

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 4 No. 41

4th January 1986

WHAT'S UP JR'S SLEEVE?

In a move which caught all Sri Lankans by surprise, President Jayewardene on 1st January restored the civic rights of ex-P.M. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Leader of the S.L.F.P., with immediate effect.

What next? is the question on everybody's lips.

On New Year's day, after the announcement, there was a steady stream of well-wishers at her Rosmead Place residence.

Many of them were the Heads of a number of Diplomatic Missions, including the High Commissioner of India, Mr. J. N. Dixit.

RAKE'S PROGRESS

Another year has begun. This is the time that all Sri Lankans' thoughts should focus on what it will hold, not for them individually, but for the country as a whole.

For Sri Lanka is in dire trouble, not only over the ethnic issue but in many other ways as well, contrary to the proud boast of the politicians in power.

We are not prophets of gloom who always see the dimmer side of life—but how can we get away from reality, the reality especially in the Northern and Eastern Provinces?

Tragically for Sri Lanka, as we have repeatedly pointed out, people in the South are still not fully aware of the situation in the two predominantly Tamil provinces. Even when there is no official censorship, most of the Colombo-based media are generally partners to an official conspiracy to keep unpalatable facts from the people of the South.

The SATURDAY REVIEW had on many an occasion to set the record straight—at great risk to our continued existence.

For instance, there was a four hour gun-battle from about 6 a.m. to 9 a.m. between the Security Forces and the cadre of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) at Suthumalai, about 4 miles from Jaffna town on 21st December.

All Jaffna heard the gun-fire and the bomb-blasts. Soldiers came in 2 helicopters which landed behind the LTTE camp, two other helicopters provided cover fire: one of the helicopters reportedly limped back to base.

As usual, the SATURDAY REVIEW reporters were on the

scene of action soon afterwards to check what happened.

But how many Sri Lankans in the South have still read or even heard about this episode?

Government spokesmen have denied that anything of that sort had happened!

Such denials form part of a familiar strategy of disinformation by the Government.

But happily many people in the South are now beginning to take official versions of the incidents in the North and East with more than a pinch of salt. There is a limit to what even Dr. Gobelbs could do.

Equally significant is that more and more people are coming to realise that the Government is exploiting the 'terrorist menace' partly to divert attention from the ever worsening economic situation.

The roots of the ethnic crisis lie in part in the socio-economic causes arising from them—the tougher competition for higher education opportunities, jobs and lands.

Instead of attacking the root causes the Government is spending billions of rupees on defence in its on-going efforts, regardless of the 'cease-fire' unilaterally declared by it, to find a military solution to the ethnic problem.

The negotiation between the Government and the Representatives of the Tamil people appear to have floundered. But all is not lost.

It may still be possible to work out a settlement—provided political leaders in the South, both within the Government and outside, get it into their heads that

the Tamil people will never bow down to force.

It is the 'San Francisco Spirit' that must prevail, if Sri Lanka is to be safe.

The good offices of the SATURDAY REVIEW will continue to be available to all interested parties to ensure the dialogue begun at Thimpu is taken to its only sensible conclusion—a political settlement.

SWISS CONFERENCE

The Swiss League founded by the International League for the Rights and Liberation of Peoples is planning to organise a one-day Conference this year in Switzerland in support of the Sri Lanka Tamils who have sought asylum there.

The proposed Conference will not only have a political but also a cultural character as well.

The organisers hope to make the Swiss people aware, through this Conference, of the origin and background of the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka and the course of the liberation struggle.

MEMORIAL LUNCH

The refugees at the Kachchei-Nallur Road Camp, Jaffna, numbering about 300, were provided lunch on 2nd January, the first anniversary of the death of Mr. S. Ambalavanar, the brother of the late Mr. S. Kathiravetpillai, M. P.

Incidentally, it was also the first anniversary of the opening of this Camp.

The programme, which was preceded by a prayer meeting, was organised under the auspices of the Saturday Review Refugee Relief Fund.

T.E.A POISONS TEA ?

The Tamil Eelam Army has claimed that its Sabotage Commandos have poisoned Sri Lanka tea exports with deadly Potassium Cyanide, and has warned it's no hoax.

In a press release dated 21st December, 1985 the organisation states that tea exports from Sri Lanka will "continue to be poisoned till the Sri Lanka Army of occupation is withdrawn from our homeland and motherland of the Republic of Eelam and till the Zionist international terrorists—the Israel Mossad and Shin-beth—and the British mercenaries of Kinn Mini services are thrown out of Sri Lanka."

The statement concludes "we are dead serious and do mean business."

REGIONAL AUTONOMY THE SOLUTION

The Sri Lanka Communist Party (Left) has urged the Sri Lankan government "to start negotiations for a political solution to the National Question on the basis of the alternate proposals put forward by the TULF through the Indian Government. If the government rejects this and proceeds with the military solution to the problem this will only drive the whole nation and the entire people to disaster severer than the present."

The statement, signed by the General Secretary K. A. Subramaniam, adds that their party firmly believes that regional autonomy is the solution to the National Question.

ROTARY CLUB TO BOOST SPORTS

The Rotary Club of Jaffna, in association with various sports organisations, will conduct tournaments in Cricket, Soccer, Basket Ball, Net Ball, Volley Ball and Athletics.

A press release issued by the Club states that sports activities in Jaffna had been declining over the past ten years due to various socio-economic factors. It hopes to revive this vital

(Continued on to page 12)

Release ALL Political detenus in Sri Lanka jails

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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

Telegrams: SATVIEW

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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

DIRECTOR PRAISES SCHOOL

"There is keen competition among the parents all over Jaffna to admit their children to Jaffna Hindu Primary School as the performance of the students of this school in circuit and district competitions has been exemplary" said Mr. M. Simiampillai, Director of Education, Jaffna, who was the Chief Guest at the School Prize Giving and Parents Day held recently, at the Jaffna Hindu College Cumarasamy Hall.

This year 19 students from the School had been successful in the scholarship examination: one had come second in the All Island competition. Mr. V. S. Ramathan, an Old Boy and Vice-President of the School's Development Society has presented a Shield in honour of these outstanding performances.

How Not To Solve The National Question

President Jayewardene is at his familiar game again. According to his latest interview with the BBC as well as his speech at the Commonwealth Conference, the armed struggle that is being waged by Tamil nationalists is not aimed at a separate state for

Tamil people but at a Marxist state throughout Sri Lanka. So there is no ethnic question as such but a big conspiracy hatched by Marxists to gobble up the whole of Sri Lanka.

This was precisely his main theme at the end of May 1985.

He branded all the opponents of the UNP government as terrorists and threatened to unleash a wave of terror against those terrorists. His threat to impose Martial Law following the footsteps, not of Mahatma Gandhi, but Zia-Ul-Haq was the culmination of his plan to wage war against his opponents. He and his government planned to resort to this as they have failed miserably to solve the national question that really exists in Sri Lanka today.

(Continued on page 11)

NOT THE NEWS

THE POPULATION BOMB

Speaking at the Family Planning Association Fund - raising dinner, the Minister for Inhuman Resources, Gani Tissa Nayaki, explained the great work being done by Government. She spelled out the Accelerated Lebanonisation Programme undertaken by the Government to be completed by 1986. She said a Parliamentary Expert Committee had studied the World Population statistics and found Lebanon to be leading in depopulation programmes closely followed by Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and South Africa. Hence the Sri Lanka government had got experts advice from knowledgeable experts (including the devil himself) and had put the plan into implementation. As in Lebanon we had managed to activate different factions into unhealthy competition and so far the Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims had responded to the rabble-rousing. The Christian community has been singularly unresponsive defying attempts to form an effective Christian phalanx; despite vigorous attempts such as public trials and reports of resurrected souls across the Straits, the group remains docile. In any case it is not much worry as they don't contribute much to the population except those slavishly upholding the ban from Rome. She reminded the audience that Sri Lanka had the highest population in the world and the situation was desperate. Already what is left in the Island is not enough to go round for those living on it. It was the root cause of the Island's ethnic, economic and other ills.

Pointing out that the population is ultimately determined by the balance between birth-rate and immigration against death-rate and emigration she said. The Government was working diligently to reduce the first two, while increasing the last two. Although there was international reaction against the Government's drastic methods, the more affluent countries with recurrent nightmares of invasion by hungry millions from the Third World countries, soon helped with cash and kind. We have almost put

a stop to Immigration notable those topless but rocket-heavy punks slowly destroying our culture and leaving behind blue-eyed, brown babies. On the other hand we have encouraged emigration to the tune of 3 lakhs in two years alone. She commended the good work done by the FPA to reduce the birth-rate. This work was being blocked by forces that failed to appreciate that quality was always more important than quantity. As an example she mentioned the Northern mosquitoes which though few in number had dislocated the whole economy.

Those who have been following our daily bulletins, the Lanka Bulletins, on the head count would know how effective the Government has been in increasing the other factor. If you had been doing your arithmetic and adding the daily totals, you needn't wait for the 10 yearly census to know the negative influence on the population statistics. The more astute ones may ask whether there is anybody left in those arid areas, if we go by these daily numbers. We suspect that there is some new multiplication (reproduction) phenomena involved and have sent our specially trained sleuths for surveillance to prevent any infiltration.

With a wry smile, the Minister decried those in the opposition who were too near-sighted to see the bigger picture. The new goondas were a specialised effort supervised from Colombo: they were quite effective specially in remote and inaccessible villages but they were only part of the bigger programme for population controls. The main emphasis of the programme was towards the target population of those in the reproducing age, mainly young males between 16 and 35, although females whether pregnant or otherwise, small children and elders were not spared when they were available. Turning to the doctors in the audience; she assured them that by the year 2000, there will be health for all, as the doctors would be able to concentrate all

their attention on fewer people and the true Garden of Eden, Paradise, will be here for those who survive.

★

NEW MULTINATIONAL

Who says the open economic policy has some a-cropper and that after July '83, the multi-nationals are avoiding us. The most heard and least seen of them are all here—the CIA, Mossad, KGB, RAW, and MI 5. Now the multinational J. Ward and Co. International Inc. has opened an undertakers subsidiary here following a tip given by the India Today correspondent Dilip Bobb. After brisk business in the Eastern Province, trade is said to be picking up in the North with the Head Office in Palaly.

An advertisement in the Northern Press read "If you are weary of life, miserable and afraid, as we expect you to be, do not bother to die. We will do it for you by land, sea or air. Do not worry about funeral expenses. Leave it all to big brother J. Ward and Co. and relax—if that is the word. Remember the Emergency Regulation concerning the disposal of dead bodies. What can your body do in a life as rotten as yours? Once your spirit is gone your eyes may help a millionaire to watch titillating strip—tease shows at Las Vegas. Or your kidneys may help European royalty to digest exquisite vintage wines. Your future is secure with J. Ward."

★

NOT THAT PRABA!

National Security Minister and cheer-leader Lalith Athulathmudali led the clapping for Prabakaran at a recent Mahapola awards ceremony.

No, you're not reading Ripley. This was Jaffna University undergraduate Praba, no kin of the Liberation Tigers leader.

AN APPEAL FOR HELP

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

The Friends of the Psychiatric Unit, District Hospital, Tellippalai (Sri Lanka) was established with the aim of rendering some service to destitute patients without any discrimination. This Society gives financial aid to these patients by giving special programmes etc. on Christmas, Deepavali, Thai Pongal, New Year, Vesak, and on Ramazan days to afford them some enjoyment.

We have established a library for these patients. We also wish to start some cultivation and some small industry to suit the patients individually to have them occupied so that we may rehabilitate them when they return to normal life.

We cannot expect the State to do everything for us. It is the generosity of the public that has made it possible for this Society to carry on its good work, and therefore we appeal to you to help us make these patients happier.

Please send your contributions (however small) in favour of the Treasurer, Friends of the Psychiatric Unit, District Hospital, Tellippalai.

Hony. Secretary

*Friends of the Psychiatric Unit
District Hospital, Tellippalai*

Tellippalai

SWAMI'S PRAYER

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Our Institution, Sri Ramakrishna Sarada Sevashrama, was founded in the year 1969 to serve the poor, needy and the down-trodden in life. We have been actively engaged in translating our aims into reality for many years.

From 1st August 1984 the situation in our area has changed greatly. At first a few families lost their chief breadwinner. Some were injured badly so that they could not earn a livelihood. We gave them dry rations, milk powder etc.

Due to the armed forces' presence very close to our town, two schools adjacent to the camp were forced to shift elsewhere; temples which were places of worship for many became deserted. Many people left their houses and are living in some other places.

The fisher-folk were badly hit. Many don't go fishing except very close to the shore. The business people are also badly affected. Life here now is very unsettled and not at all happy.

During 1985 more than 120 families, who have either lost the chief occupant or breadwinner, came to us for succour. We, with the limited resources at our disposal, gave several things to rehabilitate them. We gave cows, clothes and dry rations monthly. We have also commenced to rebuild houses which have been destroyed.

In short it is not safe to live in our own place where our ancestors have lived in peace and security for several hundred years. Many of our people have been compelled by the conditions prevailing to leave their traditional homeland and have migrated to West Germany, Switzerland, England, France, Australia and Canada. Migration is plainly because even living in any other part of the Island is not even as safe as living here. I happened to read in the Newspapers that

24-11-85 and the interview given to the correspondent of *India Today* around the end of November '85. In the penultimate paragraph of the interview to *India Today*, the President says, "I am not fully prepared to tackle Jaffna. I want to finish first with the other provinces....."

Well, we already know how the 'other provinces' - viz. Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Mullaitivu, Vavuniya, Mannar etc. have been dealt with. Does it need much imagination to guess how the President will deal with Jaffna?

Kopay

A. R. S. Nathan

IDLE CAPITAL

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Your piece titled *Colombo 7 Tamils Please Wake Up* reminded

LETTERS

there is a suggestion that these refugees could be settled in the South of Sri Lanka. It is our earnest appeal that such a move should not be made as it will cause disastrous results. This has been our experience in the past.

The aspirations of any community are vital for the country's progress. To stifle the aspirations of a minority community by force or might will not in any way bring about peace and harmony. What has been preached in theory has never been put into practice by the authorities concerned. We urgently want security, peace and harmony everywhere. This is our earnest prayer to God.

Swami Chidrupananda
Swami-in-charge

Point Pedro

WHAT'S IN STORE

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

To realise what is in store in 1986 for the Jaffna people, one should read and re-read the interviews given by the President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka to Mervyn de Silva and published in the Sunday Island of

me of an incident during the early fifties. A few of us were discussing politics and the conversation turned to the economic plight of the North. Someone asked where the capital to start industries was to come from. Immediately the late Mr. Sivagnanasundaram, then D.R.O., Vali North, pointed out that if all the Colombo 7, and if need be 6 also, ladies reduced their *thalikodis* to 3 or 4 sovereigns each and sold the surplus, the proceeds would be sufficient to start not one but ten big industries. But this suggestion unfortunately, fell on deaf ears. Will this suggestion be taken up now, even belatedly? If only the Colombo 7 Tamils will it, they can run all the refugee camps in the North.

S. Kirupamurthy

Kankesanthurai

JAMMED?

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Despite all the exhortations at various fora and from public platforms for racial harmony, amity and peace talks, racial discrimination is still being flagrantly and shamelessly practised by certain quarters.

"SAWASANGEETHA" is a fortnightly musical programme telecast over Rupavahini by that Corpor-

ation in collaboration with the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation and the Sri Lanka Foundation Institute. Their presentations in all three languages, have been of a high standard.

On Sunday, 15th December 1985, "Sawasangeetha" featured a Christmas programme — sponsored by the Janatha Estates Development Board. One half of the programme consisted of Christmas carols in Sinhala (arranged by Rev. Fr. Marcelline Jayakody) and the other half of the programme was carols in English by the Colombo International School. It was most significant that Tamil carols were pointedly omitted. Why?

It was a great pity, nay a calamity that whoever who arranged the programme did not think it necessary or fit to complete the picture of racial harmony even at Christmas, by including at least a single carol in Tamil.

Other than the Government corporations involved in the presentation, the Sri Lanka Foundation Institute is headed by Dr. H. W. Jayewardene, President's Counsel, and brother of His Excellency the President.

Colombo

B. R.

WAKE UP!

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Tamil polity is far removed from the Eelam consciousness in their desperate agony which is now enmeshed in barbaric killings—a self-inflicted phenomenal process. Can one see any difference from May 1958 to December 1985? The oppressed on both sides are silent. They should wake up. Eelam will be realised only in the awareness of the cultural vehicle that will dissolve the caste/class/sex (dowry) differentiations that prevail within our society, and which are nothing but evils. The youth revolution which sprang up spontaneously to resist state terrorism is the only best critique. Till the Tamil people and the Sinhala people (not the present elitist caucus or the opposition) identify their own freedom, there is no prospect of inter-community understanding and solidarity. The youth's revolution must be guided in the right direction, for them to take the lead without injuring the mass of the people. The SATURDAY REVIEW is a forum through which oppressed minorities and women can express their point of view towards dismantling the evil structures of caste and dowry, without which there is no hope of Eelam consciousness to spark off a righteous society in the Tamil Homelands, which is very sacred to all of us.

London

S. Maharasingam

(More letters on page 10)

Bleeding Statistics

We present below in tabulated form the killings during the month of December 1985. There is documented evidence of at least 2,215 Tamils being killed from January to 12th December '85.

In December alone (up to the 29th) 47 Tamils were killed by the Security Forces.

The evidences have been gathered through on the spot reports and interviews with survivors and cross-checked as far as possible.

(Continued from last issue)

DATE AND NATURE OF INCIDENT	NAME OF DECEASED	OFFICIAL VERSION
3 - 12 - 85 At about 10-30 a.m. Security Forces who arrived at Pallai Junction in three Northern Regional Transport Board Buses opened fire at random, killing and injuring many. 50 persons were taken into custody.	Kanthan Sinnathamby (41) Marimuthu Kili (42)	
6 - 12 - 85 10 people including 2 Sinhalese who were in the custody of the security forces were shot dead. All of them were arrested at Palathoppur in Muttur Area in a cordon-and-search operation.	S. Vinayagamoorthy S. Kandasamy K. A. Karunadasa R. M. R. Gunaratne P. Nadesapillai S. Kanagaratnam K. Thangavel P. Thurairajah K. Senathirajah K. Thangathurai	10 terrorist suspects were shot dead while attempting to escape. A magisterial inquiry has been held, according to the National Security Minister. The Daily News of 7th December
8 - 12 - 85 Security forces who boarded the Colombo-bound Yarl Devi, opened fire at Paranthan Railway Station and killed a school boy.	Subramaniam Thas (17)	
10 - 12 - 85 At Karadippoku Junction in Paranthan, Security forces who were going in a convoy opened fire at random. A youth is reported to have died.		
11 - 12 - 85 A landmine blast at Uruthirapuram, Kilinochchi damaged a military vehicle. 10 soldiers were injured. In reprisal 5 civilians were shot dead while working in the fields.	A. Manohararasa (27) Rathinam (50) Periyannan Palanisamy (48)	10 soldiers were injured and 2 terrorists were killed.
12 - 12 - 85 The Security forces from the Jaffna Fort came into the Jaffna Bazaar and opened fire at random killing 2 people.	K. Thuraisamy (79) Kanapathipillai (58)	Yet to appear
17 - 12 - 85 Two fishermen were shot dead and seven people injured at Ponnalai Junction when Naval personnel who had come from Karainagar Naval Base opened fire. In a separate incident on the same day Security Forces had opened fire at Senthankulam killing a fisherman.	Sebastiampillai (60) Thambirasa Rasa (42) father of 4.	
18 - 12 - 85 At Oddusuddan shots from the Air killed an old lady.		
25 - 12 - 85 Naval personnel who carried out a search operation at Madathuvalavu, Palaodai, and Thopukkadu in Karainagar shot dead one person. Two others were injured.	Sinnamoni (35)	

MISSING

(Continued from last Issue)

Raman Valli (35)
Gabriel Kumarasamy (Sinnathurai) (28)
Saminathan (27)
Rajaratnam Kamaleswaran (15)
S. Thamotharam (19)
Sivanayagam Paskaran (18)
Thangaraja Kandappan (30)
S. Ganesan (32)
S. Kanagaratnam (39)
T. Murugupillai (38)
K. Pakiyarajah (22)
C. Kumarasamy (38)
T. Murugupillai (35)
S. Kanagaratnam (39)
S. Kanagasingham (32)
S. Kunalingam (30)
C. Ganesh (28)
V. Nagaratnam (31)
Maruthamuthu
V. Selvaratnam (22)

A striking story I happened to hear off the lips of a saintly Hindu Swami while addressing a group of young Christian girls comes to mind as an object lesson to us who call ourselves Christians.

The story runs thus. It seems in far-off Italy, a newcomer was regularly attending the local church services. There was something extraordinarily attractive about her. Her graceful gait, her scintillating smartness, her comely composure and a glow on her face—all combined to lend her an angelic appearance—which did not go unnoticed. The curiosity of the congregation to find out who she was and the clue to her magnetic personality was unbounded. But there stood in between the obstacle of the formality of an introduction. Nonetheless, the priest one day plucked up sufficient courage to hesitantly approach the Lady with apologies for trespassing into a personal matter. He pointed out how all of them had been struck by her smartness and inquired as to its secret, how she trimmed herself, what brand of cosmetics she used etc. The Lady laughed at the idea of using any decorations, powders or perfumes, but added that she had been persistently pursuing the technique of practicing J. O. Y. She then went on to elaborate what J. O. Y. stood for—

REVELS AND REFUGEES

'J' for Jesus, 'O' for others and 'Y' for yourselves, meaning Jesus first, others second and lastly yourselves.

So there was no question of colognes or cosmetics which beautify the outside only. What illumines the inside are reverence to God first, and a caring and sharing concern for the less fortunate fellow-men—the needy, the handicapped, the oppressed (Socially, Economically and Politically) and so on—so succinctly crystallised into two well known laws enunciated

should permeate and pervade our minds at all times so as to give God, others and ourselves their due places. It is because we fail to observe them that we face so many storms and upheavals in this world. It is most unfortunate that even on holy occasions when we feel nearer to God, a number of us disqualify ourselves from reaching that stage of nearness—called Upavasam in Tamil meaning living near God, for Upa means near and Vasam living—because feasting, fun and frolic

by

J. K. Retnanandam

by Jesus which are universal in application. He described them as containing all the laws and prophets in a nut-shell, and incidentally it may be mentioned that they are the fountain-head of all religious ideals. They are 1. Love the lord thy God with all thy mind, with all thy heart and with all thy soul. 2. Love thy neighbour as thyself.

Since as the Psalms declare "As a man thinketh so is he" the spirit and letter of these laws

take precedence over even formal Church attendance. We try to salve our consciences by telling ourselves that we exchange greetings and even gifts among friends and relations. But Christian generosity and charity must extend much further so as to include the lonely, friendless or indigent who are not able to return our gifts. Anyway it would be uncharitable not to acknowledge that there are a few Christians and specially institutions that try to

make the sombre lives of unfortunate people at least mentally happy in the thought that there are people who care.

Today there exist conditions far more than ever before to express our concern for others. The refugees regardless of their ethnic origins—roughing out in camps under miserable conditions cry out for help. Some have lost everything, house, wife or husband or child or all, youth taken away for torture and extraction of clues etc. Let's go out and reach them.

Before concluding, it strikes me to appeal to all Christians and even those of other faiths that the present is a God-given opportunity to carry out the behests of their religious tenets. We can give practical expression to the spirit of the various religions by sending gift parcels to refugees—from the Tamils to Sinhala groups and vice versa. This sort of practical gesture can bring each opposing group closer for reconciliation to begin than perverse politics and legal leg-breaks as tried at Thimpu. It is not at all necessary for the fight to stop to begin peace negotiations. Once the base of grievances is removed, peace will automatically follow. For us Christians there is a big challenge. For Jesus said 1. Blessed are the peace-makers 2. Love them that hate you and pray for them that spitefully use you.

MONITORING WATER POLLUTION IN JAFFNA

The Jaffna peninsula is about 2158 sq. kilometres and supports a population of 1 million. 60 per cent of the population are concentrated in a few town areas eg: Jaffna, Point Pedro, where the population density is 1500 per sq-k. metres. The bed-rock of the Jaffna peninsula is formed of lime-stone. However, the surface soil at the centre of the peninsula is red while along the coast it is clayey and sandy. Intensive cultivation is carried out in the red soil area where short term (less than 4 months) cash crops are also cultivated. In the clayey area, rice is cultivated once a year. The maximum elevation is about 90 metres from sea level. The peninsula receives rains mainly from the north east monsoon during the November to December months and the average rainfall per year is 50-75 inches. Supply of water for consumption is mainly from the wells which are twenty to thirty feet in depth in the red soil areas and more than 30 feet in the sandy areas. There are a few water supply schemes which supply treated water to the public via stand-pipes. Residents in the Jaffna municipal area are supplemented with the limited supply of treated water from Thirunelvely which is about 5 kilometres from the Jaffna town. Farm-

ing in these areas is mainly rain-fed. Lift irrigation is carried out in the red soil area during the dry months.

WATER FOR CONSUMPTION

There is adequate water for consumption except in a few areas e.g. Islands where the water source becomes brackish during the dry months. During these months fresh water is made available in these areas by transporting fresh water from other places. The fresh water resources (e.g. wells) are 'recharged' during the rainy season.

by

Dr. T. Vinayagamorthy

Though water is available in these areas the water sources are not properly built to keep away ground water and surface water pollution. However, water from the water supply schemes are chlorinated before distribution. Apart from the Hospital and the University there aren't any institutions or industries which utilize large amounts of water.

POLLUTION—3 TYPES

Use of water for consumption is subjected to three types of pollution in Jaffna.

- (a) Chemical residues from agrochemicals and fertilizers.
- (b) Intrusion of salt water
- (c) Bacterial pollution

The use of agrochemicals in Jaffna district is substantial. These are mainly used in the cultivation of short-term cash crops. In addition, the use of fertilizers is also substantial. These artificial fertilizers are used as supplement to organic manure. There have been no studies carried out in Jaffna to estimate the agrochemical residues. The same is true for fertilizer re-

carries bacterial pollutants. Since the bed-rock in Jaffna peninsula is of limestone the spread of bacterial pollution is enhanced. Studies carried out by the author reveal that 125 out of 131 water sources in Jaffna district were polluted by bacteria of human origin. Further, 95% of these strains were resistant to most of the commonly used antibiotics.

Studies should be carried out in selected water sources (numbering about 250) at 5 kilometres apart to estimate

- (a) Salt water intrusion — estimation of Sodium and Chloride
- (b) Estimation of agrochemical residues by gas-liquid chromatography
- (c) Estimation of Nitrate levels
- (d) Estimation of bacterial pollution—qualitative and quantitative tests for coliforms and other pathogenic bacteria

(e) These studies should be carried out for a minimum period of 2 years. Samples will be taken once a fortnight from each of these sources. The use of agrochemicals and fertilisers will be correlated with respective parameters

(f) Soil structure of various sources will be determined to follow the spread of bacterial pollution

(g) Laboratory models should be set up of different soil structures and the spread of chemical and bacterial pollutions will be monitored

sidues (nitrate levels) except a preliminary study.

As mentioned earlier, there is intrusion of salt water during the dry season and here again preliminary studies have been carried out to assess the intrusion of sea water.

There is no sewage system in Jaffna. 60 per cent of the population have sewage pits in their compound, another 15 per cent have the conventional system and about 25 per cent have no proper facility for the disposal of sewage. Bacterial pollution takes place in ground-water throughout the year and during the rainy season the surface water too

SRI LANKA TAMILS: LEGITIMATE EXPECTATIONS—9

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

(Continued from last issue)

It was a legitimate expectation of the Tamil people that the government would act on the 1981 International Commission of Jurists Report that: "The South African Terrorism Act has been called 'a piece of legislation which must shock the conscience of a lawyer.' Many of the provisions of the Sri Lankan Prevention of Terrorism Act are equally contrary to accepted principles of the Rule of law" and repeal the provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act which offended accepted principles of the Rule of Law.

It was a legitimate expectation of the Tamil people that the government would have acted on the 1981 International Commission of Jurists Report that:

"A primary concern of the government should be the physical security of the minority Tamil population and the avoidance of future communal violence so frequently directed against Tamils in the past...In this regard the government should pursue a vigorous policy of investigation and prosecution of Police officers responsible for the burning of many areas in Jaffna in May/June 1981..." and on the comments of the Head of the 1982 Amnesty International Mission to Sri Lanka that:

"It is regrettable that the government did not institute an independent investigation to establish responsibility for these killings (in May/June 1981) and take measures against those responsible. Instead, one police officer involved was promoted and emergency legislation was introduced facilitating further killings..." and have held an independent and impartial inquiry into the incidents of murder and arson by the security forces in the traditional homelands of the Tamil people in May/June 1981".

It was a legitimate expectation of the Tamil people that the government would have acted on the 1981 International Commission of Jurists Report that:

"The government should lead a major national and international effort to rebuild and develop the Jaffna Public Library destroyed by arson by police in June 1981. Such an effort would evidence the respect the government had for the cultural rights of the Tamils, help to remedy a serious injustice done to the Tamil community and contribute to restoring Tamil confidence in the govern-

ment" and reinstated the Jaffna Public Library.

It was also a legitimate expectation of the Tamil people that the government of Sri Lanka would recognise the wisdom of the words of United States Supreme Court Justice Brandeis in 1928:

"Our government is the potent and omnipresent teacher...for good or ill it teaches the whole people by example. Crime is contagious. If the government becomes a law breaker, it breeds contempt for the law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy..."

But these 'legitimate' expectations of the Tamils of Sri Lanka in 1983—expectations which were founded on those rights which spring from the inherent dignity

of man and which were further legitimised by the support of independent and impartial observers of the Sri Lankan scene—were not fulfilled. The government of Sri Lanka, on its own admission, was no longer concerned with the lives or the opinion of the Tamil people. And a fortiori, it was no longer concerned with their 'legitimate' expectations.

by

N. Satyendra

And two weeks after President Jayewardene's announcement a vicious planned attack was launched on the Tamils of Sri Lanka. It was an attack which has gathered momentum in the succeeding months and which seeks to annihilate and absorb the Tamils of Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan government is today engaged in the pursuit of a military solution to the national question—a solution which refuses at every turn to recognise the existence of two nations in Sri Lanka and the need to structure a polity where both nations may live with dignity and with self respect. The Sri Lankan government seeks to subjugate the Tamils of Sri Lanka and bend them to its will.

The independent Minority Rights Group, whose sponsors include Gunnar Myrdal, Lord Goodman and Milovan Djilas, reported in September 1983:

"The present conflict has transcended the issue of special con-

sideration of minority rights and has reached the point where the basic human rights of the Tamil community—the rights to life and property, freedom of speech and self expression and freedom from arbitrary arrest have in fact and in law been subject to gross and continued violations. The two communities are now polarised and continued repression coupled with economic stagnation can only produce stronger demands from the embattled minority, which unless there is a change in direction by the central government, will result in a stronger Sinhalese backlash and the possibility of outright civil war."

And so, the Tamils of Sri Lanka have asked themselves, what is that they have done that has led to this attempt to subjugate them? What wrong have they done? Was it wrong for those who were workers on plantations and who had contributed much to the prosperity of Sri Lanka, was it wrong for them to ask that they should continue to be citizens of the country in which they were born? Was it wrong for them to demand that they should not be deprived of the right to vote, that they should not be rendered stateless? Was it wrong for Tamils of Sri Lanka to demand that land which had been theirs for more than two thousand five hundred years, should be regarded as their traditional homelands? Was it wrong for them to protest against the systematic state aided colonisation of their traditional homelands? Was it wrong for them to protest against the promulgation of the Sinhala Only Act, which deprived them of employment in the public service? Was it wrong for them to feel that the downgrading of their language was yet another step in wiping out the identity of the Tamil people? Was it wrong for them to feel that this was yet another step in the adoption of the Hitlerite doctrine that the role of a minority is to serve the majority? Was it wrong for them to demand a federal constitution as a way of protecting their national identity? Was it wrong for them to protest against a discrimination which prevented their children from entering universities even when they were more qualified than the Sinhala children who were granted admission?

And, if all this was not wrong, then the inference is irresistible

that although the Sinhala people constituted around three quarters of the population of Sri Lanka, they have lacked the strength to be just. They have been unable to act with the confidence of a majority. They have been afraid. They have been afraid of the stubborn refusal of the Tamils to be absorbed and 'integrated' and in their fear they have periodically raped, killed and plundered. They rejected every attempt to devolve power on regional councils because they were afraid to share power with the Tamil nation. They did violence to truth and to language when they insisted on calling federalism, separatism. They were caught in a vicious circle of their own creation:

"Without concessions towards self government through decentralization, the original demand for 'fair shares' develops gradually into a demand for independence, as moderate leaders come under pressure from extremists. On the other hand, concessions towards autonomy are regarded by the government in power as the thin end of the wedge..." (Tamils of Sri Lanka—Minority Rights Group Publication 1983).

The Sinhala people were not afraid of a Tamil minority which constituted a mere one fifth of the Sri Lankan population. But, they did not see the Tamils of Sri Lanka alone: they saw the 45 million Tamils of Tamil Nadu also. Their fear was a function of geography. It was compounded by that which they were encouraged to believe was history.

Their beliefs constituted a part of the mythology of a growing Sinhala nationalism—a mythology which was nurtured by the Sinhala elites as a way of securing their own power within the structural frame of a dependent neo colonial economy, which given the microscopic size of the Sri Lankan market, led to increasingly closer links with the centres of power in the industrially developed Western world, and a corresponding separation of the Sinhala elites from their own people. It was a mythology which fed on the latent fear of the Sinhala people of the Tamils of Tamil Nadu and which sought to annihilate and absorb the Tamils of Sri Lanka by seeking to 'assimilate' and 'integrate' them in a unitary state. If the Tamils were not willing to be absorbed, then they must be annihilated, presumably in the belief that if a sufficient number are annihilated,

SHOULD INTERVENE

the remainder would either leave the country or become more pliable and therefore more easily 'integrated.'

But, that which is oppressed becomes consolidated—and that which is separately treated becomes separate. The repressive acts of successive Sinhala governments have shown the Tamils of Sri Lanka that it mattered little whether they were Indian Tamils, Jaffna Tamils, Estate Tamils, Trincomalee Tamils, Batticaloa Tamils, Kandy Tamils, Badulla Tamils, Nuwara Eliya Tamils or Colombo Tamils. That which did matter was that they were Tamils. The Tamils of Sri Lanka have been educated about their Tamil identity.

"National and class divisions are unimportant until we make them relevant. And so it is with any other divisions within humanity. We are all human beings, whatever our colour, sex, age, occupation, religion, language group, weight, intelligence—definable as human beings different from other species. Our identities are in themselves irrelevant for social distinctions until we make them relevant. We identified black people as Negroes, whatever their age, religion, occupation, capabilities, or self identities. Then the tables were turned and they said, 'Yes, I am a Negro, but let's make this as clear as possible by translating it into English and making the dichotomy clear: 'You are white; I am black.' Dark skinned human beings, the same as others, make one of their identities (poor, American, blue collar, man or woman, southerner) relevant as a weapon in their fight for their individual self determination.'" (Dov Ronen: *The Quest for Self Determination*, Yale University Press 1979).

In the end, national self determination is but the resultant of the struggle for individual self determination, for individual freedom. And the nationalism of the Tamils of Sri Lanka is the resultant of the quest for individual growth in the face of a continuing Sinhala discrimination.

And what is a nation? "The simplest statement that can be made about a nation is that it is a body of people who feel that they are a nation; and it may be that when all the fine spun analysis is concluded this will be the ultimate statement as well." (Rupert Emerson—*From Empire to Nation*, Cambridge Mass., 1953). It "is a grand solidarity constituted by the sentiment

of sacrifices which one has made and those that one is disposed to make again. It supposes a past, it renews itself in the present by tangible deed...it is nothing but a choice, a plebiscite every day." (Ernest Renan: *Que'est-ce qu'une Nation?* Paris 1882).

Of course, nations are not for all time. They had a beginning. They will end. A nation is a historical category. But, nationalism has not yet fulfilled its historical role. That which the study group of the Royal Institute of International Affairs said in 1939 remains true today:

"The nation is the political unit, and nationalism the group symbol of the present stage of civilisation. Those who believe that they have found some better type of group to replace the nation will continue to work for it and condemn the nation by comparison with it. Meanwhile those concerned with the conduct of international affairs in the present epoch can only take the nation as a fact (without assuming that it will be eternal) and work to harmonise the divergent points of view of different nations and to diminish the extent and frequency of resort to violence." (A Report by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London 1939).

"The reality is quite plain — the end of the era of nationalism so long prophesied is not remotely in sight — indeed nationness is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time." (Benedict Anderson: *Imagined Communities—Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso editions, London 1983).

And Karl W. Deutsch's words in 1953 retain their relevance today: "...that the difference in poverty is so great, that the world's poorest people are so numerous, comprising as they do, more than one half of mankind, these are perhaps the fundamental facts behind much of today's nationalistic insistence on national separateness...and not before the vast poverty of Asia and Africa have been reduced substantially, not before that, will the age of nationalism and national diversity begin to die..." (Karl W. Deutsch: *Nationalism and Social Communication*, Cambridge, Mass. 1960).

In the end, the eradication of the vast poverty of Asia and Africa can itself come about only through the political channel of nationalism and the energy that it releases.

The togetherness of the Tamils of Sri Lanka is rooted in a com-

mon history, a common culture and a common language. It springs from a common past. It has been hammered into shape by the discrimination of a shared present—a discrimination which treats separately and which has inevitably nurtured that which was separately treated. It is a togetherness which has been given strength and direction by a growing faith that the Tamils of Sri Lanka will, together, shape a common future, where they and their children and their children's children may live in equality and in freedom. It is a togetherness which seeks to cry out aloud, in pain and in joy — 'yes, we too are a people.'

The Tamils of Sri Lanka are not only a 'people' within the meaning of that expression in Article 1 of the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights but by any test they are, today, a subjugated people, living in fear for the safety of their lives and their property, and deprived of the effective use of their vote by an amendment to the Constitution which is in violation of the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights and which has rendered vacant the Parliamentary seats of their elected representatives.

And it is the inherent right of a subjugated people to free themselves from an alien subjugation. It is a right of self determination which the international community has come to recognise as one of the peremptory norms of general international law. In the words of Dr. Hector Gros Espiell in his report for the United Nations Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination of Minorities for the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions Relating to the Right of Peoples Under Colonial and Alien Domination to Self Determination:

"Today, no one can challenge the fact that, in the light of contemporary international realities, the principle of self determination necessarily possesses the character of jus cogens (that is a 'peremptory norm of international law')."

And whatever may be the limits of the right of self determination in international law, it is nowhere denied that it includes the right of a subjugated people to free themselves from an alien subjugation. It is a perversion of truth to brand a struggle for freedom from a continuing and cumulative oppression which has continued for more than 30 years, as acts of 'terrorism'. The words of Nadarajah Thangavelu, a leader of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation from the dock at his trial in Colombo in February 1983 are not without relevance:

"Truth does not require platforms and spotlights. Truth has its own glory. No power on earth can suppress it for ever. We are not lovers of violence nor victims of mental disorders. We are honest fighters belonging to an organisation which is struggling to liberate a people. To those noble souls who keep on prating 'terrorism, terrorism' we have something to say. Did you not get frightened of terrorism when hundreds of Tamils were massacred in cold blood in 1958 and thereafter, when racist hate spread like fire in this country of yours? Did terrorism mean nothing to you when cultural treasures were set on fire? When hundreds and hundreds of Tamil homes were looted? Why in 1977 alone, 400 Tamils lost their lives reddening the sky above with their splattered blood—did you not see terrorism then? And what did you do about it for forty long years?.. In this island there are sanctuaries for even wild animals but upto now there is no sanctuary in any part of this island where Tamils can live without fear..."

(Nadarajah Thangavelu, leader of Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation: statement from the dock at his trial before the High Court of Colombo, Sri Lanka in February 1983, a few months before he was murdered in the high security Welikade jail, whilst in the custody of the Sri Lankan government).

And it is a sanctimonious morality which equates the violence of the oppressor to the violence of the oppressed who seek to escape that oppression. The words of the Aurobindo, the sage from Pondicherry, uttered many years ago, continue to direct and influence today:

"It is the common habit of established governments and especially those which are themselves oppressors, to brand all violent methods in subject peoples and communities as criminal and wicked. When you have disarmed your slaves and legalised the infliction of bonds, stripes, and death on any one of them who may dare to speak or act against you, it is natural and convenient to try and lay a moral as well as a legal ban on any attempt to answer violence by violence...But no nation yet has listened to the cant of the oppressor when itself put to the test, and the general conscience of humanity approves the refusal... Liberty is the breath of a nation: and when life is attacked, when it is sought to suppress all chance of breathing by violent pressure, then any and every means of self preservation becomes right and justifiable...It is the nature of the pressure which determines the nature of the resistance..." (Sri Aurobindo: *Bande Mataram*, 1907).

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COMETS, PROPHETS AND PROFESSORS

In recent times, much has been written by Professors, Prophets and Principals of schools on the subject of Halley's Comet. Apropos these literary efforts, I wish to contribute my "widow's mite."

In the year 1910, astronomers all over the world were disseminating information about the appearance of HALLEY'S COMET. The English astronomer, Professor Edmund Halley, was able to compute parabolic paths (trajectories) for comets. The Encyclopaedia Britannica records that a comet is generally a nebulous celestial "body of small mass revolving around the sun." Its appearance and brightness vary markedly with its distance from the sun. According to some ancient Greeks, comets were "conglomerates of stars" but this was not the common view; comets were usually regarded by the Greeks and Romans as totally unconnected with the incorruptible realms of the stars. The philosopher Aristotle (4th century B.C.) thought they were "blazing exhalations in the Earth's upper atmosphere" and, as such, they were deemed unworthy of study for many centuries. Yet, at various epochs, far more enlightened minds such as the Roman philosopher, Seneca (1st century A.D.), considered that comets were heavenly bodies like the planets. A comet was thought to be the harbinger or even the cause of some human or natural events, usually disasters such as wars, famines or deaths of Kings.

Astronomers in the Eastern world recorded comet sightings more accurately than Europeans did until the 15th century. The Babylonian, Chinese, Japanese and Korean annals have been very useful for statistical studies and for tracing back early apparitions of such periodic comets as Pro-

fessor Halley's comet. The Chinese annals, in particular, go back more than 3,000 years from present time, and many records of early correct sightings appear in them.

ABRAHAM'S INGENUITY

Mr. Allen Abraham, who was assiduously interested in the study of astronomy, did not sit idly by when various propositions were being proffered by leading astronomers of the world at that time. A French astronomer predicted that the Halley's Comet would come too close to the Earth, possibly collide with it with disastrous results. Making use of an antiquated telescope used by the early American Missionaries and ingeniously constructing a scaffolding of three tall palmyrah

variations which were based on the exact calculations would be proved correct.

The British view was contradicted by other astronomers. Dr. Wolfe of Heidelberg University first observed Halley's comet in photographs on the 11th of September, 1909 and Professor Burnham of the University of Chicago had viewed the comet with his telescope on the 19th of September 1909. Mr. Allen Abraham first saw it with the naked eye on the 14th of April, 1910. He informed the Colombo Newspapers indicating where to look for it in the heavens. It was seen at Khartoum, capital of Sudan and at Kodai-kanal in South India on the 19th of April and in London on the 25th of April, 1910.

by

R. C. Thavarajah

trees complete with rope ladder and platform, Allen Abraham improvised his own 'Observatory' in his home at Karainagar.

His observations and calculations with a series of mathematical diagrams enabled him to establish the following:—

a) Halley's comet would not collide with the Earth, b) it would be visible to the naked eye in the middle of April 1910, c) the comet would enter into the orbit of Venus and reach so near it during the first week of May 1910, d) its motion would be retarded by that planet (Venus).

When he communicated his observations to the Royal Astronomical Society, London, they were treated with scant respect. The R. A. S. wrote back and stated categorically that their obser-

RARE HONOUR

Mr. Abraham was right. The Royal Astronomical Society of London immediately elected him a Fellow of the R. A. S.—a rare honour and distinction which was first awarded to an Asian—in fact, he was the first in the East to earn that award.

He certainly did his country proud: a most deserved tribute showering encomiums on this great mathematician from the North of Sri Lanka was paid in the Centenary Memorial Edition of the *Morning Star* (1841—1941) by Mr. L. S. Kulatungam and published by the grand venerable teacher Mr. Chelliah Hastings Cooke, J. P. also of the staff of Jaffna College.

Instead of "hiding his light under a bushel or burying his talents", Mr. Abraham studied,

taught and laboured in the pursuit of knowledge. As William Shakespeare so aptly put it, *Ignorance is the curse of God, Knowledge is the wing wherewith we fly to Heaven.*

In the ultimate analysis, no one will deny that the true Christian that he was, he had rendered a good account of himself to richly deserve a place among those who served their Maker.

As for an epitaph, John Milton's lines are apposite:

"What needs my Abraham for his honoured bones, The labour of an age in p'led stones, Or that his hallowed reliques shall be laid Under a Starry pointed pyramid? Dear son of Memory, great heir of Fame, What needs't thou such weak witness of thy name?"

In life as well as in death, those who knew him, loved and honoured him for his knowledge and virtue, will echo the sentiments of James Shirley: "Only the actions of the just Smell sweet and blossom in their dust."

A GREAT LOSS

The World Tamil Cultural Movement has conveyed its deep grief and profound sympathy to the people and Government of Mauritius over the passing away of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Governor-General of Mauritius.

The Movement's Press Release states that Sir Ramgoolam's death is a great loss to the Tamil community. The Movement recalls that Sir Ramgoolam was instrumental in getting Mauritius to raise the ethnic problem of Sri Lanka Tamils in the United Nations and in fund-raising for the restoration of the Jaffna Public Library which was burnt down in 1981.

(Continued from page 7)

And so today, it is the legitimate expectation of the Tamil people that the response of the international community to the events in Sri Lanka would be predicated upon the recognition of certain frames, which no longer admit of any doubt:

— that the Tamils of Sri Lanka constitute a people with a common language, a common culture, a shared history and traditional homeland

— that the Tamils of Sri Lanka are a subjugated people

— that the refusal of successive Sri Lankan governments to share

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY..

power within the frame of a constitutional structure constitutes, by itself, an act of subjugation.

— that the continued failure of the Sri Lankan government to offer a political solution which recognises the existence of the Tamil nation and which seeks to share power with that Tamil nation constitutes evidence of the intent of the government to annihilate and absorb the Tamils of Sri Lanka.

— that the conduct of the Sri Lankan government since President Jayewardene's 11th July

1983 declaration that the Sri Lankan government was no longer concerned with the lives or opinion of the Tamil people, proves that it is set on the path of a 'military solution' and that it seeks to subjugate the Tamil nation

— that the continuing and systematic violations of human rights by the Sri Lankan government and its agents are a part of this process of subjugation and constitute proof of such subjugation

— that the failure of the Sri Lankan Government to hold inde-

pendent and impartial investigations of the allegations of organised violence against the Tamils of Sri Lanka, supports the conclusion

— that the territorial sovereignty of the Sri Lankan state cannot, in international law, prevent the intervention of the international community to secure the freedom of a people subjugated to an alien government

— that, on the contrary, international law casts a duty on the international community to intervene on humanitarian considerations and give the thick edge of action to those rights which spring from the inherent dignity of man.

(Concluded)

NO ALTERNATIVES TO EELAM - ENLF

The Eelam National Liberation Front — an umbrella organisation — has sent the following memorandum to Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. The text has been taken over from the *Lanka Guardian* (15th Dec.) which published it exclusively:

After a careful and thorough appraisal of the factors which motivated us to participate in the peace process initiated by the government of India and the actual concrete situation that emerged as a consequence of this process, we are now firmly convinced that it is untimely and unrealistic to conceive an alternative to Eelam as the basis for a just and permanent solution which would provide the base from which we could further our political struggle through the ballot within the existing constitutional framework.

The purpose of this memorandum is to explain to the Government of India as to how we, the united front consisting of four liberation organisations arrived at the above position. We do this not merely in recognition and appreciation of India's role as a mediator but also as a neighbouring country which is perceived by the Eelam Tamils as a friend and whose sympathy and support for their struggle is generally taken for granted.

When we were initially approached by the concerned officials of the Indian Government to agree to a ceasefire as a prelude to talks with the Sri Lankan government, we expressed our strong reservations, both individually and collectively, for the following reasons: (1) the bitter experience of our people with broken pacts and unkept promises by successive Sri Lankan governments which characterised the process of negotiated settlements in the past (2) the more recent experience with the All Party Conference which was used by the Sri Lankan government as a camouflage to pursue a military solution and to engage in false propaganda internationally (3) the genocidal situation currently prevailing made us apprehensive of the possibility of anger and confusion arising in the minds of our people of peace talks taking place under these tragic conditions and the alienation and demoralisation within the rank and file of the liberation organisations taking part in the Talks.

Despite the above reservations we ultimately did agree to the

observance of ceasefire and sent our delegations to Thimpu for Talks with the Sri Lankan government. The reasons leading to our collective decision were as follows: (1) in view of the international recognition and acceptance given to the initiative undertaken by the government of India, we did not want the image of our host, a friendly nation, to be tarnished. Further, we did not want to precipitate a situation which would have appeared as a case of us shunning the goodwill of the government of India (2) the firm assurance given by the concerned officials of the government of India that the interests of the Tamils of Sri Lanka would not in any way be compromised or subordinated to the interests of the Sri Lankan state (3) our realisation of the potential for demonstrating to world opinion that we were neither terrorists nor mere secessionists who were obsessed with arms and utopian ideas; we sincerely hoped that by going through the peace process initiated by the government of India, we would not only gain legitimacy but also demonstrate our commitment to peace (4) the lingering hope that a permanent and a just solution could be found through the force of reason rather than through the force of arms, despite the fact that our decision to take up arms was because all force of reason had failed to convince the successive Sri Lankan governments of the need to solve the Tamil National Question.

To sum up, we agreed to participate in the peace talks in recognition of the traditional friendship that exists between India and Eelam Tamils, our recognition of India's strategic importance to the region and to our struggle, the need to establish our legitimacy internationally and most importantly, since we are for peace and are prepared to lay down our lives for peace. However, we were firm in our resolve that if peace could not be obtained by the force of reason then it shall be obtained by the force of arms, since what our beloved people expect from us is not to surrender but to achieve peace which would guarantee life and property and safeguard their honour and dignity.

In view of the following developments arising out of the 'peace process' where is neither peace nor any rationality in the process, it is now evident that the Sri Lankan government is only bent

on abusing the Indian initiative by pursuing a military solution:

(1) the so-called proposals placed by the Sri Lankan government delegation at Thimpu which was duly rejected by our delegation and conceded by the government of India to be grossly inadequate, initially signalled the lack of seriousness of the Sri Lankan government to bring about negotiated settlement. The subsequent "draft proposal" communicated through the Indian government although an improvement in terms of administrative reforms, does not even pretend to be a solution to the Tamil National Question. The total negation of the very concept of a homeland of the Eelam Tamils and the proposed bifurcation aimed at undermining its territorial integrity and continuity is just one instance. Although, as we have already pointed out in the enunciation of our basic principles, we see the recognition of our homeland as a necessary but not a sufficient condition for a just and permanent solution, the mere fact that even this for necessary condition was negated in the draft proposal, clearly demonstrates the incapacity and the unwillingness of the J. R. regime to resolve the nationality problem in Sri Lanka. On our part we were left with no option but to reject the draft proposal outright as not even constituting a basis for negotiations (2) the manner in which the Sri Lankan government responded to our demand that the ceasefire should be effectively monitored is once again indicative of its bad faith. After rejecting our demand for the need of an international body to monitor the ceasefire, the Sri Lankan government was clearly determined to make a mockery of the internal monitoring committee. Its intentions were clear when it initially rejected our two basic and rational demands that the Monitoring Committee be empowered with right to visit prisons and detention camps and the right to make its reports public. Although, the Sri Lankan government finally conceded with much reluctance at the insistence of the Government of India, its intentions of ensuring that the Monitoring Committee would not be effective was exposed in the process.

Further, the manner in which the Monitoring Committee was unilater-

ally expanded even while we were in consultation with the Foreign Secretary Mr. Romesh Bhandari and his officials and the subsequent harassments against our nominees to the panel does not augur well for our efforts to restore normality to the affected areas. (3) parallel to the above process of undermining the Indian government's initiative at a negotiated settlement is the intensification of the military option by the J. R. regime. Although initially it sought to use the peace talks as a smokescreen, the Sri Lankan government appears to have dropped even these pretences. Recent policy statements specifically refer to his government's commitment, including a timeframe, to a military option whether or not there is political settlement. Further, in the same tone he has referred to the holding of elections to the provincial councils whether or not there is a political settlement. What is of interest is that the above policy statement was made on his tour abroad and reflects his smug confidence in the military option. The point that we wish to emphasise is that the process of negotiated settlement initiated by the government of India and responded to favourably by us has now been rendered totally irrelevant.

What is of immediate concern to us is not only these jingoistic public announcement but the actual situation in the field. The *modus operandi* of the armed forces of 'containment' in the North and 'expulsion and annihilation' in the East, highlights the seriousness with which the Sri Lankan State is pursuing the military option. The massive induction of men and material to the affected areas, the purchase of sophisticated and deadly aerial and ground weaponry and the intensification of 'search and destroy' operations which inevitably involves the civilians in addition to constituting a flagrant violation of the terms and intent of the ceasefire is also a clear-cut message to both the Eelam Liberation movement and the govt. of India.

It has been argued that the liberation organisations represented in the ongoing process would be well advised to accept an interim solution, even if it falls short of a just and a permanent solution. The reasons cited is that by joining the mainstream of the 'democratic process' embodied in the existing constitutional framework, we could further our struggle in a more effective and a peaceful manner. We do not see the above argument as a viable option, for the following reasons: (1) it is the Sri Lankan State, not us, which opted for the military solution and, in turn, compelled us to resort to armed struggle (2) even if we are prepared to join the mainstream of 'politics',

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MPCS REPLIES

Editor

SATURDAY REVIEW

I refer to Mrs. S. Balasubramaniam's letter to the Editor appearing in the SATURDAY REVIEW of 9th November 1985 under the heading 'Chunnakam M. P. C. S. does not give a damn' referring to a not uncommon road accident involving a motor lorry owned by the Chunnakam M. P. C. S. This publication was brought to the notice of the Board of Directors only recently and hence this belated 'reply' through the courtesy of your Journal.

The contents of the said letter and more particularly its heading is per se most provocative and highly objectionable and reflects lack of consideration of the pros and cons of the subject matter which concerns not only the Chunnakam M. P. C. S. but also a number of other persons and institutions including the C. T. B. and the Insurance Corporation. Furthermore, there is a Court action pending in the District Court, Mallakam, in this connection, and of which Mrs. S. Balasubramaniam is probably aware of. It was therefore sub judice for her to have made a criticism through the medium of the press, that too with such apparent condemnation of our Institution.

We however have to clarify our position by means of this letter with a view to assuring the readers that the Chunnakam M. P. C. S., being an organisation of and catering to the needs of the common people, is NOT lacking in its sense of duty or taking cognizance of matters relating to its functions just as Mrs. Balasubramaniam appears to contend.

President
Chunnakam MPCS

Chunnakam

OVER-LOOKED

Editor

SATURDAY REVIEW

Recently the Director of Pensions painstakingly expounded the Government's method of computing pensions of different categories of pensioners. But he overlooked the case of sterling pensioners. Only a very few of them are living now. Most of them are near-octogenarians. These pensioners while in active service were paid salaries calculated at Rs. 15/- to the pound for easy calculation when the exchange value was Rs. 13/33 to a pound sterling. Now the pound has soared to anything between Rs. 30/- and Rs. 40/- and the rupee has now considerably lost its original value.

But the pensioners are still paid at the colonial rate of Rs. 15/-. The C. O. L. has in the meantime skyrocketed. The cost of medicine alone, in old age with its attendant ailments, is enormous.

Let justice be done, better late than never. The cost of extra payment involved, if not at the full current rate of exchange at least at some reasonable rate, would be negligible compared to the enormous relief to those still lingering before death snatches them.

Dr. K. Subramaniam

Colombo 6



ANURA'S BOAST

Editor

SATURDAY REVIEW

I am not surprised that Mr. Anura Bandaranayake has advised President Jayewardene to tackle Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and get the Tamil militants deported to Sri Lanka. In such an event he says that the 'terrorists' could be eradicated with a simple operation within twenty-four hours. He boasts that his mother when she was Prime Minister was once able to get down Kuttimani from India. But he has forgotten to tell the fate that befell Kuttimani and 54 Tamil youths in Welikade prison in July, 1983. With such a gross violation of human rights, does Mr. Bandaranayake expect India to oblige once more?

Instead of barking up the wrong tree Anura should do all he can to get down the Tamil refugees of more than one lakh who fled this blessed land due to the terror unleashed against them, after having lost several of their dear and near ones. Conditions should be created so that they will have the confidence that they will be allowed to live with self-respect and honour in their own native soil. If Anura thinks he can put the cart before the horse and eradicate 'terrorism' when the causes that led up to it persist, he is sadly mistaken.

Even in Northern Ireland we can see a glimmer of hope when Britain and Ireland have come to an understanding over the IRA problem recently. But it is so sad to see the Tamil tragedy dragging on and devouring its young sons.

Chunnakam

R.L. Thevathasan

RAJIV'S STATEMENT:

COLOMBO'S PEEVISH REACTION

The predictable, peevish noises are heard from Colombo following the PTL report of Rajiv's statement which has in effect accused the Sri Lankan authorities of singling out one community for persecution in the guise of a war against 'terrorism.'

This perception is one in keeping with the truth, though the truth itself has many complexities.

The Government's version of the scenario is reflected in the Island editorial of 27th December 1985 and we are sure this is believed by many Sinhalese—that the army came out of the camps only because the Tamil 'terrorists' took advantage of the ceasefire to attack Sinhalese civilians and that nearly every Tamil killed has been a 'terrorist.'

The Saturday Review has documented in its pages the killings of Tamil civilians by Sri Lankan forces—nearly all of them wanton. Several hundreds have been killed since the ceasefire. The government-appointed Ceasefire Monitoring Committee's report (Island 20th Dec.) hints at the lack of disciplinary control over security personnel.

Many of those killed by the security forces have included infants, children, mothers and old

men—all 'terrorists' if you like.

The way things are going, the Tamils may lose their monopoly over official persecution. But recent interviews by the Sri Lankan President (BBC, Sunday Island and India Today) make it abundantly clear that the President makes no distinction between Tamil political rights and 'terrorism' and that Tamils are considered people beyond the pale, strangers sojourning in a Sinhala land, to whom few decencies are owed.

I shall not indulge in untangling the tangled skein of cause and effect. The fact to be faced is that the Tamils have suffered grievously and that Sinhalese too have suffered. This conflict cannot be ended by clutching at will-o'-the-wisps like the transient Zia Ul Haq or by cynically arming Sinhalese youth at the bottom of the heap and dignifying them with names such as Home Guards. Once the norms of civilised life break down, we can all become bestial and race has nothing to do with it. The onus of resolving the conflict rests with the State (interestingly, the process of government in the multi-national state of Yugoslavia has been described as legalised conflict).

— M. Ratnam

TAX-PAYER'S TIRADE

Editor

SATURDAY REVIEW

The Jaffna Municipal Council laments that malaria is spreading fast in the municipal area. As the population is increasing, houses are being allowed to be built even in one lacham (10 perches). As there is no water service, each will have a well and a water-seal latrine too. Parapet walls are built all over preventing the free flow of rain water. There are no proper storm-water drains for each house. The storm-waters fill up in the enclosed land and the cess-pits overflow during heavy rains. These waters flow into the wells and not only contaminate the wells but contaminate all the lands as well and there is a high risk of diseases spreading. The Municipality has not given any serious thought to counter this menace. The Municipality is also filling the ponds in the area gradually and this too adds to the flooding. Further the Municipality has also started dumping Municipal rubbish at a private land adding to the great risk of malaria by allowing mosquitoes and flies to breed. The herb plants planted by the former owners

of Nayanmarkaddu Hospital too were destroyed.

The roads are not properly lit. Most of the roads are in complete darkness. The electric lamps have not been maintained for over a decade. The excuse is that no materials are available for maintenance and no electric bulbs are available due to the present situation in Jaffna. But what were they doing earlier? Unauthorised electrical connections were ignored and they are unable now to control the use of electricity. Some-time back a tax-payer brought to the notice of a high Municipal Officer an instance of illegal use of electricity. The tax-payer was asked the question 'Why are you worried about it? In what way does it affect you?' Now all are lamenting the illegal use of electricity. The shortcomings of the Jaffna Municipality are many. There is no one to take steps to remedy them. The poor tax-payers are surcharged 15% when they fail to pay the taxes in time and on top of it they have to put up with all the above shortcomings. It is high time that some meaningful steps are taken.

Pro bono publico

Jaffna

HOW NOT TO SOLVE THE NATIONAL...

(Continued from page 2)

However, events took a dramatic turn within a week of this speech. That was due to Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's direct entry into the scene. Rajiv Gandhi who has presented his credentials to be the Bonaparte of the whole of South Asia, breaking radically from his mother's attitude towards the Tamil national struggle in Sri Lanka, decided to prop-up openly the moribund Jayewardene government.

OXYGEN INFUSION

So the Jayewardene government got a new infusion of oxygen. The man who publicly and categorically stated that it was not an ethnic problem—not even a trace of it—but only a diabolical Marxist conspiracy at once ate his own words and started the so-called peace process at the dictates of Rajiv Gandhi in order to find a solution to the ethnic problem—which, according to him, did not exist! Jayewardene and his gang had nothing to say regarding their canard of Marxist conspiracy during the last four months.

Thus the revival of this diabolical lie—with which he plays whenever he is in a blind alley—after such a long process of discussions at Thimpu, at Delhi and at Colombo, after scores of trips across the Palk Strait made by Indian Foreign Secretary Romesh Bhandari as well as by many official and unofficial delegates including his own acolyte minister Thondaman, after fraudulent ceasefire agreements, signifies that Jayewardene has again decided to go ahead with his bankrupt military solution. The revival of the canard of "Marxist plot" is designed to enlist the support of his imperialist masters in this genocide.

After all, what is the need of finding a political solution to the Tamil national question, if the armed struggle has nothing to do with such a question? Jayewardene is right in his own absurd way. Thus came his pompous belligerency in London. Unfortunately for him, the whole world knows that this Junius—the 'genius', who has the unimaginable capacity to 'discover' (of course without a shred of evidence) so-called Marxist plots at his whim and fancy—had

nothing to say about such a plot when his emissary—his own brother—met these 'Marxist devils' at Thimpu. On the other hand, these peculiar 'Marxist plotters' had nothing to say on social transformation. In all their speeches at Thimpu one finds only matters relating to the Tamil national question. So much for Jayewardene's canard of Marxist conspiracy! This is the man who dared to condemn news reporters in other countries for distorting facts relating to Sri Lanka!

THREAD-BARE LIE

Jayewardene's decision to resort to this worn-out lie at this juncture again demonstrates the insincerity of his government. Nothing will come out of the so-called peace talks with the Jayewardene government, notwithstanding the extent to which Rajiv Gandhi is prepared to go in betraying the Tamil nationalist guerillas. Of course, Jayewardene is 'prepared' to give some crumbs cosmetically painted as 'devolution of power'. This 'preparedness' is not due to any 'statesmanship' or any sympathy with Tamil people as some of his acolytes such as Minister Thondaman want to make

us believe, but is due to the desperate state in which his government is placed as a result of their armed struggle. He is scheming to send his so-called political solution down the throats of the Tamil people with the treacherous help of Rajiv Gandhi and to get the Tamil guerillas disarmed at the earliest opportunity and then to go into the offensive not only against the Tamil people but the Sinhala people as well.

Therefore the task of the oppressed sections of the Sinhala people is not to support the UNP government but to carry on its struggle against it, combining their struggle with the struggle of the Tamil people. The recognition of the right of the self-determination for the Tamil people is the key to combining these struggles.

The *sine qua non* of solving the Tamil national liberation struggle is the overthrow of this brutal government. Short of that no solution is possible. The task of genuine Marxists is to organise this struggle against the UNP government with the perspective of developing it along the anti-capitalist extra-parliamentary path, culminating in a workers' and peasants' government.

— Workers Marxist Review,
Vol. 1 No. 2, 1985.

NO ALTERNATIVES TO ...

(Continued from page 9)

the fact remains that the democratic process has virtually ceased to function in Sri Lanka (3) as regards the existing constitutional framework, the 1978 constitution not only reaffirmed the undemocratic, non-secular elements of the 1972 Constitution, but went further toward centralization of authority under the guise of a presidential system. What we have in reality is a form of Constitutional Dictatorship. Further, as far as the constitutional response to the nationality problem is concerned, it is clear that there is hardly any scope for any significant devolution of power, leave alone regional autonomy or a federal form of government under the existing constitutional framework.

Given the above promises and realities, we earnestly request the Government of India to understand our predicament that we cannot be party to any process which would lead to the annihilation of the Tamil Eelam liberation movement and thus leave our beloved people orphaned with neither a political voice nor military capacity to continue with their legitimate struggle for freedom, dignity, honour and peace.

As a future course of action, we wish to urge the Indian government to intensify the campaign to

expose the real intent of the regime and highlight the genocidal situation facing our people. Further if the government of India, owing to its own national interests wishes to persist with the process of negotiated settlement, then it is imperative that we be strengthened politically and militarily, so that we could negotiate from a position of strength, not from a position of weakness and under duress.

Secondly, it is important that the government of India promote our united front as the sole legitimate representatives of the Eelam Tamils as a rallying point for a political and diplomatic offensive in the international arena. In conclusion, we are of the view that the interests of our struggle for a permanent and just solution to the problem of national oppression and State Terrorism that face our people is inseparably linked to the interests of peace and stability in the Indian subcontinent. We are also hopeful that the strategic role of India in the geopolitics of the region would continue to maintain its anti-imperialist orientation and the principles of non-alignment by ensuring peace, democracy and social progress.

We also wish to express our sincere gratitude to the government of India and the Indian people for the solidarity that has been extended to our people.

The Media Scene

Journalists in Europe, an organisation that brings some 30 journalists from around the world to Paris each year for eight months of study, research and writing on European topics, is now inviting applications for the 1986-87 session.

Beginning in October 1986, JE participants will have the opportunity to learn first hand about the countries of Europe, explore the relationships between them as well as between Europe and the rest of the world and examine the workings of the European Economic Community and its institutions.

Applicants should be between 25 and 35 years of age and have at least four years experience as a full-time journalist. A working knowledge of English and French is required, though intensive courses in French or English will be offered immediately prior to the start of the programme for those who need them.

OPPORTUNITY FOR JOURNALISTS

Fellowships covering programme costs and living allowances are available according to need.

An application form and further details may be obtained by writing to: Journalists in Europe, 33 rue du Louvre, 75002 Paris, France.

Completed applications should be received by the JE Paris office before 15th February.

REINSTATE THE 200 TEACHERS

The Ceylon Teachers' Union has called upon the Minister of Education to reinstate 200 teachers who went on strike in July 1980.

The letter addressed to the Minister by the Union's General Secretary, Mr. H. N. Fernando, states: "We are aware that your Ministry has by now recalled for service the majority of the teachers who participated in the 1980 July General Strike. There are still about 200 more teachers who have not been reinstated. Almost all of them have made appeals for reinstatement. They have been without employment for about 5 years and 4 months to date".

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

KAPALLA, BEEPALA KOLLI KRAPALLA!

I was fast asleep on the 31st night when I was awakened about mid-night by the bang of explosion.

I thought that finally the end has come. The explosions were taking place all round my house.

In a fright, I took cover under the bed, the only place I could think of hiding. The lights went out for nearly three hours. It was light at Suthumalai on December going when security forces attacked the LTTE camp.

The difference was that there was no machine gun fire. Suddenly I realised I was in Colombo, not Jaffna! The people in the South were ushering the New Year with a gusto.

Of course, in the North there was no revelry.

But, then, this is another country, as far as most Southerners are concerned.

It is if they had already conceded Eelam!

—G. N.

SLAIN PRIEST REMEMBERED

"Today it is very difficult to be a priest in the Tamil areas. The people are suffering; no development, no opportunity for employment; they are fighting for existence. We priests just cannot remain merely offering Masses for the dead. Youngsters ask us, What to do? and, What is the Church's position? We are going on playing safe, with the rulers, with the elite, with the oppressors, without committing ourselves for justice, truth and equity.

"I hope and pray that at least hereafter, the Church and the Bishops' Conference would try to live up to the statement issued in the Papers that The Church will always uphold truth, justice and equity."

These forthright words were addressed in November 1982 to the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Sri Lanka by Rev. Fr. Mary Bastian, the Catholic priest who was brutally gunned down in his Parish House on the 6th of January last year by the security forces.

The text of the letter is to be found in *Witness to Christ*, a commemorative volume issued to mark the first anniversary of his untimely death.

The volume contains a series of messages sent by eminent personalities troubled at the news of his death, and articles in both Tamil and English reflecting the effervescent personality of Fr. Bastian

as well as his untiring ministry especially to the poor and the oppressed.

Particularly moving is the message given by the Ex-M. P. for Manipay, Mr. V. Dharmalingam, before he himself was gunned down by unknown youths: "The cruel circumstances under which this man of God mysteriously disappeared from the face of the earth, leaving behind no trace of his mortal remains, brings back to vivid and fearful memory the disappearance of Jews in Nazi Germany. His sojourn into this world has come to a tragic and cruel end, but we find solace in the fact that his Creator would have received him with all glory."

SR RATES UP

In view of the increase of postal rates from 1st December 1985, we have been reluctantly compelled to increase the subscription rates for the SATURDAY REVIEW, with immediate effect.

The new rates will be announced shortly.

The price of a single copy of the SATURDAY REVIEW, however will REMAIN AT Rs. 3 despite the high production costs.

ROTARY CLUB...

(Continued from page one)

component of youth education through these tournaments which will be conducted from the third week of February to the third week of March, 1986.

Operation North Star Under Way!

OPERATION NORTH STAR (SR of 14th December 1985) has got under way.

Recent incidents in the North and transfers of key military personnel especially Brigadier Wanasinghe) portend that 1986 may be even more bleak as far as the Tamils are concerned than 1985.

The armed forces seem to have modified their strategy of land-based 'Search and destroy operations.'

On 21st December, 1985 the army tried out its new air-borne strategy at Suthumalai, about four miles from Jaffna town. The battle went on for nearly four hours with neither side giving quarter. Shots from the helicopters which were providing cover killed one LTTE militant, 10 civilians were also injured.

It was a defeat for the armed forces which had to retreat, reportedly leaving behind helmets, haversacks and grenades. Eyewitnesses stated later that the place where the army helicopters

had landed were seen splattered with blood.

On 28th December armed forces had mounted a similar operation in the Mannar District which led, according to the official version, one soldier being killed and some army vehicles damaged.

On Sunday, 29th December the armed forces began a three-day 'search and destroy' operation at Kilinochchi. Reportedly some civilians had been killed and the bodies burnt in the jungle adjoining Iranaimadu tank.

A militants' camp is reported to have been over-run. Trouble is brewing at Vavuniya and its suburbs, according to news reports.

Has President J. R. Jayewardene begun to implement what he told the correspondent of **INDIA TODAY**, that once he finishes with the other provinces he will start dealing with Jaffna?

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR COMPUTER STUDIES

The Management of a leading Centre for Computer Studies in Jaffna is pleased to offer scholarships for three deserving students through the medium of the SATURDAY REVIEW from families adversely affected by the unfortunate disturbances that have affected us for sometime now.

The Selection criteria in addition to the above are average intelligence and a fair knowledge of English.

Specific information regarding the next week-day Course is:—
Date of Commencement: 3rd,

February, 1986.

Course Times: Monday and Wednesdays — 9.30 a.m. to 12.00 Noon.

Duration: About six months.

Course Contents:—

Module — I — (Foundation)

Module — II — (Basic)

Module — III — (Cobol)

Those interested in applying for these scholarships are requested to send their bio-data to:—

The Editor, SATURDAY REVIEW, 118, Forth Cross Street, Jaffna on or before 20th, January, 1986.

ADVERTISEMENTS FOR SR 4TH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

The 4th anniversary issue of the SATURDAY REVIEW on 25th January 1986 will be a bumper one.

We also plan to double our print order.

We invite Advertisers to use this opportunity not only to reach a wider audience but also to support the only English newspaper in Sri Lanka fighting for the fundamental rights of all Sri Lankans in general and the oppressed Tamil people in particular.

A strong show of support for the SATURDAY REVIEW will be a massive boost to the cause to which we are pledged.

The advertisements rates for the special issue are as follows:

Size	One Colour	Two Colours
Full Page	Rs. 2,500	Rs. 3,500
Half Page	Rs. 1,300	Rs. 1,800
Quarter Page	Rs. 700	Rs. 1,000
1/8th Page	Rs. 400	Rs. 500

TECHNICAL DATA

Column width - 6 centimetres

Column Length - 34 centimetres

Four Columns to a page

Full Page Size - 25 cm.x 34 cm.

Colours available - Black, Red, Blue and Yellow