# Saturday Review Spilar

SRI LANKA

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Of India
Corr. Held

# SRI LANKA TRIES TO

# BULLY INDIA!

(By Our Diplomatic Correspondent)

Whenever right-wing pro-West United National Party Governments were in power, Sri Lanka's relations with neighbouring India tended to become decidedly cool.

This was so from the time of the first post-Independence Government headed by Mr. Don Stephen Senanayake.

He appeared to be so obsessed by the fear of India that he once said that "uninhibited by national considerations, even if the British wanted to quit (the military bases in the Island), they should be asked to stay", though this policy clearly put Sri Lanka out of step with the other resurgent nations of Asia, who viewed the Government with suspicion.

Successive UNP Governments continued to set great store by the British connection.

But probably none more than President Jayewardene's Government.

Barely two months after assuming office in July 1977, Mr. Jayewardene, as Prime Minister, told Parliament: "In 1947, when we for the first time after almost 140 years became a free country, we were facing great difficulties. We had no Armed Services to protect us. Therefore, Mr. D. S. Senanayake decided to remain in the Commonwealth of

Nations and to sign a military agreement with the United Kingdom, chief partner of the Commonwealth, to come to our aid if we sought it. That agreement still survives today and has not been revoked....."

This vigorous pursuit of the British connection appears to have landed Sri Lanka in fresh trouble, sparking the latest round of recriminations between Colombo and New Delhi, involving in the process the Press Trust of India news agency correspondent in Sri Lanka as well.

At the state banquet to British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher in Colombo last month, Mr. Jayewardene, according to the PTI correspondent's despatch given wide publicity in India, reportedly asked for British troops to safeguard Sri Lanka's independence and integrity.

According to official sources, Mr. Jayewardene made no such request.

But there is no denying that the Government continues to entertain apprehensions about India's intentions — as evident from Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Tyronne Fernando's outburst against India in Parliament earlier this week.

He went to the extent of accusing India as a 'big bully' — all obviously because India has been pressing for a speedy negotiated settlement of the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka.

India has a right to take up this attitude because of the repercussions the ethnic problem is having in Tamilnadu, where there are now nearly 100,000 Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka.

President Jayewardene's Government should well remember that the refugee problem was not created by the Indian Government. It was

created by its own folly of persisting in the military approach to the ethnic problem.

Even at this very late stage, the Sri Lanka Government should make use of the good offices offered by India to arrive at a negotiated settlement — instead of trying to dictate terms to India.

#### A CLEAR CASE OF DISCRIMINATION

The Press Trust of India correspondent in Colombo, Mr. Krishan Anand was remanded by the Fort Magistrate, Mr. S. I. Imam on 9th May following his refusal to sign a statement obtained from him at the Fourth Floor of the CID relating to a report filed by him on President Jayewardene's speech at the banquet to the British Prime Minister-Mrs. Thatcher in Colombo last month.

Following this incident, the Indian High Commissioner, Mr. S. J. Chatwal, who was due to go on a transfer, stayed back and lodged a strong protest with the Foreign Ministry.

In New Delhi, Mr. Viva Gupta, President of the All India Editors' Conference, said that the incident was likely to lead to a deterioration of relations between the two countries.

"This is a clear case of discrimination against Indian journalists and deserves all-round condemnation of the Free Press all over the world", he said.

The Only Wholly Government - Censored Newspaper in Sri Lanka

#### Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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#### Supervisor Describes

#### Pannai Shootings

"Uniformed personnel who came to the office of the private bus company at Pannai, searched those who were there and then took six people to the entrance. They sent back two of them. While the other four were standing with their hands raised, they were shot. One of them escaped with injuries," said Mr. Kandiah Mahalingam, Supervisor of the private bus company office at the inquest held into the deaths of three persons who were shot dead at Pannai on Saturday, 4th May. The inquest was conducted by Mr. K. Kesavan, Inquirer into Sudden Deaths, Jaffna.

The dead persons are Sathiyaseelan Sathiamoorthy (28) of Suruvil, Sockalingam Sathasivam (36) of Kayts and Manickam Maheswaran (25) of Jaffna.

## TROJAN HORSES WITHIN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

wide-ranging interview with Comrade Skantha of the Voice of Thamileelam (VOTE), Comrade Uma maheswaran, Secretary General of the People's Liberation Organisation of Thamileelam (PLOT) spoke on the possibilities for the formation of a National Liberation Front. Analysing the mood in the South Sri Lanka Comrade Uma appealed to the left-wing forces in that country to stop repeating the mistake of participating in the farce that is parliamentary democracy and called on them to organise the masses around their day-to-day problems to ovethrow the fascist regime which is oppressing both the Sinhalese as well as Tamil masses.

Q: Comrade Uma, the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamileelam and you have been stressing the need for unity among the groups fighting for the liberation of Tamileelam. Could you specifically tell us what exactly you mean by this?

A: PLOT has always stressed that the present stage of conflict is one of national liberation. Therefore it is necessary for all those engaged in this struggle to join together on a minimal common programme to overthrow the enemy.

Q: By this do you mean that PLOT would be willing to join any group or organisation irrespective of their ideological standpoint?

A: I think I must make a clarification here. Our struggle while being one of national liberation is at the same time an anti-imperialist struggle. This is very important for all of us to understand. Imperialism is attempting to use racism to divide our masses along ethnic lines.

Today the Tamil people face national oppression, the fascist rulers are committing genocide on our people. We therefore as a first step, take up the cause of the Tamil people in their struggle for national liberation. When 'I say we must unite with all those involved in the national liberation struggle, I refer to it in this light.

The supporters and agents of the imperialists are Trojan horses within the liberation movement. They are not struggling for national liberation. These people are attempting to use the national liberation struggle to further the aims and cause of their masters in the US and CIA.

It is not surprising that Chandrahasan, son of the late leader of

lists rather than that of his own people. The CIA selects its men carefully especially those who would least come under suspicion.

Q.: In light of what you have just said, how do you look at the TULF?

A.: Basically the TULF is a national bourgeoisie party. Unfortunately the organisation has been heavily infiltrated by agents of imperialism. If the progressives among the TULF leadership renounce and break their ties with these and other CIA agents, we can then consider working on a common programme together with them in a national front.

the Tamil people has been chosen A.: After the recent elections to serve the cause of the imperia- at Minneriya and Kundasale the opposition parties in Sri Lanka true to form, have once again commenced weeping, gnashing their teeth and claiming that the election was rigged etc.

> Every election called by J. R. Jayawardene has been a repetition of this story over and over again. Uufortunately even the progressive opposition parties have never yet failed to provide Jayawardene with the cloak of respectability and legality he gains through the fake elections he calls from time to time.

The greatest crime these parties are perpetrating is on the innocent masses of Sri Lanka.

Today's statement is a reproduction of an interview given by Mr. Uma Maheswaran, Secretary-General of the People's Liberation Organisation of Thamileelam (PLOT), to the Voice of Thamileelam (VOTE) radio and published in PLOT Bulletin Vol. 1 No. 4.

This is the third in the series of policy statements of the Tamil militant groups that the SATURDAY REVIEW proposes to publish in order to let the world at large know their thinking because, so far, little has been published in the Sri Lanka media about the aims and objectives of these groups.

The publication of these statements is in no way an endorsement of their contents by the SATURDAY REVIEW.

Q.: How does PLOT look on the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Thamileelam) and the role they play in the Thamileelam freedom struggle?

A.: We have at all times maintained that the LTTE is an important component within the liberation struggle. But we do / not agree with the tactics they use in the attempt to achieve these aims. We will be happy however, to come together on a common programme to help the liberation struggle achieve its goal.

Regarding the other organisations, EPRLF, EROS, and TELO, they too must publicly break their ties with agents of imperialism and join in a national liberation front.

Q.: PLOT has been constantly stressing the need of those involved iu the liberation of Thamileelam, to work together with the progressive forces in SriLanka.It appears to many people that the progressive forces in Sri Lanka are still strong in their belief in the parliamentary democratic system operating there, what are your observations

Q.: What exactly do you mean by your last sentence?

A .: Since the Presidential Election and more especially since the blatant rigging of the referendum to extend the life of parliament, the mass of the people in the south too had begun to see the futility of the bourgeoisie parliamentary democratic system and the existing electoral process. Unfortunately for the people of Sri Lanka, the old established parties of the left wing like the Communist Party, the Lanka Samasamaja Party and even 'Vasudeva Nanayakkare's Nava Sama Samaja Party have failed in their duty to educate the electorate. Instead they have constantly misled the masses on this point and deceived them regarding the value of the vote. Today, once again, at a time when the people themselves have rejected this disreputable system, when opposition to Jayawardene's fascist imperialist rule is growing in the country, these parties namely the Communist Party, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Nava Sama Samaja Party, have been instrumental in blunting the militancy of the people and diverting their attention by participating in yet another fake elec-

(Continued in next issue)

## THE IRRIGATION OF THE JAFFNA PENINSULA

The Jaffna Peninsula is completely flat land, just 15 feet on an average above sea level. It is one of the most densely populated portions of Sri Lanka and the chief means of livelihood of the people is small farming. water for irrigation purposes is obtained from shallow dug wells. I remember as a boy the 4 a.m. call of the farmers to their neighbours to join in drawing water from the wells, which was done by hand. The only mechanical device used to help the drawing of the water was the "well-sweep"-a man treading a tree trunk pivoted by the side of the well, to one end of which a bucket is tied. When the men are tired the watering is stopped and resumed the next day. With the advent of the water pump all that changed and now the pump can empty the average Jaffna well in less than an hour.

#### ANXIETY

This rapid sucking up of underground water in the Jaffna peninsula is causing anxiety. The salinity of the water is already affected if the water in the well is repeatedly sucked up, as it is just a few inches above sea water level and sometimes below it. Some Israeli experts, who studied the problem in the sixties, reported the possibility of the Jaffna peninsula becoming a desert due to irrufficient underground fresh water.

The problems of supplying irrigation facilities to the Jaffna Peninsula have engaged attention from British times. The Jaffna Peninsula has large stretches of inland water called lagoons, one in the north stretching from Thondamanar to almost as far south as Elephant Pass and the other on the south coast, four miles east of Jaffna town, going in a north easterly direction to within a mile of the first. To the credit of our British colonial masters it must be recorded that they gave continuous thought and study as to how to improve the irrigation facilities of Over a the Jaffna peninsula. hundred years ago (1879) Sir William Twynam, G. A., N.P. supported a carefuly worked out irrigation scheme but it was not carried out. Subsequent Govt. Agents considered the scheme and Mr. Horsburg, G.A. 1916, suggested that part of the scheme be adopted. The Divisional Irrigation Engineer Mr. F. R. G. Webb, made a full study of the Jaffna peninsula lagoon scheme and published a comprehensive report which was printed at the Ceylon Government Press in Colombo in 1945. In it he strongly recommended this irrigation scheme be adopted. He says it is "a some-what surprising fact that each of the two lagoons has only one outlet to the sea". He finds that Elephant Pass lagoon

extends as far north as to come within one and a half miles of the Vadamaradchy lagoon and a canal cut across this strip will join the two lagoons. The Vadamaradchchi lagoon is land-locked with a small opening about a hundred yards wide at Thondamanar. This lagoon is twenty two miles long and for most of this length it adjoins paddy fields. After independence some work was done on the scheme but due to lack of drive nothing has been achieved.

employment to the Tamil youth who are today at a dead end. (Censored) If intelligent youth are educated and thrown on the streets they become anti-social. The Jaffna peninsula was never able to feed all its sons. They went abroad, to Malaya and other parts of the world. These had been shut off and even South Sri Lanka, where the Jaffna Tamil earned a livelihood by serving the area by running shops, from big textile

#### By Dr. R. W. C. Thambiah

Concern for improving the irrigation facilities in the Jaffna peninsula has long been felt from some Sri Lankans. The Hon. K. Balasingam urged in the Legislative Council on July 30th, 1919, "the utilisation of the Mahaweli Ganga for irrigation from Dambulla even to Elephant Pass was not outside the region of practical engineering and finance. Extensive irrigation works, specially river and canal irrigation will go very far to encourage food production". In an article in the Ceylon Daily News Mr. Balasingam pointed out that the Jaffna lagoon scheme when fully developed will cover an area of about two hundred and fifty square miles of fresh water. With regard to Elephant Pass section, on the east is a sand bank, on the west the two causeways rail and road, with a very small opening between the two. The water stored in the section to the east of the Elephant Pass railway line is about thirty five square miles—as big as Giant's tank, Irranamadu tank, Kalawewa tank and Mineriya, all put together. All that has got to be done to convert this large area into a fresh water lake is to block up the small opening with plank sluices and spills. About fifteen thousand acres of this lagoon can be cultivated annually with paddy, with the approach of dry weather. The deeper portions of the lake will serve as a storage tank for irrigating not only the reclaimed area but also the low lying tanks on both sides of the lagoon. About twenty thousand acres may become irrigable. This scheme is so vital for the very survival of the Tamil people in the North that it is worth harnessing, inspite of previous setbacks, all modern knowledge, both local and foreign, to make the Jaffna lagoon scheme a success.

#### FIRST TASK

The growing of food is the first task of our people. The amount of food grown in the North can be enormously increased without taking loans from the I.M.F. or World Bank. It will also provide

emporiums to the humble cigar boutique and 'thosai kade' which served the people. After July 1983 this outlet has shrunk and those that survived lead anxious lives. This accounts for the recent phenomenon of Tamil youth roaming the world for shelter, not to mention the refugees to India.

If the lagoon project is seriously undertaken and dedicated officers, commissioned to carry it out, determine to overcome the difficulties that always arise in any attempt to control physical forces to serve man, it will find employment for the Tamil youth. The only sure way of doing away with unemployment and social unrest is to embark on a policy of providing needs-food, water both for irrigation and domestic purposes, health services, schooling, shelter clothing—in that order of priority in the tropics. The provision of basic needs will entail full employment—the provision of which basic need makes the provision of all other basic needs possible.

This whole area which includes Paranthan only two miles from Elephant Pass and Kilinochchi, only another two miles away, is prime land for cultivation and water becoming available from the Elephant Pass lagoon can become a fruitful source of food production and agro-based industries. The Irranamadu tank in Kilinochchi can be augmented to replenish water in the Elephant Pass lagoon during the drought if necessary.

(CENSORED)

Opening of Elephant Pass area will also open large portions of the Northern province like Pooneryn area, now undeveloped for want of road access. If necessary roads are provided and the area made accessible it is certain many families will be willing to start a new life there. Various agro-based industries can be started which will enable the Tamils to stop roaming the world for shelter.

At present the predicament of the Jaffna Tamil bottled up in the peninsula is suffocating. It must be constantly borne in mind that the Jaffna people are small farmers and their life blood is irrigation water. With the creation of the new administrative district of Kilinochchi, land under cultivation in Jaffna District has been reduced by nearly 282,000 thousand acres, taken over by the newly created Kilinochchi District.

The cultivation programme for the Jaffna District has to be mainly on anticipated rainfall, as most of the land are 'manawari'. The District Minister for Jaffna Mr. Wijekone, M.P., for Dambadeniya, has reported that the Agricultural Development Programme of work for 1983/84 'failed badly due to heavy rainfall during the year'. He estimates losses sustained by the Jaffna farmer during the year as follows:

Crop	Loss Rs. (in round
	figures)
Paddy	67,000
Red Onions	106,000
Chillies	75,000
Potatoes	121,000
Tobacco (in 1	olants) 22,000
	er crops not mentione

#### **PRECARIOUS**

It will be seen that farmers depending on rainfall (too much, too little, too early, too late) lead a most precarious existence and must find a perennial source of water under control to be sure to survive the vagaries of farming.

It is in this context that the recent carving up of the Jaffna District into two, Kilinochchi and Jaffna, must be examined. noted earlier the Jaffna District has thereby lost 282,000 acres of already cultivated land. What is more the Elephant Pass lagoon is now in Kilinochchi District. The people of Jaffna peninsula have to get their irrigation water from the Jaffna lagoons of which Elephant Pass lagoon is an integral part. These lagoons must be converted to fresh water lakes. Lakes used for irrigation can go dry during a big drought and unless they can be replenished may become insufficient when most needed.

This is where what the Hon. Ma. Balasingham said in the Legislative Council in 1919 becomes relevant, "the utilisation of the Mal...." Ganga for irrigation from Dambula even to Elephant Pass was not outside the region of practical engineering and finance". Of course, this was the thinking a generation and more ago, when the Mahaweli belonged to all citizens of Sri Lanka.

Is it different now?

## Ex - MP RE-WRITES HISTORY

The Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Everyone is quoting history like the Devil quoting the Scripture. History remains the same in spite of researched rewriting done for specific purposes. Ex-M.P. Mr. V. Dharmalingam too has joined the band of "rewriting historians". It must be admitted that there were periods when the whole of Lanka was ruled by one king who exacted tribute from his vassals. When the Centre became weak the vassals broke away and ceased paying tribute. The Tamil kings of Jaffna were no exception and even the Wanniyars were independent for periods.

It was also due to South Indian invasions that the Sinhalese went South abandoning even Anuradhapura. The component Sinhala principalities, too, became kingdoms like Jaffna—independent and not paying tribute. The same king proclaimed himself king of Sri Lanka.

According to Mr. Dharmalingam, "British planters, merchants and officials were first class citizens" under the British. When more natives became officials they were a privileged class next to the British. And these new officers were mostly Tamils who had the benefit of missionary education.

At one time almost all district medical officers, station masters, postmasters and senior public officers were Tamils. This is the lost status Tamils are crying for. The Tamils monopolised the Public Service and it was the 24 hour Sinhala miracle that toppled them because they were asked by their leaders not to study Sinhala. The Tamils are now paying for their folly. If they can learn English, don trousers and teach their children to play the piano, there is no reason why they should not study Sinhala.

The second blunder of the Tamils was to retire when options
were given under the Official
Language Act. If the bulk of the
Public Service Tamils had continued in service even today a
number of higher grade personnel
would have been predominantly
Tamil.

Thirdly, if more Tamils had studied Sinhala they would have that a greater percentage in the Public and Corporate Sectors.

The net result of this wrong political directive of the Tamil leaders is that most Tamils cannot now apply for a job because thay do not know Sinhala—the cause of much Tamil unemployment.

Mr. Dharmalingam's analogy of the passport application does not apply now because all that are required are the identity card (voter's card), birth certificate (applicant's) and the Grama Sevaka's certificate. Please do not mislead the people again after all the damage you politicians have done. That is why you have become nonentities.

According to the definition of a "Nation" used by Dharmalingam the estate Tamils also constitute a nation. They have a language, culture and a definite territory. Then they, too, have a right to a separate state in the Hill Country. Will Dharmalingam concede this and fight for it? Let us not pay lip-service to canvass support. In fact it is the rhetoric that has created a monster which the Tamil United Liberation Front can no longer contain or control.

patterns. There are also religious links and homage is paid to the same deities. Hindu and Buddhist temples are found all over the Island and side by side. Sinhalese and Tamils get on well without our politicians.

The TULF always brings Bangladesh. East Pakistan was originally East Bengal. It was the creation of the British. But the Bengalis have their own share of pride in their language and culture. East Pakistan always wanted closer ties with West Bengal and economic discrimination only accelerated this desire for separation. West Bengal was more sympathetic and in course of time they might merge. But the Indian Government helped to create Bangladesh because if it did not do so, the Indian Bengalis would have done it.



When the colonisation schemes were started by the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake, he had a problem of getting people to settle at Gal Oya. In fact, he had to give many inducements to fill up the valley. In Kilinochchi area, too, many abandoned their allotments but when pressure on land increased due to a bigger population, many of the abandoned settlements were taken over by squatters. Many of them later got titles to the abandoned allotments. However, I cannot give figures but nearly 50 percent come under this category. Once again, lost opportunities.

In the 1960s there were nearly 2,500 Sinhalese registered voters in Jaffna. The Sinhalese population was larger and the Sinhala Maha Vidyalaya was full. Politicians wooed the Sinhala voters with much fervour. At the same time they preached the boycotting of the Sinhala classes. The Tamil politicians fought for quotas to universities limiting the chances of even bright candidates.

Culturally, there is little distinction between the Sinhalese and the Tamils except for the language. Much of Sinhala poetry, metre and literature is based on Panini's Grammar. Sinhala music and dance developed from South Indian

India too, had a refugee problem since the days of Partition. Bangladesh solved that problem as well. The analogy does not apply to Sri Lanka because there is not much cordiality between Indian Tamils and Ceylon Tamils. That is the reason why they do not demand a separate state for Indian Tamils.

S. Kanagasabai

Colombo 6.

JOHNSON'S WISDOM

The Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Now that a Peace Mission from the South is account to visit the North, your readers might be interested in the following quotation from Dr. Samuel Johnson's 'The Journey to the Hebrides'. (The quotation is to be found in ex-MP Bernard Soysa's article on Professor Emeritus E.F.C.Ludowyk, included in the Felicitation Volume 'Honouring E.F.C.Ludowyk'.)

Though Dr. Johnson was a Tory snpporter, he strongly disagreed with the then fashionable Tory viewthat the only way to deal with the

Jacobite rebellion originating in the Highlands was to either kill the people or deport them.

In his characteristic style Dr. Johnson said "To hinder insurrection by driving away the people and to govern peaceably by having no subjects is an expedient that argues no great profundity in politics. To pacify the inimical, to soften the obdurate, to mollify the resentful are worthy of a statesman but it can afford a legislator little cause for self-applause to consider that where there was formerly an insurrection there is now a wilderness".

J. Raj

Jaffna

LOVE VS HATRED

The Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

I am seventy, I was a founder member of the UNP Trincomalee Branch. But I have now renounced politics (poli-tricks) as a step to self purification and surrender.

"You need only to know what has gone before to sense the reality of what is now on".

So-called 'terrorism' is a recent phenomenon. It was never heard of in 1957 when the satyagrahist Tamil leaders launched their non-violent, peaceful and silent protest against the unjust "Sinhala Only" Act which was passed in Parliament in the teeth of opposition by the minorities and the leftist parties. Nor did 'terrorism' raise its head in 1958 when the Tamils were massacred.

'Terrorism' is the result of extreme provocation and the desperation of frustrated Tamil youths, who had up to then accepted the leadership of the peace-loving elders during the long period of oppression.

The slogan of wiping out 'terrorism' means, in reality, the annihilation of Tamils and an attempt to set up a State with only one race, one language and one religion.

Our Government should digest the bitter lesson the powerful Americans learnt in Vietnam. It should remember that 'Hatred is never ended by Hatred but by Love and Compassion.'

Karaveddi N. Kathirgamathamby

# WITH COMPLIMENTS TO SATURDAY REVIEW



A state can win victories not by the strength of its armaments but only by the righteousness of its principles

- THIRUKKURAL

## MILK WHITE SOAP WORKS

THE PREMIER SOAP MANUFACTURERS IN THE NORTH

P. O. Box 77

JAFFWA

## WANTED-A JUST SOLUTION

The hot ethnic iron which has to be beaten into shape on the anvil of public opinion, goodwill and co-operation has happily reached a fairly pliable state rendering the quest for a settlement of the vexed ethnic problem somewhat easier of solution. The idea that there should be some sort of settlement seems to have been resuscitated in the aftermath of the recent visit of the Indian Foreign Secretary, and the fear of an Indian 'invasion' about which our leaders had worked themselves into a frenzy. is now receding.

It is also heartening that there is a thaw in the Government's insistence that terrorism must be completely wiped out for anydialogue to take place. However, let not the search for peace be confined to the narrow arc of achieving 'just a settlement'. Let there be a search for the larger objective of 'a just solution'. A just-and, therefore, lasting-solution based on moral, ethical and humanitarian principles is to be preferred to a superficial patching up by some kind of "settlement" now which could leave embers of hatred and revenge to flare up into a fire of communal trouble later on. People must be made to be aware of this implication as otherwise the results achieved could be as unstable as quicksand.

#### SETTLEMENT VS. SOLUTION

A clear understanding of the distinction between the two states of peace referred to as 'just a settlement' and 'a just solution' is essential if the country's stability is to be ensured on a long-term basis; else, as now, we will (may be unwittingly) be treading the path to destruction. 'Just a settlement' would imply only the cessation of open hostilities on the surface level-an expediency to get over a crisis-whereas 'a just solution' would carry with it a deep sense of lasting peace. Such a happy state of lasting peace can come only by RECONCILIATION springing from goodwill, repentance, and forgiveness which would lead to reunion and restoration of friendship; in other words the fostering of fellowship which has now been ruined by fears, suspicselfishness, ions, recriminations, factions, arrogance, intolerance and such like negative qualities; and developing an outlook of 'live and let live'. REPENTANCE involves being sorrowful for wrongs done wittingly or unwittingly and FOR-GIVENESS is a quality extending beyond- to be able to not merely forget the injury done by another and try to erase hostility and patch

up estrangement, but involves also praying for those who did wrong and being compassionate towards them. This quality is beautifully described in a difinition I came across recently which says 'Forgiveness is the fragrance from the flower that was crushed by the foot', and exemplified by Jesus' prayer in the hour of his agony when he prayed for his malefactors 'Fathar, forgive them for they know not what they do'.

We must take particular care that Reconciliation and hence real peace takes place, and not the surface peace which is a deal mutually struck and may be initi-

by

ly, the writer is in the dark as to what those who live in affected areas and see for themselves the (b) that the media should do all actual events feel about the information presented by these agencies they are partial and strain to present an image favourable to the Government. Bridges of understanding can be built only on the abutments of Truth and Justice.

With regard to the second letter, it is clear that the settlement of non-Tamils in Tamil areas-which has grown thread-bare by repetition-has not penetrated the thick prejudice among the Sinhala people. The Tamils did not and

### J. W. Retnanandam

ated by mediators, or a truce - a cold calculated barter by setting conditions for future implementation. Though this is what is apparently envisaged at present let it be regarded as just a first step. We can build on it to make it a permanent peace if there is the will. This is where the snag lies. Fences of prejudice, hatred and revenge which have been erected have to be pulled down. The media should play down rather than report tendentiously. Emotions which have been described as being as dangerous as fire must be quenched. Emotion, the Buddha has declared is a deterrent to 'right understanding' which is the first element in the noble eight-fold-path. The media have the great power of being able to lead and mould public opinion, and this power if it is used for good, can play a great role in bringing about Reconciliation. Thus an earnest appeal is made to the media to refrain from publishing any material that could impair the healing process that has just begun.

#### MEDIA TENDENTIOUSNESS

I do not like to let slip without comment two letters which appeared in the correspondence columns of the C.D.N. of 8.4.85 as clarification could certainly pave the way to better understanding. In the article titled 'More Antiterrorist Propaganda Needed', the writer of that letter contends that much false propaganda is being published in India by the Eelamist propaganda machinery rousing the feelings of the people of Tamil Nadu against the Sri Lankan Government and the Sinhala people and that it should be countered by telling the truth that our Government-controlled radio and television publicises. Obvious-

do not object to the Sinhalese settling down in those areas of What they their own accord. stand vehemently against are the schemes to settle them at State expense and organised by the state and now "arming" them as well with the intention of altering the demographic pattern. The Tamils living in the South have done so of their own free will, without any sinister motives and without sponsorship by the State.

The points I have tried to bring out are:

- (a) that there should be a genuine change deep in our national psyche to prepare all sides for the Reconciliation that is a vital 'must' for long peace and,
- it can to help the process of healing the rift. It should prevent spokes in the wheels to peace even as the B.C. pact and Dudley/Chelva agreements were ruined bringing us to the sorry plight we are in today.

I trust that my appeal will

#### CSR's POSTER COMPETITION

The Centre for Society and Religion has organised a Poster Competition on Ethnic Harmony for students between 14-20 years of age, and also for adults.

The first prize is Rs. 2000/-(Students) and Rs. 3000/- (Adults), the 2nd prize Rs. 1500/- (Students) and Rs. 2000/- (Adults) and the 3rd prize Rs. 500/- (Students) and Rs. 1500/- (Adults). There are also 10 Commendation prizes of Rs. 100/-

All entries should be handed over to the Centre before 30th May, during office hours, 9 a. m. to 5 p.m. except on Sundays and public holidays.

For particulars, contact: Organizer, Centre for Society and Religion, 281, Deans Road, Colombo 10.

#### FAREWELL, DEAR KIRUPA FAREWELL"

(A Tribute to M. KIRUPACARAN)

The call has come sudden and urgent, Snuffed out by cruel FATE with haste indecent; Sports Prince Kirupa has taken his bow, Cares no more shall furrow his troubled brow.

Centralites old and young will always remember, The 'stars' he turned out from June to November; Moulded by Trinco's much reputed 'Diamonds,' He kindled the hudden fires in a Dick or Raymond.

From school he progressed to Saidapet's Hall of Learning, There sports all he did embrace with great zeal and yearning; Skanda-Central deigned he coach their Soccer Teams, The Laurels he did win there are now but a dream.

The Plums of Office dotted his chequered career, A Stalwart in Sports and every inch a Warrior; He bestrode the play-fields with the high and the mighty, But ne'er did he lose touch with the meek and the lowly.

A Dip was his in Physical Education, A D.S.O. was then his last honoured station; As Sports Administrator he was firm and peerless, At seminars and clinics forthright and fearless.

A gay Raconteur to boot with a razor-sharp wit, A draw in the dining room as on the field to wit; In the midst of a strife-torn life the thread was snapped; Farewell Dear Kirupa Farewell Thy name was mapped.

-BY VICTOR S. KIRUPARAJ

## DONS: BOOKS PLEASE, NOT ADVICE

Permit us to make a few comments and observations on the article written by Dr. S.R.H. Hoole in the SATURDAY REVIEW of 20th April, under the title "Jaffna University Not Up To International norms". We would have chosen to ignore this article if not for the prominence you have given to it and the wrong inpression it might have created about the Jaffna University, particularly in the minds of those members of the public who may not be aware of the true facts.

The Jaffna University is acutely short of senior qualified staff. If some of its Faculties and Department are able to function at all, it is due to the dedication and hard work of the qualified teachers who have far better academic credentials than many expatriates and who, if they so desired, could have obtained foreign employment without much difficulty. These members of the faculty have demonstrated where their interests lay by living and working in Jaffna under conditions which have made even talents which are not the best to flee. Who is Dr. Hoole then to urge these members "to actively promote the welfare of the students"?

Dr. Hoole makes the suggestion that we take the creme de creme of Tamil society and break them. There is nothing more preposterous than this claim. In the first place, the majority of the students following courses in science are those who enter the University after three attempts at the A-level examination and after failing to get admission to medical or engineering courses. Not all of them may, therefore, be called the creme de creme of Tamil society. There may be some justification for calling the students who get selected for special degree courses in science the creme de creme, but in their case our records do not support Dr. Hoole's claim that "we break them". Out of 125 students who sat the Final Special Degree Examination in Science during the five-year period commencing 1980, 121 passed, 75 of them with classes.

Dr. Hoole claims that he has been receiving letters of reference from "Ceylon which do not conform to international norms". Would Dr. Hoole care to enlighten us as to how many letters he, an Assistant Professor, has received from Jaffna to enable him to come to the conclusion that the Jaffna University falls short of international norms in writing letters of reference?

#### TWO REASONS

We raise the question for two reasons. First, most American universities request the referees to

answers to a questionnaire submitted by them with any special remarks the referee wishes to make.

Secondly, special science graduates of the Jaffna University seem to have a high degree of success in gaining admissions to American universities based on letters of recommendation submitted by Faculty members and the performance of the applicants at the B. Sc. and Graduate Record Examinations.

In fact, out of the 121 students who graduated with a special Degree in science during the period 1980-1984, 41 have so far gained admission for higher studies abroad, the majority of them in American universities. The majority of the balance 80 are those who have chosen a different career.

The number of admissions is particularly high for graduates of some departments, being 11 out of 16 in the case of Physics and 14 out of 29 graduates in the case of Chemistry. Some of the Professors in the Faculty have been writing letters of reference on behalf of their students for well over two decades and have managed well without the advice of men like Dr. Hoole.

A university is usually judged by the success or failure of its alumni. Have our graduates failed in their jobs or in their higher studies? From the performance of our graduates in foreign universities we are tempted to conclude that they have been very successful.

send the reference in the form of has been concerned about this problem for a long time and has discussed it at several meetings with a view to identifying the cause and taking remedial measures. As a first step, it has introduced changes in the examination system.

> However, it is the view of the Faculty that the system itself is only partly to blame for the large percentage of failures. There are other valid reasons, not excuses.

As stated previously, the students following the General Degree courses cannot be considered the creme de creme that Dr. Hoole speaks of. When they enter the University the majority of them are a spent force and a frustrated lot having failed to gain admission to the Medical or Engineering faculties. With opportunities for lucrative employment shrinking year by year for those who graduate with a general degree and the lop-sided emphasis given to professional courses in our society, many of these students are not sufficiently motivated to follow courses in science.

#### PIVOTAL ROLE

There is of course a dearth science teachers in schools but a teaching profession, inspite of its importance and the pivotal role it plays in society, is frowned upon by many, especially males, as equivalent to unemployment.

Some like Dr. Hoole may even consider it a crime against humanity to employ science graduates in secondary schools!

has lost as many as 25 teachers who had undergone postgraduate training abroad in the last five or six years. Apart from the fact that our students are being denied a chance to benefit from the experience and knowledge gained by these probationers during their period of training, their act of not returning to Jaffna has cast additional burdens on the few teachers remaining here and has seriously affected their morale and efficiency.

No doubt these factors will also have an influence on the quality of instruction provided to the students and the performance of students at examinations. If we could inculcate in our probationers and others a sense of values and patriotism, the situation would not be so bad. But, unfortunatey, these are traits which cannot be taught even by example.

We note that Dr. Hoole will be in America for only as long as it takes his wife to complete her studies. He does not say where he will go after that, but we hope that it is to Sri Lanka.

Finally, we end this note by appealing to expatriate Tamils who are genuinely interested in our University to return to Jaffna as soon as possible and, if that is difficult under the present conditions, to assist us by donating funds for the purchase of books, periodicals and equipment. Above all, please desist from offering advice to us through the Press, however well-intentioned your advice may

#### A Reply to Dr. S. R. H. Hoole

#### PROUD RECORD

It is not infrequent for us to receive letters from foreign universities which read thus: "So and so is progressing well. Thank you for the excellent training given to him in Jaffna" or "You recommended so and so to us last year. We are pleased with his performance and would like you to recommend to us others in your department of the same calibre". We have therefore, reasons to be proud about our records as far as special science graduates are concerned.

The case of our general science students is, however, quite different. The failure rates in their case has been as high as 50% as pointed out by Dr. Hoole. There was a time when we were accused of being too liberal in awarding passes and classes to them.

Why then do they fail in such large numbers now? The Faculty

Given this situation, it is not surprising to find many of these students, especially those in the physical science stream, preparing for examinations such as ICMA and CEI or doing some odd jobs while being registered as internal students of the University and cutting classes to attend to other matters which they consider more important. Our record shows that the attendance of students in the physical science stream at lectures and tutorial classes is very irregular. No doubt this will be reflected in their performance at examinations. Any standardisation of examination results under these circumstances is obviously undesirable.

#### SHY PROBATIONERS

Another equally serious problem is the reluctance of our probationary assistant lecturers to return to Jaffna after completing their training abroad. The Faculty of Science

#### KARAINAGAR FALL-OUT

Two persons carrying identity cards with Karainagar addresses were off-loaded from a bus at Chenkaladi (Eastern Province), allegedly by Commandos. The corpse of one of them Mr. T. K. N. Sivagurunathan, of Kalapoomi, Karainagar, was later found on the road. The whereabouts of the other person are not known.

The bus in which Mr. Sivagurunathan and the other person were travelling was allegedly stopped by Police Commandos at Kombaveli six miles from Chenkaladi. All the passengers were asked to produce their identity cards. When these two passengers showed their identity cards they were asked to get down from the bus and detained.

The incident took place at 4 p.m., on 6th May, three days after the attack on the Karainagar Naval

## Saturday Review SRI LANKA

# TRUCE—OR NO PEACE MISSION

The proposed visit of the PEACE MISSION from the South to the North has been postponed.

The MISSION, consisting of a number of Buddhist and Christian priests, trade unionists and journalists, was scheduled to arrive on 13th May and spend four days meeting representatives of all sections of the Tamil community, including the militant youth groups.

The objective was to initiate a fresh North — South dialogue in quest of a political settlement of the National Question.

Repeatedly, the Tamil Militant Groups have said in their policy statements that their struggle is not directed against the Sinhalese people but against the "Repressive State Machinery" which is holding the Tamil people in thraldom.

In fact, most of the groups have gone to the extent of inviting the Sinhalese people to join them in fighting the "Common Enemy".

To quote from a publication of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE): "We have nothing against the Sinhalese but we wish to live in this country with self-respect and dignity. Is it a crime to ask for our basic rights? Let the tyrants answer this. We wish to tell the Sinhalese people that these tyrants are cheating the Sinhalese masses by carrying on false propaganda...."

ANOTHER POINT REPEATEDLY MADE BY THE TAMIL MILITANT GROUPS IS THAT THEY ARE NOT AVERSE TO A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE NATIONAL QUESTION.

To quote from a publication of the People's Liberation Organisation of Thamil Eelam (PLOT): "We welcome all initiatives by men of goodwill to stop the genocidal attacks of the state on the Tamil people and create a climate conducive to settling our common problems through a process of dialogue and negotiations."

We were taking the militant groups at their word when we first proposed a direct dialogue between them and President Jayewardene's Government (SR, 29th September 1984), then held discussions with their representatives in Madras to pave the way for such a dialogue (SR, 5th January 1985) and finally organised the PEACE MISSION.

Everything was ready for the PEACE MISSION'S visit — except the atmosphere.

The members of the Mission are still eager to come, but both sides to the conflict in the North must ensure that there is at least a temporary truce for the duration of the visit.

We are awaiting signals.

## MAJOR KILLED IN COMB - OUT OPERATION

In a combing out operation by the Security Forces at Valvettiturai on the morning of 9th May, a Major is reported to have been killed and several soldiers injured in a bombthrowing incident. Several militants were also reported killed.

In another incident at Kokkavil, an Army post had been attacked by Tamil militants. According to Government reports, an "armoured car" was used. One member of the Security Forces was killed and several others injured. The attack had been repulsed with heavy losses to the attackers, the report said.

In Jaffna town, about 2 p.m. on 9th May, one civilian was killed and five others seriously injured by firing from the ramparts of Jaffna Fort.

The Yarl Devi, which hitherto came up to Kilinochchi, now stops at Vavuniya.

#### REPRISALS AT KARAINAGAR

About 18 shops and 200 houses, including huts, were burnt in the Karainagar Jetty area, following the attack on the Karainagar Naval Base on the night of 3rd May by militants reportedly belonging to the Eelam People's Revolutionary Front. Nearly 6000 refugees from Karainagar and parts of Kayts have sought refuge in temples and schools in the adjoining villages. Some have sought refuge with relatives.

Hundreds of militants, including girls, are reported to have taken part in the attack. According to official sources, three sailors were killed in the fighting and six injured,

three of them critically. These sources also estimated that the attackers' losses range from 20 to 40.

The Naval Base was first attacked on 10th February this year. According to a report in *The Island* of 8th May, the perimeter of the Karainagar Naval Base is to be extended by 300 to 400 metres for security purposes. The houses close to the base have been taken over by the State and demolished. The National Security Minister, Lalith Athulathmudali, has said that full compensation will be paid to the owners.

#### Harrowing Bus Ride

Armed robbers struck at a private bus bound northwards from Colombo near Deduru Oya, and are alleged to have robbed the passengers of their money and valuables and raped one young woman who was travelling in it.

They had then pushed the bus into the jungle and set fire to it.

The armed gang had stopped the bus in the middle of the jungle at Deduru Oya last Friday. They had then ordered all the passengers travelling in the bus to hand over their money and valuables in their possession.

The robbers had then ordered 8 young women who were travelling in the bus, out of the bus, forced them to strip and raped one of them, the police reported.

The bus had been set on fire and burnt.

The Inspector-General of Police, Mr. Herbert Weerasinghe has ordered an immediate full scale investigation into this macabre incident.

(Island of 6th May, 1985.)

#### UNLUCKY SEVEN

Two ice cream vendors and a labourer were shot dead on Friday 3rd night on Main Street, Jaffna. The bodies of the ice cream vendors were found lying opposite Christ Church, Jaffna, while the body of the labourer was found lying on an open verandah next to the Jaffna Museum.

On Saturday 4th afternoon, three persons were shot dead outside the office of a private bus company in Pannai, while a fourth was shot dead near the Jaffna Post Office.

The bodies were later handed over to the Jaffna Hospital authorities.

(See also page 2)

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