

Saturday Review

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The Death-Dealers

Did the Principal of Veemankamam M.V., Mr. M. Sivarasa, have to die in the way he did?

The answer is a firm 'NO', whatever people who believe in Fate may say.

The details of the case (see page 8) make it quite clear that Fate had nothing to do with it.

His death is only one more instance going to show that trigger-happy Army men have usurped the functions of Yama, the God of Death.

Mr. Sivarasa was shot on 3rd July while going about on official business and passed away in hospital on the 7th. On the 8th, an Army patrol doing its rounds in Adampan (Mannar District) sprayed bullets indiscriminately killing four members of a family, including a pregnant woman and her husband. The others who were killed were their child and an old woman. It was about 6 a.m. and the family was having tea when the Army got four of them.

These are just two instances of a general and frightening phenomenon which the SATURDAY REVIEW has documented throughout.

Army sentries' sniper fire and shells continue to kill or maim innocent, unarmed civilians going about their lawful business.

Boycott Called Off

Tamil students will sit the G.C.E. (AL) Exam which begins on 25th July.

This decision—taken on 3rd July at a meeting of parents, student representatives and Principals of schools—reverses an earlier decision taken on 29th June to boycott all public examinations till the 5 demands put forward by the Inter-College Students' Association are met (see SR, 4th July).

The 3rd July meeting also decided to go ahead with the campaign to win the demands.

What's behind all this tragic senselessness? Are the rank-and-file disobeying orders and taking it out on the civilians? Or are they carrying out instructions? Or is it a bit of both?

A private who deserted the Army and sought asylum with the Liberation Tigers, revealed at a press conference that his superior officers had ordered him to shoot and kill anyone who approached the camp (SR, 16th May). In short, shoot at sight.

If this is true—and there's enough evidence which makes one tend to believe it is—then it's high time those who run this five-star democracy do something to discipline the top brass who issue such instructions—whatever the number of stars they sport.

Professional soldiers should not be encouraged to think they are death-dealers, mini Yamas.

NELLIADY CAMP BLASTED

Major Reverse For The Army

It's easier to capture an area than to hold it.

The Sri Lanka Army—and the Government—are learning this hoary truth the hard way in Vadamarachchi.

On Sunday night (5th July), round about 8 o'clock, the Black Tigers—an elite division of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)—spearheaded a Lebanon-style assault on the Nelliady M.M.V.—one of the leading educational institutions in Vadamarachchi—where the Army had pitched camp.

The fierce battle lasted till dawn the next day.

One whole wing of the 4-storeyed building just caved in entombing the soldiers inside it. The other wings had their roofs blown off and the walls were badly damaged. Army vehicles were set on fire. The Tigers also took away arms and ammunition.

Three militants—Major Kamal, Capt. Miller and another—were killed in the operation.

Estimates of Army casualties range from 100–300. The BBC reported that at least a hundred soldiers died. The Sri Lanka Government says there were 17 army casualties.

Reports from the area say there's a stench of putrefying corpses in the air.

A Tiger press release states they were compelled to launch this assault, though they had earlier declared a unilateral cease-fire to help make smooth the distribution of Indian relief supplies, as troops from this Camp were trying to surround the nearby villages and carry out genocide. (Incidentally when General Sepala Attygalle, Secretary to the Ministry of National Security, was asked whether the Government would reciprocate the Tigers' offer of a cease-fire, he is reported to have replied the question of a cease-fire doesn't arise as the Government has not declared war on anyone).

Following the destruction of the Nelliady Camp, the other Army Camps in Vadamarachchi began shelling in all directions. The heavy, indiscriminate shelling has caused several deaths, injuries and severe damage to buildings, schools and temples. 5 persons who had taken refuge in St. Anthony's Church, Karaveddi, were killed when a shell hit them. Shells killed two others too.

NIGHTMARE

Red Cross officials now in Jaffna over-seeing the distribution of Indian relief supplies, had a nightmarish experience in Vadamarachchi over the week-end.

Two Indian Red Cross officials, accompanied by a Ceylon Red Cross official, were in Nelliady on Sunday, supervising the distribution of relief supplies. They stayed the night at the house of a member of the Co-ordinating Committee of Citizens' Committees, about a quarter of a mile away from the Nelliady Army Camp.

An Indian Red Cross official later told journalists: On Sunday night (5th July), we heard a terrific explosion, the likes of which we've never heard before in our lives. This was followed by heavy shelling. Thoroughly shaken, we rushed into the kitchen and hid in the chimney. For almost 2 days we had no food; water was our only food. There was a curfew on. Along with other people who were evacuating the area we managed to come back to Jaffna on Tuesday afternoon (7th July). On the way, we saw and heard helicopter strafing. God alone knows how the Tamil people are going to survive this absolutely frightful situation.

The heavy fighting and the shelling led to people fleeing the area for fear of reprisals. More than 90% of the people have quit Vadamarachchi and sought refuge in Thenmarachchi and Jaffna, reports say.

As we go to press, there are reports of sporadic fighting as the militants block the soldiers from moving out of the 10 Army Camps in the area.

National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali and Joint Chief of Staff General Ranatunge were reported to have visited Vadamarachchi on Monday (6th July).

On Monday night, Minister Lalith was interviewed on Rupavahini. A very subdued Minister told the interviewer that it takes a long time for the Army to consolidate its rule. He cited Nelliady as a very good example.

Only weeks earlier, a cock-a-hoop Minister had appeared on Rupavahini to triumphantly announce the capture of Vadamarachchi and the success of Operation Liberation.

The best laid plans of mice and men.....

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HISTORIC LANDING

The arrival in K.K.S of the Indian ship C.P. Srivastava bringing aid to the beleaguered people of Jaffna on the 25th June, marked a historic occasion. Indian policy was at last showing visible movement. This diplomatic coup has put the Sri Lankan Government into a painful dilemma, to which no adequate response has been worked out. The dominant militant group on the other hand has found its military difficulties turned into political ones. The consequences of this event are still unfolding.

Among the press men who witnessed this event were Mr. I Shanmugalingam of the 'Eelamurasu' and Mr. B. Ananthakrishnan of the 'Eelandu'. We present below excerpts from their accounts. We also take pleasure in introducing to our readers these two young and spirited journalists.

INDIAN MERCY SHIPS—I. Shanmugalingam.

It was decided that our party should go to Cherthankulam through Vilaan and wait for the G.A. to come and take us to the K.K.S harbour. Our bus stopped half a mile away from the Cherthankulam beach. This was because of the navy had been shelling regularly from the sea and we were afraid that if the

bus was sighted we may become subject to shelling. But we were confident that because of the expected arrival of the Indian ships, the Sri Lankan Navy will not dare to do any shelling that day. The area looked empty and deserted. On coming to know of our presence the people took courage and slowly began coming out of their dwellings. One man approached us with a water pump. He told us that he had not been able to water his crops because of the shelling, but today he was confident that there will be no shelling. 'For the last week' he said, 'I have been going out to water my crops, the shelling starts and I run back home.' We noticed that many others were today similarly emboldened to water their crops. The lady who came to offer us water told us that people had vacated their houses beyond this point, 'We were alone in our house. Our boys have been sent to a safe place.' We noted several pot-holes on the chenthankulam road caused by naval shelling. Some L.T.T.E personnel, who escorted us, asked us to proceed to the beach and that it was safe. There was a large crowd waiting on the beach, to welcome the ships. Suddenly the crowd's attention was drawn towards the Indian ship which was escorted on its eastern and western flanks by Sri Lankan gun boats. Those who had bicycles began to move towards Keerimalai, to get a closer view of the ship.

We were escorted by the G.A. who left us before the army sentry point at Tellipallai to await his arrival, after getting clearance. There were crowds who were trying to inch their way forward, while armed L.T.T.E sentries were barely able to control them. With the army advance, most of the residents had left this place. A dog howled. Hearing this several other dogs joined in. I noticed several dogs which had become thin with starvation. When people had fled hardly able to protect themselves how could they protect the dogs that they had lovingly brought up? The dogs reduced to skin and bone howled for their masters. They howled not merely for food, but it appeared they were anxious to know whether their masters were alive and safe! I was moved by the sight of these innocent suffering creatures.

Walls of houses had bullet marks

on them, others were broken. Houses collecting dust and cobwebs were locked up. Plants which once put forth blooming flowers were withered. The scent of ripe mangoes was wafted by the wind, but with no one to pick them. Falling leaves carpeted the ground of unswept compounds. A man who was standing at the gate of an upstairs house said that he was the owner of the house, but now resided in Inuvil, sharing a house with two other families. 'I thought it will be safe to come and have a look at my house today'.....At length we proceeded towards the Maviddapuram

The Media Scene

temple through the army controlled area. I saw several houses and shops demolished. Others had been burnt and their roofs had caved in. Soldiers were to be seen everywhere hiding behind sandbags and in trenches. The roads had been so badly pot-holed by shells, that we took a de-tour through a banana plantation. The army had made new roads through agricultural land and between houses. Neglected crops were turning yellow. We passed Kandasamy temple, now engulfed by an eerie silence. Has god fallen asleep or has the cruelty of this world driven him into hiding?

(Continued on page 7)

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Computer Programming

The DATACENTER'S next week-end Computer Programming Course will commence on Sunday, 26th July 1987.

Three (3) students from adversely affected families will be admitted to the Course free of charge. The selection criteria are: Average Intelligence and Knowledge of English.

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2000 A. D.

HEALTH FOR ALL: PROSPECTS FOR THE NORTH

SUMMARY

The Public Health Midwife (PHM) is the backbone of the proposed Primary Health Care delivery system in Sri Lanka. The shortage of this category of health worker is a limiting factor in achieving the goal of HFA 2000. When the requirement of PHMs is estimated on the basis of one PHM for a population of 4000, there is a shortage of 18% in the country. This shortage is 47% in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. The worst affected is the Vavuniya health division with a shortage of 60%. The reasons for this shortage are inadequate intake of persons for training and under-utilization of facilities that are available in the Training Schools in the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka.

INTRODUCTION

Sri Lanka was one of the signatories to the Alma Ata declaration in 1978, and it pledged to achieve Health for All (HFA) by 2000 AD, using Primary Health Care (PHC) as a strategy. At the 35th World Health Assembly, all member-states agreed to mobilize all human resources to the utmost extent possible, for the implementation of this strategy.

The health care delivery system in Sri Lanka is being restructured so that there is a Public Health Midwife (PHM), who is re-styled as 'Family Health Worker'. (FHW) for a population of 3000.

The PHM is to be the back-bone of this PHC delivery system.

It was only in 1897 that midwifery training was started. Until then, domiciliary midwifery was conducted by "Untrained" birth attendants in the villages. The trained midwives, performed their duties in the field, only from 1926 onwards.

Today the job functions of PHMs have changed considerably since the first batch of midwives passed out. With 76.7% of the deliveries occurring in government hospitals, and a considerable number occurring in private nursing homes, the PHM performs very few deliveries at homes and thus has the time for other

functions, such as immunization, school health work and health education.

The present training programme of PHMs consists of a course of training in a Nurses Training School for one year, and a further six months of training in the field.

AVAILABILITY OF PHMs

At present, a PHM covers an area with a population between 3000 and 5000. In rural and agricultural areas the population covered is nearer to 3000 and in compact urban areas the population covered is nearer 5000.

If the requirement of PHMs is estimated on an average of one PHM for 4000 population, Sri Lanka will need 4011 PHMs to cover the estimated mid year population of 16,043,000 for 1985. However the number of PHMs available is 3255 resulting in a shortage of about 18%.

TABLE I

Availability of Public Health Midwives

Area	Estimated Mid Year Population (1985)	Number of PHMs needed	Number available	Shortage %
Northern Province	1,249,000	313	167	47%
Eastern Province	1,123,000	281	146	48%
Northern & Eastern Provinces	2,372,000	594	313	47%
Sri Lanka	16,043,000	4011	3255	18%
Sri Lanka excluding North & East	13,671,000	3417	2942	14%

* Calculated on the basis of one PHM for 4000 population

** Annual Health Bulletin, Sri Lanka 1985 p. 31

TABLE II

Availability of Public Health Midwives in Northern Province

RDHS' Region	Estimated population for 1985	Number needed	Number available	Shortage %
Jaffna	902,000	226	132	42%
Vavuniya	347,000	87	35	60%
Northern Province	1,249,000	313	167	47%
Sri Lanka	16,043,000	4011	3255	18%

Calculated on the basis of 1 PHM for 4000 population

Source: Annual Health Bulletin, Sri Lanka, 1985 p. 31

However, when the number of PHMs in the Northern and Eastern provinces is estimated, there is a shortage of 47%. (Table I)

The Northern Province has two Regional Directors of Health Services (RDHS)-Jaffna and Vavuniya. The programme in the area of the RDHS Vavuniya is more handicapped with 60% shortage of PHMs (Table II). The effect of this shortage becomes obvious when global indicators for monitoring HFA 2000 are considered by districts. The percentage of population in Sri Lanka

The percentage of infants cared for by trained staff in Sri Lanka is 80.%. However, the figure for Vavuniya is 43.5.%. The data for Mannar & Mullaitivu districts are not available and are probably closer to those given for Vavuniya.

Suitably trained paramedical personnel in adequate numbers are essential for the achievement of HFA 2000 using PHC as a strategy. There is severe shortage of not only the PHM who is the front line worker in Primary Health Care, but also of other paramedical personnel like Public

by

(Head, Dept. of Community

Dr. N. Sivarajah

Medicine, University of Jaffna)

with adequate sanitary facilities at home or in its vicinity is 66.6.%. The comparable figures for Mannar (24.2.%), Vavuniya (19.2.%), Mullaitivu (16.8.%) and Batticaloa (17.3.%) are poor. Even in the Jaffna District only 55.% have adequate sanitary facilities at home or in its vicinity. Inadequate sanitary facilities is the major cause of high morbidity & mortality due to gastrointestinal diseases especially in the young.

Health Inspectors, School Dental Therapists and Medical Laboratory Technologists in the Northern and Eastern parts of this country. One reason for this shortage is the absence of training programmes in Tamil for the training of paramedical personnel except for the nurses and Public Health Midwives. Another reason for the shortage is the under-utilization of facilities already existing for training. This is well illustrated in Table III.

The Northern and Eastern Provinces, have each a Nurses Training School situated in Jaffna and Batticaloa respectively. The National Health Manpower study shows that the permanent Nurses Training Schools other than Jaffna and Batticaloa trained between 43 and 55 students annually during the period 1962-1970. The NTS Jaffna alone has a capability to train around 50 PHMs annually.

TABLE III

Output of PHMs from Nurses Training Schools (NTS) Conducting Training in Tamil Medium : 1976 - 1985

Year	NTS Jaffna	NTS B. caloa	Total
1976	—	—	—
77	05	—	05
78	33	—	33
79	—	—	—
80	—	—	—
81	78	—	78
82	48	—	48
83	20	—	20
84	02	14	16
85	—	—	—
Total	186	14	200

Table III shows that the output from the two schools had been only 200 during the past ten years. This

(Continued on page 6)

NORMALITY, says the Sri Lanka Government, is being restored to the Jaffna Peninsula. It doesn't look like that from the helicopter gunship whirring high over the strangely silent villages. Nor in the shattered main square of Point Pedro. Nor in the hospital at Puloly, where a young boy bathes his raw burned leg under a tap in the rubbish strewn yard.

But normality here grows out of gun barrels. Three weeks ago it was the elaborate bunker and trench defences of the Tamil Tigers. Now it is represented by 3,000 soldiers, re-discovering the old military truth that occupation can be more difficult than conquest.

The army holds at most a third of the peninsula. It has Vadamarachchi, the wedge at the north east corner, and a narrow coastal strip to the west. It also has garrisons at strategic points, including the battered star shaped fort in Jaffna Town. Elsewhere the Tigers with an armed strength said to be between one and 3,000, remain in control. So now there are two strange forms of Jaffna reality.

More to the point, the terrorists had been taught that the military could move when and where it wants. The civilian population, say the soldiers, welcomed them and is now cooperating. Free food is being distributed. Power, transport and other essentials are being restored.

As a sign of its confidence, the Government, after denying reporters permission to enter the peninsula for many weeks, is now laying on regular press trips. They follow an increasingly familiar pattern: by ageing Avro transport from Colombo to Palaly air base in the Northern coastal strip, and then by open sided helicopter gunship to camps in the liberated zone.

The aircraft climb and descend steeply, staying out of range of the machine guns which, all aboard fervently hope, are the most formidable ground to air weapons available to Tigers.

But even from 1,000 feet, it is difficult to see widespread damage, let alone the thought of catastrophic destruction alleged by the Gov-

ernment claims. He was deeply reluctant to discuss the cause of the burn wounds. The army colonel in charge of Puloly gave the doctor authority to speak to the press but he advised. "If such a thing (the petrol bombing) has happened it is very inhumane, so think very carefully."

At Point Pedro itself, on the north east tip of the island, Colonel Udena Gunawardena admitted that some terrorists had re-infiltrated the area: the odd sniper as well as the unit which planted a land mine at the village of Thikkam last week killing three soldiers and 10 detainees being returned to their families after interrogation. Local lore has it that these detainees were gunned down by infuriated soldiers after the death of their colleagues. But at Puloly they still have some of the hideously blast-mangled bodies.

The town of Point Pedro is living proof of the two forms of normality. Between the army camp and the inhabited area, there lies a swathe of utter devastation. The

explained that everyone who turned up at distribution centres was being given a kilo each of rice and flour every day. But diesel fuel for the lorries was scarce. Nor was there any explanation of how food was distributed to the old, the infirm, and other housebound people.

We were then flown over Jaffna town, at a respectable height. Even so, it was plain to see the absurdity of carpet bombing claims. The area around Jaffna fort was indeed severely damaged, and the telecommunications building next to the fort was broken beyond repair.

When we returned to Palaly, Brigadier Gerry de Silva, explained the army's tactical withdrawal from Atchuveli, a village south of the coastal strip. It had been done, he said, avoid civilian casualties. The Tigers say their fighters pushed the soldiers back as part of their long promised but never quite delivered counter offensive.

The danger which the army now sees is that the Tigers, having been driven out of their bunkers and fixed lines, will revert to a more orthodox guerrilla campaign. Mean-

Jaffna Reality: Two Strange Forms

by **Derek Brown**

According to the Tigers and their sympathisers, the army fought to a standstill. Hundreds of civilians have been slaughtered indiscriminate shelling, air attacks, and retaliatory murders. A quarter of the population of 850,000 is displaced, and many are now hungry if not starving.

In Colombo yesterday a distinguished citizen from the heart of the occupied zone, offered a horrific account of the bombing, the panic and mass killings. He said the airforce had dropped more than 100 improvised petrol bombs, in oil drums packed with pieces of rubber which stuck to any human or other object. Home made napalm, in fact. The same witness had frightening estimates of at least 600 civilian deaths in Vadamarachchi, including 300 villagers gunned down in cold blood.

The army's account is that 33 soldiers and 47 civilians died in "operation liberation" plus around 150 separatist rebels.

ernment foes. The most obvious feature of the landscape is its flatness, its poverty and its emptiness. The fields seem deserted, no traffic moves on the country roads, and there is hardly a soul in the villages. On the ground it looks different. At Puloly we saw the first signs of battle: a gutted house, others badly damaged and improvised army road blocks. But here too, were signs of fledging normality, government style. The police station had just re-opened, manned by Tamil officers from Jaffna. Two women arrived to register complaint against their neighbours. A small incident, but also a small confirmation that the new regime was being used.

Opposite the police station is the Point Pedro base hospital where wards like sheds, open at the side were crammed with casualties of the army invasion. Several had savage burns. They said they had been caught by the petrol bombs.

Dr. S. R. Anandaraja, said the hospital was short of pain killing

main square is littered with rubble, and whole buildings have collapsed—mired, army says, by the departing Tigers. Elaborate slit trenches and escape routes honeycomb some of the rebel fortifications.

Beyond this moonscape, the town is slowly coming back to life. There is a bus stand, the focal point of any community in this region, and a skeleton service is running. A market is functioning, but with pathetically little in it to buy except coconuts. A Tamil-speaking colleague from India managed to speak briefly with local people before the ever watchful army men moved in to eavesdrop. He reported that the people were deeply unwilling to speak, but had indicated that they feared the security forces more than the Tigers.

Then we were hustled on to Kankesanthurai where the army base protects a deep water port. A merchant ship was slowly disgorging its cargo of flour. It had been there a week, with three other ships waiting off the harbour. A purchasing officer from the local cooperative

while, with a total of 10 infantry battalions, and other terrorist fronts in the eastern and northern regions, the Sri Lanka army will be stretched to take the rest of the peninsula let alone hold on comfortably to the strange new normality it has created by force.

—(Courtesy: GUARDIAN, 15th June.)

Where's Podi Putha?

Former M. P. Mudiyanse Tennekoon, popularly known as Podi Putha, who came to Jaffna on 3rd July to hand in his nomination papers for the Kayts seat at the forthcoming by-election, is missing.

He had been reportedly taken away from the hotel where he was staying, by an unidentified group of men.

His nomination papers were handed back to him at the Jaffna secretariat on the grounds that he should pay in his deposit either by draft or money order.

Knowledgeable sources predict Podi Putha will re-surface after nominations close on 15th July,

Imperatives Of Indo - Sri Lanka Accord

The Indo-Sri Lankan accord on the modalities of the despatch of relief measures to the strife-torn Jaffna peninsula is an unusual one in the bilateral relations between the two countries. As an exercise in diplomacy, the accord harmonises two conflicting sets of considerations. On the one hand, the earlier Indian action of unilaterally airdropping supplies over Jaffna was understandably resented by Sri Lanka as an infringement of its sovereignty. On the other hand, India was faced with the prospect of pressures snowballing in Tamil Nadu to compel it to think of other options. The agreement, therefore reconciles Sri Lankan susceptibilities with Tamil sensitivities in the Jaffna peninsula and in Tamil Nadu.

In its preamble, the agreement explicitly commits India to the maintenance of the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka. But at the same time, it makes Sri Lanka a party to an administrative arrangement in which there will be a supervisory role for India. Not only does it provide for the association of the India representatives of the Red Cross, but also of the representative of the Govern-

ment of India either directly or through its High Commission in Colombo.

Yet another significant factor is that Kankesanthurai where the supplies will be off-loaded, does not have the status of an international sea port. And yet the Sri Lankan Government has agreed to foreign ships berthing there.

Finally, the accord specifies areas in the Jaffna peninsula, including Vadamarachchi, Tenmarachi, Valikaman and Jaffna city where relief supplies will be administered by the Government Agent in association with a committee consisting of six representatives each of the Indian Red Cross and the Sri Lankan Red Cross, including its Jaffna committee.

LANAKAN CONTROL

Such a territorial demarcation for the relief may also be interpreted as Indian recognition of effective Sri Lankan control in those areas of Jaffna, which the Tamil militants claimed were under their control. On the basis of this the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and its junior partner, the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students (EROS), had in December last year

held out the threat of a unilateral declaration of the sovereign state of Eelam.

This, in fact, provided the opportunity to the Sri Lankan Government to impose the economic blockade of the Jaffna peninsula in January as a part of a military strategy to bring the LTTE and EROS to heel. Whether intended or not, this provision in the agreement implies India's acquiescence with whatever measures the Sri Lankan Government might want to take to re-establish its administration in the area.

by **Urmila Phadnis**

The agreement read in its totality reflects a recognition of the ground reality of the enmeshing of the transnational concern and its broader relevance to the evolution of a durable solution to the ethnic conflict. It is not surprising therefore that the Sri Lankan Foreign Minister, Mr. A.C.S. Hameed, has reiterated that India not only has a mediatory role in finding a negotiated settlement to the ethnic problem, but what is more, squarely put the responsibility for it on India.

The first prerequisite for the negotiations to make any headway is

obviously a certain measure of internal consensus among the Sinhalese as well as the Tamils. As for the Tamil groups, it is known that LTTE has been intransigent on the December package for devolution of powers and has stubbornly refused to accept it as a basis for negotiation. However, the power of the bullet has not taken the LTTE very far, confronted as it has been with the increasing ferocity of the coercive apparatus of the state. And though it may not be easy, it is necessary for the LTTE leadership to redefine its strategy of struggle and participate in negotiation before it loses such leverage as it now possesses.

Such a redefinition of strategy will entail building a united front of Tamils and others vis-a-vis Colombo as incorporated in the December 19th proposals. As these have evolved from the annexure "C" document in the infructuous all-party conference of 1983, the package is more or less a replica of the distribution of powers and responsibilities spelt out in the Indian constitution.

ELECTORAL CLOUT

Apart from the extent of autonomy that this provides to the Tamil areas, the Tamil leadership should also take into account the electoral clout which they will have at the national level. Given the proportional representation incorporated in the constitution, this clout can be considerable.

For its part the Sri Lanka government cannot any longer afford to ignore the political consequences of the increased militarisation on its polity. This has already aroused tremendous concern among Sri Lankans. Not only is economic development suffering, the centralisation of state power is eroding democratic institutions and structures. Infact the President Mr. Jayewardene has already hinted that in the event of perpetuation of terrorism, the general election scheduled for May 1989 be shelved.

The President's strategy of securing popular support for his Government not through general elections but referendum, as in 1982, suppressed the political articulation of the Sri Lankan people, particularly the youth. This has now begun to burst out through the recent developments like raids on army arsenals right in the environs of Colombo.

A continuation of the ethnic conflict can only exacerbate the forces of instability, in the island as a whole. The Sri Lankan Government must so manage the ethnic issue as to avoid a total breakdown of the system, an eventuality whose strategic implications, neighbouring India cannot ignore.

Courtesy: "The Times of India")

Probe Tamil Torture Reports

AMNESTY International has urged Sri Lanka to investigate reports that several hundred Tamils have been tortured and almost 500 have disappeared after being arrested by Government Security Forces in the last two and a half years.

The London-based human rights organisation said it has sworn statements, often from witnesses, detailing 216 cases of young Tamil men who disappeared after being seized in Sri Lanka's Eastern Province by members of a special police task-force commando unit.

This is in addition to the 272 Tamils the Nobel peace prize-winning organisation described as missing in a report last September.

We have strong reason to believe that many of the 'disappeared' have been tortured, some dying as a result, and that others have been shot after arrest, their bodies being disposed off in secret," Amnesty said in a news report.

HELICOPTER TRAINING

The report cites testimony from former prisoners who said their ha-

nds were tied behind their backs with a nylon rope that was then used to suspend them from a ceiling beam. They were then beaten, sometimes with heated iron rods, in what was called "helicopter training."

It also quoted former prisoners as saying chilli powder was smeared on sensitive parts of their bodies, or they were forced to inhale the acrid fumes of burning chillies. Others were quoted as saying they had been forced to burn the bodies of victims allegedly shot by the special task force.

Amnesty said torture appears to be the means of obtaining intelligence about the activities of armed Tamil groups and their members. It said torture in civilian prisons in Sri Lanka is rare.

Amnesty said its list of disappearances is not up to date because families often spend months searching for relatives in police stations or military camps before reporting them missing.

"Although relatives, friends and neighbours have in many cases testified that they saw them being ar-

rested by members of the security forces or saw them in custody, officials to date deny knowledge of their arrest, detention or their whereabouts," the report said.

Amnesty said as far as it knows the Sri Lankan Government did nothing in response to its report last year describing 272 missing Tamils.

"So far we have only been able to clarify the fate of four of the 272 cases listed," the report said.

Two people were found in prison, one was released from an army camp and another was found dead, shot by security forces, Amnesty said.

Last year's report urged the Sri Lankan Government to launch an impartial inquiry into the disappearances and create a central registry of arrests and detentions.

"None of Amnesty International's recommendations has been implemented and no steps have been taken to prevent the recurrence of disappearances in future."

Courtesy: "The Times of India."

THESE NODDIES ARE DANGEROUS

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

All peace loving citizens of this country are yearning and praying for peace with justice and honour to all. The Government also piously reiterates the need for lasting peace through a political solution by dialogue and discussion rather than by a costly military adventure which entails untold human sufferings, loss of lives and limbs and property. But what Govt. does not seem to realise is that simultaneous pursuit of militarism and pacifism, Himsa and Ahimsa, is self-defeating. Such a double approach would also cast doubt on the Government's sincerity of purpose.

LETTERS

Reportedly, Government's spokesmen have advised the security personnel to win the Tamils' hearts by their conduct and concern for the civilians. But what is happening according to an eye-witness account is terrible. These happenings, not brought to light by the media, would estrange and alienate more Tamils from the Govt. and drive them into the hands of the militant groups.

The new modus operandi of the security forces, to screen and round

up O/L and A/L college students a terrorists is the employment of a hired or cajoled Tamil youth to identify the youths involved in 'terrorism'. The informant's face is covered with a mask to conceal his identity. He goes round the youths lined up in

Unlimited

Editor
SATURDAY REVIEW

National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali is reported to have said the third — and final phase — of Operation Liberation would be a limited one. This reminds one of the exchange between the late Felix Dias Bandaranaike and Pieter Keuneman. Felix advocated a 'little bit of totalitarianism.' The trouble with this, said Pieter is that like a little bit of pregnancy it will keep growing! So with limited military operations.

Jaffna

R.J.

rows and nods his head in front of each youth. A perpendicular and down-ward nodding in front of a youth indicates that youth is a 'terrorist'. A horizontal or side-wise shaking of the head would mean that the youth is not a terrorist.' The masked informant is now and then given a side punch or dig to rope in more 'terrorists.' This may sound fantastic and fairy-tale-like. But this is the account

given by the tearful father of a school-going son who was identified as a 'terrorist' and taken to the Boosa detention camp in the South. This queer and arbitrary method of identifying Tamil youths as 'terrorists' is reminiscent of Herod of the Christian era who ordered the killing of all babes under two years so as to ensure the killing of Jesus Christ.

Colombo DR. K. SUBRAMANIAM

Drought Relief From America

Text of a press release issued by the United States Information Service (USIS), Colombo.

The Government of the United States will donate 20,000 metric tons

of wheat, in response to an appeal made in March 1987 by the Government of Sri Lanka for emergency food assistance. This assistance will help the victims of the prolonged drought and is granted under PL 480 Title II for Disaster Relief.

The drought of 1986-87 has affected an estimated 400,000 families living in 13 districts of Sri Lanka. The impact has been particularly severe in the districts of Kurunegala, Anuradhapura, Puttalam, Hambantota, Moneragala, Vavuniya, Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi.

The donated wheat will be milled at the Prima Mill in Trincomalee and the wheat flour will be distributed to the affected families by the Government of Sri Lanka Ministry of Social Services, through the existing Government food distribution network by the issue of supplementary food stamps.

P. S.

So, an American grant for drought relief for the South is okay. The Sri Lankan Govt. would like to have more of it. It's only when India sends relief supplies to the Jaffna Peninsula — hit both by an economic blockade and a military onslaught — that the Govt. and its media whores become hysterical.

Obviously what is sauce for the American goose is not sauce for the Indian gander.

On 3rd June Capt. Mohan Samarakera of the Sri Lanka Navy, acting obviously on Government's instructions, turned back a flotilla of 19 Indian boats bringing relief supplies to Jaffna. He told his opposite number "There is no famine in Jaffna. The famine is in Tamil Nadu. Go and give the stuff to the people there."

The same Capt. Mohan Samarakera, again acting on Govt. orders welcomed C.P. Srivastava which brought relief supplies on 25th June.

What's happened to the Colombo media? No cheers this time?

More Arrests, More Alienation

We are addressing this communication to you in view of our deep and painful concern and distress over the arrest and detention of a large number of Tamil Youth mainly from the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka without any inquiry whatsoever, more particularly, in view of the mass arrest on and after the 26th May 1987. From the information we have these youth have been taken into custody indiscriminately

from homes, temples and even schools without any investigation.

We feel that the action against these youth as aforesaid is inimical to the physical and mental welfare and can lead to disastrous consequences affecting not only the well-being of these youth but also the unity amongst the several races that inhabit Sri Lanka. It must occur to any unbiased mind that these youth will begin to feel estranged and nurture feelings of alienation and bitterness.

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

Most, if not all the youth, are students who have been taken with considerable pain of mind to their parents. Many of these students are also due to sit for G.C.E. (A/L) or (O/L) this year. The mental agony caused to these parent is bound to leave scars of bitterness. There is grave anxiety on the part of these parents over the safety of their children, some of whom are as young as 12 years of age, who have been brought and kept in custody without any inquiry whatsoever.

We would earnestly request Your Excellency — (a) to furnish to the Chairman of this Body the names and addresses of these youth (b) to permit representatives nominated by this body to visit these youth wherever they are kept and to talk to them without any restraint (c) to expedite the process of releasing these youth early.

Needless to say, we as religious organisation will extend every co-operation necessary to create the needed climate of goodwill through which our objectives will be achieved.

The scarcity in the number of trainees is probably the result of the process of recruitment—from advertising the course to selection. Trainees for PHMs course should be selected by open advertisement at the provincial, district and pradesha mandalaya levels.

Unless sufficient numbers are selected and trained as PHMs, HFA 2000 will remain a distant dawn for those who live in Northern Sri Lanka. In fact, even the existing Primary Health Care is likely to collapse in these regions.

In addition to the training of PHMs and Nurses, post basis training of these paramedical personnel should be organized at the Jaffna Nurses Training School, in order to have the personnel to supervise and monitor the work of PHMs.

The Faculty of Medicine, University of Jaffna could participate in such training programme or as an interim measure, organize short courses for these categories of staff with the concurrence of the Ministry of Health.

Health For....

(Continued from page 3)

output is barely sufficient to replace the vacancies created by retirements, resignations and deaths. At present only 11 PHMs are undergoing training at the NTS in Jaffna. The inadequate intake of students for training not only impedes the Primary Health Care strategy, but also increases the cost of training a PHM.

The cause for the poor intake is obscure. It is said that there is a dearth of applicants. But data collected recently from Health Volunteers at clinics conducted by Medical Officers of Health in the Jaffna District give a different picture. There were 284 health volunteers with the basic qualifications who were prepared to undergo training as PHMs. In fact 245 of them had more than the basic qualification needed. Hence there is no shortage in the number of young girls who are eligible and are prepared to be trained as PHMs.

HISTORIC LANDING

(Continued from page 2)

ON BOARD THE SRIVASTAVA —
B. Ananthakrishnan.

"You have been permitted to go on board," announced the G.A. Jaffna. Bubbling with joy and excitement we shinned up the rope ladder onto the deck of Srivastava. "Be Careful slowly" cautioned the ship's sailors, affectionately welcoming us..... We watched the aid being unloaded by cranes operated by the Sri Lankan army. I said to Mr. Puri. "I am unable to express how grateful I am." "I was sent here by the embassy to ensure that the unloading goes ahead without any difficulty," replied the smiling Mr. Puri, in his blue turban and white safari suit. I put to him the charge made by some people who are skeptical about India's generosity to the Tamils, that many in India are dying of starvation, due to a shortage of food.

"I do not wish to say anything about this because I am a diplomat with a specific brief," replied Mr Puri, and referred me to Mr. Mohandas Moses, an administrator of the Indian food Corporation. Mr. Moses, a native of Karnataka said that he could also speak some Tamil. To my question Mr. Moses replied. "I am unable to understand the charge made in Sri Lanka India is more than self-sufficient in food production. We produce a large variety of cereals. We are also exporters of several food grains including rice. As far as food production is concerned, we have reached a very high level of efficiency.

It was a long time since I had experienced the balmy sensation of the sea breeze. I looked up at the mast of Srivastava, and saw the tri-coloured flag of India, bearing the wheel of the great and compassionate Asoka, fluttering bravely in the wind. Beside this flag I also saw, after a very long interval, the Lion flag of Sri Lanka. At this time I was approached by two sailors, who introduced themselves as Nelson from Tutukudi and Kalyanasundaram from Rameshwaram. Having discovered that they were from Tamil Nadu. We conversed in Tamil. I was taken to the cabin for cool drinks. We spoke about Tamil Nadu. They expressed their sympathy for the Tamils in Ceylon, of whose problems they had become familiar by listening to the radio. I inquired from Mr. Kalyanasunderam about our refugees in Rameswaram. To this he replied "their sight fills us

with sadness and we feel sorry at their plight. They give us no problems. We are always prepared to help them."

LIONEL

On descending to the jetty I was pulled up by a voice greeting me "hello young man" Looking in the direction of the voice I spied a tall man with a short beard coming towards me. I immediately recognised in this person a former Government agent of Jaffna, Lionel Fernando, who has now been made the civil administrator for Vadamarachchi. Mr. Fernando, inquired from me enthusiastically about the 'Eelanadu' editorial section. "It looks as if you are back in Jaffna," I said. "Yes," he replied, "I am first accepting duties in Vadamarachchi" "For the people of Jaffna who are cringing in fear after the recent military action in Vadamarachchi, your presence in Jaffna will give considerable comfort." I said, "Good things happen at good times," replied Lionel. "Perhaps good men come at good times," I said. He thanked me with a generous laugh. I inquired from him about his plans in Vadamarachchi. He told me that there is plenty of work to be done, and that he will brief me in detail at the next opportunity.

THE WHEEL OF DHARMA

The jetty was filled with the whirr of the crane. I turned. my gaze once again towards 'Srivastava'. My mind went back to 1983, the same harbour, the same pier, where our folk descended as refugees following the July massacre. The clothes on their bodies, a few belongings in their hands and tears in their eyes were all they had. That historic event is seared in my memory.

Four years have rolled by, seasons have come and gone, and my people are still refugees. Then refugees in Colombo and today fugitives on their own soil. Then it was India's M.D. Sithamparam which brought fourth our people from Colombo and today 'Srivastava.' Brings essentials from India, to lighten our misery. I looked once more at the ships mast, to see the tri-colour flag with the dharma chakkaram (The wheel of mercy) waving defiantly in the steady breeze. Tears welled in my eyes and I spent a few moments saluting in my heart that welcome flag.

JOURNEY TO JAFFNA

We travelled in the same bus with Mr. Puri, Captain, Gupta, the Indian Defence Attache in Colombo and the Indian Red Cross team. The army sentry at the exit of the harbour, informed US that there were two more Indians in the Vehicle than the six permitted and asked us to wait while they got in touch with their superiors. A little later a young army captain drew up in a jeep and asked us to proceed.

He escorted us upto the edge of the army controlled area about 200 yards South of the Maviddapuram temple. A few yards beyond, there was a large crowd waiting to greet us. We were met by Mr. Thileepan, of the L.T.T.E. He requested Mr. Puri and his companions to follow them on foot. We were welcomed by an ocean of humanity at Tellipallai junction. At this point a bulk of a man in the middle of his

life-span wearing a white turban and bearing a garland in his hand forced his way towards us. Placing the garland on Mr. Puri's neck, the man spoke with great emotion "Sir, how are we to describe our sorrows? We are being killed. We are losing all that we have. How can we express our gratitude for what you have done? Tears poured down his cheeks. We were immensely moved by the sight of such a mighty man reduced to tears.

Mr. Puri stood transfixed for a moment and then looked back at captain Gupta. "Achcha, Achcha" (I understand. I understand) replied Captain Gupta, shaking hands with those who were around. The big man hugged Puri, kissed him on both cheeks and said in a loud voice, "long live mother India." The crowd re-echoed this greeting. The cries of hail mother India, 'Long live Tamil Eelam' split the skies. Mr. Puri's vehicle began floating in the ocean of humanity. It looked as if the Indian mercy ship was being propelled by the gratitude of multitudes.

Fraternal International Solidarity

Lenin emphasised the tremendous international significance of the correct solution of the national question. The interests of socialism, he pointed out, require complete confidence and close alliance between the working people of different countries, nations and nationalities.

Capital is an international force. To defeat it, the workers need international alliance and fraternal international solidarity. Socialists and Communists, he said, oppose national enmity, national strife and national exclusiveness. They are internationalists and strive for close unity among the workers and peasants of all nations.

Lenin laid down the theoretical and practical foundations for the strategy and tactics of the world communist movements. He equipped the communist parties with the methodology for determining this strategy and working out the tactics, bearing in mind their diversity in the different countries; he showed the need for changing the political line in keeping with the changing phases of the struggle and the emergence of new historical conditions.

For a basic study of the importance of fraternal international solidarity for working people, in their struggle for democracy and socialism, read the book 'Lenin and Asia' by Attorney-at-law T. Duraisingam, whom the Presidium of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee has recently endowed with a Diploma, for his active participation in the anti-imperialist Afro-Asian solidarity movement as a veteran of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation.

Sinhala, Tamil and English editions of the book
are available at bookshops.

Price Rs. 10/-

Council for Socialist Studies

31, Wilson Street, Colombo 12.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Principal's Death: It's Homicide

The Jaffna Magistrate who held the inquest into the death of Mr. M. Sivarasa, Principal of Veemankamam M.V. returned a verdict of homicide and ordered the Police to arrest the

Army personnel who shot him and produce them in Court.

Mr. Sivarasa (53) was shot dead by Army sentries manning the Maviddapuram checkpoint when he was cycling to his school on 3rd July to collect important documents.

Mr. K. Thiruchelvam, a member of the Maviddapuram Citizens Committee gave evidence at the inquest.

His testimony: On 2nd July the Principal and I went on 2 cycles flying white flags to collect certain important documents from the school office. As we approached the Maviddapuram Army checkpoint, the sentries signalled to us to come closer. They asked us where we were going. We told them about our mission and showed them the letter of authority given by the Education Department. After going through the letter one of the Army men said he would contact his superior officer and asked us to sit down. A little while later he came back and informed us that the officer had gone to Kankesan-turai. He asked us to come the next day, saying he would get us clearance from the officer. The next morning both of us cycled up to the checkpoint. When we were about 500 yards away, the Army sentries opened fire. Exclaiming "The Army is shooting", I turned towards the Principal. I saw him falling down shouting out 'Aiyo'. Blood was gushing out of his mouth. As the sentries continued to fire, I fell flat on the ground. I tried to drag the Principal away but couldn't. Dragging my cycle along the ground, I crawled to a nearby fence. Then I got up on my bike, rode to my office and informed the people there of the shooting of the Principal. Half an hour later I learnt the Principal had been taken to hospital in an ambulance. Later the military authorities summoned me but I did not go to meet them that day through fear. On the 4th morning I met the military authorities. They told me they had shot Mr. Sivarasa without knowing he was a Principal. They apologised for their mistake.

Mr. Sivarasa passed away at the General Hospital Jaffna, on Tuesday (7th July). The inquest was held the same day.

Homage to Radha

The Army's Jaffna Radio, which broadcasts from Palaly Army Camp, paid homage to the bravery and self-sacrifice of Lt. Col. Radha of the Liberation Tigers, on the 31st day of his death while in action.

STF Makes Batticaloa A 'Hell'

The statement issued by the Indian High Commissioner J. N. Dixit on 7th July about the visit to Batticaloa by the Defence Attache, Captain Gupta, brings to a head a series of alarming reports coming from the Eastern Province.

Captain Gupta was flown there in the company of Sri Lankan military top brass to investigate reports of the Special Task Force (STF) having shot dead 17 Tamil civilians at Pavatkoddichchenai in Vavunativu on 3rd July.

Captain Gupta had expressed dissatisfaction and returned to Colombo without visiting the scene of the incident. The incident is said to have taken place during a temple festival. Mr. Dixit said that the Indian High Commission will not be party to any more visits of this kind.

On the other hand the state television, Rupavahini, reported on 7th July that the Sri Lankan military officials in the team were completely satisfied that there was no substance in the reports. It is noteworthy that

teams for judicial investigations or findings of foreign journalists will hardly wash.

A graduate teacher from Batticaloa told the SATURDAY REVIEW that a tense situation prevailed there. He said that life with the STF is hell. Being sent to Boosa from STF detention comes as a great relief. People are regularly detained at checkpoints and are sometimes tortured. He estimated that on the average about 5 persons go 'missing' every day. If foreign journalists are allowed, they will have a field day. But few know what is going on at present. The STF was quiet for about 2 months after the Kokkadichcholai massacre in January as if their blood-lust had been satiated. Since then there has been an escalation. Because of this fear and disruption the education of Tamil children has received a serious set-back. The people in the East are rather upset that India has done little about their grave problems of life and death. The people in the East he said were generally relieved that the army had overreached itself in Jaffna, as this is bound to bring matters to a head and force India to enforce a solution.

by A Special Correspondent

Captain Gupta was refused permission by the authorities at the Kallady STF camp to talk to the local people privately. The authorities had insisted that Captain Gupta must be accompanied by a Sri Lankan officer. Mr. Dixit said that Captain Gupta had been preceded by other local officials and was allowed to talk to only selected persons through the interpreters provided. He had further not been allowed to talk freely to the survivors from that incident who were ward in hospital.

when a group of eminent Hindus in Colombo led by Justice Manickavasagar met President Jayewardene to complain of extra-judicial killings of civilians during the recent 'Operation Liberation', the President summoned General Ranatunge. The General completely denied these killings. The SATURDAY REVIEW has on the other hand received several independent reports of over hundred such killings. One can hardly expect an investigating team of defence officials to reverse the General's claim. To substitute such

Memorial Lecture

The 4th Prof. S. Selvanayagam Memorial Lecture will be delivered by Mr. V. Sivasamy, Head, Dept. of Sanskrit, University of Jaffna, at the Kailasapathy Auditorium on Wednesday, 15th July, at 2 p.m.

He will speak on 'The Dance Tradition in South Asian Art Forms'.

Prof. A. Velupillai, Head, Dept. of Tamil, will preside.

Mrs. Dayanithi Selvanayagam will formally donate her late husband's collection of books to the University of Jaffna, on this occasion.

Prof. S. Vithiananthan, Vice-Chancellor and Prof. P. Balasundarampillai, Head, Dept. of Geography, will accept the donation, on behalf of the University.

DEVOTEES GUNNED DOWN

The Special Task Force (STF) shot dead 17 Tamils who were worshipping at the Kallimadu Pillaiyar Kovil (Batticaloa District) last

Saturday (4th July), according to a BBC newscast.

The 17 persons who were gunned down were among a large gathering of devotees taking part in the temple festival.

The BBC report said the STF had taken away the bodies and burnt them.

Government sources have denied the report. They say there was a direct confrontation between the STF and the Tamil militants.

5 militants were shot dead in the confrontation; 1 civilian died in the cross-fire, according to government sources.

'Peaceful Settlement'

The High Commission of India in Colombo has said in a press release that it has taken note of reports in local newspapers stating that India has sent some new proposals to the Government of Sri Lanka to resolve the ethnic problem. The High Commission categorically states that no new concepts or proposals have been conveyed to the Government of Sri Lanka by the Government of India. The sense of the latest message conveyed to the Government of Sri Lanka is that India remains committed to a peaceful negotiated settlement to the ethnic problem.