

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 4 No. 26

14th September 1985

Welikade Death Fast-

38TH DAY

Jaffna Varsity Fast—

19TH DAY

President's 79th Birthday-

17TH SEPT.

Cease-fire Ends—17TH SEPT

PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE DEMANDS— RELEASE POLITICAL DETENUS

The demand that the Tamil political detenus at Welikade Jail in Colombo should either be brought to trial quickly or released was made at the inaugural meeting of the Jaffna Peoples Committee, held at the Malayan Pensioners' Hall, Jaffna, on 11th September.

A representative gathering was present at the meeting convened by the SATURDAY REVIEW to bring together as many non-political organisations in the Peninsula as possible.

The objective, it was described, was to mobilise public opinion—and public action—on an instant basis on any issue concerning people anywhere in the North.

The idea to form such an organisation was first floated by the SATURDAY REVIEW on 8th September 1984.

This was just after the tragic events at Valvettiturai and Point Pedro in late August 1984.

The idea found few takers at the time.

Recent disturbing developments—such as the—fast unto—death by Tamil youths detained for over 18 months contrary even to the provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act—had made people in Jaffna conscious of the need for more concerted action to defend the fundamental rights of the people.

The fast at Welikade Jail enters its 38th day today.

There have been many sympathy fasts throughout the North in the past several weeks.

The sympathy fast at the University of Jaffna enters its 19th day today.

It would be tragic for not only the Tamil people but also for all Sri Lankans if any of the detenus—now being force-fed—are allowed to die.

The People's Committee decided to send a deputation to Colombo immediately to intercede on their behalf.

It was pointed out that the People's Committee was not going to replace or compete with any existing organisations of any kind in the North. It would only be an umbrella organisation.

It was also emphasised that the People's Committee was not against the national liberation struggle being carried out by the militant groups.

The representatives who were present were :

Mr. J. K. Retnanandam - Uduvil YMCA, Inuvil Hospital. Mr. K. Thangavadivelu - Pensioner. Mr. P. Kumarasingham - CCDE. Mr. N. Kandasamy - MIRJE. Mr. N. Sivamuthulingam - Retd. Asst. Director of Agriculture. Mr. V. S. Ramanathan - Tamils Welfare Association. Mr. K. S. Arumugam - Jaffna. Mr. Augustine Saverimuttu - Jaffna. Mr. T. S. Kumaresan - Jaffna. Dr. K. M. Puvaneswaran - University of Jaffna. Mr. A. Santhiapillai - President, Citizens Committee, Mathagal. Dr. G. Sebastiampillai - President Mass

Movement for Human Rights, Jaffna, Mr. I. F. Xavier - Pandateruppu. Mr. K. Kuhamoorthy - Nallur. Mr. K. S. Kandiapillai - Jaffna. Mr. Ben C. Das Abraham - Jaffna. Mr. Christopher Thuraisingham - Jaffna. Mr. Anna Rajenthram - Erlalai. Mr. V. A. Philippupillai - Jaffna. Mr. S. Rasiach-Chunnakam. Mr. K. Visuvalingam - Chairman, the Refugee Rehabilitation Organisation. Mr. M. R. R. Hoole-Dept. of Mathematics, University of Jaffna. Mr. S. Sivapalan - Bank of Ceylon, Jaffna. Mr. V. S. Sockalingam - NRTB, Kondavil Depot. Mr. Y. Amirthanathan - Punnalaikadduvan South. Mr. S. Sivaraman - M. C. Jaffna. Mr. R. Kathirkamanathan - Jaffna. Mr. T. B. Sundararajah - C. T. U., Jaffna. Mr. K. Rajasundaram - Citizen Committee, Tirunelveli. Mr. R. Balasubramaniam - Citizens Committee, Jaffna. Mr. V. Mahalingam - Citizens Committee, Chulipuram. Mr. A. V. Damian - Jaffna Fisheries Extension Societies Union. Mr. S. Tarcisius - Gurunagar C. C. Mr. M. Kanagarajanayagam - Director, NEP Ltd. Mr. A. L. Saverimuttu - SATURDAY REVIEW. Mr. Rudhra Cheran - SATURDAY REVIEW. Mr. Anton Raveendran - SATURDAY REVIEW. Mr. Gamini Navaratne - Editor, SATURDAY REVIEW, presided.

Apart from the boasts of Government that it has released 654 Tamil political detenus from the prisons, there are still over a thousand youths, in prisons and detention camps at Boosa, Tangalle, Welikade, Galle, Negombo, Avissawella and Kandy.

Most of the detenus who have been released so far are not actually political detenus but innocent civilians and youngsters who had been arrested at random by the security forces in search "operations."

Despite the cease-fire (or "cessation of hostilities") the arbitrary arrests are continuing especially in the Eastern Province. Naturally, the number of detenus in the jails is on the increase.

Among the Detenus are an unknown number of females. In Negombo prison alone there are 7 female detenus.

We publish below the first instalment of the list of 169 political detenus at Welikade:

1. K. Vaithilingam, Santhiveli, Morakottanchenai (Batticaloa)

2. P. Sivarajah, Santhiveli, Morakottanchenai (Batticaloa)

3. S. Thayanithi c/o V. Chellappah, Division No. 3 Mandur (Batticaloa)

4. A. Sathivadivel, Alagakone Lane, Eravur. 1. Chenkaladi (Batticaloa)

5. I. Mahendran, Central Bakery, Chenkaladi (Batticaloa)

6. V. Srilaxman, Muhathuvaram Pumping Station Road, Batticaloa

7. S. Kaneshamoorthy PIYA Chenaiveethi, Karuppankerni, Batticaloa.

8. Benedict Sri Pathman, 39 Adigar Road, Batticaloa.

9. S. M. Kumar, 1, Maruthadi Road, Batticaloa.

10. Mrs. Sriskandarajah, A. I, Srikrishna, Karaitivu 2, (Batticaloa)

11. Ismailebbe Thingal Mohamed Div. No. 2, Sammanthurai.

12. A. M. Aliar, Sainthamaruthu, Tamil division, Kalmunai.

13. M. Adamlebbe, c/o Mohamed lebbe Ward No.4, Valaichenai.

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S R. Refugee Relief Fund

We acknowledge with thanks the following further donations received for the SATURDAY REVIEW REFUGEE RELIEF FUND:

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Soft Ball Final

The final of the 20-over softball Cricket Tournament conducted by Silver Stars will witness Valarmathy (A) meeting Centralites at Jaffna Hindu College grounds on Saturday at 2.30 p.m.

The match between Jolly Stars and Silver Stars will precede the Final Match.

“HOW LONG?”

The following is the text of a telegram sent to President Jayewardene after a “Forum on the life and Aspirations of the Tamil people” held in Hong Kong under the Sponsorship of the Asian Students Association of Hong Kong:

Dear Mr. Jayewardene:

We who have attended this forum here in Hong Kong on 25th August join the international protest against the mass killing of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka.

From the video films and photos we have seen, a clear truth was unfolded: that Sri Lanka is not a paradise but a hell for the Tamils who seek social justice and independence.

A speaker from the General Union of Youth and Students (GUYS) of Eelam and a Tamil professor visiting Hong Kong gave an extensive explanation on this grim reality in your country. We were so shocked and angry to know the atrocities being committed by your security forces against the Tamils. No one is spared. Thousands were killed during military operations. Thousands were arrested, thrown into prison, forcibly interrogated and tortured. Houses were burned forcing people to leave their villages and to become refugees in their own land.

We have never been to your country, but the stories we heard are enough to challenge us. This Forum has challenged us to be involved and rise up in defense of the Tamil people. What they aspire is just and fully deserving our warm support and solidarity, for we are people who

recognize the value of human life and dignity. We declare our support to the continuing struggle of the Tamil people to self-determination.

We call on your Government to end military operations in Tamil areas and cease from occupying the land of Tamil people. We demand the repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act of 1979, Emergency Regulation 15A and all other laws that violate the democratic rights of the Tamil people. We appeal for the immediate release of all political

prisoners without conditions. We ask your government to respect human rights and end further violation of the rights of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Finally, we call on all justice and peace-loving people of the world to pool their strength in defense of the Tamil people.

We also call on all enlightened Sinhalese to extend or gather support for the Tamil people's struggle is strong not only in Tamil areas and outside Sri Lanka, but within the Sinhalese communities as well.

Let us all stand up and fight for our rights.

DOUBLE TALK

The “FORWARD” in its issue of 1st September had this to say on the ethnic crisis:

“Only last week the Minister of National Security claimed on T. V. that, while the Government wants a peaceful, negotiated and political solution of our ethnic crisis, it is the Tamil militants who insist on a military solution.

“But the Government's actions don't match the Minister's words.

If the Government really wants to give the peace process a chance, why did it—as Minister Athulathmudali boasted in London—continue to buy expensive weapons and armour while the cease-fire was in force? Why does it establish new army camps in the North and East? Why does it expand its commando units and Home Guards and now propose to raise a new conscripted private army of the UNP?

“The Government thinks it must ‘keep its power dry’ while trusting

Rajiv Gandhi to knock sense into the heads of some of the Tamil militant leaders and their exile advisors. It justified, the new round of militarisation on the grounds that even if an ethnic settlement is achieved, it needs these forces and arms to quell island-wide opposition to its policies on political, economic and social matters. It says that the best way to ensure peace is to prepare for war.

“We do not agree. History had proved over and over again that preparing for war is the best way to start one. As the statement of the CPSL—LSSP—SLMP alliance rightly insists, what is most urgently needed now is a de-escalation of tensions of violent incidents, a revived and extended cease-fire and fresh proposals by the government for a settlement.

“We hope that the government and the Tamil leaders will do their best to see matters in this perspective and not try to add fuel to fire.”

VOLUNTARY UNION OF NATIONS

The Great October Socialist Revolution, which had inscribed on its banner the right of nations to self-determination, gave effect to this principle by liberating the oppressed nations of the Tzarist empire.

“We want a voluntary union of nations”, Lenin stressed, “a union which precludes any coercion of one nation by another — a union founded on complete confidence, on a clear recognition of brotherly unity, on absolutely voluntary consent.”

To learn how the national question was successfully solved in the Soviet Union, a multi-national state, read the book “Lenin and Asia” by Attorney-at-Law T. Duraisingam, a veteran member of the nationalist movement of our country.

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

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31, Wilson Street, Colombo 12.

HELL BENT

At a Seminar organised by Lions 306 A in Colombo, Brig. Dennis Hapugalle reportedly said that Security Personnel who were sent to the North and East on “Punishment transfers” often act with “hatred” in their minds and their lack of knowledge of Tamil tended to alienate them from the mainstream of Tamils. All these factors engender a spirit of “tit for tat” and conduct most reprehensible.

Vide state-controlled Lake House Tamil daily “Thinakaran” of 9th September.

EBB AND FLOW IN POLITICS OF SEPARATISM

(Continued from last week)

Apart from general theories of nationalism, there have been recent attempts to account for separatism or more generally for the stepping up of ethnic tensions. One set of theories seeks to relate the phenomena in quasi-Marxist fashion to socio-economic change. Thus the invariably uneven development of uncontrolled capitalism tends to produce increasingly differentiated core and peripheral areas. Or, as a special variant on that theme, we have had theorists of 'internal colonialism' who see core and periphery in a clearly exploitative relationship. These views have relevance to some cases like Bangladesh, Baluchistan, Southern Sudan, the Kurds in the mountainous parts of Turkey, Iraq and Iran, Nagaland, the continuously resistant hill peoples of Burma, the Muslim areas of the Philippines, and one-half - the highland or upland half-of both Wales and Scotland. But that leaves unaccounted for a lot of very different cases. Another economic explanation focusses on separatisms which surface when (and because) old states, especially those which were imperial, go into internal decline following loss of wealth, power and glory. Tom Nairn in *The Breakup of Britain* has this way of explaining Britain's sub-nationalisms.

A second set of general theorists led by Karl Deutsch have directed attention away from economic factors to communications systems. We should see communities, from local to international, as communication networks, measuring levels of integration by the intensity of flows of messages and information traffic. This is quite illuminating as descriptive theory, as a way of looking at wholeness and separateness, at the potential importance of the media, at the dangers of too much as well as too little integration. A third set of theorists look at social interactions more generally; they are concerned with the consequences of modernisation in its various aspects, concentrating particularly, like Gellner, on the passing of the segmented agrarian world or its penetration from the outside, above all on the phenomenon of urbanisation. They relate these processes to heightened social strife-including inter-ethnic tensions - through the factor of increased competitiveness. As one reads of recent months of killings in the bustling expanding city of Ahmedabad between higher and backward castes, between Hindus and Muslims, one acknowledges that these theorists too have put their finger on a point.

One notices, however, a certain opposition between 'core/periphery' and 'modernisation' approaches and

it is an opposition which corresponds to the facts - in this sense: there do appear to be two distinct and opposite kinds of separatism. One comes from the neglected, even internally colonised, periphery, the other from an area or section which is relatively advanced. This seems surprising and indeed odd - until one realises that advancement may have been checked and that advancement may have entailed a kind of over integration destructive of a valued distinctive identity. So, to put alongside the sad periphery examples already mentioned, there is another set of contrasting cases. The educated and enterprising Ibos of Biafra were up against the political dominance of the rest of Nigeria. Quebec did not get up off its knees when it was poor and isolated but after it had undergone its 'quiet revolution' of modernisation, secularisation and urbanisation. The non-highland halves of Wales and Scotland had been but are no longer advanced sectors of British industrial power. The Sikhs fed a large part of India with wheat and prospered in industry and commerce.

by W. H. Morris - Jones

The Basques were, with Catalonia, the industrial heartland of Spain but had no adequate voice at Madrid. In fact minorities who advance can get into a double 'bind'. On the one hand they create resentment in others which may take the form of denying them political advancement to match their other achievements; on the other hand, their own community is distressed by the erosion of identity.

Finally, many of the theorists in their attempts to make sense of the rise (and also the frequent falling away) of separatism, have in effect said less on fundamental causes than on modifying or accentuating factors. Thus separatist movements tend to be held back where the community concerned is itself divided by opposing interests such as urban - rural or class. The same effect flows also when the society as a whole is marked by cross - cutting loyalties or sharp ideological cleavages. To the extent that a Basque is also an ardent socialist he may be less single-minded about his separatism. Separatism is usually moderated when an ethnic group's upward mobility is not impeded either by law or practice or when there are strong traditions of mutual accommodation between competing elites.

At this point I should remark that I have not mentioned

a democratic frame work as a favourable influence on ethnic tensions. The connection between forms of government and, such tensions seems indeed not to have been often systematically examined. But the relation between democracy and separatism appears - and I wish it were not so! - to be rather ambivalent. On the one hand, a political culture which encourages bargaining and compromise and mutual accommodation of conflicting interests should be conducive to a moderating of tensions. On the other hand, in so far as democracy entails (if it does not actually consist in) political competition, it often proves difficult for political actors to resist the game of outbidding their rivals - which can of course result in an escalation of demands and of resistance. If democracy is ambivalent, there are other factors which tend to be consistently aggravating. On the whole bi-polar tensions are worse than multi-polar ones (as Pakistan should have known when it confronted East Pakistan with a One - Unit

such sensitive perceptiveness and self-confidence on the part of those in central power as allows them to move early and adequately towards a consociational power-sharing response. The last is that while accommodation has to be mutual, the concentration of resources - not simply funds but skills, instruments of control, opinion and force - in the modern state is so great that only in government can the crucial decision be taken as to whether these will be used to aggravate or alleviate the distrust and tension.

I almost forgot: I have not explained the 'Reality and Dreams' of my title. Perhaps it was a bit of trick on my part. For the familiar idea is that movements are swayed by dreams of pasts and futures whereas governments are grounded in present reality. What I find is less simple and more paradoxical. Dreams are part of Reality. There can be dreams of some perfect, separate freedom but there can also be dreams of some perfect, painless integration. Both may prove idle but both are dreadfully real. Reality includes power but no less real is what passes through man's minds and gives direction to power. Fear is such a reality, so also are the wounds of not being respected and recognised. In this hazy, very real, area is the heart of inter-ethnic tensions. Individual self-examination is hard enough; community self-examination is infinitely harder - but there's a dream worth working for and making real. It might prevent a tragedy, even bring peace through a new kind of amity.

Private Youth Army For U.N.P.

The Mobilisation and Supplementary Forces Bill, which the Cabinet approved on 28th August and which will be placed before Parliament as 'urgent legislation' when it next meets on 19th September is the latest in a number of steps taken by the government to militarise public life.

The new Bill enables the government to conscript for compulsory military service any person it so desires. Failure to comply will be punished with imprisonment.

An explanatory note to the Bill issued by the government indicates that those who will be called up to join a NATIONAL ARMED RESERVE (NAR) will be civilians, mostly young people.

But Opposition forces contend that this latest attempt to militarise public life more extensively is really intended to create a private army for the UNP at state expense.

They say that the insistence that recruitment should be selective is intended to ensure that members of the NAR will only be persons recommended and approved by Ministers or UNP M.Ps.

(Courtesy "Forward" 1st September)

West.) On the whole deteriorating economic conditions lessen the scope for compromise. External influences from other countries - whether real or, as often, imagined - are generally unhelpful.

It is high time I brought this survey to a conclusion, or at least to an end. The state of explanatory theory, as I have tried fairly to set it out, is untidy and far from satisfactory. The phenomena we have been looking at are indeed quite varied and therefore recalcitrant to general understanding. But I shall venture a few propositions which seem to me in the light of the evidence to have fairly universal validity. The first is that no separatism arises unless a community perceives a threat either to its relative position or, worse, to the very continuance of its identity. The second is that while such threats come frequently from the basic process of social change, they are increasingly - hence the prevalence in our times of separatisms - mediated and presented through the organs of the increasingly active modern state. The third is that threats may originate less from impersonal social processes than from central governments acting not as arbiters between communities but as agents of one, and a dominant, community. The fourth is that separatisms will subside (rather than escalate) either from their own weakness (the pull of other identities or over-enarching loyalties) or from

Sri Lanka—Beyond

Imagine a habitual wife-beater who has been at it for twenty years. Imagine the little woman protesting, arguing, screaming, grappling, and having come to the end of her tether one day, snatching the nearest kitchen knife to defend herself against further attacks. And then she says: "You have tormented me enough. It is impossible to live with you any more." With that, she files papers for divorce.

If you were judge, dear reader, what causes would you attribute to the break-up of the marriage?

The Sri Lanka government (as probably the habitual wifebeater would) attributes the causes to the wife snatching the kitchen knife and asking for separation! To any oppressor. **RESISTANCE TO OPPRESSION** is naturally the beginning of the problem. Ernest Corea's cosmetic exercise in the sky blue coloured publication of Sri Lanka's Ministry of State—**SRI LANKA BEYOND CONFLICT** should not therefore surprise anyone. He begins his story with Tamil "terrorism" and Tamil "separatism."

"Terrorism" and "Separatism" are not sudden unprovoked phenomena that spring through the air, are they? Says Mr. Corea: "The separatist slogan, let it not be forgotten, did not enter Sri Lanka's political lexicon until 1976." Who wants to forget? We are glad you admitted it, because that is a fact that stands of the credit of the Tamils. For twenty long years they suffered racial discrimination, racial riots, plunder of their traditional homelands, police and army harassments and open State hostility. Through that period of twenty years they raised their voices in Parliament, on public platforms, through the media and in international fora; they went before courts of law; they staged protests, non-violent Satyagraha campaigns; they entered into pacts and gentlemen's agreements with Sinhala leaders which were dishonoured. In short, the Tamils had over those twenty years, exhausted all the peaceful, democratic options open to an oppressed minority. Unlike Jinnah in India they had placed their trust in the Sinhala majority at the very threshold of independence, and that trust was betrayed. And if after twenty years of absolute and complete disillusionment, an ever-worsening diminution of Tamil dignity and self-respect, with job opportunities diminishing every year, a blank wall looming larger and larger before their growing generation, and threats to life and limb adding to their tensions and worries, if after all these, the Tamils thought of setting up their own

homeland in the arid, government-neglected, undeveloped North and East where they were traditionally settled for centuries. What are you griping about Mr. Corea?

Your predecessor at the **CEYLON OBSERVER**, a better known Editor, a Sinhalese himself, with larger human concerns over-riding his own ethnic identity—**TARZIE VIT-TACHI**—now a columnist for **NEWSWEEK**, wrote this as far back as 1958. He said: "What are we left with? A nation in ruins, some grim lessons which we cannot afford to forget and a momentous question: Have the Sinhalese and the Tamils reached the parting of the ways?" **EMERGENCY 58: The Story of the Ceylon Race Riots**, published by Andre Deutsch 12-14, Carlisle Street, Soho Square, London W1.)

That was twenty five years ago Mr. Corea! If at the end of the inhuman atrocities Tamils went through during those hate-filled days in May—June 1958, with 12,000 of them becoming refugees in their own country and shipped to their own safe areas in the north and east Mr. Vittachi felt impelled to pose that question, surely you should have a good word for the spirit of accommodation of the Tamils for having waited **EIGHTEEN MORE YEARS** to decide to "part ways"—and introduce "separatism into the political lexicon in 1976"?

The primary deception that you have practised on your readers Mr. Corea is to pass off the **CONSEQUENCES** of Sinhala chauvinism up to 1976 as the **CAUSES** for the even more terrible chauvinism that came subsequently!

DO NOT TAMIL LIVES COUNT IN YOUR PROPAGANDA LEXICON?

You say: "Upto the time of the ambush and murders on July 23 (1983) terrorism had taken at least 73 lives....."

Let us get the record straight. Mob killings of Tamils began in the year 1956. You cannot possibly deny that. The ambush took place on July 23, 1983. Within his period of 27 years Tamil "terrorists" have killed 73 persons. Surely you are not going to blame the Tamil "terrorists" for not beginning their killings earlier?

Being ambassador of a country where the annual homicide rate has been among the highest in the world over the past fifty years, your concern over 73 kill-

ings in 27 years is touching! But let that pass. Here is a plain, reasonable question to which you are obliged to give a straight, truthful answer: Can you give a count of the number of Tamil lives taken by Sinhala mobs and Sinhala armed forces over this same period of 27 years?

Awkward, isn't it? We will help you. In the Gal Oya valley anti Tamil riots of 1956 alone, there were one hundred and fifty killings (Sources: **EMERGENCY '58** by Tarzie Vittachi Page 20) and (**A DIVIDED NATION** by B. H. Farmer, Oxford University Press, 1963—Page 67). In the May-June 1958 riots hundreds were killed, the bulk of whom were Tamils. (Incidentally, the 1958 riots marked the last occasion when at last in a few instances the country's Police or armed forces opened

Is it your contention Mr. Corea that when Sinhala mobs kill Tamils, neither the government nor the Sinhala people are answerable, but when a handful of Tamil "terrorists" kill Policemen or Army men or Police informers or whom they consider Tamil "traitors", the entire Tamil population (including the poor plantation Tamils who live below the poverty line and have nothing to do with "Terrorism" or "Separatism") deserve to be punished?

AMBASSADORIAL SANCTIMONIOUSNESS AND TAMIL AGONY

Ambassador Corea, you from your lofty perch refer to "terrorists" as "merchants of death" (a nice phrase that) and "**TERRORIST DEPRAVITY**". Is it because "terrorists" use guns every time they take their victims with and the Sin-

After the July 1983 Holocaust, the United National Party Government issued a series of booklets as part of a massive international propaganda campaign to burnish its tarnished image.

The first was written by a former Lake House journalist turned diplomat, Ernest Corea, under the title "**SRI LANKA: BEYOND CONFLICT**."

In reply, another journalist, S. Sivanayagam (the first Editor of the **SATURDAY REVIEW**), published a booklet titled "**Dear Ambassador... Your Slip is Showing**".

It is an eloquent espousal of the cause of the Tamil people of Sri Lanka.

We are reproducing it in full in this issue of the SR because the message contained in it is relevant to the ongoing debate on the ethnic problem.

We were not able to use it earlier because of the rigid censorship that existed at the time.

fire and killed Sinhala hoodlums. In subsequent riots in 1977, 1981 and 1983, the Police and armed forces either looked on passively, or actively connived, or themselves participated. (This fact is significant in order to understand how the Tamils who were in the early years considered qualified to merit the same legal rights as any other citizens in the country were gradually brought down to the level of subject people.)

How about the massacre of Tamils in August 1977? You have devoted one paragraph to the killing of one man — "the much-loved Mayor of Jaffna" as you say—in the year 1975. Could you have not devoted one line to the killings of "120" Tamils in the 1977 massacre? (the "120" is your own government's "official" count, not ours). **NEWSWEEK** of September 5, 1977 devoted a three quarter of a page to their report on Sri Lanka and headlined it "**THE BEAST IN MAN**."

Sinhala mobs hack their victims with swords, cut their limbs, chop them into pieces, or pour petrol on them and burn them alive? Which sounds more like "**DEPRAVITY**"?

Talking of "depravity", let us see whether the following accounts of real-life incidents coincide with your definition of depravity.

"On the night of May 25, one of the most heinous crimes in the history of Ceylon was carried out. Almost simultaneously, on the Government farms at Polonnaruwa and Hingurakgoda, the thugs struck remorselessly. The Tamil labourers in the Polonnaruwa sugar cane plantation fled when they saw the enemy approaching and hid in the sugar-cane bushes. The goondas wasted no time. They set the sugar cane alight and flushed out the Tamils. As they came out screaming, men, women and children were cut down with

Conflict!

by

S. Sivanayagam

home-made swords, grass cutting knives and katties, or pulped under heavy clubs (The Home Ministry received at this time a gruesome souvenir from the Government Agent who was trying to wake the Central Government to the danger in the North Central Province. It was a heavy club studded with gramophone needles which had been laboriously set into the wood by a thug who obviously liked to see his victim suffer.) At the Government farm at Hingurakgoda, too, the Tamils were slaughtered that night. One woman in sheer terror embraced her two children and jumped into a well. The rioters were enjoying themselves thoroughly. They ripped open the belly of a woman eight months pregnant, and left her to bleed to death..."

Well, that was 1958 depravity, as recorded again by your predecessor at the Ceylon Observer, Tarzie Vittachi. Bridging the 25 years in between shall we talk of recent happenings?

"A tourist told yesterday how she watched in horror as a Sinhalese mob deliberately burned alive a bus load of Tamils. And she said she had heard other tourists describe how women and children have been murdered in the same way. Mrs. Eli Skarstein, back home in Stavanger, Norway, told how she and her 15-year old daughter, Kristin, witnessed one massacre. "A mini bus full of Tamils was forced to stop in front of us in Colombo" she said. A Sinhalese mob poured petrol over the bus and set it on fire. They blocked the car doors and prevented the Tamils from leaving the vehicle. "Hundreds of spectators watched as about 20 Tamils were burned to death". Mrs. Skarstein added: We can't believe the official casualty figures... Hundreds, may be thousands must have been killed already... The police force 95 per cent Sinhalese — did nothing to stop the mobs... There was no mercy. Women, children, and old people were slaughtered. Police and soldiers did nothing to stop the genocide".

(DAILY EXPRESS, London, August 29, 1983)

Ambassador Corea showed his pique over the prompt and wide exposure by the international media of the depravity in Sri Lanka by referring to journalists as "Running Johns" "Who rush into a country, scamper to and fro like customers urgently searching for a bordello in an unfamiliar city and leave abruptly when their curiosity has been sated" Apart from the fact that here is a

man who has chosen to malign his old profession, how does he propose to label Norwegin tourist Eli Skarstein. You cannot let down your own tourist, can you?

Here is another quote from VOICES—published by Christian Conference of Asia—Urban Rural Mission, 57, Peking Road, 5/F, Kowloon, Hong Kong. NOT a "Running John" Mr. Corea, but a foreign visitor to Sri Lanka, and a Christian like you, who writes an eye-witness account, and this is how he concludes:

"I have seen many riots in my own country, but nothing compared to what I saw in Colombo. If I were a Tamil, I would never ever feel secure in that country again." (If that is what a foreign visitor says can you not understand the Tamil man's imperative to set up his own Tamil Eelam, Mr. Ambassador?)

The foreign observer continues. "Since that week in Sri Lanka. I have often asked myself. Did the Tamils deserve this? What was their fault? Why could not the Sri Lanka government act with responsibility in discharge of its duties? It is the government's duty to protect the lives and properties of all its citizens irrespective of whether they belong to a minority or majority community. My own feeling is that the Sri Lanka government miserably failed to discharge both its legal and moral obligations/duties towards the Tamils. Till today, there have been no expressions of regret on the part of the Sri Lanka government. Is such an attitude not an insult to our human conscience? How will the conscience of the international community react to this?"

What is your opinion of STEWART SLAVIN Mr. Ambassador? As you know he is the chief of bureau of the American news agency. United Press International in New Delhi. Do you consider him a "Running John"? Apparently your government thought so, because he was bundled out of Sri Lanka in early August. In a question and answer interview given to the SUNDAY OBSERVER Bombay (August 7-13) Slavin said:

Question: "What do you think started the riots?"

Reply: "I think that the army played a major role in the vio-

lence. It was dissatisfied at the inability of President Jayewardene to protect the security troops from the terrorists. So it took matters into its own hands."

Q: Finally, what do you feel will happen in Sri Lanka now?"

R: "The situation is still out of control. And the political future of Jayewardene is not at all certain. I think that he has to work out a political settlement with the Tamils. But judging from his speech last Wednesday, he seems to be addressing only the Sinhalese. For the moment, he is concentrating on promising the Sinhalese that he will take the district and stern steps against Tamil separatists in the hope that this will defuse the violence. But obviously this cannot be a long-term solution."

The only long-term solution that the Government of Sri Lanka has undertaken in real earnest (no pun intended) appears to be to print and circulate glossy propaganda brochures like Ernest Corea's SRI LANKA: BEYOND CONFLICT in a desperate and calculated attempt to white-wash the evil happenings of July.

Talking of white-washing Mr. Corea, may we draw your attention to a white lie you have incidentally inflicted on your readers. You say "News of the murders (you were referring to the ambush and killings of army men) was not published or broadcast until Monday, July 25..... Firstly, as an ex-news paperman in Sri Lanka, you knew very well that the news (of the ambush) could not have been possibly published BEFORE Monday July 25. The ambush took place past midnight, by which time Colombo's newspapers (practically all of them morning newspapers) would have "gone to bed" with the July 24 issue. Secondly—and this is very important—there was an island-wide Press censorship ON at the time of the ambush: a fact that the world lost sight of because the subsequent violence over-shadowed it. Two momentous questions emerge from this which have a bearing on the credibility and bona fides of the Sri Lanka government:

1. Knowing the lethal racist reactions that were bound to happen on the publicising of the 13 army deaths, why did your government deliberately lift the 3-day old censorship to permit the publication? What is a censorship for?
2. The island-wide censorship was imposed on the 20th July, a

step which took the country by surprise; on the face of it, nothing seemed to have happened in the country which warranted that measure. Why was censorship imposed? Did the government—3 days before the army ambush four nights before the massacres and destruction began—HAVE PRIOR INFORMATION OF THE HOLOCAUST THAT WAS TO COME?

Why do we say that? The July holocaust began on the night of the 24th. Every action of the government and every statement by the President during the preceding one month points not only to advance knowledge but ADVANCE PLANNING on the part of Jayewardene government. Let us retrace the steps to the one month before the pogrom.

Throughout the month of June, anti-Tamil violence was let loose in Trincomalee which the government was either unable or unwilling to curb. Sinhala thugs and Navy and Air Force personnel were associated in the violence. 31 Tamils were killed, over a hundred others injured, some of them grievously, over a dozen Hindu temples and around 600 houses, shops and business establishments were either burnt or attacked. (A full report on this was sent to the President by the Tamil M.P. for Trincomalee Mr. R. Sampanthan).

On July 1, the Jaffna-based English language weekly SATURDAY REVIEW which was the only English-language paper in the whole country that had the courage to expose the government misdeeds not only against the Tamils but against the Sinhala opposition in the south, was BANNED and its editorial office sealed under emergency powers. Along with the SATURDAY REVIEW, the only Tamil language paper to defy the government—the SUTHANTHIRAN also Jaffna-based was banned and its office and printing press sealed. The Editor of the paper Kovai Mahesan was summoned by the Police for questioning in Jaffna and taken into custody without any charge and placed in jail in Colombo thereafter. Having fortunately escaped the two massacres of Tamil political prisoners on July 25 and 27 he is still languishing in jail.

On July 10 President Jayewardene gave an interview to Ian Ward of the DAILY TELEGRAPH, London and apparently caught in a mood of cocksureness said: "I am not worried about the Jaffna people (Tamils) now. We cannot think of them, not about THEIR LIVES or of their opinion about us."

(Continued on page 6)

Lead, Kindly Light...

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

I am afraid, the SATURDAY REVIEW has failed to reflect the mood of the people in Jaffna in its last issue. The senseless, brutal killing of Mr. M. Alalasingham and Mr. V. Dharmalingam has not only shocked the Tamil people everywhere but has also dampened their spirit and ardour. They seem to be groping in the dark and raise their hearts in prayer to God to show them the way as Mahatma Gandhi often did in the words of that famous hymn:

*"Lead, kindly Light, amid the
encircling gloom*

*Lead Thou me on;
The night is dark, and I am far
from home*

*Lead Thou me on.
Keep Thou my feet; I do not
ask to see
The distant scene, - one step
enough for me."*

The Tamil-speaking people all over the Island have been at the receiving end in the form of physical suffering, mental anguish and shock, separation from dear and near ones, having to flee for very life and this has gone on endlessly.

The Government has been insensitive to all this blatant cruelty and bloodshed, hoping to rule over an unwilling people by intimidation and all kinds of machiavellian tactics in its armoury; playing fast and loose, now talking of peace and parley and the next minute manifesting its show of strength through its insensate security personnel, prolonging the agony with no end in sight.

Who does not admire the courage and wisdom of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru, who in their own inimitable style demonstrated to the world that great changes beneficial to mankind can be brought about without resorting to violence, either by waging wars or fomenting revolutions, but by holding fast to non-violence, in the struggle to free India and again holding on to high and lofty principles in nation building to give free India a new suit of clothes, as it were, to suit the modern era?

One looks back with pride that the Tamil-speaking people did adopt the non-violent method in their struggle to win equality of rights in Sri Lanka under Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam.

Without wishing to strike a controversial note in change of tactics, that has been adopted, I wish to plead for saner values. Let us cry a halt to violence even at this very late stage. It is well to remember that violence takes us nowhere. Violence can never solve any problems. If we do not take care, we are likely to be drowned in the waters whose depth we do not know. We seem to behave like alcoholics in causing death and destruction. We have lost that respect for life which our religious susceptibilities nourished and nurtured in us when we were young. Let us stop hating people and killing people. It was St. Augustine who said, "Love men, hate error".

Let us not allow our country to drift to anarchism. Let us all Sri Lankans realise that wars

and revolutions are not the only way of righting wrongs or of realising our goals of achieving a better social order.

If we do not have that much faith in high ideals, then we pay only lip-service to the services rendered by Buddha and Gandhi to mankind.

If we do not believe in non-violent methods, then why do

GARLANDING GIRLS

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

The educational set-up in the Sri Lanka Universities may be Western oriented, but I do not see any reason why our Tamil culture should not be respected.

The conferment of degrees is consummated with the Chancellor put-

LETTERS

we stage these fasting campaigns in temples and campuses? I humbly ask.

There is confusion in our thinking and we seem to have got our priorities mixed up. Now that India, like the fairy godmother, has brought the contending parties to the negotiating table, let us exercise restraint and be patient. By all means, let us put our views across forcefully backed up by scientific thought in the art of modern government and try to reach agreement on the basic principles involved in preserving our cultural identity and language freedom, for basic principles hold good whether they be small countries or big ones. And India can teach us much in that respect, if we have the humility to learn from her rich experience.

V. A. P

Nallur

ting on the university souvenir attached to a chord in the form of a garland on each graduand.

Our culture is that only the husband can garland his bride and not any other male.

In view of this, in most gatherings when a couple is honoured the man is garlanded and the lady is normally given a bouquet of flowers or a chendai.

Though the Chancellor may be of the same age as the women candidates' grandfathers, yet I feel we can make suitable adjustments to pin garlands on the graduands or giving them to a lady in the staff to put it on the girl graduands; in the alternative, it could be given to the hand of the girl graduands.

Y. Amirthanather

Punnalaikadduvan South

SRI LANKA...

(Continued from page 5)

On July 20 the President's much-talked about all-party conference on how to combat terrorism ends in a fiasco with none of the opposition parties attending it. The same evening the government clamps an island-wide censorship.

The pattern was unmistakable. A conspiracy of violence against the Tamils was being hatched. When Ambassador Corea says: "at that point the uprising was considered a berserk response to terrorist violence in general and to the July 23 ambush and murders in particular..." He probably means that at a later point the theory was abandoned. He would be right, but for the

wrong reason. The ambush was a convenient red herring across the trail to justify the Sinhala "uprising". But having thought hard, the government FISHED OUT A BIGGER RED HERRING — "Marxist-led attempt to cause anarchy and destabilize the government" as Mr. Corea puts it; a good story which will go down well with U. S. President Reagan and the aid-giving group! So the poor terrorist herring was exchanged for the Marxist herring and the red in the herring turning RED. To back in the story a general swoop was ordered on the Marxist parties including the now emaciated Communist Party which was incapable of leading a riot, leave alone a revolution!

Now Mr. Ambassador there is a whole paragraph of yours which is worth quoting in full. Here it is:

"Goons who went about destroying property and killing or injuring their fellow Sri Lankans were found to be following the same pattern in different parts of the country. They were armed with voters' lists and knew precisely which homes, shops or factories to attack. Two American academics who observed these patterns described the process as "selective violence". Mob leaders operating miles away from each other used the identical exhortations — not so much as a word changed — to whip up enthusiasm for creating chaos. Identical posters appeared overnight in different parts of the country. Running across and through these activities was a deliberate campaign of spreading rumours

designed to inflame passions, cause fear and incite violence."

What you say here is true. Refreshingly true. There was advance planning—voters' registers, identification of Tamil homes, shops and business establishments and factories and distribution of identical posters in various parts of the country all of which could not have been done between the news of the ambush and the beginning of the attack? Logically the July devastation would have come to pass WHETHER THERE WAS AN AMBUSH OF ARMY MEN OR NOT. It was the timing only that could have been influenced by the ambush. Once you gracefully accept that the question to be resolved is WHO PLANNED THE HOLOCAUST?

(To be continued)

TRIBUTES TO ALAL & DHARMALINGAM

The dawn of September the 5th slipped in with a mild sprinkle of rain and the sky remained lightly overcast as if to bring about a measure of clemency into the hot weather of the last few days, so that the Tamil people may pay their last respects to their late leaders, Mr. M. Alalasundaram and Mr. V. Dharmalingam.

At 8 a.m., crowds started milling through the access lane into the back compound of Mr. Alalasundaram's premises where his body lay under the numerous garlands of well-wishers. His house ironically was near the Nallur market, on the fringes of the seat of the last king of Jaffna.

The question in the air seemed to be: "What has befallen the Tamils who organised the first freedom movement in the 1930s under the influence of the Indian Freedom Movement, whose leaders helped to sustain democracy in this country, who organised the first satyagraha movement in this country and whose youth introduced the first successful insurgency? What do these ominous signs mean? Are we to be a free self-respecting people or not?"

The comments on Mr. Alalasundaram were to this effect: "He may have had a few weaknesses in the past, but his dedication and service to the Tamil cause are beyond question. He told us a few days ago that he could have gone to India and lived comfortably. But he stayed here to be with people and communicate their difficulties and problems together with details of atrocities to the party in Madras. This undoubtedly helped his party and the Indian Government to be reliably and accurately informed of what went on here."

"He hardly had much money of his own after he was debarred from practising law after the 6th Amendment to the Constitution. His last telephone bill of Rs. 24,000 was

paid by a friend. When his little daughter wanted a bicycle, he had to sell a piece of his wife's jewellery. He was one of the few left who could explain our problems cogently to visiting foreign journalists."

"If a man Jayewardene threw out of parliament can be shot like this, where does that leave us?"

"Don't we know who did this? Can you hide a pumpkin in a bowl of rice?"

The gist of the orations at the cremation was:

"When we took on the struggle, we were prepared to brave anything, the State, the Police and Prison. This is a tragic death for a man who had served his people from the time he was thirteen. We will not be cowed. We will not deviate from the path shown by 'Tnanthai' Chelva. We will follow 'Annan' Amir. The struggle will go on."

For a time the fear of the people turned to defiance. This was the old stuff. The TULF colours of green, red and yellow fluttered in the wind. For the time at least their emblem which had begun to look more like the setting sun took on a fresh lease of life as what it was meant to be—the rising sun.

There were similar large crowds at Mr. Dharmalingam's spacious premises at Kantharodai to pay respects to a leader who had served the people for 25 years. The mood of sorrow and anger was very evident.

Though Mr. Dharmalingam was born with a silver spoon in his mouth, it was well-known that he was a philanthropist who had given away money and land to individuals and for community purposes and was himself a man of sober and simple habits. His residence reflected this.

The speeches at the cremation reflected his personal attributes and

his services to education and the local co-operative movement. He had personally taken and admitted many deprived children to schools, had paid for their education and followed up their progress.

Also recorded were his services to the Sri Lanka-Soviet Friendship Association of which he was once President. He had a number of friends and admirers in the South.

Speakers also commented on his common touch. At sixty seven, he would cycle around his electorate chatting to all and sundry and sitting in public places. He had no posh cars and bodyguards like his Southern counterparts.

As I was told by those present, it is a measure of the man's character that when his son, sensing danger, had asked him to seek protection, Mr. Dharmalingam had declined, refusing to compromise himself.

There was much anger, too, in the speech. A speaker from Erlalai said, "I am warning you let this be the last killing. If there are any more, twenty lakhs of Tamils will have to fight you. Someone asked the next person, 'will he get away with it?' The reply came, 'If you are from Erlalai you can'."

An AIADMK representative said, "All of you.....have denied this. Fine. Have any one of you sent a letter of condolence to the family? This is a bad reflection on you".

Thus another Gandhian took his bow. Like Gandhi he did not die in bed. His passing away left behind mixed emotions. It left people divided in their souls between methods of violence and non-violence. Which way they will move will to a large extent depend on decisions in Colombo and Delhi.

R. H.

RELO STATEMENT

Excerpts from a press release by the Revolutionary Eelam Liberation Organisation (RELO) on the killing of the two Tamil United Liberation Front members:

Two more political murders have been recorded in the history of our national liberation struggle.

Tamil people at large and the militant groups have voiced their

vehement protest against these anti-democratic acts.

The killings of Mr. V. Dharmalingam and Mr. M. Alalasundaram, TULF ex-parliamentarians and the continuing anti-democratic acts such as these have tended to jeopardise the national liberation struggle and challenge our integrity and honesty.

NEWS BRIEFS

YOUTHS MISSING

Twenty Tamil youths from Trincomalee are "missing", according to the reports reaching here. Among them are S. Thiageswaran from Main Street, Trincomalee; Paulraj, Varaprasatham, and Santhiapillai Kumar.

FISHERMEN AT SEA

The nets, boats and other fishing gear belonging to the Tamil fishermen at Division No. 10 and Veeranagar were set on fire on 8th September. In the meantime, the Tamil refugees in the camps at Shanmuga Vidyalayam and St. Mary's Church have risen up to 600.

ANOTHER EXODUS TO INDIA

One hundred and six Tamil refugees were feared drowned while crossing the Palk Strait in country boats. Fiftyfour refugees reached Nagapattinam coast on 4th September.

The fresh exodus of Tamil refugees to India has started after the "ethnic war" in Trincomalee and Vavuniya.

According to All-India Radio, 72 refugees reached Tamil Nadu coasts in the last week alone.

Many of the displaced people in Nilaveli after the shelling by the Security Forces also crossed the Palk Straits to Rameswaram.

CYANIDE DEATHS

Two Tamil militants committed suicide by taking cyanide when they accidentally met the Police Commandos in Batticaloa, it is claimed. This incident occurred on 9th September and the bodies were reportedly cremated by the Police Commandos.

MORE KILLINGS

Two civilians were killed when the Security Forces opened fire at Uylankulam in the Mannar District on 8th September.

DEMOLITION SQUAD

Five houses in the vicinity of Valvettiturai Army camp were blasted by the Security Forces one day between 9th and 11th September. Three school boys Gnanaguru Aravindan (14), Thangarajah (20), and Nathan (19) were reportedly "missing" while passing the Valvettiturai Police Station. Later, their belongings, including their bicycles, were found in a well close to the Police Station.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

BRUTUS STILL ABSCONDING

The killers of the two ex- M. Ps Mr. V. Dharmalingam and Mr. M. Alalasundaram in Jaffna on 3rd September have still not been found.

ing in the North about why the murders were committed and who were responsible.

There are numerous theories float-

One theory is that a certain militant group wants the TULF out of the way when it comes to elections for the proposed Provincial Councils!

Another is that it was a Government-sponsored "coup" to discredit the militants in the eyes of the world.

All theories, but so far the militant groups, who are supposed to have a very good intelligence service, have failed to clear the air. Why?

Mr. Siddharthan Tharmalingam in a Statement made in Madras and quoted in the local newspapers said:

"One of the groups that comprise the Eelam National Liberation Front is responsible for the killings of my father, Mr. V. Dharmalingam and Mr. M. Alalasundaram."

"Tamil people should identify the individual terrorists who are acting in the name of Eelam Fighters."

"Without proper understanding of the objective and subjective conditions of a liberation struggle, these two senior leaders were brutally murdered."

306 HOUSES BURNT

It is rarely that it is possible to obtain authentic accounts of events in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

There usually are wide disparities in the statements made by the militant groups and Government spokesmen.

By a rare stroke of luck, we received a copy of a report submitted to the Government Agent of Batticaloa by the Assistant Government Agent of Eravurpattu on certain incidents in his area.

We publish it in full for the edification of all concerned.

Due to an explosion of a land mine on 23.8.85 at Mawadivembu

in the A.G.A. Division of Eravur Pattu, the houses in the vicinity of Mawadivembu, Sittandy and Vantharumoolai have been burnt by unknown persons. The details of houses damaged are as follows:

(1) Mawadivembu	—	208
(2) Sittandy	—	17
(3) Vantharumoolai	—	12
		<hr/> 237

Sixtyseven (67) families have been accommodated in the Kaluwankerny G.T.M.S. as refugees.

Three persons from Mawadivembu are reported to be missing and one reported dead.

I shall be thankful if you can kindly step in and help the refugees in whatever possible ways.

Yours faithfully,
Sgd.: A.G.A. Eravur Pattu
Chenkalady
24.8.85

Copy to: G. A. Batticaloa f. i.
and n. a.

P. S.: In addition —K.P. Division
(Koralai Pattu A. G. A's
Division):

Morakoddanchenai	—	17
Santhively	—	32
Kiran	—	17
		<hr/> 66

Total : 303

BUSES AGAIN BUT NO TRAINS

Private buses and coaches have again begun to ply between Jaffna and Colombo but not the trains, which still come up only to Anuradhapura.

The road transport services which had come to near normal operation after the cease-fire came into operation in mid-June were disrupted following the outbreak of violence in Vavuniya last month and the consequent intervention of "Home Guards" now an euphemism for goondas) in the Medawachchiya area.

Between Medawachchiya and Vavuniya on the Mannar Road, nine mini-buses, lorries and cars were burnt.

The Minister of National Security Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali has denied that a mini-van with 37 passengers was also set on fire and all were killed.

It is reported that in Thavasimalai, 18 people were found dead and their bodies were almost decomposed. These unfortunate people were reportedly "arrested" by some unidentified gangs near Eratperiya-kulam Army Camp.

The last train to Jaffna arrived on 26th August.

The resumption of the trains services has been affected by another problem.

Railway sources say that some anti-social elements are in the habit of cutting and stealing the tablet and signal wires and illicitly tapping the main electricity supply to the bare telephone wires, especially in the Murugundy, Kilinochchi and Chavakachcheri areas, causing tablet and telephone failures and thereby delaying the train services.

Sometimes stations enroute have been unable to find from their controlling office at Anuradhapura or from the adjoining stations the whereabouts of trains.

The Railway authorities are appealing to the public, through the SATURDAY REVIEW, to help prevent the sabotage of the systems.

With the non-arrival of goods trains from Colombo, there is again a severe shortage of fuel in Jaffna. Petrol is selling at between Rs. 30 and Rs. 40 a bottle.

Shortages of some other items have also begun to surface because lorry owners also did not dare pass the Medawachchiya area during the past three weeks.

Due to this situation, the prices of vegetables and plantains produced in Jaffna have come down but to the detriment of cultivators who are not getting an economic return.

CALCULATED MOVE

Nine grama sevaka divisions from Maduru Oya, in System-C of the Accelerated Mahaweli Scheme, are to be annexed with the Amparai District.

This well calculated move by the Government is to instantly increase the Sinhalese population in the Amparai District by 93,000.

In the talks between representatives of the Government and the Tamil militants, many a thing like provincial, zonal, and district councils were in the air and, of course, the degree of autonomy, as far as the moderates were concerned.

Muslims in Kalmunai, Akkaraipattu and Sammanthurai have

expressed their concern regarding this development.

Moves by the Government to settle or annex Sinhalese grama sevaka division in the Eastern Province in order to isolate Tamil speaking people have been going on for some time.

There already had been the problem of the Digavapi settlement.

In the meantime, Tamil militants blasted the Assistant Government Agents office buildings at Lahugala in the Amparai District. The buildings were new and the estimated damage is about Rs. 5 lakhs.

The house of the ex-MP for Trincomalee, Mr. S. Sambandan of the TULF, was also blasted - by whom?