

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

Vol. 4 No. 37 30 th November 1985

### KLEEN KHUT

FOR

- ★ PHOTO COPY & RONEO SERVICES
- ★ TYPING WORK,
- ★ LADIES & CHILDREN'S DRESS MAKERS

**KLEEN KHUT**  
239, POWER HOUSE ROAD,  
JAFFNA.

Tel. No.: 22823

# 'MARXIST TERRORISTS'— BEWARE!

The current year's defence bill is expected to be a whopping Rs. 6 billion — or 12 per cent of total Government expenditure.

This is more than eight times the defence budget for 1977.

The original budgetary provision for this year was Rs. 3.7 billion.

The Minister of Finance Mr. Ronnie de Mel attributed the huge increase to the escalating ethnic violence.

The sum earmarked for defence in 1986 is a little in excess of Rs. 6 billion, again about 12 per cent of total projected Government expenditure.

Again, the excuse is the continuing ethnic violence.

There is a message in this for all Sri Lankans, especially the Sinhalese. The sooner a settlement of the ethnic problem is reached, the better for us all.

Money which could be used to fight the common enemy of all the communities — Sri Lanka's under-development, which is at the root of the ethnic conflict — is going to be used to kill more people and spawn more refugees.

Chauvinism and intransigence will never pay. It will only lead to the ruination of this Island Paradise. That is, the ruination of all of us.

As the Minister of Finance said at a public meeting before the presentation of the Budget:

"The present situation in the North and East and the senseless killing of people, be they Sinhalese, Tamil or Muslim, cannot go on for ever.

"Sri Lanka was well on the way to becoming a model country in

the Third World and a showpiece in Asia. All this has now changed as a result of the ethnic violence.

"Foreign investment and tourism have been seriously affected. In consequence, inflation will increase once more. There is no way of avoiding inflation when the budget gets into a large deficit. With inflation, prices will rise and everybody will be adversely affected.

"Unemployment already shows signs of increasing. Money earmarked for development is now diverted to defence.

"Tens of thousands have lost their lives and jobs, both Sinhalese and Tamils.

"In these circumstances, every right-thinking man and woman, both in the North and the South, must take stock of the situation facing the country quietly and objectively, without communal passion and emotion.

"We must all support President Jayewardene in any reasonable solution of the ethnic problem, within the overall context of a unitary state..."

We have repeatedly said that the "military approach" to the ethnic problem will never work. In the war game, the Sinhalese stand to lose more than the Tamils.

There is another aspect to the increased military expenditure to which we wish to draw attention.

It is understandable for any Government to strengthen its defence capabilities — but not to the extent undertaken by Presi-

dent Jayewardene's Government.

However much we may buttress our armed Forces, we cannot meet any external threat on our own.

Then, who is the enemy? "Northern Terrorists", according to the Government.

But there is enough military hardware in Sri Lanka already-part of it procured during the "Ceasefire", in blatant violation of the understanding between the two sides—to meet this threat.

Our perception is that the Government is getting ready to meet what it regards as another and bigger threat — from the South.

There is considerable unrest in the Sinhalese areas on economic issues, unrest kept under control by ruthless suppression of all forms of anti-Government agitation.

The opposition parties, trade unions, professional associations, student organisations and Press have all been cowed to nearly total submission.

On occasion, even the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act, originally intended for use in the North, had been invoked in the South.

Some indication of the Government's mind is revealed in the new appellation used for the Tamil militants — "Marxist Terrorist"!

The twist is ominous. It is intended to equate the violence in the North with a Marxist conspiracy allegedly hatched by some of the Tamil militant groups in association with leftist elements

in the South to topple the Government.

No less than President Jayewardene himself has said so, in Sri Lanka and abroad.

He has said that there is no ethnic problem as such, but only a Marxist threat.

Governments of most Third World countries which wanted to cling on to power and gone autocratic have this ploy.

And the United States and some of its allies are ever ready to support any regime which is anti-Communist, however autocratic it may be. There is no limit to the aid which such a country can receive.

The Philippines, South Korea and Pakistan are three classic examples.

"Save Sri Lanka from Communism" has been a favourite slogan of the rightwing United National Party from its inception.

We see it coming to the fore again.

"Marxist Terrorists" in the North as well as the South, beware!

### BULL'S-EYE

V. M. Ranjan (26), a mechanic, was shot dead on Wednesday morning (27th November) near the Jaffna Post Office, presumably by a sentry standing on the ramparts of the Jaffna Fort.

Ranjan, a resident of Kachcheri-Nallur Road, was reportedly carrying some spare parts when he was shot dead.

### HUMAN RIGHTS DAY

The Movement for Inter Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE) northern Branch is organising an Exhibition and Seminar to be held at Trimmer Hall, Jaffna, on 9th December to mark International Human Rights Day.

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

## J R REFUGEES RELIEF FUND

We acknowledge with thanks  
the following further donations.

Mr. R. Somalingam	Rs. 50.00
Dr. Balasubramaniam	300.00
Mr. S. Srinivasam	100.00
Mrs. Iswary Paul	250.00
Anonymous	300.00
Mr. Rudra	200.00
Executives of Cement Corporation...	500.00
Anonymous	700.00

## P. P. COMMITTEE PROTESTS

The Point Pedro Citizens' Committee has written to President Jayewardene protesting against the decision to stop assistance to the Vavuniya refugees.

The letter states "We still hear reports from Vavuniya that Tamils are being very much affected. Millions worth of their properties have been looted and burnt. How can they, by any stretch of imagination, be asked to return to Vavuniya?"

The Committee has asked the President "to order the continuance of assistance to the Vavuniya refugees until return of normalcy."

## SOLVING THE ETHNIC CRISIS:

# PEOPLE'S FORUM PUTS FORWARD THREE OPTIONS

The People's Forum of Jaffna in a Press Release signed by its President Mr. S. Vanniasingam and its Secretary, Mr. T. S. Kumaresan, states that the following resolution was passed recently:

"It behoves the Tamil linguistic group in Ceylon to take note of the request made by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to the Tamil Liberation groups, presently in Madras, to put forward specific proposals conveying a clear idea of the position of the Tamils in regard to the negotiated settlement of the present ethno-political crisis. The Forum considers that it is in the best interests of the people of the Northern and Eastern Provinces to respond positively by putting forward specific proposals constituting the minimum demand of the people of the North and the East to enable the Indian Prime Minister to take some meaningful steps to resolve the conflict."

The People's Forum has put forward three options to choose from: Option (1) a Referendum should be held in the Northern and Eastern Provinces seeking an affirmative vote to validate the present Unitary Constitution enacted in 1978. "Unless an affirmative vote is secured at a referendum held in these two provinces, the congenital defect in the Constitution which is

the root of the problems the island faces today will remain and render the exercise of all State authority in the said two provinces unlawful and devoid of *de jure* status thereby inviting insurgency. If the Constitution is validated any insurgency is deprived of a moral base and peaceful solution thereby is easily achieved".

Option 2 envisages a Federal Political Structure for the island in which one State will be Eelam com-

prising the present Northern and Eastern Provinces.

If the Government is not prepared to choose either option 1 or 2, the Forum suggests that the matter be referred to arbitration, which is the third option.

"What the Tamils seek is to choose the freedom to manage their own affairs and be the architects of their own future. What is wrong with that attitude?" the People's Forum statement concludes.

## Jaffna College Technical Institute

### ENGINEERING COUNCIL EXAMINATION (LOND) PART I MAY 1987

The full time Professional Engineering course, preparing the candidates to the above examination will commence on 8th January 1986. Students of either sex, under 22 years of age, having six G.C.E (O.L) passes and two G.C.E (A.L) passes (Mathematics & Physics) can apply.

Special classes in English language, Engineering, Drawing and laboratory practicals are also included in the curriculum. The full syllabus will be taught in 3 Semesters of 18 weeks duration.

Fee: Rs. 1,000/- per semester  
Prospectus and Application form (Rs. 20/-)

available at the office.

Apply before 15th December 1985 to Director, Jaffna College Technical Institute, Vaddukoddai.

# NOT THE NEWS

## DISGUISED

A famous contractor around town has given power of attorney over his vast financial empire to his wife, in case of his absence. This followed the recent gherraoing by students. He expressed fears that the urgent completion of an additional store-room, at his palatial residence which was built in record time over the last few years, may be delayed if there is any repetition of his being detained incognito. Speaking to our reporter from behind dark glasses and a father's cassock, he confided that he now went around in disguise to prevent identification by his creditors and students.

## THE CANON MISFIRES

We publish below a conversation reported by our special correspondent from the Bishop's House in Colombo.

Bishop: My dear Harold, several members of my flock have com-

plained to me that their ideas of truth and democracy are marginally, I mean slightly, at variance with yours. By the way, from where did you pick up your notions of democracy? Not from the UNP, I trust?

Canon Harold: No, My Lord, certainly not. It has pleased God in his mercy to succour and guide me through the ways of his church all my life long.

Bishop: Not from the Canon Law of the Church I am sure!

Harold: Well, My Lord...

Bishop: Say No more Harold, I quite understand. Go thou and sin no more.

Note: See 'The Island' of 19th November, 1985 for Canon Harold on 'Truth and Democracy.'

## TAMIL AGENTS?

The Sinhala Solidarity Front has alleged publicly that the

government is in truth Tamil at heart despite their most vexed denials. They point to the government's handling of negotiations with India in the manner of a Tamil matrimonial rigmarole. Tamil men pretend they are going to the zoo to see the monkeys or to a Temple to pay homage to the deity when in fact they are going to see the prospective brides. So our leaders pretend they have business in Bangladesh, Bahamas, and Bahrain to justify expensive trips, when in fact their business is with men from Delhi. Once a marriage is arranged occasionally bridegroom's party says the marriage is on and off in turns. So this government having agreed to peace, talks of peace and war in turns, often both at once. Are these Tamil agents trying to drive us mad through confusion? Pure Sinhala blood which came from the Pandya country 2500 years ago and was subsequently enriched by the loins of Tambi Mudaliyar and Nilaperumal shall not be fooled.



There is an eerie feeling in Jaffna, a feeling that death is all round us and yet there is a normalcy of sorts. Children go to school not knowing whether there will be classes. Bazaars once thriving with economic activity are ghosts of their old selves. The Tamil press is full of constant reminders of death. The Eelamadu reported on 20th November that 48 persons died as a result of aerial bombing by the State in the Eastern province. A girl from Batticaloa who just joined the University of Jaffna has received a letter from home saying that her brother was killed by the army. Why has Jaffna been spared? It is hardly of any comfort to say that no part of this country will be spared the law of Karma.

What disturbs us more is the appearance of indifference given by the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in Parliament. He has it appears casually observed that the Tamil groups have failed to submit a joint counter proposal and that his government will take up the question of ceasefire violations by the Sri Lankan State.

The situation as we see it is far more urgent. Death and fear are very real here. Even fear of genocide. We have no illusions about the Sri Lankan State's concern for Tamil, or for that matter even

## RAJIV INDIFFERENT TO TAMILS' FATE?

Sinhalese lives. The law of brute force tamed by civilisation has been let loose. The government talks of both war and peace in a Babel of incoherent voices. Thanks to the government's Sixth Amendment and the partly self-inflicted discrediting of the TULF, it may have become unrealistic to expect a joint stand by the Tamil parties. The private scores for real and imagined

men, encroached on their lands and provoked them into violence, the fate of the Red men who had no friends was sealed. The Tamils cannot be unconscious of this possibility facing them.

There is a sneaking suspicion here that the Indian government has got what it wants and, Tamil lives notwithstanding, is content to watch the Sri Lankan govern-

by **M. Ratnam**

offences they have notched up against each other cannot be of much help either. It is difficult to blame Rajiv Gandhi when our own friends in Tamil Nadu have found themselves prostrate. But can India afford to sit back and allow the antagonists here to thrash it out according to their lights? Some situations can only have denouements. Once the White men of America broke their treaties with the Red

men, encroached on their lands and provoked them into violence, the fate of the Red men who had no friends was sealed. The Tamils cannot be unconscious of this possibility facing them. There is a sneaking suspicion here that the Indian government has got what it wants and, Tamil lives notwithstanding, is content to watch the Sri Lankan govern-

We are not in the business of using Tamil Nadu to beat Delhi. And we are sure Prime Minister Gandhi has more competent people than us to advise him on feelings in Tamil Nadu. But surely, the histories of a people of India, and especially South India, and Sri Lanka have been closely intertwined from time immemorial, even if a section of people in Sri Lanka claim exclusive Nordic origins. What happens here will have repercussions in India. In the long run can Tamil Nadu rest easy with a central government which watched the Tamils of Sri Lanka go down? Mr. Gandhi must heed the signs which are evidently ominous. Having paid lip-service to peace, the Sri Lankan government has failed to remind the Sinhalese that the Tamils are also equal citizens of a common land. Instead the President boasts of the possibility of a military solution. Arms purchases and recruitment have been beefed up. Military expenditure is an astronomical 17% of total expenditure according to the Finance Minister. India has a right to question the Sri Lankan government's desire for peace.

Now Mr. Athulathmudali claims to have had useful talks with the Indian Prime Minister and officials in Bahrain. Do we dare to hope this time that it augurs well?

## A LETTER FROM THE DEAD

I was hungry but the new rich you created by your economic policies fed their cats, dogs, and pets with my food. You even imported food for cats and dogs, while I starved.

I was hungry and you encouraged multinationals to plant winged beans and waste money for five years to produce yard-long Dambala, without using that money on research to produce more and cheaper subsidiary food crops and cowpea for my family.

I was hungry and the billionaires you produced within a short space of time, did not give up their T-bone steak in the big hotels, so you subsidised them heavily.

I was hungry but you allowed multinationals to cultivate sugar cane at Moneragala and then sell their sugar at higher prices, while I was deprived of the land that grew my daily meal. I was reduced to an agricultural labourer.

I was hungry and you made cricket the country's first priority spending money and time to giddy limits that eroded the productivity of people in all walks of life, and made cricket the opium of the people!

I was hungry but you allowed waste and corruption to increase despite the pleas of your own Minister of Finance. The resultant price increases reduced my family's food basket.

I was hungry and money that could have been used to produce food on available irrigable lands was used for constructing Dams that made your 1977 promises a set of damn lies.

I was hungry but you removed the food subsidies only to waste the money saved on unproductive projects and opening ceremonies that have now become carnivals at odd times of the day.

I was hungry but you watched unconcerned local and foreign cartels control food production and imports, and allowed my Lakspray which was Rs. 6-50 per lb to be raised to Rs. 29-50 per pound.

I was hungry but you never cared to learn that all the food the world produces in one year, if distributed according to need, will ensure every single person on earth gets a ton of food that contains more than adequate protein and energy.

I was hungry but you allowed millions to be spent on seminars and training of the trained, and re-training, and training trainers ad nauseam.

I was hungry but you did not ask yourself the priority question why people in Sri Lanka go hungry, outline the main food issues and demand solutions to those problems. Instead, you surrounded yourself with expatriate Sri Lankans who are nothing but conduits for business interests in their land of adoption, and may soon entice you to start a Star Wars Program!!

I was hungry but you never took action on the reports of increasing malnutrition, although those we have left behind, the surviving victims, will be physically less developed, mentally less alert and more susceptible to disease.

I was hungry but you remained unaware of the facts that stale bread, spoiled vegetables and fruits in the dust bins of rich homes and the big hotels you put up could have fed me and thousands of others who had to shorten their sojourn on Earth.

I was hungry but you never ask your friends who got you into the debt trap the morality of wasting

Applications are being received for Military Training in 'Green' and 'McLeod' Hospitals.

**QUALIFICATIONS:**

1. S.S.C. in not more than two sittings with 5 subjects in one sitting including 4 credits in Tamil Language or Literature and Arithmetic or Pure Maths or Commercial Arithmetic.

2. N.C.G.E. 6 subjects in not more than two sittings including 4 'B' grade passes with First Language and Arithmetic.

Height more than 4' 10", unmarried and preferably between 18 and 25 years of age.

Apply before 9-12-85, with copies of certificates and testimonials to the Medical Superintendent, McLeod Hospital, Inuvil.

food deliberately by dumping food into the sea in order to keep the prices of food high.

Real human development and social justice are closely related to peace. Many of the causes of conflict in Sri Lanka relate to the sharp polarisation of wealth and poverty among all races.

Gandhi said "Poverty is the worst kind of violence."

— Winged Bean



JOHN Steinbeck's novel, *The grapes of Wrath*, painted an unforgettable picture of migrant families. The available evidence suggests that most migratory workers — be it farm labour or otherwise — display a distinct and unmistakable pattern that is roughly applicable to any homeless population though fully descriptive of none.

Migratory labour is often a homeless population. They may be owning houses, but they are homeless. Homelessness is a condition of detachment from society characterized by the absence or attenuation of the affiliative bonds that link settled persons to a network of interconnected social structures.

#### HOMELESSNESS: THEORY

The term Home, with its special connotations of warmth, safety, and emotional dependence, has no exact equivalent in other linguistic systems. Aside from its familiar overtones, it expresses the idea of a fixed place of residence shared with a limited number of other persons.

In current usage, home does not imply a family (unrelated persons can "make a home" together), a household (a rest home may be much larger), more than moderate fixity (in any given year, more than one in five U.S. families moves to a new home).

Living outside a family, with no permanent address, does not make a priest or a soldier homeless, but the man who occupies the same lodging for forty uninterrupted years is properly considered homeless. The essence of the concept goes beyond residential arrangements.

Homelessness is best visualized as a relationship to society at large and best understood by examining the difference between the settled and the homeless.

Homelessness takes many forms, depending on the type of detachment involved and the local circumstances. Homeless families fall into three general types: permanent wanderers, such as gypsies and carnival performers; wanderers with a fixed base, especially migratory farm workers; and refugees, for whom homelessness is an accident and not a way of life.

#### SYNDROME

Homeless persons are poor—or at least relatively poor—anomic, inert, and non-responsible. They command no resources, enjoy no esteem, and assume no burden of reciprocal obligations. Social action, in the usual sense, is almost impossible for them. Lacking organisational statuses and

roles, their sphere of activity extends no further than the provision of personal necessities on a meagre scale. Their decisions have no implications for others. Only the simplest forms of concerted action are open to them.

The common characteristics of homeless populations that are observable as concurrent symptoms of the disease, consist largely of activities that furnish subsistence or enjoyment without incurring responsibilities: mendicancy, petty crime, scavenging, casual conversation, and an incurious attention at spectacles. This quality of social inertness renders him both innocuous and helpless. He is unlikely to engage in major crime

ments of population in the world from areas of poverty or disturbances to countries where living conditions are better.

#### THE TAMIL DREAM

Tamils have been pouring out of their homeland for hundreds of years. But as they paused to look back at their native villages, the dream was always the same; to get rich abroad, to return home in triumph, and to die on the soil of their birth.

Admittedly, by now many were disillusioned when they discovered that the streets in the West were by no means paved with gold. These re-settlers have been much

## HOMELESSNESS AND TAMIL MIGRATORY LABOUR

or political movements or to protest his own condition forcefully. A certain apathy regarding self-preservation often develops in addition to collective helplessness. The homeless in great cities and in refugee camps stand and watch their companions assaulted by strangers without offering to interfere and without taking any measures to protect themselves. An insensitivity to emergencies leads to a very high rate of morbidity and mortality among homeless persons as compared to the settled population around them.

harder than even their 'old-established' fellow Tamils by unemployment problems. Also migrancy engenders community resentment. The recent riots in Birmingham is an example of such resentment. Newspaper reports say that at least three people were killed when black and white youths rioted overnight in Birmingham, Britain's second biggest city, setting fire to buildings and looting shops. According to the same news report: A police spokesman said "The burned-out remains of overturned vehicles smouldered and the streets were littered

by **Mallika Rasaratnam**

#### FAR-FLUNG TAMILS

Although U.S.A., Canada, West Germany and Australia do not solicit pressingly, several thousands of Tamil immigrants were able to find entry into these countries. Among the settlers who have found their way into these countries in recent years there are probably a number of comparatively wealthy persons with either money in foreign banks or with some one to look after them having income particularly in the middle East.

The Daily News of 30th January, 1985 tells of another version. It says that the Tamil Association of Australia claimed that the Tamils were the first settlers of Australia with the object of getting more and more Tamils to Queensland using the word 'refugee'.

The expansion of global air travels has facilitated vast move-

with glass and looted goods.... Scores of residents were spending the night in a local community centre after fire threatened to spread to a factory making butane gas."

For reasons not entirely understood the presence of homeless persons often arouses a degree of hostility in the settled population, which might sometimes include the 'old-established' immigrants of other racial origin. Almost always migrancy engenders community resentment. An Indian view as stated in the 'Indian Express' gives the suggestion that the 'old-established' brethren immigrants from West Indies attacked the Indians. The report says: Those killed and most of those injured (in the Birmingham riots) are said to be Indian settlers, while the property destroyed belonged both to Indian and Pakistani immigrants. The government of the United Kingdom reportedly views the riots as an isolated example of

lawlessness. What happened is neither all that isolated nor a matter of spontaneous lawlessness. If immigrants from the West Indies attacked Asians in Birmingham, it was not for reasons of colour. Social and economic factors are at the root of the problem: an unemployment rate far above the national level, feelings of racial discrimination, drugs and urban decay.

#### BAFFLED

Mark R. Thomsen in Los Angeles, writing (Far Eastern Economic Review, 4th July, 1985) about Koreans in the U.S. says, "The mixture of cultures has often baffled the Police. It has caused logistical nightmares for prosecutors trying to assemble a case and plunged defence lawyers into arcane debates about such things as when a dialect is in fact a completely different language, what role suicide plays in Japanese society, and whether 'rape' is an acceptable facet of courtship among the Hmong. Meanwhile, judges have been forced to ponder whether a crime sometimes is an innocent act by a person who never dreamed other people considered it wrong."

Homeless populations often occupy an underworld with a special argot, secret signs, and a conventional refusal to communicate with outsiders. There is already a precedent for a Tamil to dominate the underworld activities in Bombay. Recently, "The Illustrated Weekly of India" carried the story of Don Varadarajah Mudaliar, a native of Madras, as chief of the underworld operators. Don Varadarajah Mudaliar is clearly an exceptional talent, but one cannot say that it is not in the nature of the 'Mathunga' community to have produced such a prodigy. Manifestations as we see in 'Mathunga' and, perhaps even 'Birmingham' may lead romantic observers to imagine an entire clandestine social system, such as the 'Kingdom of Beggars' or the 'hobo republic' but on closer view, these fantasies disappear and reveal the homeless as an aggregate of unrelated individuals who share a common culture.

Most would-be emigrants are not discouraged, however by the difficulties associated with obtaining an entry visa and the prospect of facing immediate unemployment: "Many of us have achieved prosperity and established a high reputation in our homeland. If we work hard and show thrift we'll be able to make a new life for ourselves in the new country too," says a 40 year old lady doctor.

In numerous discussions with these would-be emigrants, the writer noticed the marked discrepancy between the ideas they have about the countries they have in mind to migrate to and the realities the newspaper offers us to read.

(Continued on page 7)



## SRI LANKA TAMILS: LEGITIMATE EXPECTATIONS — 5

# Standardisation: Young Tamils Driven To The Streets

The 1972 Constitution went further and repealed even the limited safeguards for minorities contained in the Constitution of 1948—safeguards which had become an embarrassment to the Sinhala government in consequence of the Kodiswaran case:

"The Bandaranaike government had directed that unless a Tamil public servant passed a proficiency test in Sinhala in stages over three years, his annual increment would be suspended and he would eventually be dismissed. Mr. Kodiswaran, a Tamil in the executive clerical service, declined to sit for the exam and in 1962 his increment was stayed. He sued the government on the ground that the regulation was unreasonable and illegal as the Official Language Act of 1956 transgressed the prohibition against discrimination provided for in section 29 of the Constitution. The trial judge, the most senior in the judicial service, upheld the plea. But his judgement was set aside on appeal in the Supreme Court on the ground that a public servant could not sue for his salary. Mr. Kodiswaran appealed to the Privy Council in London, which set aside the Supreme Court's decision on suing for a public servant's salary and directed that the Supreme Court should now rule on the constitutional question. The Ceylon government thereupon abolished appeals to the Privy Council, thereby disposing of Kodiswaran's case. And the Republican Constitution of 1972 did away with the safeguards for minorities enshrined in the original section 29." (Walter Schwarz: *Tamils of Sri Lanka Minority Rights Group 1983 Report*).

## STANDARDISATION

In the meantime, in 1971 the new government standardised admissions to the University and effectively reduced the number of Tamil students entering Universities. The percentage of Tamil students entering engineering courses fell from 40% in 1970 to 13% in 1976; in science faculties the percentage fell from 35% in 1970 to 15% in 1978; and in the medical faculty from 50% in 1970 to 20% in 1975.

"Nothing aroused deeper despair among Tamils than the feeling that they are being systematically squeezed out of higher education. They have complained particularly of the system of 'standardisation' in force after 1972, in which marks obtained by can-

didates for university admission are weighted by giving advantage to certain linguistic groups and/or certain districts..." (Walter Schwarz: *Tamils of Sri Lanka—Minority Rights Group 1983 Report*).

It was a step taken by the Sinhala Government in the aftermath of an armed uprising by Sinhala youth in 1971 — an insurrection which revealed widespread discontent at the failure of the government to resolve the problem of increasing unemployment. Around 10,000 Sinhala youth were killed during the insurrection. And the Tamils of Sri Lanka were not unmindful that the problem of unemployment was something that concerned the Sinhala people as well,

"...It is true that unemployment is something which concerned Sinhala youth as well — concerned them to the extent that thousands were prepared to die and did in fact die, in the attempt to change the economic structure which existed in 1971. But there is this significant difference. In Sri Lanka, state power has at all times been con-

education and without prospects of employment and compelled to seek a political solution for that which had become an existential problem.

## CONTINUED REPRESSION

The continued repression of the Tamils of Sri Lanka by successive Sinhala governments was not without an answering response from their brothers and sisters in Tamil Nadu who were linked by a common culture and a common language — a link that was furthered by *The International Association for Tamil Research* which held its first international conference seminar in 1965 in Malaysia.

It was a conference that was attended by Tamil scholars from more than twenty countries and the late Father Xavier Thaninayagam from Sri Lanka, who himself had researched at Annamalai University in Chidambaram and later served in Malaysia, and whose contributions to Tamil studies will always remain monumental, commenced his introductory remarks from the

by

N. Satyendra

centrated in and derived from the centre and during the past several years, this has meant that such state power has been in the hands of the Sinhala majority. And, it is not surprising that those who enjoyed state power in a parliamentary democracy tended to extend their patronage to their own electoral areas. At a time when more than 60% of the economy is state owned, one consequence has been that the public sector has become an almost closed avenue for employment, in so far as Tamils are concerned. (and) it is not without significance that no Tamil either participated or died in the insurrection in 1971. They continued to live with their feelings of disaffection. Their failure to participate was not because that unemployment was less acute in the Tamil areas. They did not participate because national feelings which springs from a common language and culture continue to remain a potent force in the political arena — more potent than that which springs from divisions of class..." (N. Satyendra: *Tamils of Sri Lanka and the Presidential Commission, Sri Lanka Tribune, 13th October 1979*).

Young Tamils were driven to the streets, without prospects of further

chair with a quotation from Thirumular:

"Ennai Nandragha Iraivan Padai-  
thanan  
Thannai Nandragha Tamil Chei-  
yumaru"

These were words intended to reiterate the underlying unity of Tamils everywhere. The conference was addressed by the then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, M. Bhaktavatsalam:

"As the leader of the delegation from Tamil Nadu, whose language and culture have been permeating throughout the East and West in days of yore, I deem it a great privilege to be able to address you on this historic occasion... In those early days, when maritime trade of the Tamils extended upto China, Malaysia must have played a very important role as the centre of trade for ships from Tamil Nadu going to countries such as the Philippines, Cambodia, Java... The ancient Sangam classic, *Pattinappalai*, refers to the variegated merchandise which we imported from places like Java, Sumatra, Malaysia and China and to the assorted goods which were exported from Tamil Nadu to

these countries the world famous temple of Angkorwat bears witness to the architectural grandeur of Tamil Nadu which has spread... it gives me great pleasure to propose that the Second Conference be held at Madras early in 1963..." (Proceedings of First International Conference Seminar on Tamil Studies, 1966 IATR).

And so it was that the 1966 Conference was followed in 1968 by one in Madras, in Tamil Nadu. It was a conference that was attended by almost 500 delegates from forty countries of whom 203 were from Tamil Nadu and 49 from Sri Lanka. "To run concurrently with the Second International Conference Seminar, a World Tamil Conference, aimed at a wider audience and planned with a view to making an appeal of a more popular nature, was arranged by the Government of Tamil Nadu, by this time under the leadership of C. N. Annadurai (of the Dravida Munetra Kalagam). A leading part in the organisation of this World Tamil Conference was played by M. Karunanidhi (who later himself, served as Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu) statues of ten important figures in the story of Tamil culture and history were unveiled on the Marina Beach, Madras. These were Thiruvalluvar, Avvai, Kamban, G. U. Pope, Robert Caldwell, Bharathi, Bharathidasan, V. O. Chidambaram, Veeramamunivar and Kannagi..." (Proceedings of the Second International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies 1968, IATR).

The Fourth International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies was held in Jaffna in January 1974. It was a conference that was organised amongst great difficulties and without the support of the Sri Lankan government, which was headed at that time by Srimavo Bandaranaike. Many Tamil scholars from Tamil Nadu were refused visas for entry into Sri Lanka. Restrictions were placed on those who would be permitted to speak at the public meeting at the conclusion of the Conference Seminar. The police fearing that Era Janarthanam, a Tamil scholar and a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Tamil Nadu belonging to the Dravida Munetra Kalagam may speak, moved into the assembled crowd with tear gas and seven Tamils were killed as a direct result of the police attack. And the government of Sri Lanka refused to hold an independent judicial inquiry into the conduct of the police.

(To be continued)



# MURUGAPURI: EYE-WITNESS TESTIMONY

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

I am a resident of Murugapuri, Uppuveli, eye witness to many incidents, which took place since 4th September, 1985—brutal killings of many Tamils and destruction and burning of all houses belonging to the Tamils towards south of Murugapuri were over by this time. All of them fled in the direction of Sampativu as refugees.

On 4th September, 1985 during the height of the tension all residents at Murugapuri and suburbs, up to the 3rd mile post left their houses and took refuge at the 3rd milepost and beyond towards the North. On the evening of the 4th, thugs entered Murugapuri and suburbs with armed homeguards and looted the houses. This looting continued till the 8th. In the meantime on the 7th, the area was shelled from the air by helicopter. On the 9th morning Forces with machine gunfire moved on to the 3rd milepost. All residents in the area fled for safety. The forces then proceeded about 200 yards beyond the junction towards Nilaveli and maintained guard, preventing Tamils crossing the point. Soon after, I could hear reports of gun shots and saw smoke and flames coming up from the Murugapuri end. A crowd was moving in the direction of the 3rd milepost junction, with armed homeguards looting all houses and shops en route. This went on till about 5 p. m. Another crowd which followed later, set fire to the houses and shops which had already been looted.

Practically all the shops and houses about 100 yards beyond the junction were looted and burnt down. About 6 p. m. the thugs and home guards with guns moved out. Subsequently the Forces who were guarding the Main Road, also moved out, after firing several shots.

About 7 p. m. some people, including me, approached the road at the 3rd mile post junction. It was deserted. Adjoining the roadside is the Solai Vairavan Temple, where we saw two dead bodies lying in the temple premises with cuts and gunshot injuries. They were identified as Sinnathurai (85) and Navaratnam (50). There was also one Menon, 61 years, Manager of a hotel nearby, who was found killed and partly burnt inside his hotel.

On 10.9.85, the following morning, when some relations and others visited the scene to remove the dead bodies, armed

home guards and thugs came to the spot and fired shots. Leaving the bodies all fled through fear. No one attempted to remove the bodies on this day too. Finally, only on the 3rd day (11th) were the bodies removed and buried unceremoniously, without any inquest being held.

Most of the people took refuge in jungles. It appears that their plan to drive away all the Tamils systematically away from the urban limits to and beyond Sampativu areas in the north is almost successful. Up to now no Government officials or responsible persons have visited this area.

Incidentally, Murugapuri in Uppuveli, is similar to the Cinnamon Gardens in Colombo—consisting of many Tourist Guest houses and fairly large houses. Millions of rupees worth of damage had been caused to this area alone.

A Victim  
Trincomalee

are recruited to the armed services and the most sophisticated weapons purchased. Why should large numbers of the armed forces and armoured cars and other equipment be sent to the North and East? Does the government want to destroy the Tamil community on the pretext of fighting 'terrorists'? From 1977 it is estimated that over 16,000 Tamils have been killed.

There are over a lakh of Sri Lanka Tamils as refugees in South India and the 50 million Tamils there are greatly agitated. How long can we expect them to wait and watch? Rajiv Gandhi's dilly dallying is testing the patience of the Tamils in South India.

The entry of Romesh Bandari on the scene appears to have stalled a quick solution. He seems to be fond of talks. The government and the Tamil leaders should not fiddle, Nero-like when the Tamil areas are burning. The killings must stop. The armed services must be withdrawn or confined to barracks. Whenever they are not on the roads

## VALUABLE ADVICE

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

"Our young people should be right-thinking men, men of principles. They should be able to exchange ideas, accommodate themselves to different points of view, respect others' feelings and accept others not only as fellow human beings but as equals and brothers. They should not be like the 'chaff' that can be blown off the ground by the winds of propaganda and falsehood. They should not be like the empty shells that are swept away by the waves of fun and thrill of adventure. They should be rather like the grain of seed that will grow into a tree, blossom and yield fruits of justice, truth and love. They should be like the pearls of the ocean that will adorn the society yearning for freedom and peace."

The above is an extract from the Prize Day speech of the Rector of St. Patrick's College, Jaffna, Rev. G. A. Francis Joseph, delivered on 19.10.85.

In the present context the above idea has much relevance and useful purpose. This idea, I think, deserves wider publicity so that our youths and those who mould the character of our youths and those who are in authority and position to raise the standard of our nation and the country can give their mind to it and make every effort to produce 'right-thinking men and men of principles.'

Arul M. Rajendran

Colombo

## PSYCHO WARFARE

Extracts from a pamphlet issued by the Security Forces to train and bus travellers, at checkpoints. The pamphlet is both in English and Tamil:

Dear Traveller,

We wish to bring to your notice that the inconvenience and ignominy to which you are subjected, of being searched at this checkpoint is something which the Security Forces are forced to do because of circumstances created by terrorists. Not only is it an inconvenience to you, it is also an embarrassment to the members of the Security forces who have to carry it out.

You will notice that the members of the Security Forces who have to carry out of this task do not now ask the old and the infirm or the ladies and children to leave the transport.

# LETTERS

## ENDLESS JAW-JAW

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

From what is happening in the country especially in the Northern and Eastern Provinces and from the leisurely manner in which the Government and the Tamil leaders both here and in India are dealing with the problem it looks as if no one is keen on finding a solution early and restoring peace.

The Tamils in the Eastern and Northern provinces are going through unbearable agony and hardships which seem unending. Every day we hear of massacres of innocent Tamils. Certainly the government does not seem interested in an early negotiated settlement but appears to have opted for a military solution. The Minister of National Security stated that a military solution was easier. That reflects the thinking of the government. That is why over six thousand million rupees have been allocated to the armed services sacrificing all development and causing a huge budget deficit. Thousands

'patrolling' or 'searching'; there is absolute peace. The militants also must lay down their arms and give a chance to the Indian government to bring together the two parties and find a solution.

S. S. Vasan

Jaffna

## MUM'S THE WORD

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

The Colombo-based newspapers are full of stories of Sinhalese victims of violence. The obvious aim is to rouse the sympathy of the majority for these unfortunate victims.

But why is it that these very same newspapers hardly write a word about Tamils who have been killed, burnt, massacred, imprisoned for years and tortured? Is it that these newspapers follow the principle of 'Mum's the word' when it comes to Tamil victims of violence unleashed by the state apparatus and goon squads?

S. P. K.

Madduvil



# MIZOS SEEK A PEACEFUL MORROW

An Accord to end the insurgency in the north Indian territory of Mizoram is expected to be signed shortly between the Mizo National Front (MNF) and the Indian Government.

If it comes, it will be the third feather in the cap of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, the other two being the Punjab and Assam accords.

In just a little over one year in office, he would then have settled three major problems in his country.

Will he be equally successful in bringing about a settlement of Sri Lanka's ethnic problem? We will have to wait and see. The others were internal problems; Sri Lanka's is an external problem, so that India's role is limited to acting as an "honest broker."

This report on the Mizoram problem by Seema Jha, published in "The Times of India", reflects the dilemmas of insurgent movements everywhere.

Mizoram has been waiting expectantly for an accord which will bring 20 years of insurgency to an end.

The overriding impression that one gets in Mizoram is the genuine desire of the people for lasting peace.

Insurgency, among the 500,000 Mizos of the Union territory has long since been over. The close-knit community of Mizos would like some 500 to 600 men lay down their arms with dignity and honour and resume normal life.

The Mizoram Congress which had been voted to power in the last assembly elections on the promise

of initiating negotiations with the Mizo National Front is happy that it has been able to act as catalyst in bringing about a solution to the Mizo question.

Mizoram's youthful Chief Minister, Mr. Lalthanhawla, who would have to forfeit his chair once the accord is signed, is as enthusiastic about the accord as Mr. Laldenga's emissary Mr. Aichinger on the one hand and Brigadier Sailo, ex-Chief Minister and leader of the people's Conference (bitterly opposed to Mr. Laldenga) on the other.

Mr. Lalthanhawla said: "By bringing the two warring factions together we have achieved what we have always worked for. Personally since December, 1967, I have been fighting for a negotiated settlement of the Mizo problem."

Asked what would happen to him once the accord was signed, the Chief Minister said: "I do not know." However what happens to me is not important, we are concerned about bringing normalcy to the state and individual fortunes are not important."

According to Mr. Aichinger, Laldenga's emissary, the draft accord was prepared in consultation with Mr. G. Parthasarathy.

Mr. Aichinger said the Union Government had turned down Laldenga's proposal to allow Mizoram to have its own separate symbol and flag. New Delhi had also refused to empower the state government with the special privilege desired by Laldenga of bringing district councils under direct state supervision by granting the state the power

of abolition of the district council if such a situation arose.

At present the Buddhist Chakmas, living in Mizoram, enjoy some degree of autonomy through the district councils. Considering that tension between the Chakma settlers and the majority Mizo population is frequent, it is understandable why the Government of India cannot grant this privilege to Mr. Laldenga.

## INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Mr. Aichinger said that as soon as the accord was signed the present Chief Minister and the cabinet would step down to make way for an interim government to be headed by Mr. Laldenga. The MNF leader prefers to head a council of advisers, but New Delhi is insisting on a Council of Ministers.

According to Aichinger, Laldenga would be the interim Chief Minister heading a council drawn from the MNF and the Congress, till such time as a new government was elected. He said that the interim government would rule Mizoram until the necessary formalities for upgrading the Union territory to a full-fledged state was completed. Aichinger expected President's Rule to be imposed soon after the announcement of the assembly elections.

The delay in signing the accord has been causing misgivings in certain quarters. According to Mr. Lalrochama, a senior Mizoram Congress leader who hails from the same village as Mr. Laldenga, the main hurdle behind the accord is "psychological and political."

He felt that in the past the MNF leader had often gone back on his words and he hoped that Mr. Laldenga would not repeat his past performance.

"Everytime Mr. Laldenga felt that he had the upper hand he would come up with impossible demands," he said. "But when he was cornered he would contact the state Congress leaders and utilise them to open negotiations with New Delhi."

## UNCERTAIN FUTURE

Laying down of arms and attempting to take up life as ordinary citizens would not be easy for the MNF, more so because so far Mr. Laldenga has been regarded as a kind of Mizo folk hero. The thought what lay ahead once the halo of a revolutionary hero is cast off is a tough psychological proposition for the MNF leader. People in Mizoram are keeping their fingers crossed so that nothing comes in the way of finally ending the age-old insurgency in Mizoram.

People's Conference leaders all feel that Mr. Laldenga will lose much of his charisma once a solution is reached. They point out that laying down of arms unconditionally by the MNF will be interpreted as abject surrender as the MNF had started out with tall promises of liberating the Mizos and carving out an independent country for them.

Those who have lost their dear and near ones in the course of insurgency can never forgive the MNF.

However, despite what People's Conference supporters may say, in general the Mizos, who are an intelligent and practical people, realise that independence is impossible. As such they went to forget the past and work for the progress and development of Mizoram as a full-fledged state inside the Indian Union.

## HOMELESSNESS...

(Continued from page 4)

Above all, the older generation experiences its move from an Eastern-type society to the West as a kind of cultural shock. But as old loyalties wane and the sojourners put down firm roots, hardly any overseas Tamil plans to go home again. It is believed that the overwhelming majority of the new settlers in overseas countries have no intention of returning to their countries of origin, and, in fact, with the birth of children together with the advancing age of new-comers, any early dream of returning with an accumulated nest-egg to spend the remainder of their lives where they were born has probably for most been relegated to the area of unfulfilled hopes.

Tamils living far and wide cannot aspire to gather themselves into an identifiable community. They may,

perhaps, maintain a commitment to Tamil culture but will see their life, and the lives of their children, in terms of the settled countries. Tamils of the North and East of Sri Lanka, like the gypsies, tried to develop something like a portable community independent of the surrounding social structure. The thirty acre community life the Tamils tried to establish at Wellawatte, a suburb of the Colombo city, came to be blown off during the recent ethnic disturbances in Sri Lanka. The Tamils of Madras are trying a similar experiment in 'Mathunga' a suburb in the Bombay city in India. Whether it can be a 'new old home' for them, is too early a question to answer and one does not know whether to compliment or criticise the Madras Tamils for such an attempt.

## DUBLIN GETS CONTROL OVER NORTHERN IRELAND

Britain and Ireland, on 15th November, signed a historic deal giving Dublin a say in the affairs of the British-ruled Northern Ireland for the first time since the Irish partition in 1921.

The agreement signed by the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher and Irish Prime Minister Mr. Garret Fitzgerald, is aimed at ending 16 years of inter-communal violence between Catholics and Protestants in the North in which nearly 2,500 people have died.

Only hours before it was signed a policeman died in a landmine blast in the border town of Cross-

maglen for which the outlawed Irish Republican Army (IRA) claimed responsibility.

Meanwhile hundreds of Protestants gathered at "Hillsborough" chanting "sell-out" and "Ulster is British."

The text of the agreement said the Irish input would be through an "Inter-governmental conference concerned with Northern Ireland and with the relations between the two parts of the island of Ireland." It would "deal on a regular basis with political matters, security and related matters, legal matters, including the administration of justice and the promotion of cross-border co-operation."



# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## TAMILS OFF-LOADED, SHOT DEAD

7 Tamils travelling in a private bus from Colombo to Batticaloa were intercepted at Punanai and shot dead, in the early hours of the morning of 27th November.

Two members of a party from Batticaloa which went later to recover these bodies were also killed.

## CO-ORDINATING OFFICER CHIDES OFFICIALS

This is the text of a confidential letter sent by the Co-ordinating Officer, Mullaitivu to the Govt. Agent, Mullaitivu:

Confidential

Co-ordinating Headquarters,  
Army Camp,  
Mullaitivu.  
12th Nov 1985.

COORD/MLT/PSA/25.

The Govt. Agent  
Mullaitivu

### IRRESPONSIBLE CONDUCT OF CERTAIN STATE EMPLOYEES.

1. It has been brought to my notice that certain unlawful incidents, such as abduction of people or unauthorised checking of passengers from vehicles in which they are travelling, dead bodies lying on the road, vehicles abandoned with dead bodies, unauthorised road blocks etc., are witnessed by most officials travelling for duty or vice versa or in their areas of residence.

In most instances these officials have kept silent without bringing it to the notice of responsible officers/BOs e.g. Police, Co-ord HQ., Heads of Depts., thereby conducting themselves as irresponsible citizens and disloyal state officials.

2. Please warn all concerned that unlawful acts committed against the state and the citizens of this country are punishable offences and that it is the responsibility of every one to bring or report such incidents within minimum delay. During investigations on certain incidents it has come to my notice that these state officials have conducted themselves in an irresponsible manner for being silent after hearing or witnessing unlawful incidents in both their areas of working and places of residence.

3. Severe action will be taken in future if evidence could be found of irresponsible conduct for being silent on unlawful acts committed against state, property and citizens.

Sgd.  
C.L. Algama,  
LT. Col.  
Co-ordinating Officer.

### POST-SCRIPT

On 25th November, following a bomb blast which damaged nothing and killed nobody in Mullaitivu, the Security Forces rushed to the Bus Stand and made a random arrest of men, women and children and escorted them to the Camp where they were treated to a tete-a-tete, tea, biscuits and fun!

Speaking 'off the record' on this occasion the Co-ordinating Officer, Mullaitivu, half jokingly and half seriously is reported to have said "I am with the Sri Lanka Army for the past 20 years and we are here for

a fight indeed, and our duty is to fight. However, I am not for it. If I wish, I can crush entire Mullaitivu within minutes", he said pointing to a piece of artillery which was ominously trained on Mullaitivu town. The Co-ordinating Officer went on to say that he would like to enlist the cooperation of the people to eradicate 'terrorism' once and for all.

Is the Government trying to evolve a 'sophisticated' method of counter-insurgency?

## Airport Extension: Citizens Protest Eviction

The Myliddy North Citizens' Committee has sent an appeal to the President on acquisition of land for the extension of Palaly Airport. Here is the text:-

We are reliably informed that the Government is making arrangements to acquire 500 acres of land within the sub-office of the District Development Council, Myliddy, for the above mentioned purpose.

Nearly 2,200 people reside within this area. There are over 225 stone-built houses and another 125 houses occupied by families in the said area. About 180 acres are agricultural lands under cultivation. In these lands there are 10 tube wells and 172 other wells. The Asian Development Bank has given aid in a sum of rupees 0.5 million for the electrification of these agricultural lands and the work on the said scheme is now in progress.

The Palaly Teachers' Training College and a primary school are also situated within this area. There are 7 Hindu temples, 2 Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies, 6 business establishments, a rice mill in which 15 people are employed and a Community Centre in this area.

In the event of this proposed acquisition becoming a reality, nearly 2,200 people will be rendered homeless and destitute. Out of these nearly 99% of them live entirely on the income derived from the cultivation of the lands in this area.

The people living within this area at no time proved a danger or threat to the Security Forces. They are a very peace-loving type. The Northern Commander will bear witness to this. In fact about 6 months ago when the land adjoining the Palaly Army camp was cleared resulting in fences and lavatories of the Housing Scheme and the crops in agricultural lands being destroyed, the people residing therein left their homes in fear and took refuge and shelter in the Pillayar Kovil at Myliddy North. When we

brought it to the notice of the Northern Commander, Brigadier Wanasinge, through the Government Agent, Jaffna, he personally visited the scene, got those persons who had vacated to return to their homes, supplied them cement to re-erect the lavatories, barbed-wire to re-erect the fences and food items for them to tide over their immediate needs.

Even if the Government decides to pay them reasonable compensation, it will serve no useful purpose as they will not be able to acquire suitable lands to build houses for them to live in and re-commence cultivation and earn their livelihood.

So, we humbly appeal to you, in the interests of justice and humanitarian grounds, to stay any order made for the acquisition of the said lands.

## DAMAGES FOR NALLAINAYAGAM

The Supreme Court held on 22nd November that the failure of the Police to produce Mr. Paul Nallainayagam—the President of the Kalmunai Citizens' Committee and now a Canadian citizen—before a Magistrate within the stipulated period specified by law constituted a violation of fundamental rights. The Supreme Court ordered the State to pay Mr. Nallainayagam Rs. 5,000/- as compensation.

Mr. Nallainayagam had been in detention since 22nd May this year.

## PARENTS, PRIESTS, BATON-CHARGED

Police Commandos in Batticaloa tear-gassed and baton-charged several hundreds of people who staged a peaceful demonstration on 22nd November protesting the reprisal killing of students and civilians after a land mine explosion which killed five security personnel.

Among those injured in the baton-charge were three parents and three priests.