

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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Another 'Invasion'

Buddhism 'invaded' Sri Lanka according to legend, 2500 years ago at a point near Kankasanturai.

On Thursday, 25th June, food ships from India landed at Kankasanturai harbour, bearing food and medical supplies for the beleaguered people of the Jaffna Peninsula.

These are the ironies of history.

This situation would never have cropped up if the Sri Lankan Government had been sensible.

Old young foxes and vixens thought that they could stand on their hind-legs and bully a big, neighbouring country into submission.

Today they are learning the lessons of history.

If these people had really studied the Mahavamsa, they would have re-

alised that their platform talk is empty and dangerous rhetoric.

All along geo-political realities have determined Sri Lanka's history.

Today certain people in power in Sri Lanka think that Ronald Reagan can change the course of Asian history.

That's the same Ronald Reagan, a third-rate actor who attempted to kill the Maverick Libyan President, Colonel Gaddafi, and succeeded only in killing his adopted infant.

It's on America and Pakistan that Sri Lanka relies on.

On Pakistan whose President Zia Ul Huq secretly assassinated Bhutto who high-jumped the very same Zia over several other Generals to be in charge of the Pakistan army.

Remember the Shah of Iran, Somoza, Marcos?

These political ghosts should haunt Sri Lanka's rulers.

These are leaders who fell from the saddle because they thought the bludgeon should be used to deal with human problems.

The taller and bigger you are, the harder you fall.

JAFFNA CP WELCOMES INDIAN FOOD AID

The Jaffna district Committee of the Communist Party welcomes with relief and joy the agreement reached between the Governments of India

and Sri Lanka regarding necessary arrangements for the despatch of goods from India and its distribution among the beleaguered people of Jaffna.

This is what a resolution passed recently by the Jaffna District Committee of the Communist Party states.

The resolution goes on to say 'for more than four months the b.n on fuel and other necessary items had imposed many hardships on the people of Jaffna. For years the people living along the coasts have been debarred from pursuing their normal occupation and reduced to dependence on the pittances of Governments handouts.

Hundreds of farmers have fled from their homes leaving their crops to rot. Many hundreds of houses—as well as, schools, hospitals and places of worship have been torched. Thousands of young people are held in detention Camps for years in violation of even the emergency regulations—framed recently. Thousands of innocent citizens have been killed or maimed as reprisal for actions committed by others. Recent happenings in Vadamarachy are further proof of the pitiable condition to which the Tamil people have been reduced."

Her house is in shambles. That midnight Jaffna's skies reverberated.

A Mirage flew over Jaffna.

It was no dream or wish-fulfilment.

But certainly it was a nightmare for the Sri Lanka Government.

A neighbouring country was signalling Sri Lanka:—STOP YOUR NON-SENSE.

And Sri Lanka had to stop its nonsense.

There has been no aerial bombardment of Jaffna Town since then, thank God (not Lalith).

Nightmares are good-for some people, some governments.

(See also page 8)

NO MIRAGE

On Saturday—after the release of the SATURDAY REVIEW, (20th June)—two bombers suddenly appeared over Jaffna.

Their hits that evening were Namasivayam Maha Vidiyalaya at Kodaddy, Jaffna, Leyden Garments building and Uduvil Girls' College. Four dwelling houses including that of Rev. Winslow and Mrs. Kantharatnam were rased to the ground.

Her husband, Mr. Kantharatnam, was killed in 1985 when ethnic violence erupted.

Mrs. Kantharatnam was staying with her 9 year-old daughter and aunt in the house which was four times hit by bombs; they had a miraculous escape from death.

Her furniture and her belongings were burnt to ash.

TUMULTUOUS WELCOME

Jaffna's citizens gave a rousing welcome, as far as circumstances permitted to the Indian and the Red Cross officials who had come to Kankasanturai in connection with the arrival of the aid ship 'Island Pride' which docked at Kankasanturai harbour on the afternoon of 25th June.

From Tellippalai to Jaffna the vehicles the officials were travelling in were surrounded by crowds who garlanded them and raised slogans of gratitude to the Government and people of India for their magnanimous gesture. They also urged the Indian Government to recognise the rightful struggle of the Tamil speaking people and requested them to give arms and equipment.

The Army too joined in a 'ceremonious' welcome by firing their cannons intermittently. This would have given the visitors an idea of the ordeal the people of the Peninsula have been undergoing in spite of media reports to the contrary. If the state controlled Daily News maintained on 25th June that it was "staged starvation for food ship visitors, then why were the foreign journalists not permitted to see this "staged starvation" for themselves?

DIXIT SUMMONED URGENTLY

The Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, Mr. J. N. Dixit left for India on 25th June on an urgent summons from New Delhi.

Earlier in the day he had met with Mr. A.C.S. Hameed, the Sri Lankan Foreign Minister and discussed with him matters connected with further food aid to Jaffna.

MORE REFUGEES

The military operations by the Security Forces in the North and East have led to refugees being housed in 79 camps. In the camps there are 9,931 families comprising 43,823 persons.

Apart from these camps 27,344 families consisting of 82,180 persons live in other places as refugees.

Boycott Call

The Colombo-based Independent Medical Practitioners' Association will call for a boycott of medicines imported from India—about half of Sri Lanka's imports of drugs.

This call—in the form of a resolution—will be made at the Association's Annual General Meeting to be held tomorrow (28th June).

An official of the Association disclosed that a move to boycott Indian medicines had already been launched in the Chilaw and Puttalam districts.

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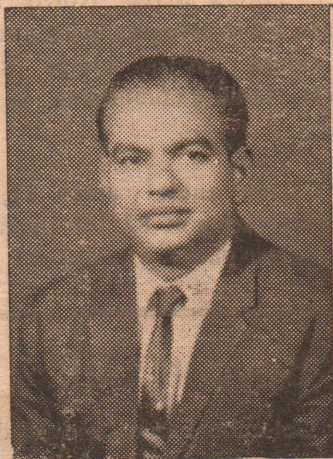
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Woolf And The Swiss Model

It was good to have Frederic Spotts and Jehan Perera revealing Woolf's prophetic proposal for a federal solution to what he correctly perceived would become Sri Lanka's thorniest political conundrum, in this day and age when the ethnic issue is literally sizzling in the fire. That an enlightened Englishman with a shrewd knowledge of Ceylon, even as it then was, had the prescience to discern future traumas and prescribe a cure is not surprising—the tragedy remains that no Sinhalese majority regime has been willing to consider the federal formula as a way out, and perhaps the only realistic way out, of a vertiginous and involved constitutional impasse, which has now engulfed the country in a virtual civil war.

The authors in their brief and precise introduction to Woolf's memorandum (SR 13th June) draw pointed attention to the fact that the idea of a federal system has never been considered by the present Government as a sensible via-media as well as a sagacious and a fair-minded extension of the 1986 Draft Proposals. But one must not miss sight of the federal consistent campaign carried out by the Federal Party

for the acceptance of the federal concept as a viable political solution for nearly a quarter of a century before the mid-seventies. No stone was left unturned to impress upon Sinhalese leaders and the Sinhala political consciousness the sound logic and political rationale of the constitutional arrangement.

Even more remarkable, the first Sinhalese politician of standing to adopt this credo did so thirteen years before Woolf wrote his far-sighted evaluation. When S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike formed the Progressive Nationalist Party in 1925, he chose the federal form of government as a fundamental plank in his manifesto.

by

H. A. I. Goonetilleke

He further expounded the feasibility and, indeed, necessity of such a concept in writing to the Press in 1926. His strong allegiance to the idea apparently founded when he allowed himself to be swallowed up in the mainstream of Sinhalese nationalist politics. It was only to be revived in an emasculated form in the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact years later which the Tamil Federal Party found generous enough in its concessions to accept.

Ten years later a variation of this regional autonomy theme offered in the Dudley-Chelvanaayakam Pact was again found, acceptable by the Federal Party.

On both occasions the magnanimity of Sinhalese leaders and the responsible responses of Tamil leaders were sabotaged by waves of extremist and reckless opinion both within and outside the government. The rest is recent history—and a bloody revolting fall-out at that!

The time is now ripe to pick up the lost threads of this judicious constitutional device, before the waves of suffering and tides of bitterness overwhelm us entirely.

Neither durable peace nor lasting reconciliation can emerge from a military solution, whether partial or total.

Only a political solution in which the cardinal concepts of self-determination, regional autonomy, inter-racial justice, equality, and freedom from oppression and discrimination are guaranteed through some form of federalism can preserve our unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The national fabric, if it ever existed in our plural society, has been too deeply riven and rent apart.

Delay Means Danger

Text of a press statement
issued by the Government Medical Officers Association (GMOA).

As an Association which firmly believes that there is only a negotiated political settlement to the problems in the North and East and also being an association which has sincerely and consistently negotiated in this direction on the issues faced by its membership in the North and East with some success, the GMOA expresses its grave concern on the recent developments that have taken place in the North which culminated in the air drop operation by Indian Air Force planes.

We cannot agree that such acts could help to ease the situation and call for all parties involved in this conflict for more meaningful action to resolve this issue.

The war in the North has affected all communities in the country dearly and is now threatening to destabilise the South too. Important issues such as salaries, reorganisation of the Public Service as pro-

posed by the Administrative Reforms Commission and other attendant problems on which the GMOA as well as other Professional sector associations have been agitating for a long time are being neglected and decisions on them postponed.

The delay in a negotiated political settlement to the Northern situation is pushing the entire country towards a catastrophe and ignoring the issues facing the South too would lead it to a worse crisis.

Therefore at this darkest hour in the history of our country, we appeal to all the parties concerned to desist from provocative acts thereby diffusing the situation and make a fresh and concerted effort to arrive at a negotiated political settlement as it is becoming more and more clear that there cannot be a lasting solution by military means from all points of views.

In this connection, the GMOA wish to reiterate that as an organisation which has proved that matters connected to the Northern situation could be resolved through sincere negotiations, we are willing to do all we can to help pull the country out of this grave situation however difficult or protracted this may be.

Fast for Recognition

People in various places in Jaffna staged fasts during the week urging India to recognise the rightful struggle of the Tamil people. Urumpirai Temple, Kondavil Arasady Pillaiyar Kovil, Navaly St. Peter's Church, Manipay Maruthady Vinayagar Hall, Inuvil Kandasamy Kovil, Sithankerny Pillaiyar Kovil were some of the venues. From 24th June all schools in the District have joined this move. The School children further demand that the Sri Lankan Government should forthwith release the students taken into custody by the Armed Forces.

The Security Forces should refrain from turning schools into mini camps and cease shelling from the camps during school hours.

We wish to thank all relations and friends who attended the Memorial Mass for Miss Theresa Rasamani Solomon to commemorate her 2nd death anniversary on 22nd June at St. Mary's Cathedral, Jaffna.

60/1 A Solomon Lane,
Old Park Road,
Jaffna.

THE MISSING GENERATION - 2

SOLDIERS GOT THE GOATS

(Continued from last issue)

DOCTOR SPEAKS

A doctor attached to the hospital told me that 400 injured patients were admitted to the hospital during the operation. 14 were dead on admission and 20 died in hospital. He was especially concerned about injuries caused by the barrel bomb. Of the victims 4 had died and there were 3 cases which were serious. Commenting on the injuries, he said that at this point he could only say that injuries resulting from the barrel bomb resembled kerosene burns.

He said that several foreign journalists had come to the hospital, but always in the company of army officers. There were standard questions like; 'has the food and drugs situation improved after the army takeover? which they have to answer in the affirmative, which is the truth. But being government officers they cannot volunteer information. They prefer to refer journalists to the patients.

I heard independently from a group of patients that when some journalists asked who shot them, in the presence of an army officer, they had replied—the army!

The doctor denied an earlier report reaching Jaffna that injured patients coming to the hospital had been forced to record that they were shot by terrorists. He said that there had been no interference by the army in the running of the hospital. In fact," he said, if someone asks me, I have to say that the army, since the takeover, has been extremely good towards the hospital. I must qualify this by pointing out that since India took a certain line, considerable international attention has been focussed on this hospital and that ours is a very special case. The army has given nearly everything we asked for. Our ambulance was destroyed by helicopter fire on 2nd April and we have been without an ambulance. Of the 3 ambulances run by the LTTE, one has been destroyed. We asked for the remaining 2 and were given one. Understandably our drivers are afraid to operate the ambulance. We have received a generous supply of medicines."

THE WAR

Commenting on the war, the doctor said, "like many others I once thought that non-violence was not going to work. It is now apparent that certain sections of the community have borne the brunt of the struggle. We were happy with landmines going off as long as they were far away in the East or elsewhere. But when it came to our own doorstep, we thought differently. I heard the most profound comment on the situation from the driver of a van. He had been displaced from Palaly and then from Kattuvan. We were driving through a suburb of Jaffna town which has been little affected by the war. The driver said, these are the people who stand for fighting to the bitter end. I do not know where I will find safe shelter tonight. I only want a roof over my head where I know I can live in peace.' I think non-violence is the best guarantee for a minority like ours."

THE DEAD

It must be said that while an attempt has been made to set down verifiable incidents, I have been able to get little reliable information from Vadamarachchi West where the fighting was at its worst. It will take time before a complete picture is known of what happened in Pt. Pedro itself where the resistance to the army advance was least. There are reports of bodies being discovered in wells, air-raid shelters and in bushes several days after the fighting was over, as refugee residents returned. Some bodies were buried and forgotten. After the shell blast at Mariamman temple, 15 bodies were unclaimed. Deaths amongst categories like Trincomalee refugees may even go unrecorded. Estimates must to some extent depend on extrapolation. One community leader put the dead at up to 1000. Another believed that it may be up to 2000. 300 may be taken as a low estimate.

ANIMAL SUFFERING

Animals too suffered grievously during this offensive. Several domestic animals fell victim to explosive missiles. Many people fled their homes forgetting to unite their animals. Besides the slaughter of animals by troops there were instances in Uduppiddy and Alvai where troops

killed goats and left their corpses on discovering that they were pregnant. It is the lot of animals to suffer meekly when men misbehave.

REACTIONS

One community leader told me, "I have spoken to about a thousand parents of children taken in by the army and have heard reports of how these young men have been treated. I am very angry with the Sri Lankan army. If the government had a genuine concern for civilians, there are so many precautions—that could have been taken and so many things that could have been done differently. The methods chosen have been to browbeat the Tamils into submission. After what we have been through, we cannot remain part of Sri Lanka. I am not saying that I support the militancy. But I hope some power will intervene on our behalf."

Typical of another kind of reaction was what I heard a middle-aged man in a bus telling his fellow passengers: "What has happened

By

A Special Correspondent

is over. If the army could have been stopped, it is a different matter. Now they are foot-patrolling everywhere. It makes no sense to go on like this. Now, we should be quiet. If our people supported the militancy, it was to seek the well-being of the Tamil nation. But we should avoid the path of national suicide. In the event of an incident we civilians will be at the receiving end from the army. One old man cautioned him from speaking aloud. But no one demurred.

REFUGEES

It is certain that thousands left Vadamarachchi as refugees during and after the offensive. At Kodikam alone about a thousand people registered as refugees with community organisations. Many went to stay with friends and relatives elsewhere in the peninsula and in places such as Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu.

A serious long term problem that has been little reported is that of internal refugees within Vadamarachchi itself. I inquired from a religious leader about the many people to be seen on the roads with anxiety-ridden faces, walking hither and

thither, carrying suitcases, bags and little children. He told me that many people had no fixed abode and had been thoroughly un-nerved. They kept moving from one place which they think has become unsafe to one which has become safer. When a rumour gets around that the army or the 'boys' have moved into a certain area, people tend to pick up their few belongings and leave. People are afraid of what the army may do to them in the event of a conflict.

In a poor country such as ours, a person who loses his house and household goods is a refugee for life. It takes a lifetime's savings to build a house. Once these are lost a person is reduced to his bare necessities in a suitcase and becomes a refugee without fixed abode. Items that pertain to civilised life such as books and musical instruments are denied to them and fear becomes their constant companion. Such is the state of many people in Vadamarachchi and of thousands of Tamils else-where.

Mr. Thevarajan, vice-principal of Velayutham School, is a typical resident of Pt. Pedro town with a house by the sea at the end of 2nd Cross St. He left after the army took over Hartley College and has moved house five times since then. His present house is near the newly opened Police Station at Manthikai and he is the last resident left in the neighbourhood. Now he has to look for another house. All this shifting house was possible because many have left Pt. Pedro. After the army takeover he went to inspect his house by the sea. He was told by the army that two soldiers had lost their legs trying to enter the premises because they were mined. They advised him to come about a week later.

The situation is far worse for residents in the environs of Vavuniya where destruction caused by military action is widespread.

GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE

Whilst numbers indicate one aspect of the tragedy, every loss in the first instance occasions private sorrow affecting a small circle of loved ones. It is thus important for the future well-being of this land to look at how the government has fared in

(Continued on page 6)

Plantations: Past, Contemporary And

Then, as the recent Sri Lanka Government communique states, "the long-standing problem of statelessness which has been with us since 1952 will be finally resolved".

Privatization

On the plea of economic efficiency the present Government appears to be committed in all sectors to a policy of de-nationalization or privatization. The policy extends to the plantations. This paper will examine the impact of privatization on the tea lands alone. Table 111 summarizes the situation as is 1983.

Table III
Ownership Institution of Tealands in 1983

Total tea acreage:	598,314
	acres
of which	
Estates: (defined as land holding over 10 acres)	
State 365,423 acres	
Private 101,706 acres	467,129
	acres
Small holdings (all Private) ..	131,185
	acres

Source: Nimal Sanderatne, "Plantation Agriculture: Economic Opportunities and Challenges", Staff Studies, Central Bank of Ceylon, 12:2 & 13:1 & 2 (September 1982), p.209

Privatization affects the lands held by the State.

Privatization forms part of the cherished policies of Reagan and Thatcher. It is making headway in Nakasone's Japan and is warmly recommended to developing countries such as ours. It is advocated as an essential part of an ideological package, marked on one side, Freedom for Economic Enterprise and, on the other, Repression of Political Protest. That it asks the State not to intervene in economics but to intervene strongly in politics is not seen as any contradiction at all, but as essential to the free enterprise package. Privatization is the result of right-wing pressures and hence has the powerful support of all US-backed international financial institutions. It is the result of sheer greed for private property and profit. Finally, there is the argument of a "new emphasis on efficiency" which the British Energy Secretary used in May 1985 when introducing plans to privatize British Gas.

To these general arguments for privatization there are added two which have special force in Sri Lanka. The first is the dismal performance of productivity in the post-nationalization period. Tea production which averaged 483 m. lbs per

year during the 5-year period 1967-71 averaged 458 m. lbs per year during 1972-6 and 447 m. lbs per year during 1977-81 while the average for 1982-5 has been 434 m. lbs per year.

The second is the failure of the various attempts at cooperative management and production after land reform. Janavasas, Usavasamas, Electoral Coops and Agricultural Committees belied the hopes placed in them. More damaging than their economic collapse was their social failure in the sphere of inter-communal relations. Far from achieving active integration between estate and village, the first quinquennial after land reform began saw the most blatant ethnic discrimination against the unfortunate Tamil estate people, which continues in less intense and obvious forms up to the present day.

by

However, it seems almost trite to say that the remedy for a job badly done is not to undo it but to do it better. The present paper does not permit the discussion of the ideological case against private or state ownership of the means of production nor does it permit a discussion of the feasibility of social ownership. It will have to suffice for the purposes of this paper to say that were privatization to succeed in the 1980s in Sri Lanka, it would lead to a strengthening of the domination of the elites as against the people. Moreover, the elites who will begin to own the plantations will not be a production-oriented capitalist elite but a class of merchant capitalists who can be relied upon only to run the estates down in the pursuit of quick profits and then sell them either to other merchants or to the State. Fidel Castro called this a "lumpen bourgeoisie." Estates that have been privated over the past 5-year period have already been guilty of under payment of wages and savings benefits, lack of productive investment and labour relations that are not even feudal but crudely exploitative. It is for these reasons that anyone interested in people's development has to resist privatization as inimical precisely to that development.

PART THREE: THE FUTURE

Some of us present here at this Seminar are engaged in work in the

plantation areas either with the Tamil estate workers or with the Sinhala villagers or with both. The next few and concluding pages of this paper are therefore concerned with a summary examination of the tasks we should seek to fulfil during the remaining decade and a half of this century. To look much further beyond would be to leave the field of social activism for the rarer realms of social prophecy.

Broadly, there are two possible approaches to the future. One is that of gradual reformism, the other is that of radical social change. In between the two approaches would be the area of the creative forging of estate-village relationships which, while keeping all that is worthwhile in the reformist approach, will move forward, with a speed to be largely determined by the timing, quantity and quality of the re-

Paul Caspersz

forms themselves, to a profound metamorphosis of the plantation system.

The gradual reformist approach would aim at improvement of the conditions of life on the plantations. In the fields of income, education, health, housing, civic rights and privileges, all available figures show the estate sector to be much more disadvantaged than the urban sector and more disadvantaged than the rural sector. As regards the crucial factor of income, for instance, in 1981-2 the mean income per person per month in the household worked out at Rs. 486 in the urban sector, Rs. 300 in the rural sector and Rs. 230 in the estate sector. With the increase in estate worker wages in April 1984 and the two complementary measures of the equalization of female with male wages and the assurance of 6 days' work per week, it is probable that the estate sector will be found to have caught up with the rural sector.

Still within the limits of the reformist approach, especially since (as we continue to hope) there will soon be no stateless persons left on the estates, imaginative and creative efforts must be made to assist the plantation people to take their rightful place with dignity in civic life.

In our dealings with the estate people, perhaps our most tragic experience is their acceptance of oppression while all around them te-

stifies to the need to overcome it. This would be best illustrated by some examples.

Before the inter-communal violence of July 1983, Satyodaya Centre, Kandy, conducted a series of weekend leadership training sessions for estate Tamil and Sinhala village youth of both sexes. The sessions began on Saturday morning and ended with lunch on Sunday. There were about 40 participants, divided equally between estate and village. While the Sinhala youth moved about the house and premises with perfect ease and self-confidence, the estate youth took a long time fully to be assured that they had the same status and rights as everyone else. Similarly in public transport in the hill country, especially if the driver and conductor belong to the major ethnic group (and this is most easily discovered), the estate people behave as if they were there on sufferance and not as if they realized that their ticket entitled them to exactly the same rights as anyone else.

Some years ago a social activist of my acquaintance was visiting an estate on a fact-finding mission. He happened to know the estate superintendent who invited him to stay the night over in his bungalow. The next morning the Superintendent invited the activist to be present in his office as it was the weekly morning for direct access by the workers to their Superintendent. The Superintendent and the activist were seated at a desk behind the iron grills of a large window. The workers filed past the window on the other side. A worker asked whether he could receive payment as he had successfully completed his weeding contract. Another inquired when his wife could begin her maternity leave. As No. 4 or 5 in the line, came a young man, about 22, well-built who stood with his arms folded on his chest in front of the grills. This sight, for some inexplicable reason, galled the Superintendent. "That is not the way you talk to the Periya Dorai", he shrieked. "Put your bloody hands down, you son-of-a-bitch". The young man, meek as a lamb trembled and put his hands down. "Why are you scolding me, Dorai?", the sobbed. "I have only come to ask you about the rice-ration of my father who is dying!"

If this had happened in a Colombo engineering firm, said its director, to whom the incident was narrated



Future Patterns - 4

not many days later by the activist, the whole workforce would have struck work on grounds of undue intimidation of a fellow-worker. But here was the plantation young worker, "a worm, not a man, abused by all men, scorned by the people" (30). This was the third type of alienation which Marx spoke of - alienation from human species life, from humanity. (The Superintendent was a church-going man of religion). Overcoming this alienation should be one of the reformist goals of the future. Yet, this is not merely one important goal of a reformist programme. It would be the result of radical social change, which is the second of the two possible approaches.

Radical social change would envisage and comprehend a complete bouleversement of the inherently exploitative plantation system. George L. Beckford in the West Indies and S. B. de Silva in Sri Lanka have analysed - the latter supporting his argument with a plethora of empirical evidence - the inbuilt exploitativeness of the plantation system. The question however, remains, whether the plantation system is also incorrigibly and irremediably exploitative.

The plantation system was inserted into the world economy histori-

cally in a master-servant exploitative relationship and continues to be part of the same world economy on unchanged historical terms. Briefly, low-wage labour produces the plantation crops whose producer price is fixed by international economic forces over which the producer countries and the producers themselves have no control. So in Sri Lanka, so long as we have the present plantation system, we are destined to conduct tea, rubber and coconut plantations as low-wage economic enterprises and sell our plantation produce at low and even falling real prices. Can this system ever be radically changed so that equal exchange may obtain between plantation products and the products of the affluent industrialized countries?

There is a myth that products such as coffee and tea necessarily call for the plantation system as historically hitherto known. The proponents of the myth forget that the Europeans in Sri Lanka probably learned to grow coffee from the experience of peasant producers. Indeed, until the mid 1830s, the volume of peasant coffee exports exceeded the volume of plantation coffee exports. Smallholder tea in Kenya, so far as the present writer is aware, is in certain areas no less

efficiently produced than plantation tea. But, so long as the myth persists in Sri Lanka and India, no imaginative experiments will be made to achieve efficient smallholder production, which may then have to be organized on a cooperative or collective basis.

One important word of caution is, however, necessary, if our thinking were to proceed along the approach of radical social change. Such radical social change should never be excogitated independently of its possible effects on the present estate population which should participate actively in the planning and implementation of change and be its first beneficiaries.

In between the two approaches, and probably stimulating the movement from one to the other, would be the area of estate-village relationships.

After nationalization, the estates have begun to be the direct responsibility of the whole nation represented by its Government. The integration of the estate with the rest of the social economy has now to be accepted as a necessary subject of national planning and policy. The closest neighbour of the estate is the village. So it is that estate-village integration has assumed the dimensions of a national problem of the utmost urgency.

Economic integration does not mean subordination of the estate to

the village nor the subordination of both to the town. The exploitation of the village by the town is basic to the model of industrial capitalist development. The separation of estates and village and the exploitation of both for the interests of the urban imperial government is basic to the model of colonial development. The subordination of the estate to the village and of both to the interests of the bourgeoisie rural or urban is basic to the model of national bourgeois development. Steering our course away from these three models, we have to understand and economic integration as meaning, in the short term, the building of mutually advantageous economic relationships between estate, village and town and, in the long term, the obliteration of all economic distinction between them.

If economic integration does not imply economic subordination, social integration does not imply social assimilation. The ideal for Sri Lanka is certainly not a unified unitary homogeneous State but a unified heterogeneous State, unitary or federal, that allows, and even encourages, pronounced diversity among the groups that coalesce into the unity of one State. One of these groups is the estate people.

(Concluded)

Today's spy is no longer recruited through a crude exchange of money for information. Indeed, it is often the case that the agent is allowed to acquire an image of himself as an exalted consultant.

The following is a true incident that occurred in the U.S.A., slightly modified in its narration to safeguard the identity of the person involved.

Dr. A. N. Onymus is attached to a university in the U.S. and, in addition to his contacts through his research into Ceylonese affairs, is well known to people in the Sri Lankan Government and the Eelam movement. He was first approached by a beautiful young woman who claimed to represent a research foundation, that was studying, among other things, the troubled parts of the world. After inviting Dr. Onymus to lunch and discussing current problems in Ceylon, she wanted to hire him as a consultant on Ceylon at US dollars 400 per diem, which is the typical going rate for professors. Initial assignments involved writing innocuous essays on the situation,

containing information that could have been easily gleaned from newspapers.

The girl was too poorly informed on Ceylon to be a serious research scientist. However, she would, on

no tax exempt research organisation is allowed to disburse cash without proper accounting. The final confirmation of whom he was working for came when Dr. Onymus was asked to write a short personal profile of each person in the current

formation, this money will be distributed over several meaningless assignments. This maintains the appearance that the payment is for time spent and not for the information, land, thereby, makes the act conscionable. Thirdly, sometimes the money is spent not for the information in the reports, but for the contact with the 'consultant' who may be an important person. This contact may unconsciously - reveal really useful information over casual contact may unconsciously - reveal useful information over casual lunch conversations or, alternatively, may be merely cultivated as a friend for use at a later time. Fourthly, we should exercise great caution whenever money seems to come rather easily and in plenty. And finally we ought to beware of these foundations and think-tanks and those who are associated with them.

How America Recruits Spies

occasion, turn up with an extremely intelligent and well-read co-worker who would ask sharp questions over lunch, when the report would be delivered and the payment made.

What initially aroused Dr. Onymus' suspicions was the payments always being made in cash. In acknowledgement, Dr. Onymus was asked only to initial a receipt. Under U.S. tax laws, no one is allowed to receive more than some Dollars 600 a year, without the payment and the payee's social security number being reported to the US Inland Revenue Service. Moreover,

Government and the Eelam movement in the U.S. At this point, Dr. Onymus excused himself saying that the pressures of other duties prevent him from giving more time to these assignments.

by **M. M. Mani**

The lessons for us are these. First, even the spy sometimes does not recognise himself as a spy. Secondly, although several thousand dollars may be spent for one piece of in-

IS THERE A SRI LANKAN IDENTITY ?

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

Messrs: Jayewardene, Athulathmudali and other leaders of the UNP as well as Mrs Bandaranaike and other SLFP leaders are at pains to state that the Sri Lankan identity is not being heeded by the militants as well as other Tamil leaders. It is worthwhile examining the matter dispassionately because a large number of well-meaning Sinhalese people probably share this view. The question therefore arises, what constitute the Sri Lankan identity? Do all people encompassed within one administrative unit share a common identity. Undoubtedly, this is one of the factors contributing towards a common identity, but this is not the only one or the determining factor. There are other factors, and it is my purpose here to examine these.

This is best done by taking a few examples and for this purpose we take two such examples—Great Britain and India, two countries which people are quite familiar. A little over two centuries ago there was no United Kingdom. The English had one king and the Scottish another and therefore there was constant warfare between the two. However, today the two have one identity. How did this come about? This came about because the two

peoples were engaged in enterprises which benefited both. The development of large scale industries, emergence of a mighty navy with which large parts of globe were subjugated—all of them were profitable enterprises in which both peoples shared and then followed a pride in their common achievements of building an Empire and these led to the growth of a common sentiment which is the main ingredient of a single identity. Such things as a national flag and anthem are only external expressions of the common sentiment.

If we take India, the development of a common sentiment then takes an entirely different course. The various national groupings are very different from each other, the only common factor being the Hindu religion. These areas were never administered together except for short periods such as during the reign of Emperor Asoka and also during the reigns of some Moghul emperors. Still despite all these divergences, they have developed a common sentiment and identity leaving allowance for minor aberrations such as is found in the Sikh community today.

How did this come about? This came about because all nationalities in India re-united to wage a long and bitter struggle against the British imperialists. It is in the course of this long struggle that a common sentiment and identity emerged togeth-

er with their national flag and anthem.

If we take the case of Sri Lanka, the Sinhalese and Tamil people never had in the recent past experience of having worked together for a common cause and gaining from it. During the greater part of the period of British occupation, the Sinhalese and Tamil vied with one another to gain favours from their imperialist masters instead of uniting together to oust the imperialists, as did many other countries in Asia. The only exception to what is said here are the old left, the LSSP and the CP. Then the two parties did fight against imperialism—and it can be seen that these are the only two parties which had at least for short periods the genuine support of the Tamil people. The emphasis here is on genuine support as distinct from "support" that is claimed when quislings joined the UNP or SLFP band waggons. The UNP claims that D. S. Senanayake is the father of the nation who "persuaded" the British to grant independence. The SLFP claims that it was S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike who brought "genuine independence" to the country. Yet it is an undisputed fact that as long as the British remained in the country neither of these two esteemed gentlemen raised a finger against them. When Dr. N. M. Perera and Mr. Philip Gunawardene were issued detention orders by the Bri-

tish in 1940, there could not be found members of the then State Council who could vote for these two detained legislators. Instead by-elections were held to fill the vacancies. Once the British quit for reasons of their own, all these people fell over each other in claiming they were the ones who fought for Independence.

It must be said that the Tamil leaders at that time too contributed towards this failure to develop a common sentiment. These leaders proclaimed and applied the theory that "Tamil rights" could only be safeguarded by giving unqualified support to the British imperialists thus alienating themselves from the Sinhalese people. They never imagined for a moment that the British remained in this country for their own reasons and would leave when it suited them.

However the fact that a common identity could not be developed even after Independence is due to the negative policies practised by the Sri Lankan leaders both of the UNP and SLFP. These negative policies are too well known and there is no need to repeat them here. Unless there is a genuine attempt to withdraw from this stance and accommodate the genuine aspirations of the Tamil people, talk of a Sri Lankan identity will have no meaning, as far the Tamil people are concerned.

Jaffna

I.R. Ariaratnam

Soldiers Got The Goats

(Continued from page 3)

discharging its obligation to protect its citizens on the basis of equality before the law I think any fair-minded person should look seriously at some of the points below: 1. Irresponsible use of firepower: It is common knowledge that is easily substantiated, that nearly all victims of aerial bombing and shelling were non-combatants. These weapons were almost always useless against guerrillas. Many places, such as temples, affected by these weapons had been declared places of refuge. 2. Mariamman temple tragedy: Up to 75 persons were killed when a shell fell amidst persons taking refuge at this temple on the night of 27th May. A responsible official told me that an army officer admitted that the forces were to blame, but had added that this temple had not been designated a place of refuge. Commenting on this, a religious leader said that in the first instance Mariamman temple was not amongst places of refuge named by the announcement in the army-run 'Radio Jaffna'. But a subsequent announcement had asked people to take refuge in places of worship in general. This was confirmed by other listeners. There is no explanation as to why and at whom that shell was fired. More strikingly General Ranatunge has told the week-end's Iqbal Athas that reference had to be made to him personally before artillery was

used— "He would personally study the terrain and okayed its use only if it did not endanger civilians". (Weekend 31 May).

One man who was hit by a shell at a temple in Nelliady and two boys who were hit by a barrel bomb at a temple in Thikkam were warded at Pt. Pedro hospital. 3. Air raid shelters: The government and the army have been cussed in recognising the stark fact that the construction of air raid shelters was forced upon helpless people for reasons of life and death. On the other hand the myth has been spread that those who built shelters were LTTE supporters. This has been reflected in handbills and in broadcasts over 'Radio Jaffna'. This is also stated in the piece 'operation Goodwill' in the 'Weekend' of 7th June by a correspondent who was certainly briefed by the army. It is then of little wonder that in several instances advancing troops had set about killing people who were sheltering in trenches. If similar air attacks had been undertaken by a foreign power, the Government would have been obliged to provide such trenches for civilians. 4. Curfew: In several instances, like the 8 who went to buy bread at Viyapari-moolai, people deliberately killed by the army can be technically regarded as curfew breakers. The purpose of declaring a curfew in a democratic society is so that in a climate of insecurity a

soldier can use his gun, when his discretion tells him that a person whom he encounters on the street is hostile, without first going through the normal safeguards available under the law. But there is absolutely no excuse for shooting a person who has already been apprehended or is obviously harmless. That curfew can be used as a licence to subject persons to hideous tortures before killing them is a reflection on the state of the country. 5. Killing of apprehended youth: There have been several verifiable instances of such killings, done apparently at the discretion of army officers. However convinced an officer may be that a young person had been a guerrilla, such killings, beside being cowardly, violate the spirit of the law and the basic norms of justice on which a modern civilised society rests. 6. Places of refuge: Even in terms of space, the places of refuge announced in the first list were grossly inadequate, leave alone water, food and sanitation for six days. In the event, people took refuge in various places of worship and often only standing room was available. Even then they were not safe from missiles. 10,000 took refuge at Puttalai-Pillayar Kovil which was on the first list. Children had to be sitting out in the sand when the sun was up and many became ill.

The Government should have anticipated that many with infants and old-folk would have had no choice but to stay at home. Such people were badly treated by advancing troops, and in some instances summarily shot. 7. Looting: There was no serious effort to prevent looting by troops. Hundreds have been rendered penniless and without shelter.

8. Medical Care: Point Pedro hospital, the only hospital in Vadamarachchi, was already under severe pressure resulting from military action. It had only 250 beds, no surgeon and its only ambulance had been destroyed. Within 2 days of the offensive the hospital had run short of food and medicines. There are some reports of injured civilians having been treated by the army. But no provision was made until much later for the many injuries caused by bombing and shelling even in places of refuge. Because of the curfew in force and the non-availability of transport, the injured had to be taken to hospital at no small risk or not taken at all.

It ill becomes a Government to flaunt National Sovereignty as a cover for its actions, without recognising that this concept has been overlaid by several international consensus on human rights. Monitoring agencies on human rights now have an international character. Sri Lanka is itself a signatory to the UN Charter. It can therefore be reasonably held that national sovereignty is subject to a Government's fair treatment of its citizens.

When Indian aircraft recently violated Sri Lankan airspace, the Sri Lankan Government took on the platitudes of a defenceless victim. Its chief executive was even moved to speak of non-violence. It is well to reflect on the feelings of the Tamil people in relation to the ponderous might of the Sri Lankan state.

(Concluded)

FOR THE RECORD

16th June: Aid in the form of food items from India will be brought to the harbour at Kankesanthurai shortly. It will be recalled that this aid to the starving people in the North who were displaced by army action which commenced on 26th May led to an imbroglio between the Government of India and the Government of Sri Lanka and finally resulted in the air drop of supplies by Indian planes. Apparently better counsels have prevailed since then. Consequent to repeated meetings between Foreign Minister Hameed and India's High Commissioner Sri J. N. Dixit the modalities in respect of this aid have been worked out.

An attack on the Kurumbasiddy mini camp by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) on 15th June resulted in damage to the camp as well as casualties among soldiers. Six militants among those who took part in the raid lost their lives.

561 militants died: According to a release by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) 561 militants were reported to have lost their lives up to 15th June, 1987.

17th June: 20 bodies washed ashore Twenty more bodies of persons have been washed ashore off Mannar. Due to the highly decomposed state of the corpses no identification had been possible, and a state burial was given. It is, however, believed that they were refugees who were making their way to India.

10 Tamils killed: 10 Tamils were reported to have lost their lives in a commando attack at Vellaveli on 15th June. The State media maintained that these lives were lost during an attack on a militant camp.

12th Bishop consecrated: The Rt. Rev. Jabez Jebasir Gnanapragasam was consecrated the 12th Bishop of Colombo on Ascension Day, 28th May, at the Cathedral Church of Christ the Living Saviour. The Rt. Rev. Swithin Fernando, the 11th Bishop of Colombo presided over the Service. 5 other Bishops who took part in the laying on of hands were Rt. Rev. Andrew Kumaraage, Bishop of Kurunegala, Rt. Rev. John Bickersteth, Bishop of Bath and Wales the Rt. Rev. Cyril Aneyaike formerly Bishop of Colombo, the Rt. Rev. D. J. Ambalavanar, Bishop of Jaffna and the Rt. Rev. Sundar Clarke, Bishop of Madras.

Half strength: It is common knowledge that education in the Jaffna has been very seriously disrupted since the military offensive

of 26th May. Schools are functioning at half strength and students are at a loose end. The Principal of Sri Ganesa Maha Vidiyalaya, Pungudutivu has posed the question which is foremost in the minds of many in Jaffna—Who is worried about the education of the Tamil youths today? With so many youngsters being taken to Boosa these days, what will happen to their education, when will they be permitted to attend their schools, when will they be allowed to sit for their Exams? One wonders who will provide the answer to these pertinent questions.

18-6-87: Rajiv speaks out: The Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi speaking to Opposition leaders emphasised that no one can watch with equanimity the slaughter of innocent Tamil civilians in the North by the armed forces. "We shall not permit the Tamil race to be wiped out by the Sri Lankan armed forces. We hope that the Government of Sri Lanka will accept into the 19th December proposals for a political settlement to the ethnic problem."

That Exodus: People from Idai-kadu and Valalai areas are leaving their homes with all their belongings. The army is giving them all assistance to enable them to leave. The soldiers who left their mini camp at Atchuvvely on 9th June have set up one at Valalai which has given rise to this exodus.

20-6-87: European Parliament Regrets: The European Parliament at a meeting held on 18th June regretted the aerial attacks carried out by the Sri Lankan air force in the Jaffna Peninsula as well as the major assaults by Government forces along the North coast of the Peninsula which had resulted in further civilian casualties. The Parliament further urged the Government of Sri Lanka to refrain from extending its present operations into the city of Jaffna itself which would result in serious loss of life.

"Operation Liberation" completed The "Operation Liberation" has been completed said the Minister of National Security, Lalith Athulathmudali on 11th June. There was no need to capture Jaffna. Soon after General Cyril Ranatunge echoed the minister's sentiments by stating that it was never his intention to attack Jaffna.

But on the 20th the bombers again flew over Jaffna and Uduvil and caused one death and extensive da-

mage to many houses. Namasivayam Vidyalaya at Kottady, Leyden Garments' building, Uduvil Girls' College were also damaged. Four houses including that of Rev. Winslow, Mrs. E. R. Kantharatnam and S. C. S. Canagasingham were razed to the ground. (who had lost her husband in Colombo in 1985, tragically) Shelling especially in the early hours of the morning from the army camp at Fort continues to be a regular feature for some unknown reason but it greatly inconveniences the people apart from the danger to their lives, especially the children who have to spend sleepless nights and have to go to school the following day.

Fear to get back: People have been displaced from their homes in Vadamarachchy because of the sudden checks conducted by the soldiers. Further they attempt to use them as shields to make further inroads into the area.

Suicides: On 17th June J. A. Piya-siri (21) attached to the Navy base at Karainagar committed suicide. His body was flown to Palaly and from there to Colombo by helicopter. At the same time A. G. Dharmakirthi attached to the Banval base at Trincomalee had also committed suicide.

Curfew: A curfew was suddenly clamped down in the Jaffna Peninsula on Saturday 20th June from 6 p.m. to 8 a.m. and again on Sunday from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. This was announced by the local Radio Station at Palaly in Tamil and English. No reason was given. There was however sporadic shell and gun fire in the night and early morning.

India to continue mediatory role 23-6-87: Mr. A. C. S. Hameed, Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka speaking to Pressmen in New Delhi after the SAARC Conference reiterated his Government's stand that India should continue the role of "honest broker" and assist in solving the ethnic problem. He added that the air-drop of food parcels to the people of Jaffna had not in any way damaged the good relations between both countries. He further denied that Sri Lanka had any intention of entering into any treaty with Pa-

kistan or for that matter any other country.

Lalith over BBC: In an interview to the BBC on 22nd June, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister of National Security stated that if India ever again flew over Sri Lanka's air space without authority, Sri Lanka would defend itself to the best of its ability. He, however, felt that India would not act in an irresponsible manner once again... "India has now accepted our conditions for further food aid to Jaffna but the earlier action on 3rd June was unilateral which had thereby strained relations between both countries. We have repeatedly maintained our desire to settle politically the ethnic problem but the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam has steadfastly refused to go along with us." He added that many actions were being taken in India towards undermining the political stability of Sri Lanka.

Amnesty International: A release by Amnesty International dated 22nd June requests the Government of Sri Lanka to urgently redress the following 1. Tamil persons arrested and subsequently tortured by the army are later said to be "missing". 2. Hold judicial inquiries into the whereabouts of these "missing" persons 3. Tamil detainees should be given proper security.

The Amnesty International further states that more than 3000 Tamils both men and women are in custody, having been arrested as militants or sympathisers of militants and kept incommunicado. When they were originally arrested, they were subjected to torture, some survived but many were listed as "missing".

Those who are in custody should be brought to trial forthwith or set free, concludes the release.

Letters Destroyed

When Security personnel set out from their mini camp at Atchuvvely, on 6th June they broke into the Atchuvvely Post Office and not only dined and slept there but also destroyed hundreds of letters which were ready for despatch.

Among them were letters meant for citizens abroad, registered letters which included Passports and other documents.

Many important articles belonging to the Post Office, stamps and other documents were reported stolen.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

"RECOGNISE TIGERS"

A series of fasts are being held in temples throughout the Jaffna Peninsula urging India to officially recognise the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) just as the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (P.L.O) has been recognised. The fasts have been preceded by mass demonstrations.

Slogans denouncing the Sri Lankan Government for the genocidal attacks on the Tamils were among those chanted by the demonstration.

Colombo Hindus Protest Attacks On Jaffna

Text of a letter sent to President Jayewardene by the Colombo Hindu Citizens Committee.

Sri Lanka is facing a grave national crisis and we, Hindu Citizens belonging to various Hindu Organisations, having formed ourselves into this Committee, write to make representations on the recent and current tragic developments facing this country.

The people of the Northern and Eastern Provinces are undergoing very great hardships. Aerial bombing, helicopter strafing, shelling from Military camps dotted all over the Jaffna Peninsula and Naval bombardments have caused considerable deaths including women and children and destruction. Hundreds of innocent civilians have been killed.

Many more maimed are suffering without medical assistance.

Destruction of public and private properties has taken place on a large scale and in particular by the use of bull-dozers. People who have been displaced from their homes are said to number well over 100,000.

Fellow citizens of Jaffna who have reached Colombo as refugees have informed us that there is, besides the death and destruction that have been caused, shortage of food for the people. We fear that if adequate supplies are not sent and distributed to the people immediately starvation on a large scale will ensue.

Jaffna and Point Pedro hospitals have been bombed and we are informed that there is a severe shortage of medicines. Many Hindu

temples and other places of worship including Neervely Kandasamy Kovil, Maviddapuram Kandasamy Kovil, Vannarponnai Sri Vaidheeswarar Kovil, Nallur Vairavar Kovil, and Atchuvally Amman Kovil have also been damaged by military action. In particular, Sri Vaidheeswarar Kovil in Vannarponnai, one of the designated places given by the Government as a place of refuge for civilians was also bombed. The Temple was damaged and its Trustee and four others were killed.

Many citizens of Jaffna, particularly youth, have been arrested and sent to detention camps totalling, we understand, nearly five thousand.

We are aware that Tamil Youth who were earlier taken into custody from various parts of Sri Lanka are languishing in places of detention

without trial for long although the maximum period specified in the Prevention of Terrorism Act is 18 months.

You will appreciate, that this is a tragic state of affairs where thousands of innocent citizens of the Tamil community have been subjected to indiscriminate assault on their person and property, to their hallowed temples being desecrated, damaged or destroyed and their schools being subjected to occupation by the armed forces.

We as Hindu citizens of Sri Lanka strongly protest at this action. We request you.

(a) to direct the armed forces to avert indiscriminate killing of innocent lives and destruction of property and to stop aerial bombing, helicopter strafing, shelling from military camps and naval bombardment (b) to protect temples and places of worship and refuge (c) ensure the supply of adequate food, medicines and basic requirements to reach the innocent civilian population in the trouble stricken areas in the North and East, now cut off from normal transport and communication from the rest of the country.

ALIEN AIRCRAFT SPOTTED OVER SRI LANKA

This news item appeared in the Weekend (the Sun's Sunday edition) on 14th June.

As India moves its troops to bases in South India in preparation for possibly military action against Sri Lanka, several unidentified aircraft have been sighted in the strife torn northern and eastern skies of Sri Lanka.

Military analysts told WEEKEND that the sightings made in Point Pedro and China Bay during the past seven days could be reconnaissance missions by Indian aircraft spying on the ground situation in the troubled areas of the North and East.

According to authoritative sources, two aircraft painted in military camouflage colours were spotted off the coast of Point Pedro on Friday evening by a naval gunboat on a patrol in the Palk Straits.

The sources were not able to confirm whether the aircraft have in fact intruded into our airspace though they were quite close to the Lankan side of the Straits. Such sightings had not been made prior to the latest intrusion by Indian warplanes to drop the so called food-aid as well as their reported heavy build-up in South India.

Meanwhile according to new reports from Madras on Saturday 6000 troops had landed at Adhirampattinam in the Tanjavur district and there was movement of ships in Pondicherry.

According to the "Indian Post" on Friday observers in Madras said New Delhi will resort to a military option on Sri Lanka within a week "taking into consideration various pressures on Indian Prime Minister viz. Presidential election, Haryana election and Bofors controversy.

Earlier this week unidentified aircraft were sighted over Trincomalee, and aviation authorities in Colombo,

said that no permission had been requested to enter Sri Lankan airspace around Trincomalee on that day.

Air Vice Marshal, Walter Fernando confirmed that two unidentified aircraft were spotted flying at 20,000 feet four days ago over Trincomalee. He said that Air force personnel had spotted two white streaks over the skies of Trincomalee.

Air Vice Marshall said that he could not say whose aircraft they were, but they were not of the Sri Lanka Air Force.

Eye witnesses state that the two aircraft were spotted overflying the Airforce base at China Bay, Trincomalee. They said that the aircraft were fighter planes judging by the speed.

Meanwhile, Director of Civil Aviation, Hugh Malalgoda, told "WEEK-END" that he was unaware of the incident as no permission had been requested for any foreign aircraft to fly over Trincomalee four days ago when airforce personnel reported sighting the two unidentified aircraft.

"A RUSE"

A press release by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS) condemns the Government's decision to hold elections in the North and East as a ruse.

They have pointed out that if the Tamils take part in these elections they would be betraying their own cause.

The former Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) M.P. for Trincomalee, Mr. R. Sampanthan—now in exile in Tamilnadu—has pointed out that it's ridiculous for the Government to hold elections when the Tamils are refugees in their own homeland and voters' lists have been destroyed.

The TULF Secretary—General and former Leader of the Opposition Mr. A. Amirthalingam—also in exile in Tamilnadu has declared that elections in the North and East are not feasible without a political settlement of the ethnic question.