

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 4 No. 36

23rd November 1985

KLEEN KHUT

FOR

1. LADIES & CHILDREN'S DRESS MAKERS,
2. PHOTO COPY & RONEO SERVICES,
3. TYPING WORK.

239, POWER HOUSE ROAD,

JAFFNA.

Tel. No.: 22823

MOSSAD, CIA, KGB, RAW..

There are strong suspicions among diplomatic observers in Colombo that more than one country has a finger in Sri Lanka's pie, through secret agents.

This is not surprising because Sri Lanka continues to occupy a strategic position especially in relation to the South Asian region.

In this situation, which foreign power would not like to gain influence and markets in—and even hegemony over—Sri Lanka?

After the withdrawal of the British from Sri Lanka in 1948, the United States of America attempted to fill the VACUUM, to the exclusion of the Soviet Union and China, as part of its overall policy to prevent the spread of Communism in Asia.

It is continuing this policy to this day—and it has succeeded in its objective to a large extent, especially after the rightwing United National Party led by President Jayewardene assumed office in 1977.

The US policy has generally coincided with the interests of most other Western nations, including Britain.

The common objective of the Soviet Union and neighbouring India—which is a big power in relation to Sri Lanka—on the other hand, has been to ensure that the US or China did not gain too much influence in Sri Lanka.

China, for its part, had tried (up to about 1975, when it began to improve its relations with the US) to wean Sri Lanka away from the West and from the Soviet Union and India, through trade and aid.

Between 1970 and 1977, when Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike's Sri

Lanka Freedom Party was in power (in association with the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Communist Party of Sri Lanka for a period), Chinese influence was at its peak.

By 1975, China had emerged as Sri Lanka's biggest trading partner, heading a list of over 100 countries, as both its main buyer and supplier.

The equation has changed since 1977. Now, Sri Lanka has become a colony of Japan economically (witness the scenes on our roads and in our shops) and a virtual vassal of the US politically (the recent visit of ships of the US Seventh Fleet to Colombo is a significant reminder).

Yet, the fight for Sri Lanka is not over.

It is in this context that the work of foreign secret services must be examined.

Secret agents, of course act secretly, as in all other parts of the world.

Sometimes, even the head of a foreign diplomatic mission may not know who is acting as an agent for his country. At times, the agent may be his gardener or driver.

So it goes on, this big game to gain influence and power by winning—or buying—over a country's decision-makers, ranging from top politicians to journalists.

Israel's Mossad is believed by most diplomatic observers in Colombo to be operating in a big way in Sri Lanka now. The ethnic violence provided the Government an excuse to allow Israel to open a special "interests section" in the US Embassy in Colombo,

and Israeli assistance has been sought to combat 'Northern terrorism.'

Most leading rightwing politicians in most countries, including Sri Lanka, have been accused or suspected of serving American Central Intelligence Agency interests—though the actual story might be different.

America indeed, it has been said in some quarters, does not need secret agents of its own in Sri Lanka: there are enough Sri Lankans ready to serve the CIA!

We do not want to believe this—because it is an insult to our sense of patriotism—but one fact we would like to cite, should intrigue readers. The Soviet Union publication, *New Times*, in its issue of June 1975 cited a *New York Times* news item which referred to the likely involvement of the CIA in the assassination of Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike in 1959. (The report was reproduced in the Lake House Sinhala daily *Dinamina* on 3rd July 1975).

HOME GUARDS KILL

While funeral rites were being performed at the Hindu Cemetery in Trincomalee on 19th November 'bombs' were reported to have been thrown at the mourners. In this incident Sivapatham (45) an employee of the Port Cargo Corporation, Trincomalee was killed and another ex-naval employee, V. Kanagasabai seriously injured. Many others were slightly injured. The explosion had occurred at the conclusion of the burial rites, otherwise the casualties would have been heavier. 'Home Guards' were allegedly behind the incident.

India's Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) cannot be far behind in keeping an eye on Sri Lanka—in India's own interests.

At a cocktail party in Colombo many years ago, an Indian diplomat boasted that Indian troops could land anywhere in Sri Lanka within two hours!

As for the Soviet KGB, information about the internal situation in Sri Lanka as well was collected by the Indian spy ring headed by Coomaraswamy and passed on to the Kremlin, according to a Press Trust of India news agency report published in *The Times of India* recently.

We are publishing all this to alert readers to the dangers that exist, especially in the context of events that are taking place now.

Where will it all end? In a coup, as has happened in some other countries where foreign secret services had been allowed to run riot?

MORE REFUGEES

*According to estimates from the Planning Division, about 22,000 refugees are reported to have come to Jaffna from Trincomalee and Vavuniya Districts. The families number nearly 5,357. The break-up is as follows:- 3046 families from Trincomalee, 2,231 families from Vavuniya.

Out of this about 3,417 families have been given relief. Nearly 1940 families are awaiting relief.

Release ALL Political detenus in Sri Lanka jails

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

No. 118, 4th Cross Street,
P. O. Box 122
JAFFNA.

Telegrams: SATVIEW

EDITOR
GAMINI NAVARATNE

Subscription Rates inclusive
of local postage and foreign
Air Mail Rate

Sri Lanka

Annual — Rs. 170/-
Half-year — Rs. 85/-

India

Annual — Rs. 225/-
(Indian Rupees)

Singapore / Malaysia—

Annual — U. S. \$ 30

All other Countries

Annual — U. S. \$ 50

Cheques payable to
New Era Publications Ltd.

Advertising Rates

Contracts — Rs. 15/- per
col. centimetre
Casual — Rs. 20/- per
col. centimetre

Terrazzo Chips

IMPORTED ALL COLOURS

- ★ Aluminium Sheet 10,14,16,18g
- ★ Floor cutting stones
- ★ Pigments all colours
(German & Holland)
- ★ White Cement
- ★ We also undertake
Terrazzo Flooring

Rs. 6/75 Upwards

RAMSONS

443 Old Moor Street,
Colombo-12

Tel. 34411-31511

NOT THE NEWS

CALLS FOR AID

We present below an extract from the Great Leader's address to the Western Aid Consortium in Paris; "My Government has made an unmatched contribution to the development of tourism in the island. Not long ago tourists came to view the ruins at the historical cities of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa. Now we have ruins at Trincomalee, Vavuniya and Mannar as well and there are more to come. The economy too is in ruins, ho, ho. When government took over, there were two wild-life sanctuaries at Yala and Wilpattu for the tourists. Now the whole country is a wild-life sanctuary and really wild at that. July 83, saw screaming goondas on the streets of Colombo. My army has ensured that those arid regions once occupied by peaceful Tamils are now a haven for tigers. Animal passions are on the loose everywhere. They say that even our five-star hotels have become while elephants ho, ho. The last eight years have also seen a diversification of our exports. We used to export some dull commodities like tea, doctors and engineers. Now exports include refugees, heroin and drug-pushers. Your countries have benefited enormously considering that at a time of growing unemployment, my government's efforts have provided jobs in your police, customs, immigration and anti-narcotics departments. All this is a modest sample of our capabilities. I ask you, increase your aid to us by one billion US dollars, and we will put on the greatest show on earth."

★

KRISHNA, CJ AND UN

Mr. Krishna Vaikunthavasan, the man behind what has been acclaimed as Minister Hameed's best speech is in the news again. He has called upon his erstwhile colleagues in the Sri Lankan State's Judicial and Legal Departments to resign, promising that he for his part will use his contacts with the UN to get them UN jobs. The change of working environment, he adds, will present no difficulty. For, the UN is like Sri Lanka's constitution—fine sentiments on paper, all to be observed in the breach.

★

TO HECK WITH IT

The newly floated multi-national company, J. Ward & Co., with massive U. S. backing is reported

to be doing well and has expanded its sales to the Caribbean. Due to high demand, all the company shares have been sold out through the National Death Fund. The individual value of shares has doubled since July 1983. The last conference of the Board turned out to be a family affair with July Rich continuing as Chairman on a referendum fetching just over 50% of the votes. Heck was unilaterally elected company lawyer to be in charge of soliciting negotiations and other legal matters. Rt. Rev. R. was put in charge of purchasing and security. Mudalay was selected company peon despite many aspirants, mainly due to his impeccable degree and meticulous diary keeping. Thus July became the brain, HECK the mouth, Rt. Rev. R. the arms and the large work force, the legs. The labourers were paid handsome salaries of over Rs. 3,000/- p.m. with furnished quarters, air transport, nourishing menu, free liquor and a life insurance scheme amounting to lakhs of rupees. Initially they were given advanced training in modern techniques by world famous agencies from Israel and the U. K. Hunting parties were regularly organised by the company Sports Club and the spoils of the hunt were theirs to keep. Frequent fireworks displays were arranged for their enjoyment. Service in high risk areas for a maximum period of 6 months was made compulsory for those without connections. A reported 835 million rupees changed hands last week and vintage Vietnam models were air flown from the National Smithsonian Museum, Washington D.C., for urgent company use. Our sources say that the material is already in use in the arid zones (now temporarily wet) and already has been instrumental in clearing much of the unwanted masses. There is believed to be growing competition from Indian companies for the world market and a merger has been mooted.

★

...OUT OF MIND

The papers reported that the only mental hospital in the North was to be closed and turned into a home for retired Government Servants. According to this plan, all the mentally ill in the North were to be immediately deported to foreign countries in a bid to purify the local race. At the Annual General Meeting of MIND (Mentally Ill of Northern Division)

SR REFUGEES RELIEF FUND

This is the text of a letter sent to the Editor by the Principal of Columbuturai Duraiyappah M V, Jaffna.

We are sending collections from students, Grade 6 to Grade 10, amounting to 32½ measures of rice to the SATURDAY REVIEW's Relief work.

A sum of Rs. 250/- collected from the Staff is also sent.

The collection of rice is a handful of rice from the daily requirements for one week. The response was good and I was able to collect the said amount (32½ measures).

We trust this rice and money will be distributed to the most deserving of the refugees.

Wishing your fund well.

V. Mahalingam, Principal

WELFARE ASSOCIATION DONATES CLOTHES

The newly formed Tamils Welfare Association, Jaffna has donated three big parcels of new clothes to the SATURDAY REVIEW to be distributed among the refugees in Jaffna.

Mr. M. Vamadeva, President of the Association, has promised the SATURDAY REVIEW that they would continue to help the refugees.

SR FUND LIST OF DONORS

Mr. V. Balasubramaniam Rs. 1000.00
Wellwisher .., 1000.00

PAYMENTS

Essential goods for Boosa camp Rs. 5000.00
For Uduvil Refugees .., 3475.00
Drugs for Mannar .., 18149.80
9 cases of milk food
for Kilinochchi .., 5140.80
Drugs for Vavuniya .., 5000.00
2 Sprayers for Vavuniya .., 3300.00

Rs. 40,065.60

a resolution was overwhelmingly adopted to resist all attempts at eviction by non-violent methods and to stay put in their homeland at all costs. In the face of this unexpected challenge the planners are contemplating building a new mental hospital at Kachchathivu, according to the spokesmen of the Local Committee of Puritans. He quipped, "out of sight, out of mind."

THE FEDERAL SOLUTION

All along President Jayewardene and Prime Minister Premadasa have been saying that not a syllable of the Constitution will be altered to change the unitary character of the Government. Many fear that this insistence or obsession might jeopardise the prospect of a political settlement of the ethnic problem. The creation of genuine autonomous states involves decentralisation of power. The highways of a unitary government, in which powers are centralised, are always dangerous to members of the minority groups who mix on such highways with people of a majority race which is subject to deep-seated racial hatred and the spirit of revenge.

The communal happenings from the time of independence have proved that the minority groups in Sri Lanka cannot live in peace or with safety under its unitary government. The racial riots, bloodshed, torture and mass murder of Tamils by Sinhalese thugs and the armed forces have driven the Tamils to demand a form of government under which they can exercise fully their right of self-determination. This will mean the right to administer their own affairs and organise their own security and have the opportunity to develop themselves.

The right of self-determination is universally recognised and considered as a pivot of democracy. It connotes devolution of power from the centre to the regional states. Indisputably unitary government in Sri Lanka has signally failed. It is evidence that a federal pattern of government must be adopted to protect the minority groups, their national identity, traditional lands, languages, cultures, etc. Federalism is just putting men and things in their proper places on the basis of autonomy. Those who profess themselves as democrats would not interpret federalism as division. In fact federalism is unity in diversity. Countries, big and small, like Switzerland, Belgium, India U.S.A., U.S.S.R. have been able to maintain their unity and integrity by devolution of power to the states.

A very good example for Sri Lanka to follow is the Indian model. By the creation of linguistic states, India has satisfied the democratic aspirations of the linguistic groups. The more relevant aspect which Sri Lanka can follow is that by virtue of the fact that Hyderabad was chiefly Telugu-speaking, it has been joined as part of the new Andhra Pradesh. The Eastern Province of Lanka is predominantly Tamil-speaking and for this reason the demand for amalgamation of the North and East is both reasonable and logical.

Jehan Perera is right when he observes: "Clearly, analysing the

'traditional homelands' argument of both Tamils and Sinhalese in terms of 'who come first' is not helpful in resolving the ethnic problem'.

But he is tilting the balance of his arguments when he starts theorising over the traditional homelands of the Tamils of the Eastern Province. Calling the jungle interior as 'no-man's land', he is trying to limit the Tamils' claim to only the coastal strip. He writes: Strictly speaking, therefore, the traditional homelands would have to be limited to the coastal strip: there is no valid reason to include the spacious interior which forms the rest of the Eastern Province simply because of the arbitrary line drawings of the British".

By reason of this type of argument he has to condemn the line-

by **S. Ponniah**

drawings regarding the Sinhala Provinces also which have extensive forests and which, too, could be said to be 'no man's land'.

Regarding the Eastern Province there are two hard facts to be noted: 1. It is predominantly Tamil-speaking even today, which tradition the government is trying to break by forcible colonisation with the help of their army as they have been doing in recent years in Trincomalee which is admittedly a Tamil-speaking area. Jehan Perera appears to admit that according to numerical strength it is Tamil speaking.

2. Historically, the Eastern province was never recognised as a Sinhala area. This is what the impartial writer Cleghorn, a highly placed official under the British Government, had minuted as far back as 1899 "Two different nations of the Island: First, the Sinhalese inhabiting the interior of the country, in its Southern and Western parts, from the river Wallouwe to that of Chilaw". This clinches the issue. The East has been excluded from Sinhala possessions.

Then Jehan Perera goes on to cite the Marga Institute finding to support Sinhala colonisation and this tends to make him partial. The Tamil-speaking people view the Marga Institute finding as coloured by its consideration of furthering the Sinhala interests, es-

pecially Sinhala colonisation in the two provinces. that "the Northern and Eastern Provinces would suffer from a seven man-power shortage in a few years if future land colonisation were to be reserved for Tamils" is speculative. There is in these two Provinces enough man-power which the Sinhala governments have not utilised, pursuing a policy of racial discrimination. How can the government account for the Tamil braindrain from this country? If sufficient economic output is the prime consideration why did the government, then, through its armed forces, forcibly eject the Tamil farmers from the Dollar and Kent farms and other areas developed at high costs and disrupt production? The Government has, on this score, economically ruined numerous Tamil homes. Where has the principle of "economic optimum" flown?

The Northern and Eastern provinces are arid zones incapable of intensive cultivation.

Jehan appears to conceive of making the Eastern Province a "mixed area" which would provide opportunities for the development of inter-ethnic relations and co-operation that may soften ethnic hostilities..." This is the most objectionable part of his writing. Mixed areas will provide results just the opposite of what he expects!

In mixed areas which are predominantly Sinhalese, the experiences of Tamils are of a very excruciating character! the racial riots of 1956, 58, 77, 81, 82, 83, 84, and 85 flowing with enormous Tamil blood, toll of Tamil lives by the thousands and destruction of Tamil assets worth hundreds of billions of rupees and rape of Tamil women, besides looting are sufficient answer to Jehan Perera. It is such mixed areas that the Tamil minority is endeavouring so hard to avoid. If the Sinhala people were to avoid division of the country and abstain from making the Tamils their inveterate and eternal enemies, the Sinhala governments must refrain from colonising with Sinhalese the Tamil areas, namely, the Northern and Eastern Provinces. Formation of federal states confining the linguistic groups to their respective areas alone will help avoid com-

munal conflicts and provide peace and security. If the government is making a massive preparation for a war against the Tamil community, can they with justification, claim to have administrative jurisdiction over them?

The current view in Sri Lanka is that when the public is all agog for a speedy solution of the Tamil problem, the Mossads here are complicating the issue and making it extremely difficult of solution. The rift between the two communities in widening more and more and too fast on account of their impious activities. People feel that Sri Lanka must be rid of them if it were to put an end to the ethnic problem by a satisfactory solution and embark on its prime mission of national development.

The Mossads wherever they go appear to carry with them their animosity to the Muslims. Communal happenings in the Eastern Province are taking a different turn. Muslims have stated that it was the home guards who had shot and killed the Muslims. Innocent Muslims and Tamils in the Eastern and Northern Provinces live in utter fear of 'state terrorism'. The President had admitted at the B.B.C. television interview this excesses of the armed forces.

There was world-wide acclamation when the leaders of the Tamil Freedom Movements and Lankan Government representatives decided to negotiate a political settlement. by this the Lankan Government admitted two things: 1. that the Tamil problem existed although now and then they had stated that there was no ethnic problem; 2. that the Tamil militants were really freedom fighters and not 'terrorists'.

What is baffling to the world now is that instead of seriously going through the talks to effect a settlement, President Jayewardene is going about saying that 'terrorism' must be rooted out first before any settlement is negotiated! This is a great rebuff to the world that waited with anxious expectations and particularly to India and Rajiv Gandhi whose efforts, were ceaseless to bring about a settlement.

At Bahamas the President had told the Conference that the majority of Tamil votes were cast in his favour! He had given figures which are not borne out by records here! His party candidates at Jaffna were simply routed and all his candidates lost even their deposits! There were three candidates for the North. The Tamil United Liberation Front boycotted the Presidential election in the North and the Eastern Provinces. In Jaffna out of 64 lakhs of voters only 73 thousand voted for all the three candidates and President Jayewardene polled third and last. This means more than 6 lakhs of Tamil voters rejected the U.N.P. policy.

This article first appeared in **THE MORNING STAR** (a Christian weekly published in Jaffna from 1845) and was reprinted in the **CHRISTIAN WORKER** (the quarterly journal of the Christian Workers Fellowship, published from 39, Bristol Street, Colombo 1, Sri Lanka).

He who clung to his text books and kept his eyes glued to their pages now holds a submachine gun greedily observing the movement of Khaki uniforms and trucks. He who treated his parent's word as sacred, now deserts his home and decides the destiny of his elders. He whose sole aim was to enter a good profession, earn a fat dowry and settle down to a comfortable living, now, dreams of shedding his last drop of blood for the creation of a just society. He who walked bare bodied to the temple after a fresh bath and shivered at the sight of the Gods, now sneers at the lifeless idols and calls religion a farce.

This is transformation indeed. But this change in the personality of the Tamil youth is neither sudden nor strange—contrary to general opinion. There is a visible strand of radicalism running through the history of the Tamil youth; this came into prominence earlier in the activities of the Jaffna Youth Congress in the 1920's. But this radical spirit is neatly interwoven with another thread that runs through his tradition—the image of the Tamil youth as bookish, a political and conservative. An understanding of the latter tendency should explain better the periodic emergence of his radicalism.

The fact that the sun scorched peninsula's aridity held no prospects for cultivation, and its lack of natural resources promised little industrial development, denied the Jaffna youth of gainful employment in the farming and technical sectors. So with his eyes focussed on the professions, he was inevitably driven towards his books. The cleverest and most hard working would find themselves comfortably seated on a desk in the Civil Service wearing a clean white collar. It was obvious that the Tamil youth did not value education as an end in itself but as an instrument for other pecuniary motives. For the parents their children's education was an investment that would yield rich dividends in their old age. Jaffna's colonial heritage of good schools naturally lent themselves to be exploited by the Jaffna man to fulfil the above ends.

Casteist Society

Though Jaffna too saw the advent of the three, successive colonial powers, yet this caste-

oriented Hindu, feudalistic society was little affected by the completely different value systems and social institutions of these liberal Christian Europeans. There is evidence that the Europeans too recognized the distinct culture in the North and incorporated codes such as the Thesavalamai in administering these regions. The fact that the caste system could survive the challenges of the colonialist administrations is evidence enough of the resilience (persistence?) of Jaffna's (tradition bound) social order.

TAMIL YOUTHS' RADICAL METAMORPHOSIS

Born in this tightly knit environment the Jaffna youth could not afford the luxury of challenging his elders or questioning his Gods or scrutinizing the values handed to him by tradition. He was an obedient child who kept indoors, read his text books, passed the tests, married with a thumping dowry, minded the affairs of his own family, and lived in perfect conformity with the norms of his society. His was a colourless, narrow, self-centred world.

Early start

But in 1924 with the inauguration of the Jaffna Youth Con-

gress too radicalized the perspectives of the Jaffna youth. A random selection of names associated with the founding of the Jaffna Youth Congress shows the background of the movement—Handy Perinbanayagam, K. Nesiiah, S. J. Gura-segaram, A. M. K. Cumaraswamy, S. Kulendran. Drawn mainly from schools like Jaffna College and St. John's and belonging to Christian families, they initially drew the charge that the Youth Congress was a purely Christian organization with sectarian motives.

But its stand on various issues proved this an unjustified criticism.

Radical Vanguard

For about a decade the Youth Congress took the peninsula by storm. They unleashed a strong opposition to the rigid caste system by insisting on equal seating in the school class rooms and achieved a regulation to this effect. Through interdining too they sought to give flesh to their pronouncements against casteism. They had to brave violent protests by orthodox Hindus against their reforms. The Youth Congress was also one of the earliest organizations in the island to call for the

by **Suresh Canagarajah**

gress his shell was broken and he was freed to breathe the air of radicalism: ironically, one of the reasons for his change was his prized education which rose up quietly behind him to subvert his world. With whatever attitudes he approached education, anyhow his ability to read widely in English opened the windows of his personality to the social upheavals in other parts of the world, especially to Mahatma Gandhi's mass uprising against the British imperialists next door in India in this very period. Jaffna's emotional closeness to India infected the Jaffna youth with Gandhism, and even Nationalism, much earlier than the Sinhala youth. The fact that it was the Youth Congress that was instrumental in Gandhi's visit to this island November 1927 again proves Gandhi's distinct influence in Jaffna youth's baptism into politics.

The liberal values and the spirit of dispassionate inquiry and free discussion inculcated by the westernized Christian Schools in Jaffna

use of the mother tongue in education. They were possibly the earliest organization in the island where the English-educated circle used one of the vernaculars in the official proceedings of the organization. Men of such calibre as Swami Vipulanantha called from its ranks that importance should be given in the curriculum to the indigenous classics, at a time when the average school-boy could quote a dozen lines from Shakespeare or Milton extempore, but none of Thirukkural.

The Youth Congress most blatantly political struggle was the organization of the boycott to the elections to the State Council in 1931. Though opponents to the idea of boycott in the North later interpreted its motive as a protest against the reduction of Tamil representation under the Donoughmore Constitution, the Youth Congress was never Communal. They always stood against sectarian politics and the exploitation of communal prejudices to win votes. The real motive of the boycott was to call for total independence, to the

island. The fact that Jaffna alone boycotted the elections substantiates the fact that the radical youth of Jaffna were one of the earliest in the island to call for Swaraj against the British, and very much ahead of their times.

It is interesting that the Jaffna youth enjoyed a head start on radicalism over the other communities, that it was the Jaffna Youth Congress that tried to pioneer the creation of similar organizations in other parts of the island. It was partly on the initiative of the Jaffna Youth Congress that the All Ceylon Youth Congress was formed in Colombo in May 1931. The stature of the Jaffna youth and their influence over the youth in the rest of the island can be judged from Philip Gunawardene's letter to the press from London:

"I longed for the day when the youth of Ceylon would take their place by the side of the young men and women of China, of India of Indonesia, of Indo-China, of Korea and even of the Philippine Islands in the great struggles of a creative revolution against all the mighty forces of old-age, social reaction and imperialist oppression. During the last few years the Jaffna Students Congress was the only organization in Ceylon that has been displaying political intelligence.... Jaffna has given the lead. They have forced their leaders to sound the bugle call for the great struggle for freedom—for immediate and complete independence from imperialist Britain, Will the Sinhalese who always display supreme courage understand and fall in line?"

COMMUNAL FLUTE

But with opposition mounting against the boycott and the elders deciding to seek election to the State Council playing the communal flute, the Youth Congress spluttered slowly to a halt. It is important to understand the causes for the waning of its influence in the mid 1930's. As its membership was drawn mainly from the educated westernized middle classes, the Youth Congress lacked active support from the wider masses. Its class character also limited the scope of its activism: with a white collar job in the Government Service, steady income, and social status the members could not sincerely say "We have nothing to lose but our chains." The "bookishness" of its members too tainted its activities. The Congress being a liberal fringe of the educated circles was good at holding discussions and issuing declarations on social disabilities and cultural rights, but lacked a clear programme of action and organizational strength to carry out a protracted physical struggle for its claims.

(Continued on page 7)

SRI LANKA TAMILS: LEGITIMATE EXPECTATIONS — 4

SJV was a Prophet

And the demand for a federal constitution was a demand that was intended to protect the continued existence of the Tamil nation within the framework of a united Sri Lanka — a Tamil nation which felt that its continued existence was endangered by the actions of the ruling majority. Subsequent events proved that the perceptions of S. J. V. Chelvanayakam were right. And the Tamil Arasu Katchi was destined to play a role in Sri Lanka, not dissimilar to that of the Dravida Munetra Kalagam in South India.

At the sametime, 1956 witnessed the maturing of a Sinhala nationalism, which led to the success of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party at the polls. It was a party which campaigned on the basis of an appeal to Sinhala Buddhist sentiment and with a promise to make Sinhalese the official language of the country 'within 24 hours.'

The success of the Dravida Munetra Kalagam of Annadurai in South India, the Tamil Arasu Katchi of Chelvanayakam in Jaffna and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party of Bandaranaike in Sinhala areas, represented not dissimilar stages in the organic growth of Tamil and Sinhala nationalism in the Indian region. It was a growth which was interwoven with the increasing economic burdens cast on increasingly larger sections of the electorate in economies, which as late comers, had to buy and sell in a global market dominated by the 'already' developed countries of the world. As the economic cake grew smaller in relation to population, the discrimination against the 'minority' increased, and as discrimination increased, a separate 'identity' took shape. And, not surprisingly, the Dravida Munetra Kalagam, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and to a lesser extent, the Tamil Arasu Katchi, felt the need to proclaim 'socialism' as the economic panacea to win electoral support.

SINHALA ONLY

One of the first acts of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike's government in 1956, was to enact that Sinhalese shall be the sole official language. And this was done although, in 1944, before independence, the legislature had enacted that both Sinhala and Tamil should be official languages. The deliberate 'downgrading' of the Tamil language was perceived by many Tamils as a sym-

bolic insult — more than it was also regarded as being intended to eventually erase the separate cultural identity of the Tamil nation in Sri Lanka. But the passing of the Sinhala only Act was not only a matter of sentiment. It served to deprive thousands of Tamils of employment in the public sector — and more, importantly, open up thousands of job opportunities for Sinhala youth who did not have the benefit of an English education. And Tamil Members of Parliament who staged a peaceful protest outside the premises of Parliament, were set upon by Sinhala goon squads and assaulted, whilst the police looked the other way. It was the first but not the last organised assault on the Tamils of Sri Lanka.

One year later, in 1957, after prolonged discussions, the Sinhala Prime Minister and the leader of the Federal Party signed the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact

South of Sri Lanka were set upon by Sinhala goon squads in 'retaliatory' attacks. Tamil homes were looted. The estimated death toll in the riots of 1958 was of the order of 1000.

"...Passing cars and trains were stopped by mobs and their occupants butchered, houses were burnt with people inside and there was widespread looting." (Walter Schwarz: *Tamils of Sri Lanka*, Minority Rights Group 1983).

"...Hundreds of persons, primarily Tamils, were killed in this first episode of communal violence. Over 25,000 Tamil refugees were relocated from Sinhalese areas to Tamil areas in the North. The government was criticised for failing to declare a state of emergency early enough..." (Virginia Leary: *Ethnic Conflict and Violence in Sri Lanka—Report of a Mission to Sri Lanka on behalf*

the roads of Jaffna on the ground that they were breaking a curfew order, of which most of them were unaware..." (Senator Nadesan: *Senate Hansard 2nd May 1961*).

And an opposition Sinhala Member of Parliament stated in Parliament in May 1961: "This is not a question of an army man here and there, after liquor, indulging in excess. No, there is some plan, some purpose. There is an indication that they are going on instructions and preparing for some trouble because the purpose of the government in imposing an emergency and allowing army and navy personnel to behave in that fashion is to intimidate the Tamil minority in this country. That is the fact. That is the purpose."

In 1965, yet another Sinhala Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake, assumed office and once again the Federal Party negotiated and entered into an agreement which undertook to give a measure of regional autonomy by establishing District Councils but three years later the Sinhala Prime Minister reneged on his promise, again at the 'request of the Sinhala people.' And in a 'democracy' in an unitary state, the will of the permanent majority prevailed.

The 1970 general elections saw a new government installed in power, headed this time once again by Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike. It was a government which commanded an unprecedented majority of over 75% of the seats in Parliament and immediately set up a Constituent assembly to draft a new Constitution. The Federal Party initially participated in the deliberations and moved resolutions intended to secure a federal constitution for Sri Lanka. But these resolutions were defeated and the party thereupon refused to take any further part in the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly.

LEGAL BREAK

The Constituent Assembly however, proceeded with its deliberations and in 1972 adopted a new autochthonous constitution which made a break in legal continuity and which sought to derive its legitimacy from the will of the people as expressed by the constituent assembly—a constituent assembly which did not any longer have the representatives of the Tamil people. The 1972 Constitution was in no way the expression of the will of the Tamil people.

(To be continued)

by

N. Satyendra

on matters relating to the colonisation of the traditional homelands of the Tamil people, the establishment of Regional Councils in the North and East of Sri Lanka and the use of the Tamil language. But within weeks the Sinhala leader unilaterally abrogated the agreement at the 'request of the Sinhala people' and the campaign against the agreement was led by President Jayewardene, who was then functioning as the Leader of the Opposition and who declared:

"The time has come for the whole Sinhala race which has existed for 2500 years, jealously safeguarding their language and religion, to fight without giving any quarter to save their birth-right...I will lead the Campaign..." (Ceylon Daily News: 13th June 1957).

GOONS ATTACK

And when, in the face of the unilateral abrogation of the Bandaranaike—Chelvanayakam Pact, the Federal Party sought to organise peaceful protest movements in the North and East against the use of the Sinhala language in the traditional homelands of the Tamil people, thousands of Tamils in Colombo, Kandy, Amparai and elsewhere in the

of the International Commission of Jurists. July/August 1981).

The Federal Party recommended negotiations in 1960 with the new Sinhala government, headed by Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike, which had been elected after general elections following the assassination of S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in September 1959. But the negotiations proved abortive and in April 1961 thousands of Tamils performed satyagraha in Jaffna. They were sent upon by the Sinhala Army and brutally assaulted.

'BATTLE OF JAFFNA'

"...The military, without any warning and without informing the satyagrahis assembled at the Jaffna Kachcheri that an emergency had been declared, assaulted the men mercilessly, bundled the women into trucks...the military also vented their wrath on a large number of push cycles and even on some motor cars the army covered itself with glory when under the cover of darkness and armed with modern weapons, it routed a band of unarmed satyagrahis in what will go down in history as the 'Battle of Jaffna.' Immediately the 'Battle of Jaffna' was over, the army proceeded to waylay and assault all kind sundry on

HAZARDS OF ANTIBIOTIC THERAPY

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

The article "Antibiotics and Sri Lanka" Dr. T. Vinayagamoorthy in the SATURDAY REVIEW of 9th November 1985 is timely in view of the indiscriminate use of antibiotics and the resistant strains of pathogenic bacteria which are on the increase.

No one can deny the benefits of chemotherapy or antibiotics but at the same time the dangers associated with their abuse or even their correct use are not as widely appreciated. The hazards of antibiotic therapy can be classified into those affecting the individual patient and those affecting the community.

As regards the treatment of a patient it is obvious that unless he is suffering from an infection caused by pathogenic bacteria that is sensitive to an antibiotic, there is no virtue initiating such specific therapy. It has been reported that probably not more than 10 percent of the world's production of antibiotics is put to proper use.

The pressures on the practitioner by the patient or his relatives to prescribe antibiotics cannot justify the use of drugs for disorders like headache, toothache etc., where they have no merit at all. However, there are certain infections which are caused only by one bacterial species like erysipelas and syphilis and if there is no doubt about the chemical diagnosis, antibiotic therapy can be initiated as the causal organisms are always sensitive to certain agents.

The community may be subjected to unnecessary additional risks when antibiotic resistant strains evolve and can spread from the source; thus new cases of infection cannot receive the benefits of treatment with an antibiotic which otherwise would have assisted recovery. The community dangers are clearly seen in regard to drug resistant strains of *Mycobacterium tuberculosis*. The incidence of strains resistant to one or more of the therapeutically useful anti-tuberculous drugs is high in countries where laboratory control of therapy is non-existent or limited. Cases now occur where the drugs normally used—streptomycin, PAS and INAH—are of no value in treatment since the strain is resistant to all three. Hence alternative treatment is resorted to with other antibiotics which may be more costly and which may have greater side effects.

The learned author makes a statement (vide para 3) that "there are no training courses for laboratory technicians conducted either by any of the Universities or medical Institutions in Sri Lanka," which is damaging to the many Medical Laboratory Technologists in Sri

Lanka who have obtained the Certificate of Proficiency in the Theory and Practice of Medical Laboratory Technology awarded by the Director General of Health Services of the Government of Sri Lanka, after following a 2 year course at the School of Medical Laboratory Technology.

This school was inaugurated in 1960 with the collaboration of the World Health Organisation (WHO) and is in the premises of the Lady Ridgeway Hospital, Colombo. Trainee technicians are selected after a competitive examination among those who have the necessary educational requirements. The course consists of one year of Theory and Practice at the College and one year of internship at the major hospital laboratories in Colombo and other specialised laboratories. The Board of Examiners for the Finals consists of Pathologists, Microbiologists and Chemical Pathologists. It must be ment-

ioned that students from neighbouring countries have received their training here. I have written this to put the record straight as the readers may feel that all are unqualified and we have thus far been let loose to examine the specimens of an unsuspecting public and churn out haphazard reports.

However I do agree with the author when he says that "there should be a control over the private medical laboratories on the quality of the work" which really means to check the competency and the bona-fides of the personnel who are manning these laboratories.

George N. Niles

Medical Laboratory Technologist, North Lanka Medical College.

Jaffna

UNDER-STATEMENT

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Reference NEWS BRIEFS appearing under the caption "Serious Concern" of 26th October, 1985. The allegation made by the opposition leader, Mr. John Howard, in Australia in which he likened "Sri Lanka's racial discrimination to that of South Africa" is an under-statement.

He never visited Sri Lanka and saw the situation himself.

In South Africa the majority African people are being harassed and killed by the minority white regime. Everything that happened there was being reported in the world media. But in Sri Lanka the world media—radio, television and newspaper reporters are not allowed to visit the North and East to find out for themselves the happenings there. If anyone tried to go North or East, he is taken off the train or car for questioning.

In fact South Africa is following Sri Lanka and lately it too banned television reporting and imposed a kind of censorship. Therefore it is wrong to compare Sri Lanka with South Africa. If any comparison is needed one has to go back to the time of Hitler and Goebbels.

A Student of History

Karainagar

LETTERS

PITY THE G. S.

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

As a result of discrimination by the Passport Department, minority races are being put to various inconveniences and the blame falls on the Government.

How can a simple, unarmed gramasevaka give a certificate of character on Form GAM 3 to every Tom, Dick and Harry in his division who wants to get a passport? Will he be safe, if he refuses to do so?

In the Gramasevaka Certificate of character in section 3 (A) there is great confusion. It is mentioned in English as "whether the applicant has been convicted in a Court of Law", whereas in Tamil it is "whether the applicant has been charged in Court of Law."

Besides, on the reverse side of the said certificate the Gramasevaka is compelled to report all the adverse aspects of the applicant from head to foot. Who on earth will take such a certificate if such adverse reports are mentioned and issued by hand to the person on the spot.

Some Gramasevakas have been assaulted by IRC passport applicants who wanted their bad records to be omitted. If the Gramasevaka omits this information, he will be in trouble with his superiors.

The Department always sends letters in Sinhala. In rural Tamil areas there is none to read or understand such letters.

It also insists on a translation of Tamil certificates which is against the Constitution of the country. The Tamil language is a national language now. Every Tamil has the right to transact business in Tamil. But it is not fully implemented by communal-minded officials.

When will the authorities do something to clean up this mess?

Chundikuli A. R. R. Kumar

STICKING-POINT

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

One of the chief sticking-points in the negotiations on the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka is the linking of the Northern and Eastern provinces. The Tamils are asking for it while the Sri Lankan Government refuses to consider it.

It may not be generally known that the Sri Lankan Government nearly thirty years ago offered to link the Northern and Eastern provinces in the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam pact (BC pact) which the Tamils accepted. Unfortunately the Sri Lankan Prime Minister yielded to pressure—pressures which later resulted in his assassination.

The forces which opposed linkage then are in power today. How many more deaths must we see before what was recognised nearly thirty years ago by a Sri Lankan government to be just is given?

Dr. R. W. C. Thambiah

Nallur

KASI'S COMPLAINT

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Originally you published a 12 page SATURDAY REVIEW for Rs. 3/- per issue. The pages were reduced to 8 during the period of censorship. The censorship was removed some months ago but you have not restored the 12 pages but charge Rs. 3/- per issue. Why? You must either publish a 12 page-issue or reduce the cost to Rs 2/- per issue. Which do you propose to do and when?

S. Kasinathan

Urumpirai

Note by Editor:

Please bear with us. The production cost of the S. R. is now nearly Rs. 10/- a copy. Newsprint prices have gone up several times in the past two years; so have other costs. We would be very happy to give you not a 12 page paper but a 24 page paper at Rs. 3/- a copy—if only we could. Why not drop in for a chat?

WOE TO PENSIONERS

Let those who have tears be prepared to shed them now at the plight of the pensioners, for judgment has fled to brutish beasts! This could well be the epitaph on the tombstone of the pensioners who 'perished' on those tragic payment days.

The joust of pensioners at the Jaffna Fort Ramparts ended in complete rout of the pensioners on both scheduled payment dates of the 16th and 17th November, after a two-pronged attack by both Kachcheri and Army officialdom. This is how the story unfolds itself.

From the early hours of the morning there was a long queue of patient pensioners at the Fort barricades surrounded as it were by the hawk-eyed sentries at the watch-tower, armed to the hilt.

A so-called 'communication gap' between Kachcheri and Army officials resulted in the gates being opened around 9.00 a. m. At the butt end of this tangle was the poor pensioner. Pensions payments went on till about 12 noon

when it was announced that the Army was withdrawing its guards, as they had kept an 'all-night' vigil on account of the intermittent blasts which had taken place the night before and they were, therefore, 'too tired' to continue. So they called it a day. The announcement put the pensioners in complete disarray, as some of them had come from far off places and had been baking in the hot sun for more than 3 hours. The Bank official's sop that payments would be made the following day—17th cooled frayed tempers. But who was bothered about frayed tempers?

The usual queue was there the next day too but the Army Guard was not provided. So the Bank official collected about 100 identity cards of the pensioners in the queue promising payments to them the following day. The others were told to wait for 'further announcements in the Press. Many

Pensioners went empty-handed and crest-fallen after a galling two-day wait in the hot sun. We are not yet sure whether there were any casualties by way of heart-attacks and sun-stroke. Time alone will tell.

Who could understand the plight of those pensioners? If the pensioners could put their tongues on the stones of those silent and dark ramparts they could melt those stones to tears and move them to rise and mutiny at such callous treatment meted out by the officialdom 'immured in ivory towers'.

This two-day joust was not without its lighter side. The spirit of old camaraderie and good samaritanism was also seen. One could see old frames frisking about with stamps for the 'old and infirm'. They were young at heart. One longed for the 'good old days'—

a draught of beer and a quick one at the nearest pub—so that one could galvanise oneself into activity.

There were others who were trying to worm themselves into the queue by smoking a pipe and posing off as 'war veterans' while yet others traded on their past 'office' and smiled their way into the queue. These tragi-comic days went off with 'pensions sine die' with the pensioners praying that if Gods won't move, the Devils will!

Note by Editor:

According to information received later, payments of pensions will be made today 23rd November. In the meantime we have received several letters at this office on the 'woes of pensioners'. We are keeping our fingers crossed hoping that it will not be another 'Rugger Match' between the Army and Kachcheri officials with the pensioners watching the 'fun' at the barricades, in the hot sun!

TAMIL YOUTHS' RADICAL METAMORPHOSIS

(Continued from page 4)

So after a decade of adventure in radicalism, the Jaffna youth retreated again into his cosy cocoon, his secure shell. Even the uprising of Sinhalese youth in 1971 in the South failed to disturb him from his books and a political slumber.

But once again it was his education that rose behind his back to break his shell, in a different form. His successes in the educational field and the resulting domination of the professions earned the envy of the majority Sinhalese middle with the Sinhalese classes vying for a greater share in the small national cake of this tiny underdeveloped country, gradually discriminations in employment opportunities and University admissions were introduced under the guise of "redressing the balance." But with these regulations the Sinhalese governments rubbed the Tamil youth on the wrong side, they rudely intruded into his cosy educational cocoon.

Interestingly enough, the middle class Tamil youth only retreated further into his shell and intensified the competition within his community for the few places still available in the University and professions. The time-consuming game of politics was safely left in the hands of the parents while the children went for tuitions. The children of the moneyed families could also go abroad for their education and employment. It was only the youth in the lower classes, who were defeated in the rat race in their own country and had no prospect

of going abroad, who were prepared to take the bull by the horns.

FROM BOOKS TO GUNS

But what broke the shell completely and channelled the energies of the Tamil youth from books to guns were the political developments since early 1970. The Tamil political elders having been taken on a jolly ride of pacts and agreements which were never honoured by the successive governments, and seeing the community in a worse plight in the 1972 Republican Constitution now intensified their demands from Federalism to the Right of Self-determination. Seeing the youth too getting impatient by the delay in finding redress to their grievances they played on their emotions by promising them "Eelam. The youth meanwhile became suspicious of the merry-go-round of parliamentary politics that their elders were playing, where the communal issue was only a convenient slogan in the hands of bourgeois politicians on both sides to earn votes and seat themselves in the parliamentary benches. They began to consider extra-parliamentary forms of struggle.

Meanwhile the Sri Lankan security forces having tasted blood during the JVP uprising now turned their eyes on the youth of the North and East. Under cover of the emergency regulations of the Srimavo government, they arrested Tamil youth involved in non-violent democratic forms of protests, detained them without trial and carried out sadistic experiments on their bodies. The form

of oppression too changed from cultural and economic discriminations to "State Terrorism". Since the tragedy of the I.A.T.R. conference in 1974 the Sinhalese security forces directly participated or indirectly encouraged arson, looting, rape and killing of Tamil civilians. With not just his books but his very life threatened, the Tamil youth was naturally driven to extra-parliamentary and armed forms of struggle.

It is interesting to compare the differences with the Jaffna Youth Congress to understand the progression in radicalism in the contemporary youth activism. Whereas the earlier phenomenon was a transplantation from the Indian soil, in the form of Gandhism, the present awakening springs from the socio-economic conditions of Sri Lanka itself. The contemporary youth's conscious commitment to Marxist socialism is also quite a difference from the Youth Congress Gandhism idealism with its attendant spiritual and utopian connotations. Gandhian non-violence too has been rejected by today's youth as a viable mode of struggle. The fact that the present youth movement consists mainly of the lower classes whereas the Youth Congress was composed of educated westernized bourgeoisie also creates further differences. The present movement is deeply rooted in the (deprived and under-privileged) masses, has a clear programme of action, boasts of organizational strength, and is not tainted with "the arms chair politics" that slightly coloured the Youth Congress.

Thanks to the increasingly ruthless repression by the security personnel, the Tamil youth's conversion to radicalism has been near total. He once again inspires respect from the progressives in the south. He has almost completely taken over the responsibility of the political destiny of the Tamil Nation into his hands from his sluggish elders. The change in his personality is so revolutionary that many cherished traditions of the Tamils have been swept aside. He has had to desert his home as his struggle is extra-legal. His religious outlook has been dimmed by his cool Marxist materialism. Even girls have broken their conservative chains to join the armed groups. We are witnessing the creation of a radically new culture and a different set of values in the very process of the struggle for liberation.

But the disruption of the ordinary level examinations, robbing of Temple property, kidnapping of Tamil businessmen for ransom, certain unjustified summary executions of civilians—all this raise the frightening question whether this radicalism will only end in anarchy, whether the new culture will be only intermissive. The image of a reckless idealistic gun-toter looms menacingly. But it is hoped that when the Tamil youth comes through this fiery ordeal he will emerge refined, balanced with a healthy synthesis of the dual strands that have characterized his personality through history.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

DRIVER'S WIDOW APPEALS TO CMC

This is the text of a letter sent to the ceasefire monitoring committee by Mrs. Selvanayaki Kandasamy, widow of Mr. B. Kandasamy who was shot dead by the Security forces at Elephant Pass:

I regret to bring to your notice the following facts regarding the shooting of my husband Balasingam Kandasamy of 34/1, College Road, Neeraviady, Jaffna.

On 18th November morning my husband was driving an empty lorry bearing No. 26 Sri 5881 with a cleaner named Sriskantharajah and another person named Subramaniam Kanagarajasingam along Kandy Road, towards Puthukudiyiruppu from Jaffna. When the lorry approached Elephant Pass barrier, the lorry was halted by the Police in front of the Army Camp. The vehicle and the occupants were thoroughly checked and allowed to pass. The driver, my husband had just started the lorry and when it was on the move, he received gunshot injuries from bullets fired from the Army Camp.

On noticing the lorry being halted the Police on duty at the barrier rushed towards the lorry and ordered the driver to remove the lorry without delay. The cleaner Sriskantharajah thereupon pointed out to the Police that the driver had fallen down in his seat and was lying in a pool of blood. When the cleaner tried to awaken the driver, he was found to be dead. Thereafter the body of my husband was

removed to the Jaffna Hospital. The eye-witnesses to this incident are the cleaner, Sriskantharajah and the other person, Subramaniam Kanakarajasingam.

I beg to bring to your notice that I am a mother of seven children five of whom are girls. Only one daughter is married and my husband was the sole bread-winner of the family. Besides the income he earned, I have no other means of income.

I beg that drastic action be taken against the offender. Please grant me relief for the maintenance of me and my family.

Mrs. S. Kandasamy

CHURCH WINS

The case filed by Mr. Richard Karunairajan of Sithankerny against Bishop Ambalavanar and the Vaddukoddai Church Committee was heard in the Court of Appeal and their Lordships have recently delivered judgement stating that the judgement of the learned District Judge of Mallakam Mr. M. D. Jesuratnam cannot be allowed to stand for reasons given by them. The Plaintiff Mr. Richard Karunairajan's action has accordingly been dismissed with costs.

Mr. H. L. De Silva, President's Counsel with Mr. Leslie Bartlett appeared for the Bishop and the Church Committee at the Appeal.

Horror in the jungle

Kandasamy Ponnusamy (35) of Pavatkulam, father of five children ages ranging from five to fifteen had this horrendous story to tell. He is now hospitalised and will not be able to resume his normal life for some time.

He speaks to the SATURDAY REVIEW:

After certain incidents in our village on 14th August, the Security Forces who came to the area took away three youths from the neighbourhood. Their whereabouts could not be traced. All the villagers including myself, wife and children left Unit 2, Pavatkulam for the Refugee Camp at Pampaimadu.

At 8 a.m. on 1st November when I was on my way from Pampaimadu to Vavuniya on a bicycle, Army personnel who were at Kalvelikulam stopped me and took me into the jungle.

In the jungle I was handed over to another three soldiers in uniform who were armed. The soldiers who brought me left after removing Rs. 95/ that was in my shirt pocket and ordering the other soldiers to kill me. The language spoken by the soldiers was Sinhala.

I was then stabbed by one of the soldiers who was in the jungle with a kris knife on the right side of my chest and I fell down.

Another soldier then placing one of his booted feet and pressing me to the ground cut me on the nape of my neck.

At this moment the soldiers who brought me into the jungle returned with a fifteen year old boy and two of the three soldiers who were with me, left leaving one soldier with me.

After speaking to the youth and chasing him away the two soldiers returned and pressed me with their booted feet and on being hurt I cried out. I was stabbed again on the right side of my chest.

Blood gushed out of my injuries. The soldiers then rolled me over and left the place.

They returned after a few minutes and kicked me to see whether I was alive.

I was almost lifeless; I could not cry out. Talking amongst themselves that I was dead, they left the place.

A few minutes after the soldiers departed I heard someone cry out, "Aiyo amma" twice a little further away, but I do not know what really happened.

I then crawled a distance of half-a-mile towards Kalvelikulam, drank a little water from the pond and rested. At this time a helicopter was hovering above and I hid myself.

Later, I went into a house at 4th mile post and remained there for about 2 hours as it was raining. The house was deserted.

On seeing me a dog started barking and a man from the neighbourhood came there. He spoke to me in Sinhala and ascertained all that happened.

This Sinhalese man then summoned the neighbours and with their assistance, carried me about one and a half miles in a make-shift stretcher to the Mannar Road where they put me into the Mail Bus and requested them to drop me at the Vavuniya Government Hospital.

Accordingly the Bus Conductor had me admitted in the Vavuniya Government Hospital at about 3-00 p.m.

On 3-11-1985 the Hospital authorities had me transferred to the General Hospital, Jaffna.

ET TU DAHA?

At the resumed Budget Debate in Parliament on 19th November Dr. Dahanayake is reported to have suggested the creation of 'two Parliaments for the North and East respectively with two Chief Ministers.' He is reported to have further said that the Tamil people should be considered as the brethren of the Sinhalese.

GNANAMS PHOTO IDENTITY CARD. ATTENTION!!

Corporations, Government Departments, Banks, Private Establishments!

Now in Jaffna to Protect you—

Yes! Spot outsiders before they enter your premises!
Cards are Temper & Resistant.

Contact :

Gnanams Studio
301, Clock Tower Road,
Jaffna.

Telephone No. 23067.