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JUST OUT IN TAMIL!

A NEW
PATH BREAKING BOOK
ON
ETHNICITY AND SOCIAL
CHANGE IN SRI LANKA

இலங்கையில் இனத்துவமும்
சமூக மாறுதலும்

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COLOMBO SET TO USE FORCE

NEUTRALISING INDIA KEY TO STRATEGY

by. A.S. Abraham

New Delhi's snafu over the deportation of two Tamil militant leaders (a third left the country before the order could be served on him), reinforces the gloom engulfing not merely the reconciliation talks at Thimpu between the guerrillas and the Sri Lanka Government, but also the overall situation in Sri Lanka where the ethnic conflict is fast taking on the dimensions of a full-scale civil war. Although New Delhi is trying hard to put the talks back on an even keel, the chances of it succeeding are daily becoming more and more remote.

If Thimpu is in danger of becoming little more than an innocuous sideshow to the unrelenting bloodletting in Sri Lanka, for which the brutal rabble that passes for the Sri Lanka soldiery is mainly responsible, then that is because both antagonists, the guerrillas as well as Colombo, are busy preparing to settle the issue through the force of arms.

Again, however, the evidence, as provided by independent accounts by foreign correspondents and international humanitarian bodies like Amnesty International, suggests that Colombo is chiefly to blame.

The 18th June ceasefire, which India helped to bring about, was violated by Sri Lanka soldiers when the ink on the agreement had scarcely dried, as our Colombo correspondent has re-

ported (19th August). While the guerrillas have responded in kind, their commitment to the search via Thimpu for a political solution envisaging autonomy but short of "ealam" has been genuine.

BUYING TIME

Along with Tamil United Liberation Front leaders, they have been seeking a measure of self-governance for the Tamil-dominated Northern and Eastern provinces and for, if not the merger of, then at least a structural link between, them. Initially, it is true, they set out four principles as a framework for any settlement, and these appeared to emphasise Tamil political and cultural separateness. But apart from being generalised formulations, there was nothing in them that could not be reconciled with the degree of autonomy the Tamils could in practice be persuaded to settle for and which would have been wholly in line with Sri Lanka's unity.

Unfortunately - and this New Delhi either cannot or will not see - the Sri Lanka Government has given every indication of being interested in palavering at Thimpu only in order to buy time while it readies itself for a military solution. Its strategy includes pressuring New Delhi to crack down on guerrilla operations

from bases in Tamil Nadu and to twist the militants' arms to induce them to climb down more and more in negotiations; trying to set the insurgents against New Delhi; putting India on the defensive by constantly raising the bogey of "intervention"; and counting on its Western aid donors, who have been as enamoured of the post-1977 Jayewardene Government and its pro-Western policies as they were previously hostile to Mrs. Bandaranaike's anti-Western set-up, to deter India from succumbing to mounting domestic pres-

sure from Tamil Nadu, buttressed by growing international humanitarian concern over the persecution of the minority Tamils, to intervene militarily and enforce a Cyprus-type solution.

Vital to this approach is the show of apparent reasonableness by publicly agreeing with New Delhi's view that a political solution is the only way out and by going on participating in the dialogue with Tamil representatives that New Delhi has arranged. In reality, however, the policy is to use the ceasefire (theoretically in force until 18th September to build up the Sri Lanka security forces and, even while spinning out the powwow at Thimpu endlessly without giving away anything of substance, to resume military operations against the guerrillas when their own hands are tied because of their commitment to Thimpu and, more importantly, because they are subject to the control of New Delhi, which has needlessly put its prestige on the line in working for a settlement at Thimpu.

(Continued on page 8)



Release ALL Political detenus in Sri Lanka jails

Saturday Review

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TELO LEADER WIRES U.N. SECRETARY GENERAL

TELO (Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation) leader Sri Sabaratnam has wired the following message to the U.N. Secretary General: "The U.N. General Council must discuss Sri Lanka's ethnic problem and give it significance."

It is reported that when the President was recently ill, a famous surgeon was approached concerning amendments to his constitution. After some thought the surgeon replied that the task is more appropriately suited for a standing army of a thousand lawyers.

★

The last Cabinet meeting considered the proposal by the Minister for National Security for raising the strength of Sri Lanka's standing army from 20,000 to 100,000. The Minister of Finance said that although the laws of Arithmetic like all other laws were subject to amendment by Parliament, the laws of Arithmetic that he was aware of, told him that in order to accomplish this the current defence spending of US \$ 500 million will have to

BOOK REVIEW

LOOK BACK IN ANGER

Left Extremist Movement In West Bengal : By Amiya K. Samanta (Firma KLM Private Ltd., Rs. 120)

Certain events leave indelible marks on society. They may not directly shape the future but they do make people sit up and ask questions relating to the established order.

The Naxalite movement (which started with the summer uprising of peasants in a small north Bengal hamlet 18 years ago, spreading to other parts of the country and subsequently degenerating into senseless urban violence) was one such event.

The beheading of the statues of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Rabin-dranath Tagore and others was part of their "cultural revolution". It was a mad act but it nevertheless brought in its wake fresh efforts at establishing the social relevance of these people, a very important task which unfortunately had been ignored up to then. And the most important question that the movement raised was: What was it that attracted youths in such large numbers to attempt social change in a manner which they could not have failed to realise was suicidal? And with social conditions remaining the same will the country see such turmoil once again?

There can be no simple answer to these questions and Mr. Samanta, unfortunately, has not even attempted an answer. His book dwells at length on the movement in the state's countryside Naxalbari itself, Midnapore and the Burdwan-Birbhum belt, and takes a somewhat sketchy look at the happenings in Calcutta. But it fails to give the

reader any idea of how an egoistical and somewhat disbalanced political "non-entity" (at least till 1967). Charu Mazumdar, could emerge as the pivotal figure of a movement that at one time had seemed strong enough to start a prairie fire. If his purpose was only to give the reader a chronological account of the movement, the author could claim considerable success. But that does not suffice in a study of extremism.

Mr. Samanta refers to the increasing dependence of the movement on lumpen elements for the successful implementation of their policies. But perhaps the fact that he continues to serve as IPS officer stood in the way of explaining how this in turn helped the law-enforcing agencies to infiltrate the ranks of the CPI(M-L). This would have brought out in sharp focus the weaknesses inherent in what turned out to be essentially a terrorist organisation.

He refers to the disastrous consequences of Charu Mazumdar's call to his comrades in prison that they try and break out. But he remains curiously silent on the strong public suspicion that many of the so-called jail break attempts were actually engineered by the authorities to enable them to take the law into their hands. The constraints on a serving policeman are not being questioned but these should not have been given precedence over a researcher's objectivity, particularly when memories of those days and the suspicions are still fresh in people's minds.

The possibility of a police-Naxalite link at certain levels has been strengthened by Mr. Samanta's own narrative. He says Charu

Mazumdar first thought of sending Suniti Ghosh as an emissary to China but ultimately changed his mind (as Mr. Ghosh could have been detected) and sent Souren Bose, who first went to London on a passport procured by Mr. Ghosh. How could a man secure a passport for his comrade whose name too, was very much on the police files?

Mr. Samanta provides an oversimplified explanation as to why the movement that began in 1967 could not culminate in revolution. He writes, "The movement...was destined to collapse. The majority of the participants did not have any training or experience in this type of political movement." But then what "training" did Mao-Zedong or Ho Chi Minh have? The answer perhaps lies elsewhere and Mr. Samanta may not have really tried to look for it.

"Left Extremist Movement in West Bengal," however, is not insipid. The letters of Charu Mazumdar to his various comrades provide some insight into the personality of the man—somewhat of a megalomaniac goading his followers into action with exaggerated accounts of success and who seemed to have great faith in reports appearing in the 'bourgeois' press. But there is nothing in these letters to suggest that he himself had directly participated in a movement which took such a heavy toll of young lives.

These advice given by the Chinese leaders, as reportedly, recorded by Souren Bose, will interest Maoists in this country. However these sections occupy only a tiny part of the 350-page book.

be increased to US \$ 2504 million per annum. Considering that the Government's annual revenue was only US \$ 1500 million, the Parliament will have to consider amending the laws of Arithmetic to make this possible.

some savings, by preventing relatives of deceased troopers from claiming compensation.

The Minister for Rural Industries proposed that enormous savings can be made by avoiding im-

her prize-day address, where instead of thanking by name those teachers who had left the staff, she thanked by name those who remained behind. In replying the Principal said that no slight was intended and that her reasons were purely technical, in that the list of those who remained in service was much shorter than those who had left as brides or otherwise for Australia, Canada and the U. K.

★

CIRCUS CIRCUIT

It is reported that the cease-fire monitors are being sent to circuses all over the world for on-the-job training with Lion tamers and Tiger tamers.

NOT THE NEWS

The Minister for Internal Security objecting said that considering the performance of the Home Guards the increase in expenditure may not be so drastic as giving arms to the unemployed may provide them with a means of committing suicide.

The Minister for Justice suggested the Emergency Regulations concerning the disposal of dead bodies may be invoked to make

ports of expensive foreign weapons to arm these extra men and at the same time much employment can be provided for the rural unemployed. They can be asked to turn out bows and arrows on a massive scale.

★

The Association of Chundikuli Old Girls Overseas questioned the Principal about a change in

Sri Lanka's 2 Years of Bloodshed: What Next? — 3

(Continued from last issue)

The involvement of India has for the first time put fear into the soul of Sinhala chauvinism. The Tamils can no longer be kicked and beaten with impunity. Even among democratic minded Sinhalese where in the past it was a matter of feeling sorry for Tamil victims it is now a more serious matter of possible painful reprisals. From the sanctuary of their protected bases and using more sophisticated fire-power, the guerillas have inflicted a series of stunning blows on the Armed Forces and Police. The Jayewardene Government has been brought to its knees, not before the Tamils of Sri Lanka, but before the Government in New Delhi.

The Indian Government also has considerable influence over the various Tamil militant groups. It is obvious that if India wished to it could simply crush the movements, close down the camps, seize arms, close the Palk Straits and even hand over wanted 'terrorists' to the authorities in Sri Lanka. Perhaps the mass mood in India and especially Tamil Nadu would not permit the Central Government to go so far. However, if India wished to, it could certainly impose tight controls, disarm and harass Tamil militants.

In fact, at present India does none of this. It maintains a good working relationship with the groups and provides them with information and assistance of certain sorts. It has gained considerable, but by no means total, influence over them.

Fortunately, the Tamil militants have been sufficiently astute to realise that the needs of the Tamil masses of Sri Lanka and the ruling sections in control of the Indian State are by no means identical. It may be possible for each party to use the other, temporarily, but it would be suicidal for the Tamil militants to lose their political and organisational independence and allow themselves to be manipulated by the Indian state. The lessons of the Mukti Bahini of Bangladesh had better be learnt very thoroughly.

The way in which the July 1985 negotiations are being prepared is a case in point. The cease-fire was imposed by India. This is a question of fact, though it is not to say that a cease-fire is in itself a bad thing. The cease-fire was imposed largely because of pressure and pleading from the Government in Sri Lanka to the Indian political leadership and it was imposed, tactically speaking,

at a time when the military advantage and initiative had largely passed into the hands of the Tamil militants. An intensification of the guerilla offensive in the second half of 1985 may have actually caused a collapse of the Army and Government. However, the crunch is that the Tamil militants had no choice but to accept the cease-fire because they would never have been able to maintain the advantage without the succour and support they are receiving in India.

It would be wrong to depict matters as though India is able to manipulate and control both sides just as it wishes. There are indeed important constraints. The ability (or failure) of the Tamil groups to exercise strategical skill and their political and ideo-

Autonomy, federalism, regional self-administration, call it what you will, whatever the UF puts on the table—whatever their maximum demand—it will be something less than secession!

Subject to these two basic requirements, Indian interests have no absolute or vital considerations that it wishes to achieve. Certainly the general strategic perspectives in the Indian Ocean and the recognition of India's position as the regional power are important, but there is really nothing very much risk for India. Certainly the three million Tamils in Sri Lanka must stop upsetting the 40 million in India—but that's just a question of wanting some kind of settlement, of wanting

At the moment situations in Sri Lanka are moving fast. How the different political forces respond to these subtle yet quickening pace of change has to be seen. Also, it is now becoming apparent that Jayewardene is attempting to develop a new "firm link" with New Delhi; to entwine the latter in some "final solution" of the Sri Lankan question which could include an Indian guarantee to a dictatorial solution which may include some concessions to the Tamil bourgeoisie but would attempt to throttle the left opposition in southern Sri Lanka and pulverise "The Boys."

JR's machinations may not succeed, but that will depend on many factors—power play in New Delhi (including the pressure brought on Delhi by Tamil politicians in South India), how Tamil opinion in Sri Lanka sees an Indian presence of any form, "The Boys" and how they do or don't allow themselves to be used. But above all on the alliance of progressive and democratic movements across the ethnic divide.

The initiative for such an alliance has come from the Tamil militants, but has found no response from within Sri Lanka. The apparent unwillingness of the progressive and democratic movements in Sri Lanka to respond to the call of the Tamils springs from a fear of the reaction from Sinhala chauvinism. Inability to cut across such racial chauvinism unfortunately could only spell further disaster to a country on the brink of hurtling down the abyss of chaos and disintegration. The progressive and democratic forces in Sri Lanka bear a grave responsibility.

(Concluded)

by

Kumar David

logical clear sightedness, especially by leaning on mass movements in India and in Tamil Nadu in particular, will indeed help them to develop their autonomous initiatives.

Within Sri Lanka, the whipping up of Sinhala chauvinism and the weakness of the Government imposes severe constraints on the final shape of a negotiated settlement.

The still dormant and undeveloped potential for democratic and revolutionary movements among the Sinhalese to link up with Tamil militants is a third vital fact that could undercut any imposition of an undemocratic "settlement" worked out behind the scenes by some kind of JR—Rajiv axis.

In the context of this discussion, it becomes necessary to assess the motivations of the Indian ruling interests. There are only two fundamental conditions that India will impose. First, there must be no Marxist or revolutionary "take-over" in Sri Lanka and, secondly, there must be no division of the country (no separate state).

The second point has been so explicitly spelt out that this, and this alone, is the real reason why all the Tamil liberation movements have in their heart of hearts and deep in their thinking actually given up the "Eelam" position. Otherwise, what is there to negotiate with Jayewardene's emissaries in Bhutan? Secession of nations are not the outcome of plenipotentiary negotiations!

the problem out of one's doorstep.

Finally, there is one curious dimension to the Sri Lankan imbroglio. People outside also often wonder—where is the left?, the Sinhalese left, whose strident voice on so many issues of Sri Lankan politics and economics one has constantly heard in the past? But now, they seem to be curiously silent as if they have been gagged and bound over by Sinhala chauvinism.

There is a near breakdown situation in Sri Lanka and the bankruptcy of all the Sri Lankan political parties on the ethnic question is all too evident. In such a situation, supposed standard-bearers of the repressed ethnic minorities, in whose revolutionary perspective such problems are to find resolution seem curiously paralysed with no creative, positive initiatives.

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The Media Scene

Laughter and tears are two sides of the same coin, they say.

Charlie Chaplin in his autobiography relates how as a kid he watched a goat being dragged along by some men. It managed to get loose and led its captors quite a merry choice. The young Chaplin was all laughter. But finally the men managed to renoose the goat. Instinctively the young Chaplin began to cry because he knew in his bones that the goat was being led to its slaughter. This illuminates the blend of pathos and laughter in Chaplin's silent comedies.

I remembered this when reading Amitha Abeysekera's column "This is my island" which appeared in the ISLAND of 23rd September.

Amitha writes a very readable, popular, humorous column.

But the column that appeared on the 23rd had a harrowing talk to tell.

It is about a 16-year old school girl, Ajantha Ramanayake and what happened to her at the hands of some sadistic policemen.

Amitha says that this column is based on a story which appeared in the ISLAND's sister paper "DIVAINA".

We reproduce what appeared in this column:

Ajantha Ramanayake is a sixteen year old schoolgirl living in a village close to a provincial town. Returning home one day, she was told that her 78 year old grandmother had been taken into custody as a suspect in the theft of a gold chain. Immediately Ajantha together with

her uncle and aunt, with whom she stays, left for the police station. What happened from that moment on is given in a statement she made to the Magistrate of the area. Briefly, it is as follows:

"On the 14th of August, my father and I went to my village, Teppanawa. When we left, my grandmother had gone to obtain some medicine. I returned the same day to my uncle Richard's home, and there my aunt told me that my grandmother had been taken to the police station regarding the theft of a gold chain. My uncle, aunt and I then went to the police station.

There, a police ralahamy ordered me, with an obscenity, to come into the crimes office. When I did so, my uncle and aunt followed me. With another obscenity, the ralahamy ordered them out. There were two other ralahamys in the room, and as I entered, one of them went out, appealing to the others not to assault me, the first ralahamy then closed the door of the room.

"He then hit me with a piece of piping on my back. He hit me about five times, ordering me to tell the truth. Then he kicked me. Then opening the door of the room, he ordered me to get into a car that was parked outside. There was a man at the wheel, and a woman seated in the rear seat. I got in and sat next to the woman. The ralahamy who had hit me sat next to me, while the other ralahamy sat beside the driver. The ralahamy seated by me said that if I didn't tell the truth I would be killed, put into a barrel and thrown into the river.

"Tell the truth, or I shall continue to hit you," he said, giving me a blow with his hand.

Laughter and Tears

agony, a motor had been started, drowning her screams.

Then the PC had asked her to lie down on the ground face upwards, and beaten her on her thighs.

Then untying the girl, he had thrown her clothes at her and asked her to get dressed. As she did so she had noticed that she was bleeding.

Unable to stand, she had sat down. Asking her who had given her permission to sit, the PC had kicked her on the cheek, breaking one of her teeth in the lower jaw. Then he had kicked her once again in the region of the left ear, rendering her unconscious.

When Ajantha Ramanayake regained consciousness, she found herself in hospital. She had been in hospital for sixteen days, unable to walk, the hospital authorities had been told that she had been found loitering in the town.

A doctor had examined her and she had described to him how she was assaulted and tortured.

On the 30th of August, Ajantha Ramanayake was discharged from hospital, and remanded. On the 31st, she was transferred to Welikade. She was brought back on the 3rd of September. Winding up her statement to the Magistrate "when I place my left foot on the ground, the left side of my head aches, and I feel dizzy."

If this is what the Sinhala State apparatus can do to a poor Sinhalese girl one can just imagine what the same State apparatus has done and is doing to hundreds of Tamil boys and girls taken indiscriminately into custody under the Provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

"She should be killed, said the man at the wheel.

"They took me to my home, but the place was closed. The time was now about 8 p. m.

"We returned to the police station, and as I was getting out of the car, the first ralahamy gave me a blow with his torch. All the while that I was assaulted in the car and elsewhere; the woman in the car was present.

"Once again I was taken to the same room in the police station, where there was another tall, dark ralahamy.

"The first ralahamy closed the door of the room, and calling me to him, said, "If you don't tell us the truth, we shall proceed to kill you by degrees. You stole the necklace, didn't you?" I said I knew nothing about it.

"Then he asked me to take off my clothes. Sobbing, I refused. Then he hit me, whereupon I removed my frock. "That won't do," he said, uttering an obscenity. "Take off everything," I did as he ordered.

According to sixteen year old Ajantha Ramanayake's statement, the PC had then proceeded to assault her in a most inhuman manner, subjecting her to all kinds of brutalities. He had tied her hands, placed an iron bar between her legs, and with the help of the other PC, raised the bar, and placed its two ends on two tables a few feet apart. And while the girl dangled, naked and helpless, the first PC had beaten the soles of her feet with an aslon pipe. When she screamed in

"ISRAELIS AND THEIR AMERICAN ALLIES CANNOT DESTROY OUR WILL"

"The world stood silent again in the face of yet another blatant act of state terrorism undertaken by Israel, not only against the P. L. O. but also against a sovereign state of Tunisia and a peace initiative put forward by Britain."

Said the Palestine Liberation Organization in a statement on the attack on P. L. O. headquarters in Tunis.

"Israel's attack on P.L.O. Headquarters resulted not only in the

killing of 32 Palestinians, but also of over 20 Tunisian civilians living or working in the area. In addition to these around 106 others were injured and this number again includes a large number of Tunisian civilians among whom were women and children.

"Israel's terrorism was directed against P. L. O. which it claimed to have destroyed in 1982. The attack on Tunis demonstrates Israel's acknowledgement and recognition of P. L. O. which it claimed to have destroyed.

The attack on P. L. O. conveniently came at a time when attempts were made by the British government to break the deadlock over peace in the Middle East. The attack on the P. L. O. at this particular moment is an attempt to break the real initiative of peace in the Middle East. It is thus an attack on Britain's initiative and policy.

The attack on P. L. O. Headquarters in Tunis has led Egypt to call off the joint Israeli-Egypt-

tian meeting on IABA to be held this month.

Israel's international terrorism is to be condemned by all those working for peace and Justice in this world.

P. L. O. denies any responsibility of the attack on three Israelis in Cyprus last week.

Israelis and their American allies cannot destroy our will but we are more determined to struggle and to continue the march to Jerusalem and Palestine.

The UNP politicians are playing politics with the lives of the ordinary people, be they Sinhalese, Tamils or Muslims, be they in towns or villages, for their (people's) folly of having elected this Uncle Nephew Party to power as far back as eight years ago more as an expression of their hatred of the previous govt. than for the love of the elephant which has now become a rogue elephant. With the law of the jungle obtaining in Sri Lanka, who can prevent the free for all among the Sinhala lions, Tamil tigers, UNP elephants the foxes, jackals, and the crows on the wing? India could not stand idly by watching this menagerie at her doorstep. Can anyone blame India for stepping in? India's intervention in the ethnic conflict between the United National Party Government and the Tamils seems to have had no significant impact let alone spectacular results so far except that the Tamil militants labelled as Tamil terrorists by the Sri Lankan Government (and described as separatists by the BBC) have gone one better than the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) with whom the Govt. of Israel, America's pet, refuses to negotiate.

India sent the Sri Lankan belligerents to the cooler climes of neutral Bhutan, away from the din and dust of war, to sit down and talk in an atmosphere of peace and calm. Before attempting to preach to them, she went about putting her own house in order in strife-torn Assam and Punjab. Surprisingly enough, the youthful Rajiv Gandhi, whom the Sri Lankan Govt. media cynically described as the grounded pilot as soon as he succeeded his mother as Prime Minister, shocked the world by restoring order and normalcy in both those states. Having signed the accord with the

Akali Dal in the Punjab, he went through the elections in that state even against the advice of some of his close associates, for he preferred to hand over power to a democratically elected state Assembly rather than extend Presidential rule even for a day, and the people of the Punjab rose to the occasion and reciprocated that mutual trust and went through an orderly election

Galle, Tangalle, Welikade, Negombo, Avissawela and Kandy. Only a fraction of those in custody has been released. Without taking any meaningful steps to keep to its word, the government has again gone on the rampage taking into custody hundreds of youth in Trincomalee, Mullaitivu, Batticaloa, Vavuniya and Kilinochchi, killing civilians at will, be they women and children

POLITICIANS PLAY PANDU

by

V. A. Phillips

and voted the Akali Dal to power in the Punjab.

India's youthful Prime Minister has shown us how matters of state should be approached and tackled in a statesman-like manner.

Sri Lanka should make a genuine effort to agree on a workable mechanism of self-rule, particularly as the third edition of the constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, quite a mouthful as Canon Harold de Mel once observed, is weighted with an executive head of state who is said to be above the law into the bargain.

WITCH HUNT

With the first cease-fire in mid-June, the government promised to free the hundreds of youths who are languishing in jails in Boosa,

or ordinary peasants in these paddy producing areas, and also ravaging, ransacking and burning their houses and farmsteads. Are the Northern and Eastern Provinces conquered territories of the Sri Lankan Government where its army has been given full powers to operate as the forces in occupation? Why not tell the world so rather than hide behind the smokescreen that it is negotiating for a political settlement under a slippery temporary cease-fire? When enterprising foreign newsmen attempt to see things for themselves, they are ordered out of these "war zones" after arrest and detention. So much so, even the BBC seems to be repeating parrot-wise the government handouts! In the meantime, the government is arming itself with sophisticated weaponry via Pakistan for a showdown with the militants knowing fully well that it cannot measure up to their

minimum demands. Like Israel, the government of Sri Lanka is the spoilt child of the West, Britain and America in particular, because they are the chettiers or money-lenders holding the purse strings.

The common people in these areas are much distressed and distraught as they have had to flee their homes and seek shelter in refugee camps by the thousands. The parents of these youths in jail are left to suffer in silence and suspense not knowing whether their offspring are alive or dead, sick or well. Who can be so heartless, except this tyrannous government, as not to share in their utter misery in their yearning to be re-united with their sons and daughters? In spite of the efforts of the many humanitarian organisations like the MIRJE, CRM and the Trade Union Movements to bring solace and succour to these unfortunate victims, the government seems unconcerned about the fate of these poor innocent youths thrown into jails in their prime of life, when they ought to be in schools and campuses, and by its very action goading them to be hardened enemies of the very society that has condemned them to the nightmarish experience of being treated worse than common criminals for no other fault than being Tamil speaking citizens of this country. The government jails are the nursery schools of the Tamil militants. Perhaps the government seems to think that by killing and maiming a few thousands of the Tamil youth, as the last government did with the Sinhala youth, it can smother the yearning for freedom and equality of rights among the Tamil speaking people, not realising perhaps that the same fate will overtake this government some day sooner than later as in Shakespeare's words:

"There's a divinity that shapes our ends, Rough-hew them how we will."

ASA RAISES ITS VOICE

We publish below a memorandum sent to the President by the Secretary-General of the Asian Students' Association, (ASA), 8A, Kingland Apartment, 739 Nathan Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong.

It is with horror and shock that we hear of the continued massacre of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka. The abhorrence of this genocide strikes within many people throughout the world. Of serious concern to us, members of the Asian Students Association (ASA) delegation to the just concluded "Friendly Gathering of Youth in the Asia-Pacific Region" in Beijing, China is the wave of atrocities committed by your security forces and group of thugs against men, women and even children in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka.

We register our protest against the claim of the Sri Lankan representatives that the intense fighting is being initiated by a "group of misguided youth." That false statement unfolds the distortions being disseminated by Sri Lankan authorities to cover up and justify harsh military offensives on the Tamil people. From eye-witness accounts, documented fact sheets and reports, we have learned that the political violence in your country is not a mere racial issue, but a well-planned and calculated scheme to silence the self-determination struggle of the Tamil people.

We view with outright condemnation the US patronage of your government. In particular, we oppose the US \$ 71 million economic and military aid agreement signed by your government

with the United States in 1983. Such deal has only reinforced the US involvement in Sri Lankan affairs with the aim of protecting the natural harbour of Trincomalee on the Eastern coast and enhancing US military presence in the Indian Ocean. While safeguarding US interests, this agreement provides you with weapons and ammunitions against the Tamil militants who are waging a life-and-death struggle.

We also condemn the participation of the Israeli secret service, in your government assaults against the Tamils. Aware of the complicity of Israel in US military strategy in Asia and in the other parts of the world, we call on your government to cease from seeking both Israeli and American support. Israeli military experts must stop from interfering

in local affairs, and end participation in your campaign against the Tamil people, which we vehemently oppose.

We the undersigned joint worldwide outrage against human rights violations in Sri Lanka. We demand the immediate pull-out of local and foreign military forces in Eelam and call on your government to stop any military operation against the Tamil people. We demand respect for human dignity and the genuine realization of civil liberties in Sri Lanka.

We recognize and support the struggle of the Tamil people.

We uphold the self-determination struggle of the Tamil people.

LETTERS

UNFAIR—LANKA

The Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

I purchased a return ticket from "Air Lanka" for my daughter to proceed to U.K. on the firm assurance given that the unexpended return fare would be refunded to me on the submission of the unused return ticket to the National Airline authorities. I was taken by surprise when the airline authorities refused to honour this agreement although many other commercial airlines operating from Sri Lanka have promptly refunded this amount without much ado to their customers in similar circumstances.

Although many months have lapsed and several letters exchanged with the Air Lanka authorities by many parents on this issue, no efforts have been made up-to-date to refund this amount running to millions of rupees.

Hope this letter would catch the eyes of the authorities concerned to bring about a change of heart and make the necessary refunds to many anxious and debt ridden families. Over to you Mr. Chairman Air Lanka.

Kayts

Anton

SOLVING ETHNIC CRISIS

Editor

SATURDAY REVIEW

The Government is at cross-roads and in a dilemma not knowing which road to take to secure lasting peace in the country. The present critical and dead-locked situation has not snow-balled overnight. It is the outcome and culmination of a series of discriminatory legislative and executive measures adopted by each successive Government since independence in order to capture political power by whatever means available. The Tamils adversely affected by the measures pleaded for justice and fair-play. Although the Governments orally acknowledged the Tamils problems and grievances, nothing tangible was done to redress their grievances. Consequently the youths who were mostly affected by the Government's new laws and actions started a violent campaign to win their legitimate rights. It is of paramount importance for the different splinter groups to be united and guided under one political leadership, if they want to reach their goal. Divided they fall apart and lose sight of their common objective.

In the wake of the tremendous loss of Tamil lives and property, it is unlikely that the T.U.L.F. and the militant groups could be persuaded to settle for anything short of a substantial measure of autonomy in areas where Tamils predominate.

Dr. K. Subramaniam

Colombo 6

Lanka's Lethal Gift To Child

The following despatch from the Colombo correspondent of the United News of India (UNI) appeared in a recent issue of "The Times of India".

This despatch refers to Thuvarakadu a village in Trincomalee district see the SATURDAY REVIEW of 25th September for more incidents at Thuvarakadu.

FORLORN unattended, 12 year-old Valli Manickam, a Tamil girl from Thuvarakadu in Sri Lanka's eastern province, lies in the city's general hospital, her right leg and arm swathed in bandages that cover two gaping gun-shot wounds.

Friends and relatives of other patients, mostly Sinhalese, in the crowded ward pass by, bestowing kindly smiles on the chubby girl as she tries in vain to drive away the swarms of flies that hover about her bed.

Her face lights up as she sees a member of the Trincomalee district federation of Young Men's Hindu Association (YMHA), her only visitors since her admission to the hospital a week ago, as he walks in with Mr. K. Sivapalan, president of the Trincomalee citizen's committees. She is badly in need of change of clothes and bed-sheets, and Mr. Sivapalan directs his young companion to arrange the same.

Valli is one of the latest victims of Sri Lanka's fratricidal ethnic conflict. Her bloody baptism to the conflict took place on 17th August when a group of army men descended on Thuvarakadu and shot dead 10 Tamils, including women and children, and wounded 17 others according to Mr. Sivapalan.

Valli and her more seriously injured mother were among the survivors of the rampage that followed a land mine blast at a place called Kanniya. Mr. Sivapalan said, adding that there were no casualties in the blast.

Recounting her nightmarish experience, Valli said her brother first saw the approaching soldiers and warned the other villagers.

"My mother put her things in a bundle, collected me in her arms and ran to her brother's house.

The soldiers asked us if there were any Tigers and we all said, "no". They then threw two bombs into the house and all of us ran out before they could explode".

Mr. Sivapalan said they were shot at as they fled. Eight people were killed on the spot.

Valli's mother is in the intensive care unit of the same hospital in a critical condition, the YMHA member said.

Mr. Sivapalan said Tamils in Trincomalee district were living in panic and were afraid to stir out of their houses.

He alleged that Sinhala "thugs" and home guards consisting of "the most criminal elements of society" were terrorising the Tamils.

Though Colombo had ordered that home guards should do patrolling only when accompanied by the police after two Sinhalese were shot dead by them in the north, this was not followed in Trincomalee.

Mr. Sivapalan said 12 Tamils were missing Trincomalee town since 12th August and there were reports that they had been killed by the home guards or Sinhalese thugs and buried at the Hindu cemetery at Uppuveli.

The relatives of the missing men were planning to move the local magistrate's to exhume the bodies he said.

He said the distribution of firearms to the Sinhalese at the rate of one gun for every 10 people had caused a great sense of insecurity among the Tamils. Home guards had warned the Tamils in Trincomalee to leave their homes and go to Jaffna or India, he said.

He said there were over 35,000 Tamils and 5000 Sinhalese refugees in Trincomalee district housed in 19 and five relief camps respectively. The citizens' committee's appeal for opening more camps for the refugees had been rejected by the military coordinating officer on security grounds he said.

Muslims Buffers

Broad consensus is reported to have been reached on some of the proposals contained in the working paper prepared by Dr. H. W. Jayewardene, Q.C., following the talks at Thimpu.

One of the most controversial issues continue to be state-aided colonisation in the North and the East.

According to the Government's land policy, preference is usually given to the people of the area in making allotments under minor development projects.

In the case of major projects, like the Accelerated Mahaweli Development programme, the official directive is to make allotments on the basis of population ratios.

A special problem has arisen over the settlement of farmers under the Canadian-aided Maduru Oya project, one of the five major projects under the Mahaweli Development programme.

The Left bank area of the Maduru Oya is in the Polonnaruwa district and is being settled almost wholly with Sinhalese farmers.

The right bank area is in the Batticaloa district and there has been a demand that it be reserved exclusively for the Tamils, but the Government is not agreeable.

The government has put forward a compromise formula: the settlement of Tamils in the upper sector of the right bank (contiguous with Tamil areas in the Batticaloa district), Muslims in the Middle sector and Sinhalese in the lower sector, in the proportions of 40:10:50 with the Muslims serving as a buffer between the other two communities. This has not been acceptable to the Tamil representatives.

On the question of a mechanism to monitor the cease-fire, the Tamil representatives are insisting on an impartial body of persons who will be authorised to make on-the-spot investigations, and not operate from Colombo, as envisaged by the Government.

Students Consortium Lends A Hand

Higher Level Students' Consortium has sent the following information to the SATURDAY REVIEW regarding aid given to the Refugees: On 30th September for Trincomalee Refugees:-

Cash	-Rs.35,000.00
Medical Aid	-Rs.15,000.00
Food	-Rs.25,000.00

On 10th. October for Vavuniya Refugees:-

Medical Aid	-Rs.12,000.00
Food	-Rs.15,000.00
School Requisites	-Rs. 1,000.00

In addition to this, Medical Aid amounting to Rs.2,500/- was also offered to Refugees in Trincomalee area.

Detenus Tell All

This is the final list of Tamil political detenus that the SATURDAY Review has been publishing from time to time. Along with this we publish the names of female political detenus at Boosa and Negombo.

We are publishing this with the introduction, giving details of the humiliation and harassment our boys are going through at Welikade. Our report is based on very reliable documentary evidence.

More than 60 detenus are being kept in a dormitory. There is only one toilet available. One can just imagine the plight of the 60 detenus.

FEMALE DETENUS AT BOOSA AND NEGOMBO

Rukmany (30) Batticaloa.
Sithamparaswamy (50) Udappu.
Nithiyaverny (38) Mutur.
Meena (22)
Kanthimathy (20)

Setha theyy Raveendrarajah (32)
Annapoorani, Vangalaveli, Batticaloa.

Pavalam Chandra, Mamangam.
Kandiah Sarveswari, Thampalakamam.

Vigneswaramoorthy Malarmalai,
Vavuniya.

116. Antony Michael Dericus,
91, Customs Road, Trincomalee.

117. Kumar, c/o N. Saraswathy,
300 Thirugnanasampanthar Road, Trincomalee.

118. Mylvaganam Lingeswaran,
3 Lingangar, Trincomalee.

119. Cumarasamy Kanesh, 42
Thirumal Street, Trincomalee.

120. L. E. H. Dias Sundaralingam,
Mangaiutru, Kinniya, Trincomalee.

121. K. Ramaiah Kameleswaran,
25 Rajavarothiam Road, Trincomalee.

122. Anthonipillai Pilendran,
3/1 Snake Lane, Trincomalee.

123. Thangavelu Mathavarajah,
'Kuman Stores', 259 Power House Lane, Trincomalee.

124. Adriyan Alfred Arulpragasam,
403 Power House Road, Trincomalee.

125. K. Kunaratnam, Puthukudieruppu,
Tampalakamam, Trincomalee.

126. Selvarajah, 720 West Colony
Tampalakamam Trincomalee.

127. Krishnapillai Vaskaran 93
Church Road, Trincomalee.

Detenus are not allowed to go to the toilet at nights even when nature calls.

The panacea for all diseases is Panadol, Disprin and Phenorgen.

Patients who are in a serious condition are sent later to the hospital.

When these Tamil political prisoners are transferred to 'Prison hospitals' the Sinhala warders there - who are actually jailors - give them 'works.'

6 detenus occupy a 'room' 6 x 4 feet.

128. Rasiah Sivalingam, 630,
98th Colony, Tampalakamam (Trincomalee).

129. Kanagasingham Ravi, 15/6
Snake Lane, Trincomalee.

130. Navarajah Rajendram,
12/6 'Javeri Vasa', N. C. Road, Trincomalee.

131. Veesapake, Vannathidal,
Tampalakamam (Trincomalee).

132. Kumarakulathas, Near
Railway Station, Tampalakamam Trincomalee.

133. V. Murugiah, Ward 2
Kuchchaveli, (Trincomalee).

134. V. Thambirajah, 87, Main
Street, Trincomalee.

135. M. Yogarajah, 87 New
Moor Street, Trincomalee.

136. V. Thanapalam, Munnam-poddai
Veethy, Thoppur, (Trincomalee).

137. A. Kumarathurai, Kili-
veddi Trincomalee.

138. Mariaseelan Douglas, Vi-
jensky, Station Road, Mannar, (Trincomalee).

139. Santhan Arulvasagan, Pe-
riakunchchi Kulam, Madhu Road, Mannar.

140. Sinnathamby Santhirasekeram,
Vaddupillianmadu, Uyilankulam (Mannar).

141. Nawminathan c/o K. Naga-
lingam, Thethadikulam, Uyilankulam (Mannar).

142. Mylvaganam Parameswaran,
Boundary Kurukkalmadam (Batticaloa).

143. Sithambarapillai Thirukeetheswaram,
Karuwakerni, Valaichenai.

144. Thangaraja Sukumar, New
Housing Scheme Karuveppankerni, Batticaloa.

145. Kanapathipillai Jeevaratnam,
Valaichenai Road, Kalkudah.

146. V. Kandiah Suresh, 189,
New Kalmunai Road, Kalladi-
uppodai (Batticaloa).

In the morning the detenus are given 4 ounces of bread and sambol. In the afternoon 8 ounces of stone-mixed rice and curry. In the nights they have to eat 6 ounces of rice and curry. Most of the time the food is not merely tasteless but also plain bad. The fish is rotten, and the meat is putrid.

Sugarless tea is served for detenus and they are forced to gulp it down.

The detenus are also conscripted to do latrine duties. *Eekil* broom in hands, they are forced to go to the latrines and clean-up.

When political detenus are lead to courts they have been subjected to humiliation and attack by people.

147. Vasantharasapillai Alagarajah Old Kalmunai Road, Kalladiuppodai, (Batticaloa).

148. Kovintharaj Srikanthan, 'Ratnavasa' Saravanaveethi, Kalladi, Batticaloa.

149. Peethamparam Ravintharaj, C. T. B. Driver Talankuda 2, Koddakallar, (Batticaloa).

150. Ratnam Nagendran, 2 Lake Road, Sallipiddy, Batticaloa.

151. Sellathurai Mylvaganam, Coop Lane, Koddakallar 2, Koddakallar, (Batticaloa).

152. Muthukumar Selvarajah, Old DRO Road, Chenkaladi, (Batticaloa).

153. Periatnamby Shanmugam, Nellipodian Kal., Pankudaveli, Batticaloa.

154. Sivalingam Kanapathipillai, 18 Singing Fish Road Batticaloa.

155. Phillip Manianesan

156. Ismailebbe Thingal Mohamed, Div. Nos 2 Sammanthurai, (Batticaloa).

157. A.M. Aliar, Sainthamaruth, Tamil Division, Kalmunai. (Batticaloa).

158. Poopalapillai Sriskandarajah, Karaitivu, (Batticaloa).

159. Somasekeram Velmohan, 33 R. K. M. Road, Kalmunai, (Batticaloa).

160. Francis Aloysius, Thiruparanthurai, (Batticaloa.)

WANTED

A Medical Officer for Mission Hospital in Jaffna to be a resident Medical Superintendent. Those with administrative experience will be preferred. Salary negotiable

Please apply to Chairman, Medical Board c/o Jaffna College, Vaddukottai.

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SPOKESMAN.

The official organ of the Eelam peoples Revolutionary Liberation front (EPRLF).

SENTHALAM.

A monthly, published by EPIC, No 20, Main street, Zackriya Colony, Choolai Medu, Madras 94, South India.

MATTRU.

A literary quarterly Published by Malaiyanpan, Navalady lane Thirunelvely West, Jaffna.

ILANKAIYIL INATH. THUVAMUM SAMOOKA MARUTHALUM.

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PENNILAIVATHAM PORUTHTHAMANATHE

A Tamil Translation of Feminism is relevant by Feminist Study Circle Colombo 7. Published by women's Study Circle, 51, Sankilian Veethy, Nallur, Jaffna.

ILANKAIYIN PANACH. CHANTHAI AMAIPPU

(The Structure of Money market in Sri Lanka)

by K. Kalvalai Seyon. Published by the Lions Club of Jaffna. This book explains to students and all others interested in the Economy of Sri Lanka, all about the Economy of Sri Lanka.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

BANG, BANG! DEAF EARS!

The picketing at the offices of the People's Banks offices by those whose jewellery have been deposited have been continuing for the last three weeks without evoking much response from the authorities. The contention of the owners is that they should be given their jewellery at the place where they had pawned which we believe is a reasonable one by all counts. It is difficult to understand why the authorities should be reluctant to take any action by way of releasing the jewellery when security, we understand has been guaranteed especially in the light of the fact that other Banks have been functioning in the Jaffna Fort and in fact conducting regular transactions. Even the Post Office is cashing money orders in excess of Rs. 500/-, while other Banks housed there are cashing cheques etc.

As a result of the lethargy on the part of the authorities of the People's Bank, many transactions

of the Banks have received a set back. Account Holders are unable to transact their business so are the Co-operatives who have their normal transaction with the Banks. Even the Pensioners are hard put to draw their pensions.

In this connection it may also be stated that cheques amounting to nearly Rs. 52 million furnished by the co-operatives for the essential foodstuffs such as Rice, Flour and Sugar have been returned by People's Bank.

The Bank Authorities could easily evolve a system of returning the jewellery pawned by a system of rotation, at least 200 per day. The delay on the part of the Banks has attendant difficulties such as mode of repayment of interest and other concomitant problems which involve bank transactions.

It is unfair to hold the people to ransom by their apparent lethargy to act with resolve.

COLOMBO SET TO USE...

(Continued from page 1)

ERRATIC BEHAVIOUR

So it is that while Mr. Hector Jayewardene — Colombo has not seen fit to send to Thimpu anyone of greater political weight than a legal-constitutional expert, albeit one who happens to be the Sri Lanka President's brother — regurgitates the same old proposals that were long ago found inadequate by the Tamil delegates, the Sri Lanka Army gets to work on Tamil guerrillas and civilians in Trincomalee, Vavuniya and elsewhere in an intensified offensive aimed at bringing the rebellion once and for all to heel.

And when, incensed at Colombo's duplicity and at the butchery of hundreds of fellow-Tamils, the Tamil representatives storm out of Thimpu, New Delhi rounds, not on those who are in fact sabotaging the talks while going through the motions of taking part in them, but

on those who have shown a genuine willingness to look for a political solution at New Delhi's bidding.

What puts New Delhi in an even poorer light is that its irritation at the sudden rupture of the Thimpu deliberations makes it so edgy as to construe the return to Madras of the guerrilla delegates, instead of going directly to New Delhi for discussions at the Prime Minister's invitation, as defiance of the Indian Government, thereby warranting some deportations as exemplary punishment.

Its belated revocation of its expulsion of one of the militant leaders, Mr. Chandrasenan, after he had journeyed to the U.S. and back and after he had been detained in Bombay for over 24 hours only underwrites its initial blunder. Should it revoke the marching orders of the other two leaders as well (as it properly should), its clumsiness would be fully exposed.

FOR CLEAR
PHOTOSTAT COPIES
&
TYPING

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KLEEN KHUT

"KLEEN KHUT"
239, POWER HOUSE ROAD,
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Tel. No.: 22823

GAMINI SHOT

Gamini Piyatilleke, an unfortunate Sinhalese also was shot dead by the Security Forces in Pirapathanaru at Visuvamadu in a search operation.

This search operation left at least 50 civilians massacred (See the SR of 12th October).

Below is a list of persons killed we received at the time of going to press.

Vallipuram Kanesamoorthy, Vallipuram Kanesanathan, Kanthasamy Sunthilingam or Mahan, Kannan, Rasan, Sivapasuntheram, Ramasamy, Selvarajah alias Kanesan, Kunju alias K. Tharmalingam, Chinniah Sounthararajan, Suppiah Arul, Sathi alias Sathiyaseelan, Gamini Piyatilleke, Packiyam, Selvarajah and Appan.

Colombo's purpose for now, it may jeopardise its interests later. For if the reaction in Tamil Nadu to New Delhi's harsh and capricious handling of the guerrilla leaders snowballs into an avalanche of popular protest — with schools and colleges closed indefinitely, and with "rail rokos" and public rallies planned throughout the state, it could easily do so — New Delhi will no longer be able to ignore this sentiment in the cavalier way it has done and will have no option but to assuage it by taking, privately as much as publicly as much tougher line with Colombo.

It is imperative that New Delhi be hardheaded. The Sri Lanka Government has never taken Thimpu seriously. What it has set about doing feverishly is arming its soldiers. The "Financial Times" (London), in an editorial on 22nd August says that ".....the Western aid group, which has watched with alarm as Government arms purchases over the past six months have increased sevenfold, has, in effect, given President Jayewardene an ultimatum: Reach a political solution or aid will eventually dry up."

POLITICAL RIVALRY

It is often said that the Sri Lanka Government cannot act decisively because it is split between rival caucuses. Even if President Jayewardene wants a political solution, he is powerless to get one.

By deliberately trying to reduce President Jayewardene's room for manoeuvre, she is seeking to discomfit him and eventually to bring him down to avenge his stripping her of her civic rights.

These difficulties, however, only make it plainer than ever that Colombo has no stake in Thimpu. It is trying to impose a military solution which it knows cannot be accomplished without neutralising India through seeming acquiescence in New Delhi's wishes.

(Courtesy "The Times of India")