.

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(To be continued)

Sundara Ramaswamy:

A NOVELIST 'IN SEARCH OF LIGHT'

A good writer is hardly a successful businessman; and the reverse is also largely true. Very few persons possess the distinct combination of a zeal for literature and knack of trade. One such rare personality is Sundara Ramaswamy, the eminent short-story writer, novelist, poet, critic and essayist, who is running a prosperous business house in his hometown of Nagercoil. (Tamil Nadu)

Even as he refuses to allow his tradesmanship to push him to the swelling ranks of writers, who are commercialising literature, he is equally cautious not to write off his business interest for the sake of his love for literature.

Sundara Ramaswamy is basically a short-story writer, with four collections containing over 50 stories to his credit. Noted critic Ka. Na. Subramanyam brackets him with Puthumai pithan, Ku. Pa. Ra. Jayakanthan etc. among the top twelve short story writers in Tamil. One collection each of Sundara Ramaswamy's essays and poems, besides some works of translation have also been published. But strangely it is one of his only two novels, which has drawn him to the centre of a raging controversy.

Perhaps no other Tamil novel has, in recent memory raised such a storm as his 'J.J. Sila Kurippukkal' which hit the stands four years ago. No less than ten seminars have been held in different places of the State, where over 50 papers have been read analysing thread bare the merits and demerits of the novel and the views and motives, 'overt and covert' of its author. The novel has attracted wide-ranging, but not always well meaning, criticism from readers, fellow-writers, and critics of different shades through the medium: of over a score of magazines, big and small. A few booklets have also come out on the novel. The critics' verdict varies from wholesome praise to down-right condemnation, with everyone, however, uniformly adorning Sundara Ramaswamy's skill at wielding the pen. While some saw in the novel a bold and new experiment in form and technique crowned with success a few others made uncharitable comments ridiculing the author and even suggesting that the novel be thrown to the dustbin.

Well known Sri Lankan critic Ka. Sivathamby hails it as the first Existentialist novel in Tamil. The most cruel and sinister of the attacks came from a Delhi professor who went to the extent of demanding the exterment of the author 'for corrupting the unsuspecting young minds with his diabolical ideas and ideological confusion through his intoxicating style'.

'J.J. Sila Kurippukkal' which brought the author back to active literary field from a self-imposed exile, is vastly different from his other novel, 'Oru Puljamarathin Kathai' published 30 years earlier and well-received by all sections alike. The tamarind tree, loved by the people around, being the nucleus of all their activities and symbolising in a way their unity and solidarity, becomes, as years roll on, the bone of contention for the very same people and soon loses its charm. No less a critic than Venkat Swaminathan, known for his inconven-

by

tional views and sharp sallies, has commended it as one of the best novels dealing with social transformation in all its percepts.

But that was a time when the novelist was a different man altogether. Though by then he has snapped his ties with the Communist Party, he could not perhaps totally wriggle himself out of the 'ideological fetters' contrary to his claim. During the next few years he was writing short-stories, which were however, markedly different from his earlier ones.

A doubter from the very beginning with no firm commitment to Marxism 'in its entirety,' he seems to have been haunted by doubts even after his going out into the open 'to breathe free breeze'. The resultant confusion perhaps had driven him to a short spell of silence which he has broken 'to continue his search of truth'.

Several critics see in his second novel, which reads like the biography of a Malayalam writer and thinker, this 'confused state of mind' as reflected by the hero's. Some others see in Sundara Ramaswamy a split personality, to them both the hero (J.J.) and the narrator

(Balu) are one and the same person, who is none other than the author himself. Yet another group identifies the hero with a 'progressive' Tamil writer, who lived a controversial life and whom recognition which he so fondly sought, eluded to the last. (Incidentally the said writer is a close friend of the author).

Whether there is any justification for such identifications or not, the novel is so realistic as to make any reader feel that it cannot be mere fiction. And there lies the reason for its singular success.

The hero of the novel, the imaginary Malayalam writer, starts off as a Marxist, electrifies the literary field with his 'forceful' writings and 'thought-provoking' ideas ('the theory of upheaval', for instance), soon turns disillusioned with this 'world of lies', feels alienated from the society and dies young, after a spell of illness, with or without succeeding

theory of upheaval propounded by J.J.', though he stoutly denies it. Besides, a tactical blunder by the author in not choosing a style different from his own familiar one for J.J.'s diary (as pointed out by a popular writer) betrays him. But so what? Even if the hero is the author himself, is it a sin to doubt and seek truth?

Whom he intends to show through J.J., need not be the reader's concern. Writers of J.J.'s type could be seen in any society or linguistic group. The same is the case with most other characters in the novel. They exist everywhere. One cannot just wish them away.

The novelist, it could be seen has brought the hero into focus from different angles. Many of the characters do not approve of the hero's stand. Ayyappa Panikkar, another Marxist worker in the novel, who greatly respected by J.J. chooses just to ignore him. Mullaikkal Madhavan Nair, whom J.J. treats with a contempt, does not hate him. Even the narrator Balu, who is made to resemble the author most, despite his admiration for J.J., makes known to the readers his sharp differences with him on several issues. So it is meaningless, 'to read between the lines' and blame the author for what he has not said or for making the hero behave the way you would not like him to.

If the alienated J.J. does not find the reason for such alienation in the existing social set-up and fails to turn his wrath against the system, as a Marxist would do, he is not shown as having rejected such a view either. Again, to quote Engels, 'an author should not lean to one side and he need not give solutions in his work.'

Leaving aside all these assumptions and presumptions, if the novel is read and re-read simply as a novel it does give one the satisfaction of reading a good, serious novel. Surely it is not for most of the present-day Tamil readers for whom a novel is a 'gate-way into a world of fantasy and pleasant dreams. It has to be read and enjoyed with a bit of extra effort. No novel is worth-reading if it cannot be read with enjoyment but it should also be noted that no enjoyment is possible without some effort.

(Continued on page 7)

S. Viswanathan

in his 'search of inner light'. This is the story in a nutshell.

It is the dexterity of the author which has enabled him to present the novel in such a way as to keep the readers guessing all along as to the identity of the principal character. The method of first person narrative which he has chosen, besides making the novel realistic and credible, also helps him remain hidden in the background. As Frederick Engels would say the more the opinions of the author remain hidden, the better for the work of art. In this kind of narrative there is no way to know the mind of the author, as all incidents and characters are to be viewed through the eyes of the narrator (in this case 'Balu'), also a character in the novel. It is difficult to find out why a character should react to a given situation in a particular way and not differently.

Anyway the author's life is an open book. In his essays and short-stories he unfolds his views on certain problems, which, according to some critics are not dissimilar to the 'views of J.J.' His latest short story titled 'Konthalippu', some feel, ie. but explanation of 'the

How Can the Bishops Keep Mum?

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Mr. Laksman Gunasekera's article on **The 'Cross' Question** appearing in your journal of 27th September is timely indeed, now that the Sangha has come out on the National Platforms protesting against the proposal now being considered for a political settlement of the ethnic crisis by a process of devolution of powers, claiming, inter alia, that the Sangha had been in the forefront whenever and wherever there was a national crisis.

One wonders by what quirk of logic could the Sangha claim an exclusive right to speak for the people—the suffering people—which they have never done in the past?

There were instances where native Missionaries of this country defied the church, at a time when the Bull (Papal) was very much on the rampage when they felt that such defiance was justified in the service of oppressed natives. They spoke loud and undaunted. The traditional obscurantism of the Church and its alignment with the oppressors did not deter the native Missionaries raising their voice for the freedom of the country. In Nicaragua, El Salvador, and the Philippines, the clergy stands solidly with the people—sometimes to the bitter embarrassment of the Church. Why then should they be silenced here and now?

Unlike the Bishops of the South, Centre and West, who disowned Bishop Deogupillai, the Bishops of the North and East are in personal contact with the events in their respective Diocese—with the scenario, the actors, the tragedies in the fields and the later comedies staged by Lankapuwath on T. V. The anguish, misery, helplessness, sense of insecurity and resignation of the people of these areas are real and hang heavily before them, among them and in them. Why cannot they voice their feelings their righteous exasperation? Their voice is not that of any particular race, religion or community. Their voice is that of all suffering people, Catholic—Universal in essence and nature. Can't our people transcend the barriers of race, religion and community?

We in the East are authentic witnesses to the vast and varied programmes of work for the amelioration of the lot of the people, irrespective of race, religion, or community, people who need help—the poor, the neglected, the abandoned, the handicapped and retarded, the refugees and displaced, the homeless—initiated by that indomitable personage Dr. Deogupillai and continued relentlessly with equ-

al zeal and dedication by his successor Dr. Swampillai.

For them human life, limb, liberty and dignity are sacrosanct and any violation would be blasphemous. When all those values which they hold inviolable and for the sake of which they toil so hard are being wantonly assailed with no compunction by the authorities that are, why can't they voice their indignation, contempt and wrath for and on behalf of the people.

Unlike the hierarchy of the previous generation, the Bishop of Tricomalee-Batticaloa, having shorn himself off of all Episcopal sheen and remaining in the background, activates through his equally zealous, dedicated, selfless but youthful lieutenants, institutions and services which are revolutionising the role of the Church in this Diocese. This he does in spite of the apathy of the laity who are apprehensive of their Plutocratic and Gerontocratic predominance being threatened. The priests are seen more in the squa-

LETTERS

lor of the shanties helping the poor, in the pungency of the Hospitals consoling the sick, in the prisons trying to understand the mental and physical needs of the inmates and help them and their dependants and in the institutions earlier mentioned than in the pulpits grandiosely proclaiming Divine mysteries. When these priests in the prime of their lives rush, defying the enfilades of genocidal maniacs, to the assistance of the injured and the dying, they do not inquire to which religion or race the injured or the dying belong. They do so, with scant regard for their own safety, in obedience to the call of their own conscience that a human being is in need of their assistance. Can't these people voice their anger, anguish, disgust and feelings at the callous acts of the assailants?

The Pastoral Letter of the Bishops' Conference analyses critically and impartially and advocates remedies which are scientific, realistic and feasible. But, living in their mansions in grandeur and security, untouched by the air of real tragedies unfolding daily in the North and East and relying on the Lankapuwath which has bettered the Department of Propaganda of Dr. Goebells, the Bishops of the South, Centre and West have no moral right to expect these two Bishops to be as complacent as they are.

They fail to assess and evaluate the intense feelings of frustration and tragedy very much alive in these two Bishops.

The observations of Brigadier Gerry De Silva, a Sandhurst product, in the course of an interview at the Palaly Camp, as reported in the SATURDAY REVIEW of 4th October, is illuminating indeed. The Brigadier with the candour characteristic of his breeding observed "The men go on leave to their villages and they talk to the PRIESTS (Capital is mine) and so on and everyone asks them what they were doing sitting there". Well then to whom is the Sangha preaching their Maitriya?

The moment the late Mr. Bandaranayake opened Pandora's Box, the power base slipped from the secular leadership into the laps of the Sangha.

Batticaloa

M. P. Emmanuel

Surprised

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

I am a bit surprised by your news item on page 2 of the SR of 8th November under the headline 'Catholic Media Centre'. Please permit me to clarify a few points.

The Catholic Church's Social Communication Apostolate is divided into three branches: UNDA for Radio, OCIC for Cinema and TV, and UCIP for the Print-media (and not just for printing establishments). Last year, under the auspices of the National Commission for Social Communication—Tamil Stream, UCIP—Tamil—Sri Lanka was inaugurated. It is now an official member of the SACPA (South Asian Catholic Press Association) which is the accepted regional body of UCIP (International Catholic Union of the Press).

Each of the four countries which have membership in SACPA (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka) have their own national association for the print-media. The office bearers of SACPA are elected from all the four countries for a period of three years and I have been elected as the Secretary during the World Congress of UCIP held in New Delhi in October.

There isn't going to be any Media Centre in Jaffna, as reported by you. SACPA office-bearers will have the duty to facilitate contact among the four national bodies and also help each other in the Apostolate of print-media of this region.

Fr. Anton Matthias
Thirunelvely, Jaffna

APPRECIATION

Dr. K. Arumugam

Through the sudden and premature death of Kanapathipillai Arumugam (Aru) in London on October 9th, the Tamil people have lost a resourceful, indefatigable and valiant supporter and spokesman.

Peradeniya's loss was the City University's gain in 1966. But his distinction as an academic was overshadowed since 1977 by his activities as the leading light and mainspring of the **STANDING COMMITTEE OF TAMIL SPEAKING PEOPLE (SCOT)**.

Others are better qualified to speak of his manifold and untiring efforts to redress the balance of his community's suffering and deprivation. But my wife and I are privileged to bear witness to his admirable qualities as a warm and sincere friend of long standing. Buoyant, loyal and never mealy-mouthed in the face of justice and hypocrisy, we came together in the groves of academe, then threatened by perils, of little substance in retrospect, and never lost touch over the intervening years, when those dangers were compounded beyond comparison. The familiar intimacy prevailed when we last met in London two years ago and were able to discuss the tragic fate of our common Motherland with both sense and sensibility, rare enough virtues in these rabid times "Farewell Aru".

I take this opportunity of enclosing a contribution to the S.R. Editor's Refugee Relief Fund a token of tribute to his memory and for a cause which we held dear. — H.A.I. Goonetilleke

Comrade Aru

Over twenty years ago, when I first met Dr. Kanapathipillai Arumugam I was an engineering student impressed by the genial but forceful person that he was. I still remember the day we met last. Both of us were at Ganga's place, in London, awaiting news from Jaffna, where an internecine conflict between two militant groups had broken out. All of us there were depressed. Aru was agitated and there was a special reason for that. He was the first among those who had utmost faith that a genuine socialist movement will emerge out of the Tamil Liberation movement. In a sense he did not see the impending conflict within the movement.

Comrade Aru was always associated with the Sama Samaja movement of this country and to the end he was a friend and a sympathiser of the **Nava Sama Samaja Party**. Of course we don't believe that the hegemony of the left and proletariat within the Tamil liberation struggle is predetermined. We explained to him that there will be class conflicts within the movement and proletarian and socialist forces could prevail only by building the Nava Sama Samaja Party within the Tamil liberation movement. Aru did not disagree. However he thought he could introduce socialist ideas by closely associating with the leftward moving sections of the Tamil liberation movement.

Aru is no more but his spirit will remain among us like a granite pillar. A constant source of strength to us, to move from the barbaric present to a socialist future where race, caste, creed etc., will be of only some cultural interest.

Dr. Vi. Kramabahu Karunaratne
General Secretary,
Nava Sama Samaja Party

Pulsara Taken To 4th Floor

Here's the text of the statement by CROPP on the arrest of Ms. Liyanage.

Ms Pulsara Liyanage, an activist of the Campaign for the Release of Political Prisoners (CROPP), and an assistant lecturer in Western Classics at the University of Kelaniya, is also very active in various mass organisations.

Ms Liyanage was taken into custody by the CID on the morning of 1st November 1986. The CID officers who arrested her did not produce a detention order or any kind of authorisation. She was initially taken to the National Intelligence Bureau (NIB) office at Longden Place, Colombo, and then to the anti-terrorist unit of the CID headquarters, the "fourth floor". Since then she has been transferred to the Slave Island police station.

On the first night at the fourth floor, she had to sleep on the ground and was bitten by a rat and had to be medically treated. At the Slave Island police station she had to sleep on a stone slab. This police station does not even have proper

toilet facilities. CROPP has been constantly agitating about the conditions of detention at these places. If those undergoing interrogation are treated so badly, one can imagine the situation of those in prisons and detention camps. The state seems to take no interest at all in their welfare.

She underwent a major womb operation this March and has still not recovered from it fully. Furthermore, she suffers from low blood pressure. CROPP insists that when people with known ailments are taken into custody, they should be properly looked after. Such has not happened in this case. We wonder whether the police are here using a subtle but insidious form of torture. CROPP has always protested against the torture of prisoners and do so once more, vehemently.

CROPP suspects that the sudden arrest of Ms Liyanage does signify the government's intention to crack down on democratic and human rights organisations like ours. While on the one hand, it points to the existence of organisation like CROPP as an example of democracy in the country, the arrest of an activist in our organisation can only mean that their intentions are quite the contrary.

We protest against the arrest of Pulsara Liyanage who fought against injustice and for the fundamental

rights of the people of this country and demand from the government that she should be released immediately.

Homicide Verdict In Muthur Killings

Here's the list of names of the 44 Tamil civilians who were reportedly killed by the Security Forces on 18th July in the Muthur area:

Name	Age	Address
1. Sinnathamby Ehamparam	—	Refugee Camp Alankerny
2. Vettivel Ethirmannasingam	27	Refugee Camp Peruveli
3. Kanapathipillai Suntharalingam	26	" "
4. Ariyathamby Sivasubramaniyam	39	" "
5. Konamalai Veerakutty	—	" "
6. Kanapathipillai Ponnaiah	45	" "
7. Velupillai Arumugam	60	" "
8. K. Nagendram	60	" "
9. Vyrarnuthu Yogarasa	36	" "
10. Kanapathipillai Gunapal	35	Manalchenai
11. Marimuthu Srikantharajah	38	Refugee Camp Peruveli
12. Thiagarajah Vadivel	20	Peruveli
13. Sethunathar Konamalai	—	" "
14. Sinnakutty Pathakutty	65	Manalchenai
15. Vyrarnuthu Gunasekaram	60	" "
16. Kathirkamathamby Vyrarnuttu	45	" "
17. Seddamby Alapillai	62	Ichchilampattai
18. Veerakutty Mylvaganam	—	Manalchenai
19. Selliathamby Tharmarajah	24	" "
20. Pathakutty Mahalingam	35	Peruveli
21. Thambimuthu Thangarasa	35	" "
22. Francis Martin	36	" "
23. A. Sathiyaseelan	13	" "
24. Pasupathy Mohanathas	30	" "
25. Kandiah Thangarasa	28	" "
26. Sellapa Sithiravel	56	Manalchenai
27. Pathakutty Kanakanayagam	60	Ichchalampattai
28. Rasiah Sellathurai	—	Peruveli Refugee Camp
29. Rasiah Kumar	60	" "
30. Konamalai Rajanayagam	26	" "
31. Kathamuttu Vyrarnuttu	85	" "
32. Muthukumar Vinayagamoorthy	40	" "
33. Sithravel Varnakulasingam	28	" "
34. Sinnathurai Gunanayagam	27	" "
35. Kanakiah Arunakiri	—	" "
36. Sithravel Jegan	—	" "
37. Vadivel Navaratnarajah	—	" "
38. Kandavanam Kamaleswary	10	" "
39. Sivapragasam Yogathas	13	" "
40. Logarasa Saraswathy	39	" "
41. Sithravel Kanakiah	60	" "
42. Thuraiikutty Yogarasa	52	" "
43. Manikam Gnanamuttu	—	" "
44. Rasiah Sellathurai	48	" "

According to the evidence, around 3 a.m. on 18th July, two Tamil villages in the Muthur area—Peruveli and Manalchenai—were surrounded by the Security Forces. Thereafter the armed forces entered these two villages, pulled out people from their houses and refugee camps and shot dead 44 of them.

The refugees were from Menkamam, Kanguvely and Mallikaithivu which had been attacked by the Security Forces earlier.

At the inquest, the Muthur Magistrate, Mr. Kathiravelpillai, returned a verdict of homicide.

The case is now pending in the High Court of Colombo where all the relevant papers have been transferred.

A Novelist...

(Continued from page 5)

Whether or not the novel 'opens the doors of a golden era by giving newer and newer dimensions and helping Tamil readers take greater interest in literatures of other languages' as claimed by the author, it must be said to the credit of the novel that it has set the tone for a new trend in Tamil fiction and initiated a healthy discussion on several aspects which Tamil readers are yet to familiarise themselves with.

No one could have more aptly described contemporary Tamil literary scene and the level of Tamil readers' taste than 'J.J.' The very first question he poses to 'Balu' is "Has Sivagami fulfilled her vow?". (The sarcastic reference here is to the heroine of Kalki's historical novel 'Sivagamiyin Sabatham').

Whatever may his detractors say, no serious student of Tamil fiction can afford to ignore either Sundara Ramaswamy, who excels in prose-writing, or his two novels.

If not for anything else, for sheer style and technique, 'J.J. Sila Kurippukkal' will be read and enjoyed by anyone, who cares to give it the attention it deserves. As his friend and fellow-writer, Krishnan Nambi, rightly points out Sundara Ramaswamy is basically a stylist—a stylist par excellence.

NEXT WEEK: HOW DOES SUNDARA RAMASWAMY REACT TO HIS CRITICS?

LGSU Says:

Repeal PTA

Repeal the Prevention of terrorism Act (PTA) and lift the Emergency regulations in force which restrict the democratic rights and freedom of the working class and oppressed people.

This was one of the resolutions adopted at the Annual General Meeting of the Lanka General Services Union held recently in Kandy.

Here are some of the other resolutions adopted at the AGM:

Release all political prisoners who have been arrested without any charges on political grounds under cover of the PTA and Emergency Regulations and detained without trial.

This house whilst condemning the protest campaign of certain political parties, Buddhist Monks and chauvinist elements against the Provincial Councils to jeopardize the prevailing situation urges all those concerned to arrive at an immediate Political solution to the ethnic conflicts which over-determined the socio-economic and political situation in the country. Although, the recent proposal is not a complete solution to the question we are confident it will come to arrest the ongoing senseless killing and end the so-called war and re-establish peace and harmony.

Urges the government to stop the move towards the privatization of the estates vested under the Land Reform Law and to re-vest all those estates already handed over to the private sector.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

(BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

Accepting a friend's invitation, I spent the night at Point Pedro on 10th November.

On the 11th morning I was up by 5.30 a.m. and was told that there was a bus to Jaffna at 6.30 a.m. After morning ablutions, I was sipping coffee around 5.45 a.m., when I heard the droning noise of a helicopter. People took it lightly saying that it must be going to the Army Camp at Point Pedro. Soon confusion arose when we heard the sound of a plane. This intrigued me and I got on to the lawn to see what it was.

Imagine my shock when I saw two helicopters circling round the area and two bomber planes darting across the sky.

However, I decided to move towards the town to catch a bus to Jaffna. I walked along Thumpalai Road and within minutes I heard a blast near the sea coast close to 3rd Cross Street junction. I kept on walking. I later learnt that a bomb fell close to a sentry post of the militants. Soon the bombers disappeared only to make way for the helicopters.

Now the helicopters started strafing the area. I took cover at various points to avoid being hit. The helicopters hovered over all the roadways and on seeing a man, woman or child liberally pumped bullets at them. They were noticeably fierce when vehicles were seen on the road. They chased after them and fired. The empties were thrown out of the 'copters. Some competent people identified them as Gulliver 30 and Gulliver 50, besides AK 47 ammunition etc.

By this time, I had reached the Sivan Temple area where I met a wide range of people. Most of them had congregated there for the morning Pooja — businessmen, students, office-workers etc. This number was unusually swollen by people who were passing by and some people from the coastal belt areas who had run to the temple for shelter.

I noticed the helicopters strafing the outer perimeter of the town, while the bombers again entered the inner perimeter of the town and started bombing at random. They too were chasing after vehicles and bombing them. One such bomb

VADAMARADCHY WAR GAMES: A BATTLEDRESS REHEARSAL?

fell inside the Sivan temple boundary and exploded, killing a young boy and seriously injuring two other students who had come to the temple to worship. Another bomb fell just in front of a Private Medical Practitioner's Clinic and burst, injuring some people.

Intermittently the deafening blasts of shells fired from the Army Camp were also heard.

The bus-stand was deserted and hardly any human being was to be seen on the road. I moved towards Manthikai. At one point I saw a bomber trying to bomb a mini-van carrying some injured civilians to the Hospital but the van sped off and the bomb fell on the side of a house terrifying the inmates who ran hither and thither frantically trying to find out what had happened. I had just come close to the Government Hospital, when I saw a helicopter strafing a mini-van which had brought some injured civilians from Thondamannar and Valvettiturai to the Hospital. I just managed to enter the hospital by then. Out-door patients, in-door patients, doctors, nurses and the staff were panic-stricken and were running all over the wards trying to save the patients. The D.M.O's room, and Wards 1 & 2 were badly affected. The patients crept under their beds and disabled patients were rushed to plated roof apartments. There was utter confusion. Amidst all this turmoil the doctors continued to attend on the patients, assisted by the nurses and other staff.

All this came to a halt about 11.00 a.m. but we soon realized that it was only the lunch-interval. The whole episode was repeated at 12.30 p.m. but this time there were no bombers. The injured were being brought in from the adjoining areas. We were told the same scenario had been enacted in Valvettiturai and Thondamannar too, with added assistance from naval gun-boats, destroying houses and plantations along the coast.

At Point Pedro this was all over by 5.30 p.m.

There was no transport and I was confined to Point Pedro that night too. Later in the evening, I was told that the death toll from bombs was two and from shelling was also two. Several houses and schools had been damaged.

On the 12th—the following day—people rushed to their houses in 3rd

Cross Street to see what had happened to their houses and belongings.

The army had been in occupation of the coastal belt area of 3rd Cross Street, since the early hours of 11th November. Some houses had been burnt to ashes. Some were reduced to rubble by bombs deliberately placed to destroy them. A man called Adaikkalam, a carter who led a hand to mouth life, was found hacked and shot dead with his legs tied together—a not uncommon display of khaki sadism in this part of the country. A 67-year-old lady, Murugesu Sinnachchipillai—a younger sister of the late Tamil Prof. K. Kanapathipillai—was reportedly burnt alive. She had been disabled and bed-ridden. She was a T.B. and Rheumatic patient. Only some portions of her chest cavity and the portion above the neck remained. Her jewellery was missing. Another very old man was allegedly tied to a chair and burnt alive. His left hand and some portions of the body remained.

Schools, places of worship and the Hospital—places exempt from attacks in times of war in accordance with international norms—were subjected to savage treatment. Here, even refugees had been dragged out of Refugee camps and shot dead.

At Thondamannar, the Army platoon was said to have been led by two tall well-built masked, bullet-proof jacketed men, believed to be English-speaking foreigners. At one point when the army ran after an attack by militants, these men were reported to have shouted "Don't run. Come follow us". There are eyewitnesses to this. They had been repeatedly shouting "Move on, move on".

There were humane moments too: at Thondamannar, some army men who were marching from Valvettiturai on foot, took five youths with them and guaranteed that they would not be hurt. One of them was not prepared to believe them and he ran. He is said to have been shot dead. The other four were treated well and released the

Priest Can't Visit Dying Mother

"My 86-year-old mother is on her death-bed. But the Minister of Justice has turned down my written request for permission to visit her", states Rev. Fr. Aparanam Singarayar in a letter to President J. R. Jayewardene about the denial of fundamental rights under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Fr. Singarayar is at present in remand custody in Welikade indicted under the PTA in connection with the attack on the Chavakachcheri Police Station in 1982.

It is agonising, Fr. Singarayar points out in his letter to the President, that a Catholic priest should be denied permission to visit his dying mother.

Fr. Singarayar, it will be recalled, chose not to escape from the Batticaloa prison along with fellow-detenus, though he twice had the opportunity to do so.

He has been in remand custody for four years.

following day. In another instance, they had tried to go into a house. On seeing the strange visitors, two girls had just enough time to lock the door whereupon the army fired. The two girls were injured and the door was opened. The soldiers on seeing the girls' plight took pity and apologised and said that they had mistaken them for Kottiyas (Tigers) and immediately dressed their wounds. After giving them an injection to relieve the pain they went away. The soldiers seemed to have come out of their camp prepared for a three to four day field operation, with food, medicines, dressings and ammunition.

The Army has gone back to the camps at Point Pedro, Valvettiturai, and Thondamannar at the time of writing. Thus ended the unproclaimed siege of Vadamaradchy. Their blocking of the Vallai outlet by blasting a culvert near the bridge shows that they were bent on cutting off Vadamaradchy from the rest of the Peninsula. This included severing food supplies in order to be victorious.

The question now being asked is 'Was the Vadamaradchy siege a rehearsal for a major offensive by the Security Forces in Jaffna in the near future'?

Here's the list of persons who were killed on 11th and 12th November in Vadamaradchy:

1) Arulanandam (45), Carpenter, Pt. Pedro. 2) Neelakandan Narayanan (51), Carpenter, Pt. Pedro. 3) Anthonypillai Sayendran (21), farmer, Atchuvily. 4) Sinnathamby Ravikumar (22), farmer, Avarangal. 5) G. Thevasagayam (55), farmer, Atchuvily. 6) Mrs. Sinnachchipillai Murugesu (78), Pt. Pedro. 7) Chelliah Sebastiampillai (50). 8) Video Bavan, Pt. Pedro.

48 people were injured and hospitalised.

127 employees of Pt. Pedro Base hospital at Manthikai have jointly sent a memorandum to the Minister of Health through the Govt. Agent, Jaffna, protesting the strafing of the Hospital.

On 11th November, from 8.30 a.m. till 5.30 p.m. helicopters and light aircraft strafed and bombed the hospital area. The Maternity Ward, Children's Ward and Female Surgical Ward were badly affected.