

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

Vol. 6 No. 36 26th September 1987

# DIXIT TRIES TO FIX IT

India's High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, Mr. J.N. Dixit who -- according to Sinhala chauvinists' circle in Sri Lanka is 'Viceroy'--flew to Jaffna on 23rd September to talk to the leaders of the 'Tigers' (LTTE) and resolve the conflict over the five demands put forward by the LTTE.

Unfortunately Mr. Dixit could not fix it.

SR reliably understands India is prepared to accommodate some of the five demands put forward by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) backed up by Thileepan's death fast (See SR, 19th September).

Events in the North and East accelerated after Thileepan,

head of the 'Tigers', Political Wing commenced a death fast in support of the five demands, on 15th September at Nallur Kandasamy Temple premises.

Since then, things have been snow-balling, leaving the observers in a dizzy.

Not only has the Jaffna Secretariat been blockaded since Thileepan started his death fast.

Government offices, Banks and even privately owned commercial establishments were forced to shut down.

Thileepan was joined in the death fast by several others including middle aged ladies and young girls.

Throughout Jaffna and other Tamil areas in the North and East people began sympathy token fasts.

As we write, Thileepan fasts. So too, do the others.

If the Interim Government administration envisaged by the Indo-Lanka Peace Accord had been set up, most of the problems could have been avoided.

Instead J.R.'s Government tended to drag its feet, now

that it was being safe-guarded by the 'Black Cats.'

Ministers like Devanayagam from Batticaloa started making speeches about mergers and referendums.

What will emerge out of all of them?

More chaos, more deaths, more destruction?

Does the Sri Lankan Govt. want yet more deaths, yet more killings and yet more destruction of life and property in the North and East?

## Malicious Campaign

Text of a Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) letter to Indian PM Rajiv Gandhi:

We wish to bring to your kind notice that the Government controlled media (All India Radio and Doordharshan) has launched a malicious and deliberate campaign aimed to discredit our organisation. Distorted, baseless stories are constantly highlighted. Our non-violent campaign based on legitimate grievances are ridiculed.

We wish to register our protest to this calculated disinformation campaign directed against the LTTE and its non-violent campaign, the spiritual heritage

of which derives from your great nation. We also wish to point out that the broad masses of Tamil Eelam are solidly behind the agitation and that they are deeply dismayed and disappointed by the vicious propaganda carried out by the State controlled media against a legitimate mass campaign. Such a malicious campaign against a political movement representing the aspirations of our people will undermine the very objectives of the peace accord since a conciliatory cordial approach based on the understanding of the genuine grievances of Tamil people is vital for the smooth and successful implementation of the agreement.



## THILEEPAN DEATH FAST 12TH DAY

## Prabha Versus Dixit

Mr. Dixit is also reported to have said that the Interim Administration will reflect

Mr. Dixit told Mr. Prabhakaran that if there are two coordinators, there will be problems as there will be provision for joint veto decisions:

Mr. Dixit also discussed the probable constitution of the Provincial Councils, where Sinhalese and Muslim's too would be represented.

The number mentioned ranged from 12 to 15.

In an unprecedented diplomatic confrontation between Velupillai Prabhakaran, the head of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and J.N. Dixit, Indian High Commissioner, the following points emerged. The tape-crisps will be published in the forthcoming issues of the SR.

the dominance of the Liberation Tigers.

As we go to press (Friday morning) more details are not known.

But Mr. Prabhakaran is reported to have told Mr. Dixit that the Tamils of Sri Lanka are no longer prepared to believe in empty promises -- from whatever quarter.

Talks deadlocked at this stage.

## ★ FLASH

As we go to press reports reach us that Dixit has requested Prabhakaran to give him one or two days' time to discuss with President J.R. the Liberation Tigers' proposals about the Interim Administration.

Meanwhile he has also urged that Thileepan give up his death fast.

## DEVIL OF A FELLOW

The Printer's Devil is a hell of a fellow!

Our Page 1 Box in the Special Supplement (23rd September) read as 'in-death analysis' for (obviously) 'in-depth analysis.'

A truly Joycean pun -- whether the Printer's Devil intended it or not!



## DIXIT TALKS TO TIGERS



# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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# A REPLY TO MINISTER DEVA

Ostensibly expressing his opposition to the linkage of the North and East, Minister K.W. Devanayagam has given facts that support linkage and the possibility of the Jaffna man looking to the Eastern Province also as his homeland, although he, having his own traditional homeland, does not look to it. Mr. Devanayagam must know, without being subject to any degree of equivocation, that the people of the North and East want amalgamation with a view to strengthening the position of all Tamils regarding their security against future infiltration, persecution and murder, having experienced all such hardships at the hands of majority race. This calls for the spontaneous support of all good Tamils, not any betrayal.

In his comments Mr. Devanayagam states: "The Jaffna Tamil came from Tamil Nadu, the Batticaloa Tamil came from Kerala, the Indian Tamil from India, from a different area".

Obviously, Mr. Devanayagam does not appear

to be familiar with the law of Tesawalamai which clearly lays down in its preamble: "A Regulation for giving full force to the 'Tesawalamai' or the Customs of the Malabar inhabitants of the Province of Jaffna as collected by the Order of Governor Simons in 1706."

Far from showing "the Jaffna Tamil came from Tamil Nadu," the preamble and section 2 of the Tesaw-

irikai' and not limited to the exclusive usage by the people of Batticaloa. The Tamil lexicon shows that 'Valuthunai' or 'Valuthunankai' is another word for brinjal. Moreover, it is not 'Valuthul-angai' but 'Valuthunankai'. The latter is the word used in the Tamil dictionary and not the former. Even the first great Tamil Grammarian, Tholkapiar had used the word 'Valuthunankai' in his much-celebrated book 'Thol-

the Tamils of both Jaffna and Batticaloa had hailed from Kerala, that the language Tamil is common to all above-mentioned, that 'Valuthunankai' is 'Kathirikai' used and called by all Tamils are facts that strongly call for a united Tamil society and the merger of the North and East.

He has failed to mention the Muslims who also talk the common language Tamil.

Instead of promoting unity, why does he want to keep the Tamils divided? This is the question that the Tamils are compelled to ask him. The late Tamil leader, Mr. S.J.V. Chelvanayakam spent a good deal of time in the Eastern Province working for Tamil unity which, he emphasised, was vital to win their fundamental rights. When he formed the TULF and preached Tamil unity, Mr. Devanayagam welcomed both and even gave a party at his house at which I was also present. He does great injustice to the late leader and the Tamil race in undermining that unity!

by

S. Ponniah

alamai show without any doubt that the Jaffna Tamils hailed from the Malabar State, as Kerala. Now at least, as a lawyer himself, he would accept this provision of law!

Again he says: "Even in language the Tamil words are different in the East. We call brinjal 'Valuthulangi' and Jaffna 'Kathirikai'".

In this also he is palpably wrong! "Valuthulangi" is a common word meaning 'Kath-

kapiam' as meaning brinjal. How wrong to say its usage is limited to the Tamils of Batticaloa! A better knowledge of Tamil will help Devanayagam to appreciate his error.

He goes on to say: "There are three kinds of Tamils in the country, the Jaffna Tamil the Batticaloa Tamil and the Indian Tamil. They talk the Tamil language."

The facts, Mr. Devanayagam must know, are that

# Rubbing Shoulders With The Gods

The story goes on, in keeping with Hindu Mythology, there lived a Hindu Saint or Rishi highly explosive in character with formidable mystic powers named VISVAMITRA. He decided once again to sit in meditation to acquire some more mystic powers. Just to rub shoulders with the Heavenly Gods.

The heavenly Gods coming to know of this got thoroughly disturbed for Visva, under normal circumstances was a very dangerous soul and with some more mystic powers, he would be in a position to MAKE AND MAR and may interfere with the judicature of the HEAVENLY GOVERNMENT.

Safe in the Arms of Jesus  
VICTOR NAGENDRA

Beloved husband of Shirley, Ever loving father of Kyle, Christh, Loving son of Late C.N. Nagendra and Rossammah Dear son in law of late Mr. & Mrs. Chellar, Dearest Brother of Raneer, Alexandra (Baby) and Brother-in-law of A. Emmanuel and G. B. Emmanuel.

Mr. & Mrs. Emmanuel  
No. 176/4 Main Street  
Jaffna.

The Gods unanimously came to the conclusion to disrupt Visva's meditation and assigned the task to LORD INDIRAN, the CHIEF POLICEMAN of the heavenly Gods disturbed the meditation through the help of MENAKA, the Court dancer of the heavenly Gods and Visva had to do his business of meditation once over again and what happened thereafter is a blank and That is That.

by

P. Balasubramaniam

Now coming to the subject proper the characters in this ACT are VISVAMITRA (JUNIUS) INDIRAN (RAJIVE HONEST BROKER) MENAKA (FREEDOM FIGHTERS, INTERLETTUALS).

RISHI VISVA went on meditation, planning or woolgathering for four long years from July 1983 VISVA under normal conditions was a forceful person PAR EXCELLENCE INTERLETTUAL WITH ENCYCLOPAEDIC KNOWLEDGE, so much so he could address any international FORUM on any subject at anytime unlike the PSEUDO POLI-

TICOS of today "WHO KNOW NOT, THAT THEY KNOW NOT". He could talk on LENINGRAD TO VLADIVESTOCK, HORTICULTURE TO GRAVE DIGGING. And above all DEMOCRACY his JUICY PET subject with a coat of DARMISTA PAINT. He could munch and chew this subject with ease and stretch it out like chewing gum.

Indiran the chief Policeman of the heavenly Gods

while turning the chapters of INDIA, The Palk Straits and Sri Lanka saw VISVA in a deep meditation (KING NERO WAS FIDDLING WHEN ROME WAS IN FLAMES). Indiran by his power of intuition felt that a fresh line of policy (DEMARSHE) should be adopted forthwith and if VISVA's meditation if allowed to be fulfilled may cause or detonate an explosive situation and global involvement and Silkworm and Medium range missiles coming into play.

Indiran Commanded his court dancer MENAKA to perform a series of dances in close proximity and in

quick succession to VISVA so as to disturb his meditation. MENAKA performed her task well. VISVA's mental EQUILIBRIUM brought to DISEQUILIBRIUM, his eyes opened and his physical urges kindled and his meditation brought back to zero.

Indiran seeing Menaka performing her Act well jumped of his supersonic mirage two thousand leaving behind his EXGRATIA EXCATHEDRA FOOD FLOTTILLA OF PURI AND MASHED POTATOES and his green cross espionage staff correspondents.

He threw away PROTOCOL, TRADITIONS, CONVENTIONS AND RED CARPETS WHICH ARE THE PRELUDES FOR A HEAD OF STATE AND RUSHED TO GALLE FACE GREEN hoping to bring back VISVA's disturbed frame of mind.

Indiran brought along with him many JOKERS, HIGH POWERED, BROAD SPECTRUM ANTIBIOTICS, PAINKILLERS AND TRANQUILLISERS, specially made by the Indian foreign office laboratory headed by the

(Continued on page 7)

No one denies there is the Mukkuwa law in Batticaloa, but Devanayagam does wrong to the Batticaloa Tamils when he reminds them that they are Mukkuwas at a time when the world is moving towards a casteless society and one human family! He is a caste Jaffna man himself and, like a sanctimonious cat, pretends to plead on behalf of the Batticaloa Tamils! Surely he could have married a Batticaloa Mukkuwa woman!

All that he has stated goes counter to the provisions of the Pact signed on behalf of India and Sri Lanka.

## NOTICE

Mr. A. Cathiraveloo of Suthumalai North, Manipay, was performing duties as Accountant for this Company. He is from 21st September 1987 not empowered to receive cash on behalf of this Company or to represent this Company in any financial transactions. We shall not hold ourselves responsible for any transaction entered into by him on our behalf.

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# Rural - To - Urban Migration Poses Problem For Third World Countries

The huge urban populations of Third World cities are largely due to the Government policy of robbing the peasantry to develop the towns. This process, begun during colonial times, results in unequal development within nations and leads to heavy rural - to - urban migration and the creation of urban shanties.

Nine of the world's 15 largest cities are in the Third World. Mexico City and Shanghai vie for the distinction of being the biggest city against New York and Tokyo. Sao Paulo, Beijing, Calcutta and Cairo are other cities reaching the 10 million mark.

Behind the alarming increase of urban populations and shanty misery in the Third World lies the story of how the rural sector became bound to its urban overlord.

The growth of many Third World cities was closely bound up with colonialism and the growth of colonial trade. Sao Paulo grew on the basis of coffee; Singapore on tin and rubber; Calcutta on jute, cotton and textiles; Buenos Aires on mutton, wool and cereals.

It is no coincidence that many primate cities are major ports. Railway systems

like the mass of lines in Argentina spreading out from Buenos Aires like the spokes of a wheel brought the mineral and agricultural wealth of the hinterland out to the port cities.

By the time of independence national life had come

of employment, income and investment.

Nairobi contains more than half of all Kenyan wage earners, holds almost 60% of the nation's manufacturing employment and at least two-thirds of its registered industrial plants. But Nairobi holds only 6% of the population.

Political power was also concentrated in the capitals. Governments were aware of the potential volatility of urban constituencies compared to the unorganised

commitment to peasant agriculture and 'self reliance,' like Tanzania, agriculture in 1983 was receiving only 12.5% of the country's total development investment. Equally important was the fact that some 80% of the meagre budget went to large-scale farming projects, while only 2% of the development budget went to the peasants.

Modernisation in agriculture - whether through introduction of mechanical pumps and tractors in Africa or by injection of Green Revolution technology in

rural households have no adult men.

The dramatic migration of the rural workers to the shanty towns, coupled with the inability of the urban sectors to generate industrial growth, transforms an already large urban 'reserve army' into a vast and permanently unemployable lumpenproletariat.

This allows officials to identify the 'culprits' for the urban crisis, namely the rural poor. This leads to prescriptions like 'national settlement policies': to redirect migratory streams to other areas.

Migration, however, is a symptom of underlying social processes whereby modernisation policies in the rural sector have left the peasants no alternative but to offer their labour in cities so as to feed their families.

During the African famine, the cruellest irony was that it was the producers of food who were the first to starve.

An elderly Senegalese farmer noted, 'Twenty years on we've come to realise what independence really meant. It was just for the towns. One of these days we'll be asking Dakar (the capital) for a reckoning'. — Third World Network Features/Inquiry.

by

**Shiraz Kassam, Hasnain Walji and Mohammad Hassan**

to centre on Western developed ports to an irreversible degree. The relationship between the capital ports and cash crop production for export markets became the thrust of development.

These national capitals controlled the flow of exports, the revenues derived from those exports, and the importation of goods financed by the export flow. They became the main beneficiaries of the profits generated by international trade: economic activities rotated around the city as a source

peasantry. Their political quiescence was bought through a cheap food policy at the expense of rural people. Nothing enhanced political legitimacy in the Third World like the ability to 'deliver' costly and glamorous projects.

Through a sequence of intermediaries, surplus was extracted from the peasantry (in the form of products, cash or direct labour power) and transferred to its urban area.

Even in a country where there was a deep political

Asia—increased both productivity and income inequality between different classes of farmers.

Modernisation opened the way for the penetration of market forces and the gradual commodification of all factors of production as well as the produce itself: of land, of labour and of course, of the crop.

The pressing need to generate cash sent active men from the rural areas in search of wage employment in the cities, leaving their families behind to maintain the farms. Some 40% of Botswana's

## 'STAND TOGETHER OR PERISH'

When we got down to view some destruction at Uppuveli we were met by two lads. One had a blank smile. The face of the other seemed to be writhing from time to time as if he suffered some inward agony. Both had been members of a militant group. After May '86 they had been at the Sankilian refugee camp at Nallur. They were bitter that they had come forward to sacrifice themselves for a common cause and had been treated as refugees in Jaffna. A local man told us that the two had been in a group of 4 close friends. One joined the LTTE, 2 joined the TELO and the last the EPRLF. Three have returned to Trincomalee. This man had asked one of them, "will you shoot your friends in a rival group if you are so ordered?" The prompt reply was yes!

Another young man was recently flown into Trincomalee in an Indian aircraft. He said there had been 45 of them, 15 each from 3 groups. He was angry about the internecine strife and was disillusioned with the militancy. He said bitterly, "I am not going back to arms again. I wish to study".

Later on we were met by a man with a military bearing. Short haircut and piercing eyes. He looked sad and anxious. His handshake removed any doubts about his military leanings. He was Mr. B., TELO organiser in Trincomalee. He had been brought back in an Indian ship. One of his initial questions was, "will you publish what I have to say." We replied that we may disagree with others including himself, but we believed that everyone had a right to a hearing in the

interests of a tolerant and peaceful community.

He told us that he had issued statements to all the Tamil papers in Jaffna and to the Virakesari. But none had published the statement. He complained that the Eastern province had diffe-

This article was held over, for lack of space, from the Special Supplement (23rd September) on Trincomalee.

rent concerns and opinions and yet they had to depend on the Jaffna press to give these an airing. Excerpts from the conversation will be given below in question and answer form:

Q: (Ourselves): Is it not a weakness in your organisation that you have to dep-

end on the Jaffna press to air your views?

A: I agree it is. We have to find other means.

Q: We see that people in Trincomalee at least are tired of infighting and rivalries and are talking of a united approach. People are not going to take kindly to the notion of revenge. You now have to fight your battle for hearts and minds without arms. Can you give people the necessary reassurance?

A: I agree that we have to wage a political battle without arms. Our principal concern is with rehabilitation of the people. We are not interested in revenge. There are some who seem to be interested in revenge; they are

no longer in our group. We are prepared to work with everyone and are willing to forget the past. We recognise the importance of a united approach for Trincomalee. Negotiations with the other groups and the TULF are at an advanced stage. Though there is no direct approach to the LTTE, local LTTE personnel have privately expressed an interest in a united approach.

Q: Now you do not seem to be clear about your political program. The danger is that if you find that with time you make some inadvertent mistakes and the people are rejecting you, you may get frustrated and leave the group, or you may take refuge in totalitarian methods, as has often happened in the past during the militancy. Have you thought about this?

(Continued on page 6)



# MISSING THE BUS AFTER

The events of the past few weeks, especially the guerilla in-fighting in the Eastern Province and in the South the assassination attempt on the President, are harsh reminders that the foundations of Sri Lankan society are cracked. A decade of guerilla struggle, repression by the State and mob violence has devastated the country, both materially and morally. No longer can these cracks be sealed while the politics of opposition, vendetta and private ambition are given free rein to.

A month ago the coin had flipped over, or so it seemed to visitors from the South. For in the North there was no curfew, no press censorship, the universities were open and the troops were relaxed and friendly. The sense of relief was palpable; it bordered on gaiety. People were visiting each other socially for the first time in years. Some had even started to fill up their "bunkers". These 6 foot deep holes in the ground had been dug and covered with sandbags in most compounds to protect against air attacks.

In the South, by contrast, there was curfew, press censorship, the universities were shut, and the troops patrolling the streets were tense. The wreckage of state-owned property testified to the depths of anger that had escaped when the suitable opportunity was provided. The politicians had promised more than they could deliver. Now the assassin stalked them.

Clearly, over the past decade, the North and South of Sri Lanka had become two entirely different places. The "boys terrorists" dichotomy was perhaps the most potent expression of this division. Less well known, but equally significant examples abound. Thus, in the North, the news about the North beamed out of the South was known to be full of half truths and complete untruths. So the newstations tuned in to were Indian and other foreign stations. But the South listened of itself in most part.

A newer example relates to the question of giving the credit or blame for the Accord. In the South the final responsibility was placed on the Government, in particular President Jayewardene. Some applauded him for acting as statesman and taking a risk with his life. Others denounced him as a sell out to Tamils and India.

While it was generally conceded that the press of circumstance left him with few other options, he was regarded as the vital actor. In the North, however, neither the Government nor the President was the focus of attention. Neither was the SLFP nor JVP. The divorce of the North from the South could be seen in the complete disregard of Northerners for the politics of the South. India was the focus of attention as the party responsible for the Accord.

The signing of the Accord, Rajiv Gandhi's visit, Indian troops in the North and the Indian warships off the coast of Colombo caught even the most percipient by surprise. In the South the surprise was shocking, in the North exhilarating. Peace and release from fear was all that the civilian population wanted once the realities of an unwinnable war fought in their midst dawned on them. The Tigers were the exception.

The Tigers need to face this new reality. They also need to make the transition from being a military organization equipped for war to a political organization equipped for democratic politics.

The Indian troops walk a tightrope although this may not seem that way at this time. Their current relationship with the civilian population is amicable. But foreign armies have a tendency to end up as armies of occupation in the eyes of the local population. If they stay long, instances of abuse of power, petty robbery and molestation are bound to occur. They would also be vulnerable to ambush by outside forces such as the JVP would which like to scuttle the Accord. It is therefore in the Indian interest to ensure a stable peace and withdraw from the island as soon as possible. Or else the possibility cannot be discounted of their getting involved, and bogged down, in a new guerilla war.

In this context the most rational course to follow would be for the Tigers to seek to function within a coalition Tamil group. They could have the largest single voice within this group. But they cannot expect to be the sole representatives of the Tamils.

There is also another compelling reason for the creation of a Tamil consensus. The Accord is an agreement between the Governments of India and

Sri Lanka. Consequently, the Tamils are not a party to the Accord. They are excluded from even negotiating on the so-called residual issues in the Accord. These residual issues pertain to the critically important issues of land colonization, finance, and Governor's powers. The proposals on these have not yet been finalised. The talks are being conducted by Indian and Sri Lankan officials. In all this India has taken upon itself the task of representing the Tamil interest. But India's primary interest is the promotion of India's interests, especially its geopolitical ones, and not those of the Tamils. From the Tamil viewpoint this is a major weakness in the Accord which is made worse when the Tamils speak with a multitude of voices and make contrary assertions about what their interests are.

In terms of the actual powers the centre gives up to the provinces, the provinces are likely to end up with a poorer deal than they need to have unless, even at this late hour, the

tential effects upon the three communities inhabiting it in large numbers. It will not be difficult for interested parties to resort to all possible means to sow inter-communal discord, including riots.

Should it be agreed, however, that the 9 provinces be separately autonomous, then merger will no longer be the issue. Rather forming the provincial Government will. But no community on its own is large enough to form the Government. In such a situation it will not be in any community's interests to antagonize another. Cooperation, not conflict, is the likelier outcome. The politics of coalition, and not of opposition, may serve to make the Eastern Province unique in terms of Sri Lanka's politics.

Consequently, it would make sense for the Tamils to exchange the referendum which, in today's context of Tamil-Muslim clashes, they are likely to lose in any case, for something better. This could be enhanced fiscal powers, provincial control over land colonization, and stronger representation at the centre, matter which are being negotiated right now as resi-

by

Jehan Perera

Tamil groups are able to put their ambitions and vendettas aside for the common good. As a first step they should make every effort to ensure that the interim administration is immediately set up and headed by competent administrators who will balance the provinces' interests with those of the centre. Not only will such an interim administration set the precedent for how the elected councils will relate to the center, it could represent the provinces' interests at future Indo-Lanka talks. Right now the centre is having its way by default.

To different people clauses in the Accord are troublesome. But there is one clause in particular that is unwise in terms of its potential for stirring up communal passions. This is the Eastern Province referendum clause. Should this referendum be held communal electioneering is guaranteed, for both Sinhalese and Tamil parties will appeal the Mualims by denouncing the other.

So long as merger remains the outstanding issue inter-communal suspicions will focus around it and its po-

tential effects upon the three communities inhabiting it in large numbers. It is in the Government's interests too to be flexible in considering alternatives to the referendum. The Government might win the referendum in the sense of obtaining a vote against merger, but the cost in terms of communal divisiveness could be high at a time when it is in the Government's own interest to calm communal passions.

The concept of a homeland which people of a particular community have a right to rule because of historical priority is not tenable. But a homeland concept that seeks to ensure that people who have lived in particular areas for centuries are not flooded out by outsiders is a legitimate one. Honoring such a homeland concept does not require merger. It requires power over land colonization. Under the Accord the possibility has been left open for merger. But power over land colonization is in the hands of the centre. This should be reversed.

In the 1930s the Tamils could have negotiated with the British for a federal Sri Lanka. Instead they set their sights higher and asked for 50:50 representation between majority and minorities and ended up with neither. This

same sort of mistake appears to be happening again. The winning of the referendum is also becoming in the minds of all communities the litmus test for which side won the Accord. This is dangerous. The loser will feel cheated. Since the referendum cannot be postponed without becoming a serious election issue in the South, an alternative to the referendum must be negotiated.

It is approaching two months since the signing of the Accord. The difference between the North and South that seemed so complete then looks much less complete now. Violence has re-erupted in the North. Events in the South show some resemblance to the events leading up to the full scale uprising in the North. Several politically motivated killings of Government officials have taken place. Five thousand Sinhalese are wanted by the police for questioning with regard to subversive activities.

The root of the Northern problem was that a section of the population was excluded from a share of political power that could make a tangible difference to their lives. Dissent had no satisfactory outlet. Parliament did not provide a forum for the redressing of grievances. The indifference and even hostility of the majority to the aspirations of the minority led to protracted war and external intervention.

The core of the grievance that led to the Insurrection of 1971 was not much different. It was that rural youth, particularly those who were educated, felt strangled by the rigidities of a society that enticed them, yet excluded them. The Insurrection failed because the insurgents used wrong tactics and no big power supported them. This time they may have learned their lesson from the North. The recent political killings and attempts to infiltrate the armed forces points towards a shrewder strategy calculated to sap the already sapped spirit of democracy and to produce Governmental repression in the South that will add to the rebel ranks as surely as it did in the North.

Governmental repression alone will not solve political problems that stem from alienation, poverty and corruption. Repression may be necessary to deal with those fringe elements that exist in any society. The Red Brigades





# THE ACCORD — A Point Of View

and the Red Army were fringe groups in Italy and Japan respectively. Action by police authorities could contain their activities. But repression does not work when there is mass sympathy for a rebel cause. Genuine reform is also needed. Today five thousand are wanted by the police. Tomorrow it might be ten thousand. There must be a better alternative to expanding the prisons.

Any programme of reform must seek to give the target population a stake in society. Specifically, for the North, this means speedy rehabilitation and construction of new development works. Rehabilitation is not only humanitarian. It is also pragmatic in that it is the best way for the Government to show that its good faith extends beyond words to deeds. Further, and this applies to the South as much as to the North, a population that is part of the development process, usefully employed and sees the prospects of further development will not be a breeding ground for the politics of resentment and revolt. Policies that distribute widely the fruits of development need to be devised. To that end it is better to expend resources on rural industry than on airlines, to have a selective import policy that protects the incomes of farmers than an open economy that provides cheap videos. It is also better to have decentralized decision-making at the provincial level than centralized decision-making in Colombo.

Government embodies the power to decide on and carry out tasks in society. The more distance between the Government and the people the more arbitrary would be the use of that power and the more alienated would the people be. Recognizing this, as far back as 1871, the British rulers attempted to involve the people in local Government. They did so by trying to revive the traditional village councils. But the new ones were presided over by an appointee of the British. Since this official could override the decision of the other members, the village council became yet another organ of the British bureaucratic machine in the eyes of the villager.

This is why the village councils, and more recent innovations also under central Government control, failed to win the satisfaction of the people. This was because real power, in the sense of final decision-making author-

ity, was never vested outside of the centre. For instance, even the District Development Councils established in 1981 to satisfy the Northern aspiration for self-rule, retained the basic framework of the old village councils in terms of actual autonomy from central control. The councils were abjectly dependent upon the centre for financial resources without which little could be done independently by the councils. Further, the head of the executive committee of the council was a centrally appointed District Minister. He could veto any decision taken by the other members of the council. He could even arbitrarily dissolve it.

In short then, genuine local level democracy has not captured the imagination because what has been tried out has been its pale imitation.

The Accord's provision for the setting up of Provincial Councils with substantial powers throughout the country has the potential to be a solution to both the ethnic conflict in the North and the convulsions in the South. The Accord makes it possible for previously alienated groups with no chance of democratically capturing power at the centre to do so at the periphery. This possibility applies as much to the JVP as to the Tigers.

The JVP, for instance, is said to be strongest in the Southern Province. Should the JVP concentrate its efforts there it might be able to wield power in that province, at least in coalition with some other parties. This would provide the JVP with a forum from which it could articulate the grievances of its constituency. This is the case with the Communist Parties in India and Italy which have been satisfied with power on a regional basis and therefore eschewed the path of violent change. However, the powers of provincial Government must be substantial enough so that capturing power at the provincial level is a worthwhile exercise. It is not enough for democracy, and peace, that minority interests be articulated; they must also be materially satisfied.

Nevertheless, the prospects of devolution in the country are dimmer now than they were when the Accord was signed. There is no demand for speedy devolution in the South. The merger provision in the Accord, although temporary, has succeeded in

tainting the devolution exercise with a communal brush. The vested interests of the central M.P.s also militates against a genuine devolution of power. No one likes to voluntarily relinquish power.

On the other hand, the in-fighting among the guerilla groups in the North has precluded Northern participation in the administration of the Northern and Eastern provinces in the immediate aftermath of the peace. The precedent in being set for renewed central Government domination over the affairs of these two provinces. Thus, for the past several weeks rehabilitation has been the exclusive concern of the central ministries. There is now talk of doing away with the envisaged interim administration of the Northern and Eastern provinces. Instead, it is being proposed that the two provinces be run like the other seven provinces through the central M.P.s and Government Agents until the provincial council elections are held. Given the turbulent conditions that presently exist in these two provinces, particularly the Eastern Province central rule may be indefinitely prolonged. Ultimately, only the Northern Province, among all the nine provinces, may enjoy any genuine measure of autonomy.

On the credit side, the military confrontation between the Government and separatists is probably over for good. It is unlikely to restart because India will not support the secessionists again so long as the broad features of the Accord in general, and the foreign policy matters in particular, are honoured by Sri Lanka. India will, in fact, probably help to suppress any insurrectionary movements whether in the North or South. India's interest is a stable Sri Lanka with a foreign policy that is responsive to India's security needs. Under the Accord, India got from Sri Lanka what it wanted in terms of foreign policy. Now it will help Sri Lanka to stabilize so that events in an unstable Sri Lanka do not destabilize India.

To assert that the Government bartered away Sri Lanka's sovereignty in signing the Accord is to theorize irrelevantly. No longer do forces hostile to the state attack the Government from outside of Sri Lanka. Likewise, the Government is no

longer compelled to go for help to the devil. The pity is that what might have remained only implied in terms of the country's foreign policy constraints is now made explicit under the Accord. But Sri Lanka is as sovereign as any small country bordering a big power can hope to be, and certainly a lot better off than Afghanistan or Nicaragua.

Now that the opposition parties are in opposition they may say what they will, however mindless and irresponsible.

That is a part of Sri Lankan democracy that has to be accommodated. But it is not in the long term interests of the opposition parties to campaign communally. Not only is communal politics unconstructive in itself, but should any of these parties form a future Government they will have little choice but to honour the Accord. Of course, they may be able to negotiate some changes. Even legal contracts are subject to renegotiation when circumstances change. But the broad outlines will remain. Whether or not the ten thousand odd Indian troops remain in the Northern and Eastern provinces, India's sheer might will ensure that.

For their own good the opposition parties should give up the negative politics of communalism and come up with a positive programme of action to rehabilitate not just the North, but the whole of Sri Lanka democratically, economically, and

morally. As a first step they should ensure that the Accord is implemented satisfactorily, and that the benefits of devolution are not withheld from the seven provinces in the South. The opposition parties can even hope to govern some of these. But anticipating future trends, the focus should be on non-communal matters. In the South people realize that communal politics does not feed the hungry, clothe the naked or house the homeless. The more acceptable logic is that peace means development, and development means more jobs, more production and more income.

There is a compelling reason for forging a national consensus at this time of deepening national crisis. It is to restore democracy and the politics of peaceful Governance. The clearest route to this is a sharing of power by the Government with the opposition parties, both in the North and South, in the future implementation of the Accord. This National Government could also pave the way for general elections which are due to be held in 1989. But the mistrust and bitterness that exists between the parties makes this scenario an unlikely one, unless the parties are forced together. External intervention by India achieved an impossible peace two months ago and ended the military confrontation between the Government and the guerillas. Perhaps another more inclusive Accord is needed.

## Shan On Accord

Excerpts from a press release by N. Sanmugathasan of the Sri Lanka Marxist-Leninist Front.

The first thing that has to be pointed out in respect to the Peace Accord is that the party that has gained most out of this accord is India. It has gained all its foreign policy objectives that it had set out to achieve during the years of bargaining with Sri Lanka under the plea of attempting to solve the Sri Lankan Tamil issue.

It has always been our opinion that since the departure of British imperialism politically in 1948, the Indian big bourgeoisie has attempted to fill the vacuum left by the British Raj and to become the major regional

power in South Asia. It is in pursuit of this aim that it has brought its other near neighbours Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim under its hegemony and also helped with armed intervention to break up East Pakistan and create Bangladesh.

It is a great pity that the arrival of the Indian armed forces in the North and the East were greeted with joy and relief by the over-whelming section of the Tamil people. It is said that instead of the Sinhala left movement the Indian armed forces should be looked upon by the Tamils as their saviours from the Sinhala-Chavunist Government and army. The blame for this must be shared by the left movement in the South which failed

(Continued on page 7)



# OVER TO YOU COMMISSIONER

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

Life in Jaffna appears to have got back into stride, man and beast now move about freely. Despite the rutty state of roads with gaping holes staring at passersby traffic flows with studied regularity often causing bottlenecks at peak hours. All in all, there is hectic activity by day. But when night falls, a pall of gloom and fear sets in, mainly due to the black out experienced by the town dweller during the past six weeks or so. It has virtually brought man's activities to an abrupt standstill after dusk, causing untold hardships to the residents. The residential areas - the main thoroughfares, cross street and by-roads and the like are all plunged in total darkness, encouraging the criminal minded to make hay.

It is very strange that the rate-payers of the Jaffna Municipality have not taken up cudgels against the Commissioner and those 'high-ups' who seemed to be relaxing in cushioned comfort in their working places. Isn't the Municipal Commissioner aware of the sorry state of affairs in this very hub of human activity? Isn't he aware of the dark alleys and the by-ways where the wayward and the criminals lurk to pick their victims? The Black Out has provided these 'un-

desirables' a happy hunting ground for their nefarious activities.

Is the Commissioner hibernating like old Rip Van Winkle? Wake up from your deep slumber, Mr. Commissioner, lest you sleep it out, oblivious to the realities that confront you.

Victor S. Kiruparaj  
Jaffna.

## LETTERS

### The Queen Is Back

The Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

The Way and Works Department has risen to the occasion once again. When the unprecedented floods occurred in 1957 train service all over the Island was disorganised due to extensive damage to the track and bridges. This Department did an excellent job and restored the train service in the quickest time possible. At times in emergencies like these officers of the Way and Works Department from the highest echelon to the labourer, work as a team despite severe hardships they have to undergo. They have done it again and I am glad you have expressed your appreci-

ation through the medium of your esteemed journal.

I would like to point out that Mr. T.D.S. Peiris is not the Chief Engineer of the North, as stated in your paper. He is the Chief Engineer in charge of Civil Works of the Railway for the whole Island. Further in mentioning names of the officers who had worked to restore train service to the North you have omitted the name of Mr. Annesley Fernando, Inspector of Permanent Way and Works under whose able leadership the team had worked. You have also missed mentioning Mr. Kandasamy another very Senior Technical Officer who had worked with his colleagues on this job. I am sure these omissions were inadvertent.

K. Quintus  
Jaffna

### Drought

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

We have recently heard over the air waves that certain areas have been stricken by drought and other areas are experiencing a surfeit of rain.

Nearer home the Rupavahini has been telling us of drought in Anuradhapura, Kurunegala and Puttalam areas. However, of late the

purview of the Rupavahini has been extended to Mannar, Vavuniya and Kilinochchi areas. It is strange why Rupavahini was blind to the drought in the areas of Mannar, Kilinochchi and Vavuniya earlier.

It is a commonly known fact that Rupavahini transmits satellite pictures but has it seen any rain clouds in the areas of the Northern Province since January. The Maha crop was a failure and there was no Yala crop. It is, therefore, clear that the National News has apparently blacked out the actual facts.

We hope that Rupavahini will now at least open its eyes to the weather in these areas as well.

Farmer  
Jaffna

### Short - Lived Hopes

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

The Indo-Sri Lankan peace accord was a great consolation for everyone and all looked forward to the peace and freedom worked out in a different set-up of Provincial Councils. All the modalities were not clear but it brought hope for the citizens of this country - to Tamils, Muslims and Sinhalese.

But the hopes are short-lived, it looks. On behalf of the Tamils no one signed the pact and we are now very sad to note that we cannot demand for the correct execution of the accord. Both Sri Lankan and Indian Governments have their own interest which do not necessarily correspond to the interest and well-being of the Tamils. Sinhalese colonization (e.g. forming almost a new district in Mullaitivu, taking the area south of Nayar only for the Sinhalese, do not demonstrate the good-will on the part of the Government.

Added to all these problems we are faced with the struggle among the movements. The people have not forgotten their dedication and sacrifices of these youth and are always grateful to them. But it does not mean that the people turn a blind eye to all these stupid killings and struggle for power. No movement can claim to have not made any mistakes or demand the monopoly of power. Most of them have struggled in their own way and let the people be their judge. Let all the groups and parties come forward for the elections and let the

people decide their leader in a fair election.

No one forgets the fact that the present state of the Tamils was due to the division of our leaders in the last 50 years.

Those who find fault with them, should have the sense of mind to understand our own folly of today. These divisions do not come solely from the movements but they are the fruits of the evil and divisions harboured in the minds and families of our society on various grounds as caste, religion, wealth, education, etc. So we are the cause of our own destruction!

Lastly, eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth will never solve our problem. Only way is the way of pardon, reconciliation, acceptance, sharing of power and living together as brethren in LOVE. This is the time of rebuilding and reconciliation, and an opportunity that is lost will never be given again. So let all of us demand that there be forgiveness (all have made huge blunders) and sharing of rights and duties among all the people of our society. This can be the only way for peace and prosperity and there cannot be any other one!

Reggie  
Jaffna

### Mini's

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

It is high time that the Ministry of Transport gets the fares of mini-buses standardized as to keep in line with the fares of the C.T.B. Buses and also ensure that tickets are issued for the fares so collected. Such a procedure will save the commuter paying a 'second time' and avoid unnecessary argument and scuffle with the conductor. The fares are subject to variations from bus to bus and route to route. Moreover, a Table of Fares should be prominently displayed on all mini-buses so that an unwary bus traveller is not deceived by a dishonest conductor.

Overloading and standing passengers should be totally banned. We also see the spectacle of passengers sitting on the hoods of long distance mini buses. Some passengers have come to grief and even lost their lives by such precarious travel. The mini buses must be made to run to schedule and not wait until they are full to over capacity.

There are also mush room Mini Bus Organisations on all routes which are keen to look after the benefits of the organisation they serve and not cater to the needs of the commuters.

We sincerely hope that the Ministry of Transport will look into these short comings of mini buses and take remedial action in the shortest possible time.

A Commuter  
Jaffna

## Stand Together Or....

(Continued from page 3)

A: We have started thinking and will go on thinking. We appreciate your concern. It is true we made mistakes, which mistakes were made by all groups. We did not deserve what was done to us in the name of punishment.

Q: How many did you lose in the internal strife of May, '86?

A: We lost 96 of whom 50 were from the Eastern Province. Only 3 died in Trincomalee. The circumstances are too sad to mention. Annachchi and two of his companions who died in Sambur were close friends of their assailants.

Q: Your organisation too had its share of internal killings (dumping). What do you have to say?

A: There were some earlier. Then we corrected ourselves, I am not aware of the ones you have mentioned.

Q: We hope you did not mind some of our annoying questions. You may think that those like us who have not been a part of the military struggle may find it only too easy to ask such questions. We think we asked them for your own good and for the good of the community. We trust you will not misunderstand us.

A: No, not at all.

Q: Do you have any connections with the Indian Government?

A: They did offer us training. But we have no other connection.

Q: What do you think of the accord?

A: When our late leader Sri Sabaratnam had a pact with India, he was criticised of having sold out the Tamils. We too criticised him at that time. That pact may have brought us Eelam. But now what has been consented to is a deal which is more compromising.

Q: Have you been talking to the LTTE personally in Trincomalee?

A: Yes, I have talked to the LTTE members individually. But they do not know my identity. I will reveal my identity after some ground work has been done.

Upon inquiry, a community leader told us that as a young boy he had known B. to be both a disciplined and socially concerned person. In illustration of the strong feelings in the Trincomalee district against internal killings, a middle-aged man in an engineering trade told us that in May 1986 women at Sambaltivu had gone out with pounding poles to put a stop to the strife.

Mr. Lawrence, a taxi driver and a man who feels strongly about Trincomalee told us that he was happy to have seen recently 4 youngsters from 4 different militant groups walking together along the road. People here understand, he said, more than elsewhere, that the Tamils stand together or perish.



## Obstructors Warned

At the opening of the New Hilton Hotel in Colombo recently President Jayewardene stated that because of the Peace Process which has been set in motion, Tourism was beginning to flourish once more. He also warned any person obstructing the Peace Process would be dealt with severely.

## Fisheries Scene

After a period of nearly three years, fishing boats and equipment seized from fishermen by Sri Lankan Navy personnel were reportedly returned to the respective owners.

More than 112 mechanised boats with other equipment worth about 55 lakhs were returned.

## Bala's Request

Mr. R. Balasubramaniam, Legal Adviser to the Indian Embassy has addressed a letter to the Indian Premier, Rajiv Gandhi requesting him to intervene in the fast undertaken by Ilahepan on behalf of the Tamil speaking people. The letter was handed over to the Officer-in-Charge of the Indian Peace Keeping Force.

## Norwegian Aid

The Norwegian Government has indicated to Finance Minister, Ronnie de Mel that

## Rubbing....

(Continued from page 2)

CHIEF EMINENT PATHOLOGIST (DIC. WIT) and not by ALEXANDER FLEMING in anyway.

INDIRAN unlike JIMMY CARTER never did believe in a CAMP DAVID for he was for some time SUPERSONIC and never was he in SLOW MOTION. The PANACEA had to be injected straight away for VISVA was in a DILEMMA and in a mild degree of ANGINA PECTORIS. SO VISVA HAD TO ACCEPT ONE of the many high powered intravenous injections each of which was contradictory, contraindicatory and allergic to him and his own system as well.

INDIRAN performed his accepted task well if not it would be the same old story of the HARLEY STREET Specialist. The operation was successful but the patient died. But in this case, the operation was successful but the Surgeon failed to live to tell the story.

# news BRIEFS

it would normalise the aid programme which had been suspended during the ethnic disturbances. It is also expected that aid for about Rs. 150 million will be granted for rehabilitation to the North and East.

## Conspiracy Against Muslims

The Muslim Congress in a Memorandum to the President has indicated that the death of Habib Mohamed, AGA Batticaloa was a "cruel conspiracy against the Muslims and the ulterior objective was the elimination of Muslims from responsible and high ranking places.

## Shan On...

(Continued from page 5)

to support and rise in defence of the just Tamil demand for their right of self-determination or to oppose and resist the harsh military steps taken by the Government to crush Tamil resistance. It is true that there were small sections of the left movement that did attempt to support and link up with the Tamil struggle. But their efforts were not effective. The coming of Indian troops into Sri Lanka is also the result of the failure and bankruptcy of foreign policy which, since 1977, was tilted against India and more attended to the West.

The reason why all imperialist and other powers have greeted this peace accord and had put pressure on both sides to agree to it was because of the counter-revolutionary fear that the guerrilla struggle of the Tamil militants could kindle the flames of the revolution even outside Sri Lanka and bring about a situation in the whole region unfavourable to imperialism.

The other positive aspect is the release of all Tamil political detainees arrested and detained under the Prevention Of Terrorism Act. It is to be hoped that the Government will not hesitate to simultaneously release all the Sinhala youth arrested under the PTA.

The most contentious issue of the Accord itself is of course the provision to merge the northern and eastern provinces into one Tamil regional unit subject to a re-

## Guards Cannot Handle Rifle

Some members of the Reserve Police Force who are posted at the residences of Members of Parliament reportedly cannot handle a rifle. It was also revealed that some rifles were apparently defective!

## Rehabilitation

Fr. A. Singarayar who was recently released from prison, has launched an organisation for the rehabilitation of political prisoners released from prisons and detention camps, as many of these detainees have been mentally and economically affected.

terendum on this issue in the Eastern Province sometime in 1988. This is a triumph for the demand for the Tamil militants for the recognition of a homeland. But the provision of a referendum unfortunately points to future conflicts which can disrupt the whole accord. It would be a wise policy for the Tamil people to unite now with the Muslims of the Eastern Province on the basis of a promise of autonomous regions wherever the Muslims live in large concentrations.

The accord incidentally also solves another issue which has been the source of discord for the last 30 odd years. Reversing the "Sinhala Only" policy of 1956, Sinhala, Tamil and English have been declared official languages. The unnecessary introduction of English is an attempt to placate the elite who are keen on retention of English. These are, without doubt, the fruits of victory of the armed liberation struggle.

The signing of the accord has had the simultaneous effect on unleashing the Sinhala - chauvinist, semi-fascist forces in the South. The Government reaped what it sowed. The mob-violence against public property in the South can directly be traced to the extreme anti-Indian, anti-Tamil communal and hate propaganda which the leaders of the Government and all other reactionary chauvinist parties and organisations out of power, mainly the SLFP, the JVP, had carried on through public meetings and the mass media through so many years.

## Shelton Visits North

The Deputy Minister of Justice, Shelton Ranarajah, in the company of M. Panchalingam, Government Agent, Jaffna, made a short visit to Jaffna. During his brief tour he inspected the damage to the Jaffna Hospital and also saw for himself the affected areas including Vadamaradchy.

## National Reconciliation

At the Lanka Bishops Conference held recently it was decided that the Tercentenary of the Venerable Father Joseph Vaz should be held at Madhu from January 14 to 18, 1988. This Madhu Meet will be a rapport between the Sinhalese and Tamils and continue the process of a North - South dialogue. Earlier this Tercentenary was to have been held in Colombo but Madhu was considered the 'middle way' to forge a national reconciliation.

The consciousness of the masses cannot be charged like reversing a machine. The rare conjuncture of events—the merger of anti-Government, anti-Tamil, and anti-Indian feelings gave the opportunity to extreme fanatical elements like the JVP leadership to unite sections of the public towards violence and sabotage.

The reasons for the change of the policy on the part of President JR are more than one. But the chief one was the fear of a possible Indian invasion in support of the Tamil militants. There was no way in which J. R. Jayewardene could have faced up to such a situation. He did try. He sent emissaries to many countries, but to no avail. The alternative was to accept Indian hegemony. The other reason was pressure from the army who had definitely told the Government that this was an unwinnable war, that they could capture territory but not hold it. The pressure of international and domestic public opinion was also a significant factor.

The signing of the accord ushers in a new era for Sri Lanka, where we can replace communal politics by class politics, where we can unite all sections of the people around common political and economic objectives, like freeing Sri Lanka from all forms of foreign and imperialist domination and other such social problems such as poverty, unemployment, law-wages, cost of living etc., as well as opposing political repression in general. This must be done by persisting in the struggle against all forms of national oppression and discrimination.



## Siva Is New President

Mr. V.T. Sivalingam an outstanding sportsman of Jaffna has been unanimously elected the President of the Jaffna Amateur Athletic Association at their Annual General Meeting held recently.

He hails from a family of sportsmen. He was a coach of the National Amateur Athletic Association. Siva represented Sri Lanka at the High Level Athletic Coaching Clinic in Bangkok conducted by the International Amateur Athletic Federation and International Olympic Committee in collaboration with the Olympic Council of Bangkok.

Siva has an ambitious plan to boost up athletics again in the North.

He intends having coaching Classes, Instruction Classes for officials and starters, followed by the Championship meet where he intends inviting Athletes down South to participate, including those who took part in the Asian Games as well as the World Cup.

The following were elected office-bearers of the Jaffna A.A.A.: PRESIDENT: Mr. V.T. Sivalingam VICE PRESIDENT: Mr. N. Somasundaram, Mr. V.T. Ganeshalingam, Mr. Victor S. Kiruparaj, Mr. A. Supramaniam Mr. P. Mahendran and Mr. M. Pathmanathan SECRETARY: Mr. S. Hitler, ASSISTANT SECRETARY: Mr. S. Kanagajah, TREASURER: Mr. S. Wimalathanan.

## ECONOMIC RESOURCES & DEVELOPMENT OF MULLAITIVU DISTRICT

On Saturday 26.09.1987 and on

Sunday 27.09.1987

From 9.00a.m. till 4.00p.m.

A District Seminar - 1 conducted by the Research Institute at the Hall of Mulliyavalai Maha Vidyalayam.

## NO COLONS

According to AIR steps will be taken to stop the colonisation of Sinhalese in Tamil areas in Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Vavuniya, as indicated by President Jayewardene. This assurance was given to Indian officials when the matter was brought to his attention recently.



# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## SO SAYS LAKE HOUSE

## HAS ACCORD BROUGHT PEACE TO EP?

The Indo-Lanka Peace Accord does not seem to have brought peace to the Eastern Province, particularly Trincomalee.

There have been reports of internecine warfare, killings and abductions, and clashes between ethnic groups.

All these events led to clamping down of curfews.

Here's a report of what happened in Trinco on 17th September.

The Special Correspondent who sent us the report prefers to remain anonymous, naturally.

On the morning of Friday 17th September a Tamil crowd from Trincomalee proceeded to the Anuradhapura Road junction to organise a hartal. This lies 2 miles out of Trincomalee on the main road out to Colombo with the Anuradhapura Road branching off this road. Tamils who used to occupy one side of the road had fled during the violence of the previous years. At present a sentry consisting of Indian troops is posted at the junction. The Indian troops advised the crowd not to have a hartal there, but to have one in town near the UC premises if they wished. The only residents and commercial establishments at the junction are at present Sinhalese. Observers are not clear as to whether one militant group was behind the hartal. They say that persons from all militant groups were present.

But the crowd stayed on and was later joined by school children who blocked the roads. A Police bowser that came towards the junction was stopped. Later a Sinhalese owned passenger van reversed into the crowd with the intention of breaking the crowd and injured two school children. The crowd proceeded to smash the windscreen of the police bowser. A voice was then heard shouting 'gahapiyo' (hit them) and a grenade was thrown at the crowd from the direction of the Sinhalese shops, injuring 15 persons including children.

Fighting between Tamils and Sinhalese broke out and a Sinhalese garage hand

stabbed to death. By this time most of the Sinhalese women and children had fled the junction. The Tamil crowd then smashed Ramani Stores and proceeded to set fire to Ramani Mudalali's lorry and to two other Sinhalese shops. At this point Sri Lankan police who were with Indian troops opened fire killing at least two and injuring several others. This did not disperse the crowd. The crowd dispersed after Indian troops fired teargas. The injured persons were taken to Trincomalee hospital which is largely staffed by Sinhalese. Indian troops have been posted at the hospital.

Later on a bus proceeding from Jaffna to Trincomalee was stopped at Pankulam by the Police and was asked not to proceed to Trinco and asked the driver to go to Vavuniya. The bus then went to Habarana and proceeded to Trinco along the Habarana-Trinco road. Thus bus was again stopped at Kantalai by Inspector Pallewela of the Kantalai police. The passengers observed 4 buses from Colombo also stopped there. The Inspector explained that it was not safe for them to proceed to Trinco and arranged for the Tamil passengers to spend the night at the school, the Muslims at the Mosque and the Sinhalese at the Vihara. According to Tamil sources Inspector Pallewela had a commendable record for impartiality and consideration. Local shops were kept open for the benefit of the passengers.

The Jaffna peninsula, where the LTTE currently holds sway, has been blockaded by a four-member grouping of rival separatist militant organisations, official sources in Colombo said yesterday.

Next morning the Indian forces in Trincomalee were contacted and the passenger vehicles were asked to proceed at the rate of one every half an hour. On reaching Trinco it was discovered that the situation was normal despite the curfew and all communities were getting about. But there was heavy patrolling by Indian troops and Sri Lankan Police. Tamil sources say that Indian troops have considerably enhanced their security and their main fear in travelling to Jaffna was the situation in Kilinochchi.

The driver of a passenger (vehicle said that on Saturday 18th September) he encountered an ambulance carrying the body of a Sinhalese person and later encountered 2 Sinhalese bodies on the road. (the mourners were Sinhalese) Some Tamils were reported to have disappeared from the predominantly Sinhalese areas of Mudgo junction (near Abhayapura) and Italian camp.

### Thileepan Fast

The fast of Thileepan, the leader of the Political Wing of the LTTE entered the 12th day on 27-9-87. Reports indicate that he is in a comatose state and that his pulse was low.

## KEEP ON READING

A non-profit organisation to promote the reading habit has been formed in Jaffna.

The inaugural meeting of the organisation, Readers Solidarity, was held last Saturday (19th September) at Chundukuli.

Extracts from their promotional leaflet:

The Readers Solidarity aims to remedy the deplorable state of reading affairs to some degree by introducing especially to the young, the vast treasure trove of literature, both English and Tamil, and also help them to keep abreast of current affairs by providing periodicals and journals, enabling them to take an enlightened view of matters of the moment.

It welcomes suggestions regarding reading materials

The new grouping which was earlier identified as the '3-Star' is now going by the name of the Eelam

An extract from a page 1 news item published by the state-controlled Daily News on 22nd September under the headline LTTE RIVALS BAND FORCES.

National Democratic Liberation Front, and EPRLF, PLOTE, TELO and the TELA who have a vowed opposition to the LTTE, have been massing fighters in the Kilinochchi district, 48 miles south of the peninsula, officials said.

At least 35 Government food lorries and a long queue of private vehicles had gathered at check-points set up by the new group on the road to Jaffna yesterday. By noon, the private vehicles had been permitted to pass, but the food and essential consignments were refused permission to proceed.

Officials of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) and the local Police were scheduled to meet later yesterday to discuss the situation, officials said. The meeting was to be held at Vavuniya further to the South.

## Appeal To Indian Premier For Immediate Intervention

The Mothers' Front feels that it is its duty to bring to your kind notice that the "Fast" undertaken by Rasiyah Partheepan Dileepan the Political Secretary of the L.T.T.E. has entered the seventh day and his condition is very bad. We, as Mothers, cannot bear to see our sons die before our eyes.

While the people here welcome the decision taken by him they also feel that the demands are for the benefit of the people as a whole.

We are confident that you as Head of a State that has chosen to show the world the greatness of the path of non-violence will not delay to intervene in this matter and do the needful to implement the terms of the

Accord signed between yourself and the President of Sri Lanka.

We therefore request you to send a Representative immediately to discuss the relevant matters with the parties concerned and arrive at an acceptable solution and prevent further deterioration of the situation.

—By Mothers' Front

### Aftermath Of Clash

Following a clash among militants in Adampan in the Mannar District, the Indian Peace Keeping Force on patrol duty arrested 4 youths who apparently belonged to the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) and handed them over to the Officer-in-Charge of the Mankulam Police Station. They were produced at the Mannar Courts and remanded till 2nd October.

### Prabhakaran Writes To Rajiv

Prabhakaran has addressed a letter to the Indian Premier, Rajiv Gandhi asking for an inquiry into the shooting of Tamil civilians resulting in the death of one and injury to 18 by the Indian Peace Keeping Force at Mannar on 23rd September when they went to hand over a memorandum. He has also requested that the IPKF should refrain from violence against the Tamils.