

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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FOR
FAST,
FABULOUS, AND
FASCINATING
WORKKLEEN KHUT
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ENGLISH AND
TAMIL, TYPING
PHOTOSTAT AND
RONEO PRINTS

TIGERS AT THE FORT

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)—in an unprecedented, dramatic gesture—handed over at the Jaffna Fort Army Camp nine bodies of soldiers they had killed on 12th October in a fierce, direct confrontation at Adampan in the Mannar District.

Eye-witnesses told SATURDAY REVIEW that on Tuesday night, 14th October, a covered truck along with some other vehicles carrying armed militants came up near the Fort Camp on Main Street, Jaffna.

Then KITTU, the Area Commander of Jaffna LTTE had talked with the Jaffna Fort Army Camp over the walkie talkie. As communications were not clear, he had moved his vehicle up to the Bus Halt near the Jaffna Municipality which is very close to the Jaffna Fort Army Camp.

Meanwhile, the SATURDAY REVIEW understands that LTTE militants had already taken up position in the Subramaniam Park close to Jaffna Fort and buildings nearby. They were prepared for the worst.

KITTU had again talked to Captain Kotelawela, who is understood to be in charge of the Jaffna Fort Army Camp and had expressed his willingness to hand over the corpses of the security personnel.

Captain Kotelawela is reported to have assured him that there would be no reprisals.

Meanwhile a white flare had been fired from the Army Camp and in return the militants had fired a red flare.

Once agreement had been reached between KITTU and Captain Kotelawela, KITTU returned to the point near the Main Street junction where the truck carrying the dead bodies had been parked in a reversed position.

When KITTU gave the order for the bodies to be handed over, the truck which was loaded with the bodies of the dead security personnel, went in a reversed position towards the Jaffna Police Station barrier—which is the point of no entry for unauthorised persons into the Army camp.

At the barrier Captain Kotelawela and 3 or 4 security personnel were there to meet them.

The vehicle carrying the bodies was manned by only 2 persons—the driver and another person. They got off the vehicle and attempted to off-load the coffins.

Then Captain Kotelawela ordered his men to carry the coffins and take them inside the camp.

Captain Kotelawela hugged and shook hands with the two persons who had brought the bodies to the camp.

Everything ended peacefully.
Thank God.



UNLUCKY THREE

We'll Spare Their Lives

— LTTE

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in their local television show on Tuesday 11th October announced that the two soldiers—Lance Corporal Nimal Fernando (24) of Moratuwa and Private M.H. Bandara (22) of Yatiyantota who had surrendered to them—will not be killed, as the LTTE is basically humanitarian.

These two servicemen, along with the bodies of the nine soldiers killed by the LTTE at Adampan, were viewed by thousands of members of the public at Nallur on Tuesday.

A helicopter and sea Plane circled overhead several times rousing fear that the security forces might carry out reprisal bombing at Nallur.

The SATURDAY REVIEW understands that the National Security Minister Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali was in Jaffna that day seeing for himself the immense popular support for the militants.

The Missing Dozen

The Government Media Centre said on 12th October that three servicemen were killed at Adampan, Mannar. On the same night Rupavahini said that five soldiers were killed.



WHOSE HELMETS, PLEASE?

On a latter occasion the Government said that 12 soldiers were missing.

The latest version by a Government spokesman is that 9 bodies of security personnel who were killed in a clash with the militants in Adampan-Mannar were recovered by the Army at a "remote spot in the North of Mannar". The fate of two others was not known. In this clash, the spokesman added that 40 members of the LTTE were killed.

This is not the first time that the Government and its media whores have had to eat their own words.

After all, as the Bible says, dogs return to their own vomit.



LUCKY TWO

Release All The Political Prisoners In Sri Lanka Jails

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MATRIMONIAL

Hindu Vellala Lady Doctor
Aged 35 Seeks Professionals Here
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Torn Notes

The Banks functioning at the Jaffna Fort Army Camp are supplying their customers with torn notes of Rupees two, five and ten denominations. When pressed for new notes, the authorities had said that those were the notes available and they had, therefore to make do with them.

Fast Given Up

The fasting detenus at Welikade have given up the fast they had undertaken on an assurance given by the Government.

A memorandum was stated to have been submitted to the President through the Asst. Commissioner of Prisons. A Tamil Army officer is to be appointed to look after the welfare of detenus in the Boosa Camp.

GANDHIAN'S HAIRBREADTH ESCAPE

Residents in Chundikulit two miles away from Jaffna fort were rudely awakened at 3a.m. when shells fired from the Fort landed in this closely backed residential area.

Two fell inside St. John's College, one just missing the vice-principal's bungalow and the other near the parish hall. The vice-principal Mr. Panchalingam tried to smile it away in the Johnian spirit though admitting that he was badly shaken. Three fell inside Canon Somasundaram Avenue. Mr. Peter was saved by a mango tree he had been thinking of cutting off.

One shell just missed the side of Prof. K. Nesiah's house where he sleeps with his sickly wife, daughter and two grand-children, striking the back wall of his son's house. Prof.

Hostages' Cover?

About 25 lorry owners who went to the Army Camp at Jaffna Fort were detained there till forenoon on the 7th. They were pressed into service for electricity connection, clearing of shrubs and other mini-jobs. They were reported to have been well looked after until completion of the set tasks and duly given their permits as well.

Nesiah is an internationally renowned educationist, human rights activist, and a pioneer Gandhian of Ceylon. He has also contributed extensively to Christian work with the handicapped and has written on this subject for the WCC. Having been a live-wire of the Department of Education in the University of Ceylon his admirers range islandwide, especially amongst Sinhalese. The apparent target of the shelling was Old Park, several hundred yards from where the shells fell.

Commenting on his narrow escape Mr. Nesiah said, "I think these shells were not intended for us. But it is very unfair of the Army Commander to allow these cannon to be handled by incompetents. This will only alienate the people and hinder the cause of peace". He added jokingly, "I did some Trigonometry a long time ago. But I don't know about these soldiers".

When asked how it felt like to have been a lifelong Gandhian and a man of peace and to have been nearly killed by a shell, he replied, "It is by the grace of God that I

am alive today. I believe he spared me because I have two unfinished tasks in hand. One is to care for my ailing wife. The other is to bring peace to this troubled land where the destructive force of racial hatred is at work. I envisage a future where we can live with the Sinhalese as brothers. The Tamils will have an autonomous region. But we will be brothers in one nation."

DISAPPEARANCE CONTINUES



Mr. & Mrs. T. Maheswaran of Maruthady Street, Batticaloa record here the 'disappearance' of their son. In recent months 'disappearances' in the Batticaloa district have been on the increase.

Our son Maheswaran Sivakumaran aged 20 years left home to attend his schooling at a Private Tutor A.B.C. Tuition Centre, along Central Road, Batticaloa Town at about 8-30 a.m. on 18th September 1986. On the same day a bomb blast occurred at the Batticaloa Bus Stand at about 10-15 a.m. This boy has not returned home up to now.

We made inquiries as regards his whereabouts at the Tutor. We were informed that he was taken with some other boys in an armoured vehicle by the Special Task Force. (STF) We recovered his books and the bicycle from the Tutor. Wherever he goes out he takes his National Identity Card with him. We have noted his National Identity Card No. as 662910112V and the date of issue is 24th July 1982.

He was attending St. Michael's College, Batticaloa up to the time of the last Advanced Level examination. He was trying to sit for the same examination next year on our advice. He is an innocent boy.

We beg and pray that he be released as early as possible and given to us for him to continue his studies.

SR EDITOR'S REFUGEES RELIEF FUND

Our Hindu Students' Union celebrated the Saraswathy Pooja from the 4th inst to 12th inst. The pupils of years 10 & 11 G. C. E. (O. L) classes wished to donate a meagre sum of Rs. 100 to the SATURDAY REVIEW for the Refugee Rehabilitation Programme on this occasion. These pupils want me to hand over this mite on their behalf to the Hon. Editor who would utilize for a worthy cause.

S. M. Moorthy, Principal,
Saivapragasa Maha Vidiyalaya, Inuvil.

We gratefully acknowledge the following further

Contributions:-

Mr. K. Somasundaram	US Dollars	375. 00
Mr. V. Rajaratnam	Rs.	3,360. 00
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Selvi Rathika Sivabalan		501. 00
Mrs. Manuepillai		32. 50
In Loving Memory of Ambika Thuraiarah		250. 00
In Loving Memory of Mr. V. A. Alagaiah		1,000. 00
Mr. Thambithurai		250. 00
Mr. S. Ranjithan and Mr. T. Sivakumaran of Oman		1,500. 00
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Sithivinayagar Vidyayalam		
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THE APARTHEID EMPIRE

The unrelenting pace of events in South Africa during the past two years has increasingly drawn the attention of the world to the system of apartheid and its inequities. But the absence of political rights is not the whole story. There is also the overlooked question of the retarded economic and social development of South African blacks which is another strand in the fabric of apartheid.

Without political power, successive generations of black South Africans have been denied the standard of living that their resource-rich land would afford them. The bulk of the enormous profits from South African mining, agriculture and manufacturing is appropriated by a minority of white and foreign economic interests.

Relative to their white countrymen and women, as well as in absolute terms, South African blacks suffer from inferior housing, excessive unemployment, low-grade education, unjust wages, poor health and high mortality rates.

Whites make up only 15.5 per cent of the South African population of 29 million. The rest are Africans (72.7, per cent), coloureds (9 per cent) and Asians, mostly Indians (2.8 per cent). Every socio-economic indicator shows the majority Africans lagging far, far behind whites. The living standard of coloureds and Asians is only slightly better than that of Africans.

Discrimination is apparent in every aspect of South African life, starting from the ownership of land and other economic resources and extending to every socio-economic sphere.

The 4.5 million white minority controls more than 84 per cent of land fertile and rich in minerals, while the 21 million Africans are told by the Government that the 'homeland' is made up of 10 barren wastes known Bantustans that together cover only 13 per cent of the country's land area.

In 1980, 54 per cent of the African population lived in the Bantustans, which are remote from job centres and have only rudimentary educational and health facilities.

With little arable land to work on and little employment available, Africans from the Bantustans constitute a permanent cheap pool of migrant labour for mines, factories, farms and white homes.

Once outside the Bantustans, blacks are housed in single dormitories in segregated black townships. Thousands of African women work as nannies and cooks for white families for an average US\$60 a month. The aged, the infirm, the unemployed, the sick and the spouses and children of workers remain back in their Bantustan shanties, some of them carrying out subsistence agriculture on the poor soil.

Opposition to South Africa's apartheid system is mounting worldwide. Suppression through force and political discrimination against the blacks is the most publicised of apartheid's evils. But an equally obnoxious consequence of apartheid is the economic and social retardation of the blacks, who comprise 85 per cent of the population but get only 26 per cent of the national income.

According to 1977 data, Africans with their vastly greater numbers earned only 26 per cent of the national income, while whites appropriated a 64 per cent share. Africans in the rural areas are significantly poorer even than those in the segregated townships. Black workers are paid about one-third of what whites receive for the same job done.

by

Low income and restrictive laws mean acute shortage and poor quality of housing for blacks. Overcrowding leads to homelessness and a precarious existence in illegal squatter camps.

In 1981, the teacher-pupil ratio was 1:20 for whites and 1:47 for Africans. The Government spent Dollars 1,115 for the education of every white student, but only Dollars 170 was spent on African children. Out of 9,378 university lecturers, 8,041 were white and 750 Africans. In 1979, only 7,000 Africans were enrolled in universities. Black schooling is characterized by underqualified teachers, lack of supplies and overcrowding.

Poverty-related diseases such as tuberculosis, diphtheria, polio, typhoid and measles are more prevalent among the black population. There is a more than five-fold difference in infant mortality between Africans and whites, and the rate of infant deaths increases dramatically among rural black child-

ren, who are often chronically malnourished. Cholera regularly strikes in Bantustan communities which lack clean water and basic sanitation facilities.

In 1985, out of the 44,100 reported cases of tuberculosis, 700 were whites and 31,400 Africans (figure does not include Bantustans). Life expectancy is 72 for whites and 58 for blacks. A 1982 survey showed that the doctor-to-patient ratio was 1:330 for whites and 1:91,000 for Africans, but only 6.8 per cent of the 959 admissions to medical schools last year were Africans. Eighty per cent were whites.

South African blacks are also suffering disproportionately from the decline of the storm-tossed South African economy, which has been plagued by a four-year drought, double-digit interest rates, and galloping inflation at 18 per cent.

While the Government places unemployment at 18 per cent, in some black areas 60 per cent of workers are without work. Since 1981, there has been almost no real growth in the economy, whereas a growth rate of 3.5 per cent is required to prevent further unemployment. The value of the Rand has plummeted from US Dollars 1.35 in 1981 to 38 US cents at the end of July.

Kanak Dixit

The disrupted livelihoods of poor black families are far removed from the comfortable life which is the norm among whites. Except in the workplaces, there is almost no social contact between the two communities.

Heightened awareness of the injustices of legalized racism has spurred anti-apartheid action globally. Direct action ranges from college students in the US agitating for divestment of South African stocks to Irish supermarket workers in Dublin refusing to handle South African produce.

In March, Barclays Bank of London which has long worked with South Africa's private and public sector, announced that it was suspending all its dealings. Similarly, in the last year, two dozen US banks have decided not to extend new credit, including the Bank of America.

In May, Denmark adopted an act prohibiting trade with Pretoria, to take effect in December. Also in May, the Southern African Bishops'

Conference decided to welcome 'economic pressure' as the most effective non-violent measure against apartheid.

In June, the US House of Representatives passed a largely symbolic but nevertheless significant bill calling for a ban on all trade with South Africa except for strategic minerals. That same month, a group of eminent persons designated by the 49-member Commonwealth issued a report after visiting South Africa, concluding that apartheid would be removed more swiftly under international pressure.

The debate on what is the most appropriate international action is now centred on the imposition of a worldwide, mandatory system of comprehensive sanctions that would isolate the Pretoria regime and force it to negotiate with the blacks. Such sanctions would ideally be applied by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

A UN conference on South Africa held in Paris in June unanimously called upon the Security Council to do just that, stating that sanctions constituted 'the most effective peaceful means available to the international community to end apartheid', and adding that 'the alternative to sanctions is escalating violence and bloodshed. The situation brooks no delay'.

Those opposed to sanctions maintain that South Africa's strong economy would not be crippled by sanctions because its mineral wealth would provide a cushion against economic shock and because the country already produces much of what it needs in anticipation of sanction (in July, it unveiled its first jet fighter). They say that Pretoria can also easily circumvent sanctions on gold, diamonds and platinum trading and can use various other ways to diffuse the full impact of sanctions.

Opponents of sanctions also warn that a beleaguered white government running a siege economy might circle the wagons against the international clamour and become completely inflexible. Above all, they maintain that sanctions would actually hurt the black majority most, as well as the neighbouring states of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Zambia, all economically dependent on South Africa.

(Continued on page 10)

In comparison with the 60's when students of this country were concerned with such issues as Vietnam and Palestine, student activism today has declined into a low ebb of parochialism. In places students have turned away from confronting authority to confronting each other—Colombo University Medical students vs students of the private Medical College and 2nd year vs 4th Engineering students at Peradeniya. The latter was pretty brutal, but had one saving factor. Out of the 30 or so 4th year students injured only one was a Tamil. The assailants of the latter had told him, "we are not beating Tamils in general because we do not want to be branded communal. But we have to beat you because we have beaten others who opposed us."

This kind of violent dissent is a far cry from the Engineering Students' Union that I knew in the late 60's and early 70's. It was then a happy model of democracy. We did not lose a day nor resorted to any action for a cause which most members did not feel strongly about. Debates were always civilised and carried surprising depth. The President added his own colour to the proceedings. There was Duldeep Dantanarayana with his impeccable manner of a Speaker of parliament. His father I believe was Senior English teacher at Mahinda, Galle. There was then Abdul Rahuman (Bunche) who could not resist the temptation of joining in from the chair. A writer who frequently contributes to the **SATURDAY REVIEW** used to make his contribution with an oratorical style he had apparently learnt from Dr. Colvin R. de Silva.

COME, TAKE A LOOK

By K. Navarendran

Mr. Jehan Perera under the caption, **Impossible to Serve two Masters** (S. R. 23rd, August) pounced upon the speech of the Bishop of Jaffna, Rt. Rev. Dr. Deogupillai at the St. Patrick's College prize-giving.

The quintessence of his speech was an appeal to the United Nations to save the innocent Tamils from total annihilation from this country. This speech was made just a few days after the brutal killing of 34 innocent fishermen on 10.6.86 at Mandaitivu which is only a few miles from Jaffna Town. All the victims were Catholics from Gurunagar, a predominantly Catholic area, under the diocese of His Lordship.

What solace and consolation could a grief-stricken Bishop give to the

I recall a particular instance when the potentially divisive issue of standardisation came up in 1970. Despite the verdict to the contrary many Sinhalese students were convinced that Tamil candidates had gained University admission by unfair means. But the ensuing debate proceeded without acrimony. Most Tamils held that merit ought to be

Respect Democracy And Decency

the sole criterion for admission. Many Sinhalese speakers held that while they opposed racial standardisation there can be criteria for admission besides merit. Though most Tamils, including me, were dissatisfied the consensus reached was a compromise between civilised people.

With 9 years of the UNP it is sad, but not surprising, that the ESU has lost its democratic flavour. The one saving grace is that the faculty of Engineering at Peradeniya still retains broadly its non-communal outlook. The Sinhalese students there had, even amidst a violent fray slowed themselves realists in having, grasped the fact that they have to share this land with the minorities and had better learn to live with Tamils. Perhaps the professional outlook of their teachers has much to do with this. It is largely true to this day that students passing out of the Faculty of Engineering at Peradeniya went away with pleasant

memories of their fellows from other communities.

In comparison democracy is in an equally bad way amongst University students in Jaffna. But realism is almost totally absent.

The sense of realism that we are accountable to others and that we

will eventually have to live with others seems to be generally absent amongst student activists in Jaffna.

Even though the internationalism of the 60's has receded in Western Universities, every Western University

by **Rajan Hoole**

ty will have groups focussing on problems of third world exploitation, environmental, nuclear, human and animal rights issues. Parochialism and racism will be generally considered bad form in a University Student.

If the Jaffna University is to move in this direction the outlook of the University will have to be more professional, it will have to be made more attractive for Eastern province students and we will have to think of bringing in Sinhalese and foreign students.

What is at stake is the educational standing of the Tamil people as a whole which includes their capacity to look after their own affairs. Student disaffection also has causes that go back to school education, the atmosphere maintained at the University by the authorities and teachers as a whole.

Whether the 5½ years between the completion of standard 8 in school and University entrance is usefully spent is a separate subject. But on the latter I will go back in closing to the Peradeniya Engineering faculty in the late 60's.

Prof. E. O. E. Pereira who was Dean and the close support given to him by his colleagues on the Engineering faculty staff working as a team raised the institution to one of high standing within the Commonwealth. His skills as administrator and negotiator were of a class. When there was trouble he would talk to the troublemakers and his manner would make them feel that they should behave as gentlemen. EOE, as he

was popularly known, was deservedly made Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon in 1969. His abilities prevailed over the fact that he was a Christian and a Burgher. Nonetheless this made his tenure a difficult one. An unruly student mob once came to the Vice-Chancellor's lodge in the night prodded on by some University teachers from other faculties. Some stones too were thrown at the lodge. The Engineering staff and students were quickly on the scene to protect their EOE. The issue was apparently the quality of food in the halls. EOE came out in his white suit and tie and invited some student representatives to sit down and talk to him on the verandah of the lodge. The commotion was soon over. Unto his last day as Vice-Chancellor the staff and students of the Engineering faculty were to the man behind 'our EOE.'

Do any of our educators enjoy such respect and a groundswell of enthusiastic backing? Will Tamil society be as generous to its minorities? To answer these questions will be saying a lot. The kind of backing EOE had can only arise in places where democracy and decency are held in respect.

Bloody Celebration

The Army at the Jaffna Fort celebrated its 38th Anniversary with a 'big bang'—a salvo of cannon shells was fired into the heart of the town on 10th evening and 11th morning of October.

In this process three persons died including a one year old child who apparently died of shell-shock. The others who lost their lives were 45 Year old cook, Kalimuthu Karupiah, a cook at Hotel Subhas whose head was completely decapitated and a tri-shaw driver, Subramaniam Jayapalan (30) of Moolai. 10 others were injured. A clinic at the Jaffna General Hospital was so damaged that the treatment at the clinic has been suspended. Another shell landed at the gates of the Jaffna Secretariat. Fortunately no one was injured, as it was a non-working day. Incidentally this shell-fell far beyond the 1000 metre range.

In contrast to this 'bloody celebration', those at the Army Camp at Elephant Pass treated the passengers to Passion fruit cordial and sweets at the barrier.

What a difference in attitude among the higher echelons of the Army in the North!

Insured Claimants Association

Nearly 140 people, residents of Trincomalee who have insured their property with the National Insurance Corporation, whose local Agents are Aitken Spence Co.Ltd., have been left stranded.

Between the 4th and 11th of September 1985, many people in the Trincomalee District found themselves homeless and without possession owing to the violence that prevailed in the area. Of the many who lost their possessions, a few about 140 had insured their properties and possessions with the National Insurance Corporation.

It is therefore, not unnatural that these persons though despondent owing to their losses had confidence that their foresight in Insuring their properties with the Insurance Movement of Sri Lanka would be rewarded and that the National Insurance Corporation

in Trinco

would come to their help in their hour of need.

Six months have passed since these persons had made their claims to the Corporation and still they await for their claims to be met. Three out of the 140 claimants have received vague letters disclaiming liability, something about 'Terrorist' Activities etc., but so far no steps have been taken by the Police or the National Insurance Corporation to investigate their claims.

The confidence and the patience of the Claimants have grown thin, thus promoting them to form themselves into an Association known as "Association of the Insured Claimants with National Insurance Cor-

poration" in order to fight for their claims.

Insurance is a business based solely on confidence. Once this confidence is lost, then the Insurance Company or Corporation might as well pack up and go home. No amount of advertisement thereafter could bring them any business.

It is a pity that the Government which is the sole promoter of this Insurance business has not stepped in to grant any relief to these persons so far.

Those in authority should not for a moment think that by ignoring the claims of 140 persons they have solved the problem.

One would think that Court actions by these 140 persons for relief is not the type of publicity that the National Insurance Corporation would wish for.

Appreciation



Mr. Manuel Mariampillai

The sudden passing away of Mr. Manuel Mariampillai (Retired teacher) who was ailing for a short period, shocked everyone who knows him and especially those who were mostly attached to him. He was born in 1.1.1922, to Mr. & Mrs. Manuel St. John and the eldest in the family of six, three brothers and three sisters.

He started his education at St. James (boys) Mahavidyalayam, Jaffna and wound up at Colombagam Teacher's Training College as a Trained Teacher in 1946. Because of his honesty and duty consciousness he was appointed to St. Joseph's Practising School, Colombagam as an upper school teacher. Also he was made the hostel, Warden.

After leaving St. Joseph's College, he served in the following Mahavidyalayams: St. Roch's, Jaffna, Andankulam, Mannar, St. Joseph's Maskeliya, St. Mary's Bogawanth-lawa (Performing Principal), Kaddukaran, Kuddiyuruppu, and Talaimannar Village (Perfect Principal). As Performing Principal he solved an unending problem existed among the teaching staffs and later with their cooperation built a new school block and surprised all. Finally he came back to his Almamater where he retired at the age of 58 years.

He was a willing social worker, an industrialist, benefactor and Religious conscious. He was an unauthorised Justice of Peace, started a coir factory at Pasaiyoor and created employment to many. Following the footsteps of the parents, from his young age he was an active member of the Mount Carmel Confraternity. The present church and the chariot are proof how much he has contributed his efforts. An active member of St. Mary's Cathedral Beneficial Society for a long period until his death.

In 1960, December, he married Miss Mangala Christopher, a co-teacher and blessed with six children.

The funeral was attended by a large crowd and the body was taken in procession to St. Mary's Cathedral for final blessing and a Requiem Mass was said.

—S. P. F.

BRUSH WITH DEATH

"I remember their faces (Sri Lankan navy men's). They were laughing: they were very funny" says 22-year-old Mr. Pal Refsdal of Norway who has returned to Madras today after having a brush with death in the Palk Straits. While he and three men belonging to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) were lucky to be alive, three other LTTE militants were drowned on 3rd September when the boat in which they were travelling was chased and fired at by a Sri Lankan naval patrol boat.

He slowly recalls those shuddering moments with the pain of the ordeal clearly reflected on his face. "I tried to gesticulate that I was unarmed but the Sri Lankan naval men continued to shoot. Then I went underwater and when I came up, I saw the naval boat continuing to chase our boat," he told THE HINDU.

Interested in the Sri Lankan Tamil problem, Mr. Refsdal a freelance writer, arrived in Madras from Norway on July 29 and he went to Vedaranyam on August 23 to meet the various Tamil militant groups. After staying with the Tamil Eelam Army there, he approached the LTTE to take him to Jaffna by boat.

Around 10 a.m. on 3rd September he and six LTTE men including three drivers left Vedaranyam

for Jaffna in a boat fitted with three engines. But no sooner had they seen land (Jaffna) their hopes were dashed. To their dismay, saw a Sri Lankan naval patrol far away. They soon turned to go back to Vedaranyam but the naval boat would not give up which made for them at high speed. The Navp boat was fitted with two machine-guns, one in the front and the other in the rear.

After a chase for about an hour the LTTE'S boat managed to reach the Indian waters where there were a lot of fishing boats and the Lankan naval boat was also close by then. Three LTTE men jumped into the water, hoping to reach the fishing boats.

The Sri Lankan boat "started firing at our boat even though we were within the Indian waters," says Mr. Refsdal. "I was lying on the floor and saw a bullet hit our boat. They were shooting all the time and the naval boat was only 100 metres behind us. At that moment the man in front of me jumped and a few seconds later, I too jumped into the water. When I came up on the surface, the naval boat tried to avoid me thinking that I may have mines.

But it turned a little sideways so that they can shoot at me. I remember their faces. They were laughing: they were very funny".

There were still two persons (both drivers) left in his boat and he tried to swim up to the fishing boats which were around 200 metres away. But the fishing boats switched off the engines and they went away as they were afraid. More fishing boats gave him a wide berth. "I just stayed put, watching the naval boat which took another route and fired twice at some other people it found there. Then, it went round patrolling the fishing boats, everything taking place inside the Indian territory, he recalls. After staying in the water for an hour and a half, he swam upto some fishing trawlers and one of them took him on board.

But he is not able to forget the scene of three "Tigers", who put cyanide capsules in their mouth and jumped into the sea. They were drowned. He later met the two drivers (out of three) at Vedaranyam—the two had jumped into the sea after he had done so. They said they saw their boat going round and round in circles after everybody had jumped overboard.

(The Hindu)

LIBERATION THEOLOGY AND

"LP. In your Judgment, what fruits has the theology of liberation borne during these years in Latin America."

GG: In the first place, I would say that the theology of liberation is itself the fruit of something. It is a fruit of the process of liberation, of a greater awareness on the part of the people of Latin America of the unjust situation to which they are subjected and of their capacity for changing it. Above all liberation theology is the result of the church community's accompanying of an exploited but believing people in its entire process of liberation. The theology of liberation, like all theology, is an attempt to systematize the experience of a people and of the Christian community in the light of faith. So if we talk about the fruits of liberation theology, it must be in the context of a larger process.

I want to correct a commonly held notion that mistakenly supposes that liberation theology is a theoretical framework of theological concepts first drawn up in someone's study and only later applied in the Christian communities. I would say the process is quite the opposite. The theology of liberation has rather been an effort at reflecting systematically on the actual faith of a poor people, in order to help them, as believers, to be clearer about the demands of their faith commitment. This has permitted liberation theology to play a role in showing how the unique experience of the Latin American people—while different from that of other peoples—is a no less valuable one.

This Latin American experience also allows for a faith reflection that nourishes personal experience. So it seems to me that the most important thing we can ask ourselves is how the process of liberation is taking place today and how the Gospel is present in that process. These are the major issues, and the question of the fruits of liberation theology is quite secondary. Essentially, I am insisting that the theology of liberation is only part of a process—and that it is hardly the starting point of that process.

Has the experience of the church and the peoples of Latin America over these ten years suggested any change of focus or theoretical readjustment within liberation theology?

Yes. But let's be specific about the dates. This year marks the 15th anniversary of the first explicit formulation of what we call the theology of liberation (the first talk with that title was given in July 1968). Naturally, in those 15 years there have been many changes in Latin America, in our political and historical consciousness and in the Christian awareness of the Latin American poor. A theology that tries to be a reflection based on and about praxis in the light of faith could not help but follow this process. As circumstances have changed, the emphases of the reflection have changed too. I am not saying that we have always been faithful to that rhythm of change. There can at times be an erroneous tendency to hang on to set formulas, to feel drawn by the logic of a particular mode of theological expression, even though reality itself has changed. This is a constant danger, and no one is free from it.

Father Gustavo Gutierrez is widely known for his role in the development of the theology of liberation in Latin America. His books, *A Theology of Liberation*, *The Power of the Poor in History*, and *We Drink from Our Own Wells* are published in English by Orbis Books. In the following interview (published by I. P. May 19 and 26, 1983), the Peruvian priest discusses the achievements and difficulties of the first fifteen years of liberation theology. He addresses the new Latin American church of martyrs, the notion of a "people's church" and the signs of the Kingdom of God present in Latin America today.

I'd say the greatest changes in these years have been results of two factors. On the one hand, there is the scope of the liberation process in Latin America, the fact that more and more working class people and others committed to their liberation have become a part of the process. But this development has brought about a greater resistance to the liberation process, which in turn has inspired new themes for theological reflection. An important change has also occurred in the church. Since Medellín the church has become increasingly sensitive to the process of liberation, and that has also given rise to new themes.

What I am trying to say is something we saw clearly almost 15 years ago: the upsurge of the poor as a force in Latin American society and in the Latin American church has created a very new situation. It has brought about a deepening of faith and of the

realization that following the teachings of Jesus Christ in present day Latin America leads down very specific and often difficult roads.

What do you consider to be the most important themes in the theology of liberation?

Ever since its inception, liberation theology has had two basic intuitions and one major concern. The first insight was the need to study the role—the privileged people of God's Kingdom, the poor, play in theological reflection. I think that taking on the point of view of the poor starting with their entry into history, was the start of our ongoing efforts to understand and define the biblical notion of the poor. The biblical concept is a very rich one, richer than, say a purely sociological understanding of the poor.

The second key idea that emerged is that theology must be a reflection, in the light of faith on and about our concrete practice. Here we are reappropriating a way of doing theology

ds pastoral work. And in a way they are right. Ours is a theology that tries to place itself at the service of the church. We believe that theology has an ecclesial function and is oriented toward the proclamation of the Gospel message.

Finally, ours is a new theological perspective. We have only now begun to see some things more clearly others we are still working on. It's a process.

Currently what are the most important themes in liberation theology?

There are some themes that we were somewhat aware of from the beginning but have only recently begun to really work on. One is folk religion or "popular religiosity," which is viewed differently in liberation theology from the way it is seen in modern European theology or the theologies of secularization. We place emphasis on the experience of an exploited, religious people. From the outset, there was a concern for the religious experience of the poor, but in recent years we have developed the theme much more.

Another theme is the perspective of women. I think that also was present from the start. Please excuse my quoting myself but I would like to note that in the first line of my book, *A theology of Liberation*, I call it "an attempt at reflection, based on the Gospel and the experiences of men and women committed to the process of liberation." Some friends suggested "men committed to the process of liberation" would suffice, but I disagreed. At that time (1969-70) the question of women was much less talked about, but it seemed important to me to underline from the beginning the commitment of women. I don't want to overstate this point. What counts is that the viewpoint of women has been explored more intensively in liberation theology in recent years.

Another theme is history and Christian tradition. If the liberating dimension of faith were not present throughout the history of the Christian community, liberation theology would be impossible to justify. It is important for us to see how that liberating dimension has been present in history, other contexts and using other terms—and above all; to see how it has been present on our continent. Hence the interest in a man

Besides these two major insights, we have had one major concern, that of announcing the Gospel, of evangelizing. There are theologians who feel our theology is very "utilitarian", too much oriented toward



LATIN AMERICA

like the 16th century Spanish missionary, Bartolome de las Casas (*LP*, May 12, 1983) who effected theologically on the poverty and exploitation of the indigenous peoples of the continent, assuming their perspective.

Another theme we have been working on—and still have to look at much more deeply—is the question of peace, which arises necessarily when we assume the perspective of the poor. The poor are very specific persons, and belong to very specific races, just as they belong to a certain sex. As we begin to look at things more and more from the standpoint of race. We are at once confronted with the increasingly powerful cultural theme.

Besides the task of evangelization, which is our major concern, we are of course called to build church. To evangelize is also to call together church. Thus we quickly found ourselves dealing with what John XXIII called the church of the poor. That too has raised new questions for us.

In short, the theology of liberation is very much alive and continues to forge ahead. Theology is but a part of the life of a people, in no way can it be seen as the starting point or the first impulse. It must always be understood, as we have insisted, as a second act, as something that follows on the life of a believing people. Their life will always be much richer than all the systematizing and conceptualizing we can do.

An important theme in liberation theology is the urgency of building the Kingdom of God here and now, within our history. Could you speak about the relationship between an eschatological understanding of the Kingdom of the God and the total commitment that leads many Christians to give their lives for the liberation of their people?

It is important to grasp the two dimensions of the Kingdom that the Gospel speaks about, and not to allow one aspect to supersede the other. To say that the coming of the Kingdom must be welcomed in history is in no way to deny that for the Christian the fullness of communion with God is to be realized beyond history. And belief in this future dimension of the Reign of God should not diminish a Christian's willingness to make a commitment within history. We have to take into account these two aspects of the Kingdom as we work out our Christian lives. It is not easy. We always tend to overemphasize one or the other, depending

on the circumstances of the moment in the life of the church. What is uniquely Christian is to hold onto both dimensions. The church is a witness not only to the future dimension of the Kingdom but also to the coming of that Kingdom today which demands that we be a community of sons and daughters of the Father.

You also bring up something I failed to mention when I was talking about new themes that have arisen out of our concern for a church of the poor. One of these themes is martyrdom. It is something new at this time in Latin America. My book, *A Theology of Liberation* is specifically dedicated to two persons: one of them is a black Brazilian priest, a co-worker of Dom Helder Camara's who was murdered in May 1969. So martyrdom first became a fact of life for us nearly 15 years ago. I know Father Henrique Pereira well: he was a good friend. I was trying to write *A Theology of Liberation* at the time and so I dedicated the book

that those who die bearing witness do so for their faith, not for a theology. They are Christian martyrs. I'm not using the word martyr here in the strictest sense (I don't have the authority to bestow the church title of martyr) but, after all, they are martyrs in the general sense of the term—people who die bearing witness to their ideas. They die for their faith in Christ. You say that perhaps they would not even recognize the names of the liberation theologians. That is hardly necessary! What matters is that they recognize the name of Christ and die with his name on their lips.

In fact, we need to attribute less importance to theological work. Theology is only a part of a much larger process, as I have been insisting from the outset. It is only one contribution. Personally, I am committed to theological reflection but most of my time is not spent doing theology. I am involved in concrete pastoral work with Christian communities. This is not because I consider theology unimportant: But I am still convinced it is a secondary activity, and that what counts much more is what happens on the primary level, in the life of the people.

LATIN AMERICA'S PAIN BEARS FRUIT

to him along with the Peruvian author Jose Maria Arguedas. Father Pereira died bearing witness to his faith. But he also bore witness for poor blacks despised for their race, which is another reason why I dedicated the book to him.

Today martyrdom is a living part of the experience of the church in Latin America, and we cannot avoid reflecting on so many martyred bishops, peasants, religious and priests. Many people want to deny that those believers were martyred because they refuse to accept what the martyrs stood for. But a witness like that of Archbishop Romero is so clear that even these critics have had to accept him as a martyr. And Romero is only the best known among many most of whom have been poor and simple people unknown to the rest of the world.

Many of these new martyrs have been poor people with little or no theological training.

I understand what you are saying, but I would like to make it clear

I do also believe many Christians have been helped by a more ordered, more systematic reflection. But what actually motivates us is faith, faith in the Lord, expressed in love of our brothers and sisters especially the poorest and most abandoned. That I would say, is the beauty of the church in Latin America today. In spite of the many problems we face, I would dare to say, even through it may offend some, that in spite of all the present difficulties and sufferings, the Latin American Church has never lived a more profound, or beautiful or exciting moment.

In Section 8 of the *Constitution on the Church*, Vatican II declared that, like its founder, the church should live in poverty and be persecuted. Something is happening on this continent today, and while it may appear insignificant, it is bringing the church closer to the Lord.

There have been many misunderstandings over the term "popular church". What is your view, on the matter?

First, there is a problem of semantics. Let's begin there. When "popular church" or "church born of the people" was first spoken of in some Christian settings in Latin America, people simply meant a church of the poor, in the sense that John XXIII used the expression. The term in no way suggested the creation of parallel church or an alternative church; rather, it referred to the possibility of making the entire church a church of the poor, exactly as Pope John suggested in his allocation of September 1, 1962 prior to the Council: "The church is and wants to be a church of the poor." It is in this sense that the expression "popular church" was used in the beginning, and this is evident in many texts. Much later on account of problems that were starting to surface, the term began to be used in some quarters to refer to an alternative church, beyond episcopal authority. This is not the sense in which "popular church" was first used. The notion that we must create an alternative to the church is something that I personally do not and cannot accept and many other Christians feel the same as I do. What many of us want is a church of the poor, one that goes ever deeper in the preferential option for the poor called for at Medellin and Puebla. This is the issue.

There are expressions that in the end lead to confusion and make it hard for us to understand one another. We have to put those terms aside and turn to the realities themselves. For me, the fundamental truth is that the church should be a church of the poor. Call it what you will, that is the point as far as I'm concerned. Undoubtedly there will always be extreme positions taken and inappropriate language used and there will be people who, for whatever reason, appear to be saying things that are far from their real intentions or actions.

In the midst of growing misery, repression and conflict, what are some signs of the Kingdom of God which you see in Latin America today?

Right now I believe that the most important sign is the generosity and commitment of so many poor working people. There is also a growing commitment to solidarity with the poor on the part of many Christians: pastoral agents, bishops, religious and priests.

Another sign I perceive is the contemplative dimension I see in grassroots Christian communities and in the persons committed to them. There is a deepened sense of prayer, which is growing in the midst of great suffering, and in the face of abuse, suspicion, calumny, imprisonment torture and death. And while these things are very painful, I believe the pain is bearing fruit. And that is cause for great hope.

The third anniversary of the death of Bishop Lakshman Wickremasinghe takes place on the 23rd of October and it is right and proper that the Tamil people always remember the great contribution made by this Christian leader towards resolving the Tamil problem and the courageous stand he took in upholding the rights of the Tamil people. He can be described as one of the greatest Christian leaders of Sri Lanka of this century—a courageous prophet, a holy priest, a wise counsellor and a discerning scholar. Dr. A. J. Wilson described him 'as a light that shone amidst the encircling gloom.'

It is the intention of the writer to quote from the writings of Bishop Lakshman and show his deep concern and sincerity towards solving this problem from the time he was a young priest and the efforts he made towards that end. He was a great believer in dialogue and had the knack of making friends with people of all sorts and in all conditions. He had good friends among Buddhist monks, Hindu leaders, Marxist activists, University professors, village school teachers, farmers and workers. Therefore he had the gift and graces of life to take the Sinhala - Tamil problem into the hearts and minds of Sinhala Chauvinists on one side, Tamil leaders and Tamil chauvinists on the other side. Every racist riot and crisis brought him to the place where the trouble was so that he could exercise his ministry of dialogue and reconciliation. Many were his visits to the North and East though those areas were not part of his diocese. His thoughts remain challenging and relevant to this very day.

Bishop Lakshman strove hard to point towards a new paradigm for the new Lanka in the pangs and agonies of post-independent Sri Lanka. Thomas Kuhn in his book "the Structure of Scientific Revolution" says, "In the revolutionary phase of the history of science, the dominance of the reigning paradigm is questioned, comes into crisis, is discarded and is replaced by another paradigm. The new paradigm then shapes the work of the next era of science." It is so with the history of nations.

Just after the 1977 racial riots in a statement issued along with the Venerable Dr. Havanpolo Ratnasara he said, "What is needed at this juncture is the fostering of a creative force of Sinhalese and Tamils alike who will seek to build and forge an ideology which will provide the framework for seeking the future of Sri Lanka as a pluralistic nation, wherein individuals and communities develop within the framework of equality and justice. As far back as 1961 when there was a satyagraha in

Jaffna and Lakshman was a young priest working as Chaplain in the University, he issued a statement "The political wisdom that is required at this present time if the democratic principles of fairness to minorities and the sparing use of administrative law are to be safeguarded, does not consent merely in the ability to maintain law and order or merely in the ability to wear down one's political opponents from a position of advantage."

"In all his letters and statements since 1958 race-riot he kept on urging saying that we must come to a settlement before another blood bath."

Just after 1977 racial riots he began to discern a definite shift in

in small groups without hindrance in the traditional homelands of the Tamils should be accepted and the right of the overwhelming majority of Sinhalese to safeguard the territorial unity of Sri Lanka through the central government should be recognised. (Theology and the struggle for human rights).

It should be borne in mind that Bishop Lakshman always used the word "unity" as against the government's use of "unitary". He felt that a solution to the problem "cannot be found in domination or in separation but we must reach towards unity through reconciled diversity. This is real wisdom and courage".

Bishop Lakshman was always an ardent fighter for human rights of

twenty five years of experience in seeking to find a solution to our ethnic conflict. I am among those who have tried hard and failed. But I know and trust in God who is ever creative in bringing good out of evil." Kumari Jayawardena in *Ethnic and Class Conflicts in Sri Lanka* says "During the 1983 July pogrom against the Tamils in Sri Lanka the small yet still articulate liberal element among the Sinhalese were struck by feelings of horror, shame and guilt. The sense of shame and horror was expressed by a few political parties, trade unions, women's groups, religious bodies and civil rights organisation while Bishop Lakshman Wickremasinghe alone spoke of the collective guilt of the Sinhalese people in a moving pastoral letter which received wide publicity in Sri Lanka."

His last testimony is one of tragic failure in spite of all his hard efforts for twenty five years. It is worthwhile to reflect why he failed. His failure may lie in the rigidity and seriousness with which he

Light Amidst The Encircling Gloom

by. **Rev. Dr. D. J. Kanagaratnam**

the perspective of the Tamils with regard to their homelands:- "In the recent past they had looked upon their traditional homelands as their birth-place to which they could always return but from which many desired to venture into more prosperous areas in the island, to earn a livelihood and improve family prospects. Now they have begun to look on these homelands as the territorial space which is distinctively their own; it is herein alone that a majority of them can retain their self-respect and security, develop their economy and freely manifest their language and culture" (statement on 27th November 1977). In 1982 he was much more positive about the perspective of the Tamils—"The demand of the Sri Lankan Tamils for the right of equal treatment according to their needs as a natural minority with regard to their traditional homelands, should be secured to them, especially against the encroachment by State aided colonisation schemes, the fair allocation of national and foreign resources for development, the provision of self-governing political authority in their traditional homelands and a fair allocation of posts in Central government institutions be accepted, subject to two qualifications, the right of the Sinhalese to reside, work and prosper

the oppressed minorities, the exploited workers and farmers and the enslaved plantation Tamil workers. He was a staunch supporter and co-founder of the Christian Workers' Fellowship and a leader of the Civil Rights Movement.

When the racial holocaust of July 1983 took place, Bishop Lakshman was in England under medical treatment. He was terribly disturbed and not at rest when he heard of the happenings in his country. When he hurriedly returned to the island in September he was a sick and broken man. In his sickness and brokenness, he immediately visited Jaffna and Kilinochchi and saw for himself the cries, groans and agonies of the people who had suffered and were in refugee camps. His final Pastoral Address to the Kurunegala Diocesan Council in September 1983 will always be treasured as his final testimony of how much he agonised for all of us in heart, mind and prayer. In his personal comments in the address he said "Since I returned I was able to visit the damaged areas, talk with various people and also meet people in the Jaffna peninsula. In short the comments I will make on the situation we face are based on much reflection. They also express

approached the problem in his role as reconciler Bishop. Many a Tamil leader though he acknowledged his integrity, sincerity and humaneness found it difficult to understand how he could talk of justice and equality to Tamils while upholding the Sinhala Buddhist hegemony. Many a Sinhalese could not understand how he could be a Sinhala and speak of Tamil nationality and a Tamil homeland in Sri Lanka. He was constantly criticised and misunderstood from both sides and he was courageous enough to face this peril and risk, as a reconciler. If there is injustice reconciliation can hardly consist in maintaining the status quo to avoid conflict for the injustice will persist. Bishop Lakshman's contribution was to point towards a new paradigm, it is the responsibility of the leaders after him to work out the paradigm. Another failure may be that unlike Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa and Bishop Helder Camara of South America, he hadn't a mass creative base within the Christian Church and among his own Sinhala people to push him forward towards mass agitation and action. His was very often the still small voice in the wilderness spoken with love and courage and only a small creative minority within the Church and nation that supported him.

Bishop Lakshman is no more but his memory will linger long in our hearts and will be part of the history of the Christian Church in Sri Lanka.

TALKING TURKEY!

Editor

SATURDAY REVIEW

The Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus headed by Mr. Denktash already recognised by Turkey, continues to make headlines because of the deep involvement of the United Nations Secretary General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, to find an acceptable solution between the Greek majority (400,000) and the Turkish minority (150,000) in the Island of Cyprus.

It is understood that Bangladesh, Malaysia and Pakistan are also likely to grant recognition.

In the course of an interruption at the UN General Assembly on October 5, 1978, I said "...There is real danger of the Tamil problem threatening the peace of the Indian Region. The problem in Sri Lanka will develop to be as serious as the Palestinian and Cyprus problems unless you, the world leaders, intervene and help in its solution now..." All three have now become as intractable as the Irish one.

President Junius of Sri Lanka, obviously in a mood of utter despair and helplessness, mingled with a tinge of impotent warning to his people, recently declared that the way the Tamil freedom fighters are waging their struggle, Sri Lanka would soon be partitioned as has happened in Cyprus.

From the on-going 'involvement' of India in the 'internal' affairs of the Sri Lankan ethnic crisis, it would appear that the Indian Government policy makers regard the Tamil crisis as their own backyard problem and therefore do not welcome outsiders such as even the Commonwealth Secretary-General to offer his good offices to solve the crisis.

So, is it prudent and wise for us to leave the entire fate and future of the Tamil people to be decided by New Delhi? Of course, every Tamil values and treasures our link-up with India, particularly Tamil Nadu.

Does this mean that we must not ask for the help and support of other countries—say Turkey?

True, too true, that Turkey is so far away—So, What? Don't we realise that we are living in what some leading people call a global village? Distance has ceased to have much significance.

If only we Tamils can approach and appeal to the Government of

Turkey to raise our issue at the United Nations and at the same time for countries such as Turkey to support India in its gallant efforts to solve our problem, then I think India would be the first to welcome it. As far as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is concerned, it is true Cyprus is a country that is a member of the Non-Aligned Movement and therefore India supports the Cypriots (Greek) Government in Nicosia and not happy to recognise the newly formed Turkish Cypriot Government. But Turks say that Cyprus was able to continue in the Non-Aligned Movement because in 1974 the Turkish Government sent its Armed Forces into Cyprus and secured a de facto partition which prevented Cyprus itself joining the NATO.

Are we to be bound all the time by Delhi's likes and dislikes—even when it means hundreds of our compatriots—men, women and children—are being wantonly shot and killed by the Sri Lankan chauvinist and notoriously ill-disciplined soldiers?

Now then—here is a chance for some new dimension—new force to come to our help. The 52 million Turkish people, almost 100% Muslim, can help us and assist India in its efforts. So, how do we set about it?

The Tamil leadership should support the Turkish Government in its recognition of the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, and if a political formula could be found, then the Tamils can themselves "recognise" the Government of Denktash.

No doubt the Turkish Government, its people and the Turkish Cypriots will do whatever they can for the Tamils of Eelam to win back their freedom and independence.

K. Vaikunthavasan

London

Selective Tears

Editor

SATURDAY REVIEW

The Government has thought it fit to reject the reports of Amnesty International alleging violation of human rights, including killing, torture and disappearances in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

A really democratic government's first duty should be to appoint a public commission to enquire into the charges especially when they come as they do from an admittedly fair and impartial body like A.I. But ours have not only refused to do it but challenged those who filed affidavits with A.I. to go before the Supreme

Court and prove it if they can. Surely if the government has nothing to fear or hide, why cannot it appoint a Judge of the Supreme Court to undertake a job of this nature, when it has appointed several commissions, some on matters of much less importance.

Even at this late stage it should appoint a high-powered commission to inquire into at least the multiple killings such as the slaughter of 53 Tamil youths while in government custody in Welikade jail (A.I. has requested this on several occasions), killing of 31 fishermen at Mandaitivu, the massacre of 47 passengers in a boat from Delft island, the shooting of 37 inmates in a refugee camp in Muthur etc. Turning a blind eye to such mass killing of innocent people could only confirm the fear that there is a plan behind the whole thing.

A lot of tears is shed in the South today over the killing of Mr. K. Kathirimalai, the Sarvodaya Chief of the North. Taking away of a human life cannot be condoned under any circumstance. But when Mr. Kathirimalai's young pregnant wife and four members of her family were shot and killed in their own house in Vavuniya after a certain incident in the Town, did not the people in the South hear about it? Did they not have a tear to shed for them. Human life whether it belongs to your friend or a foe is just the same.

LETTERS

This type of double standard gives the proof, if proof is necessary that terrorism of a certain force is justified and even necessary to uphold freedom and democracy in this country. But what is intolerable is Northern Terrorism which should be wiped out.

R. L. Thevathasan

Chunnakam

Federalism's Best

Editor

SATURDAY REVIEW

President Jayewardene had, it was reported in the Press, told the London Sunday Times that he must warn everyone that if the proposals he had offered for a limited degree of federalism for the northern and eastern provinces are rejected by the Tamil leaders he will have no option but to go for a military solution.

Does the President sincerely think that military action will solve the problem? On the contrary, military action would only make the problem worse than what it is.

A peaceful and practical solution even at this stage is to have a

federal form of government for our country. Had a federal form of government been set up at the time of the Independence or immediately after that we would not have had all these ethnic problems and tragedies that we have gone through and are going through. Talking about that now will not undo even a bit of what we had gone through.

Federalism was made out to be division of the country by the Sinhala people and their leaders. But today even the President who had vigorously campaigned against federalism has come to use the word and has offered a "limited degree of federalism for the northern and eastern provinces". Why not, in the interest of peace and harmony, have full federalism and have an end to the killings and sufferings of the people that are going on in our country bringing disgrace and retarding the progress of our country?

Following the Vaddukoddai resolution in support of a separate State, a respected person for whom the late Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam had a very high regard wrote to him asking him how he expected to get a separate state. His reply, among other things, was that he depended on the self-estimate of the Sinhala man that he is a fool! It is because of the foolishness of the Sinhala people that we in this country are killing each other in this once peaceful island and retarding the progress of everyone. And this foolishness, as Mr. Chelvanayakam expected, might lead to the division of the country.

It is in the interest of all of us and this country that the Sinhala people should exercise their wisdom and get their leaders to have a federal form of government for our country before matters become worse and even separation become inevitable.

Colombo

Arul

Buds Shrivell

Editor

SATURDAY REVIEW

What a miserable fate has befallen the youths of Sri Lanka! The flower of youth of the majority community and the minority community are being killed without any rhyme or reason. The Government is urging the Sinhalese youths to fight for the country and to save the Government in power.

The Tamil youths are fighting to save themselves from the armed terrorism and torture of the government Security Forces and to get justice for the minorities who are being exploited by the government.

Whatever the rights and wrongs of both sides may be, is to fair and just to sacrifice the flower of youth? Is it not utter madness?

Why cannot reason prevail instead of egoism on the part of those in power?

A Desperate Youth

Uduppiddy

MORAL TRIAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS CASES

Bombay: A Citizens' Commission of prominent retired supreme court and high court judges will soon try cases of violation of human rights in the country.

Though the verdicts of the first-ever people's human rights commission in India will not be legally binding they are expected to create a moral impact on the people and galvanise the government into taking remedial steps.

Visualised on the lines of the citizens international war crimes tribunal set up during the Vietnam war by intellectuals like Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre, the commission will examine evidence, both oral and documentary from all the parties concerned.

According to the provisional secretariat of the commission, some of the eminent jurists, who have agreed to be on its panel, include Mr. Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer, retired supreme court judge, Mr. Justice Rajendra Sachar, retired chief justice of Delhi high court, Mr. Justice P. Subramaniam Potti, retired chief justice of Gujarat

high court, and Mr. Justice B. J. Diwan, former chief justice of both Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh high courts.

Out of the commission's panel of ten to 15 ex-judges, benches of two or three each will be constituted to hear different cases. All the cases will be heard in accordance with the basic principles of judicial procedure.

A particular bench may also appoint committees to go to the scene of

essentially be "moral verdicts." Like the judgments of the international court of justice at the Hague, they would not be enforceable, but would influence public opinion.

Any citizen could move the supreme court on the basis of the commission's findings, he said.

Though almost every country in the world was a signatory to U.N.'s universal declaration of human rights, the spokesman said, there was a

human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world."

It also says that "disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of the world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people."

Several citizens from different parts of the country, who constitute the general body of the commission will adopt a declaration, guided by the principles laid down in the U.N. declaration, at a meeting to be held at Nagpur, on 19th October.

(From The Times of India of 1st October)

by

Debashish Munshi

the crime and make on-the-spot investigations.

One of the first cases to be tried is likely to be the Arwal massacre in Bihar, in which several unarmed landless labourers are reported to have been killed when the police opened fire on them in a library compound, on 19th April.

A spokesman of the commission's secretariat emphasised that all the judgments of the commission would

"great dichotomy between precept and practice."

The preamble of the U.N. declaration says that the "recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the

NOT THE NEWS

LIFE IN NEVER NEVER LAND

In the time-tested system of democracy, a 2500 year old Athenian innovation, one party is elected to wield power and others stand down voluntarily with varying degrees of good grace. But Never Never Land (NNL) has made a brilliant innovation. There are no elections. The same Geographical entity contains as many republics as there are parties—The Totalitarian Democratic Republic of NNL, The Revolutionary Socialist Republic of NNL etc. The inhabitants will hold several citizenships simultaneously including perhaps Canadian, Australian, UK, German, French and Sri Lankan. Some trades like journalists, barbers, lorry owners and brewers of alcoholic drinks can be members of only one of the NNL republics. Each NNL republic will have its own currency, postage stamps and its own ministers of state. The Sri Lankan forces who occupy certain enclosures have agreed to provide the airmail service in return for mangoes and firewood. They will remove the explosives and shrapnel from their shells, stuff them instead with mail and use their long range cannon to deliver the mail to specified points.

Those lovers of revolutionary education who deem the present system, incapable of breeding revolutionary fervour are in for a glorious treat. The University system will be revolutionised. The faculty of Arts will contain only one Department—the Department of Demagoguery. The Departments of Science will be reorganised as follows: The Physics Department will become the Department of Ballistic and Parabolic Motion. All Pure Mathematics will be deemed useless. The Department of Statistics will play the role envisaged by Mark Twain in his categorisation of lies as lies, damned lies and statistics. The Department of Chemistry will become

ous minerals, sanctions, particularly in the area of credit and finance, could make quite a dent in the economy in the medium term.

They cite the severe economic repercussions last year when Western Banks demanded the immediate payment of short-term loans. The value of the national currency plummeted and the Government was forced to declare a moratorium on the repayment of the principal on its foreign debt.

If the mere threat of sanctions was enough last year for white business executives to meet with the ANC in Zambia, those in favour of sanctions say, the actual imposition of economic measures should be able to achieve something more.

Supporters also say that, if nothing else, sanctions would symbolize moral condemnation, would give a psychological boost to blacks and undermine the confidence of the embattled authorities in Pretoria.

Says Abdul Minty, who left South Africa in 1958 and has served the British Anti-Apartheid Movement as honorary secretary since 1961, "the super exploitation will continue and there can be no real development for blacks until apartheid is completely dismantled." (Third World Network Features)

The Apartheid....

(Continued from page 3)

Explaining his veto in the June vote, the US representative told the Security Council that his country would not turn its back 'on the innocents in order to punish the guilty' by applying punitive sanctions.

Among those supporting the call for sanctions are most black leaders of South Africa, including Oliver Tambo, President of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) and the Anglican Primate Desmond Tutu, who maintain that against the enormity of the present suffering, the black people are willing to bear some more if that will mean apartheid's demise.

Also supporting the imposition of sanctions are the United Democratic Front, the largest anti-apartheid coalition, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the country's largest labour federation.

In opposition to sanctions is Zulu Chief Buthelezi who maintains that the South African regime would react to sanctions with scorched-earth policies that would make further negotiations impossible.

Some economists believe that despite South Africa's economic strength and the vast trade surplus it commands from the sale of preci-

the School of Nitrates. The Zoology Department will become the Department of Audio-visual and Tactile stimuli. The Botany Department will reflect the declining interest in trees and the increasing interest in lamp-posts. Research will be done into the possibility of growing cheaper organic lamp-posts in place of using imported cement from Sri Lanka.

Professionals and intellectuals not vying for ministerial positions in one of the NNL republics will be offered subsidised tickets to journey in a cargo steamer and be off—loaded into life boats off the coasts of Canada or Australia.

REPORTERS TOPS

With Ronnie (not Reagan) constantly complaining that the Ministry for National Security has become an economists' nightmare, the latter has decided to make amends by running a course for journalists from all over the world with a view to bringing in foreign exchange. The award contemplated is comparable with the DSC for Scientists and will be known as the DSL—Deported from Sri Lanka. The fees charged will be comparable with those charged by British Universities and will thus be barred for ambitious locals.

On payment of fees in full the candidates will be given a 6 months visa with a program, including rides in bullet proof ministerial Daimlers, several visits to the Minister for National Security, helicopter rides with SAS mercenaries etc. A journalist who fails to get deported within 6 months will be deemed to have failed the course.

Amongst journalists who have been awarded the DSL are world renowned figures such as David Selbourne and Humphrey Hawkesley.

Torture victim Seeks New Life

NALLIAH SINNRASU holds out his left hand for the doctor, displaying multiple deformities of his middle, ring and little fingers. The 33 year old Tamil has come for medical verification of his claims of having been tortured in his native Sri Lanka.

The medical report, requested by Mr. Sinnrasu's lawyer to help establish his client's refugee status, will confirm that 'this patient's physical findings are consistent with his history of injuries sustained due to physical abuse'.

Three Vancouver physicians have examined several dozen alleged tort-

ure victims in the past year. In that same period, Vancouver's Legal Services Society has handled more than 100 Tamil refugee cases, referring most of them to volunteer lawyers in the community.

Mr. Sinnrasu speaks through his interpreter and co-patriot, Frederick Seevaratnam, who claims the distinction of having been the first Tamil refugee to become a landed immigrant in Canada. Since arriving on January 1, 1982, Mr. Seevaratnam has served hundreds of fellow Tamils as guide, translator, driver and adviser. "Most of them are young men bet-

ween 30 and 35," says Mr. Seevaratnam, "and most have gone to [Toronto and Montreal to find jobs. They are all working".

Mr. Sinnrasu is janitor and dishwasher at a Vancouver restaurant, earning 3.65 Dollars an hour, but says that in Sri Lanka it was his position as a well-to-do man in his village that aroused the suspicion of authorities. "I owned land and I was in the sesame oil business, and the police thought I was giving financial aid to the Tigers" (the Tamil insurgents fighting for an autonomous Tamil homeland.)

Mr. Seevaratnam relates that Mr. Sinnrasu was first injured in July, 1981, when the army went on a rampage in the town of Jaffna, following the shooting of four policemen by the insurgents. "They came to my house", says Mr. Sinnrasu, "arrested me, and pushed me inside a truck. When they threw me into the truck, they purposefully slammed the door shut on my hand, completely breaking my fingers. They also hit me with a rifle butt, knocking out my teeth.

Then I fell unconscious, so they pitched me out on the road and left me there."

Afraid to attend a hospital for fear of being apprehended again, Mr. Sinnrasu received no medical help for the fractures of his fingers. As a result, they healed bent and twisted.

Rearrested in July, 1983, Mr. N. Sinnrasu was held prisoner in an army camp at Pallaly, where he claims he suffered torture repeatedly. "They would come for me about once a week," he says, "whenever something happened on the outside that made the soldiers angry. When they were drunk they would also open the cells and torture the prisoners. I was tied by the feet, suspended upside-down and beaten. When I asked for water, they would tell me to drink my own urine."

(According to a 1985 Amnesty International report, Mr. Sinnrasu's case is not unique. "There were frequent reports of detainees being beaten." Al found, "in several instances with plastic pipes filled with sand. Released detainees stated that they had been beaten while hanging upside-down...")

The medical report will state that on his left calf Mr. Sinnrasu bears a 10 centimetre-long scar, surrounded by several smaller scars the result, he recalls, of being burned with hot iron bars. The large scar was caused by one of the burn wounds becoming infected.

Mr. Sinnrasu, who denies any involvement with the insurgents, was held without legal proceedings for more than a year and a half, under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

"I thought I would die inside the prison. With thousands of troops around, how could I hope to escape? In the end, I began to vomit blood and grew very weak, so they called my wife to take me home. Only I had to promise to appear before them whenever I was called." He did not await such an eventuality but escaped, leaving behind his mother, wife and five children.

The prison experience has left Mr. Sinnrasu with a nervous twitch of his facial muscles. "He often feels very agitated," says his interpreter. "He has hallucinations and he is afraid for his family. 'Yet he would like to return to his native land. 'Ninety per cent of Sri Lankans want to go back, if the situation

(Continued on page 12)

More Us Nukes

The US Department of Energy, which supervises the development of advanced types of nuclear weapons, envisions a steady rise in the number of nuclear tests over the next five years, say official documents submitted at the request of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

According to the department's plans, between fiscal year 1987 which started on October 1, and fiscal year 1991, the funds for nuclear testing for military purposes will grow up 60 percent. The appropriations for the preparation and conducting of nuclear testing will rise from 500 million dollars under the budget of the current fiscal year to 850 million dollars in five years' time.

This massive programme envisions the tests of laser weapons, nuclear-pumped X-ray weapons and other weaponry that is being developed under the strategic defence initiative plans, and also several new types of missile warheads and bombs.

Giving a written reply to a question from Senator Edward Kennedy, a Member of the Armed Services Committee, the Energy Department said that the testing and production of nuclear weapons could be expected to continue into the 21st century.

This stand clearly shows why Washington continues to oppose a total nuclear test ban. The renunciation of nuclear testing even for a short period of time does not fit into the plans of the administration.

The "WASHINGTON POST", reporting on the nuclear test programme

planned by the US Department of Energy, says that, since the Soviet Union introduced its unilateral moratorium in August last year, the United States has carried out 21 tests at the Nevada test site.

—TASS

Soft Drinks: Kalladi Brand

The case of Chelliah Mohandas of Batticaloa was taken up before High Court Judge, Wimal Wickremasuriya on 8th October, 1986.

He is being charged under the Prevention of Terrorism Act for failure to give information regarding the whereabouts of 'terrorists' and 'robberies' at the Fisheries Corporation.

Placed in the witness box by his Defence Counsel, Kumar Ponnambalam, Mohanadas stated that he was arrested by the Commandos and CBI while at his residence on 6th March, 85 and taken to the Kallady camp.

There he was hung head over heels and chillie powder applied to his eyes, lighted torch applied to his genitals and knees hit with rods.

This torture was continued the following day also. As he could not bear this torture, he was forced to admit the charges to which he was not responsible. For two days he was not given any food and when he asked for a drink of water, he was brought urine from the toilet.

To a question put to him by the trial judge he stated that he was at Kallady camp for nearly 1½ months and later transferred to the Batticaloa Police Station. It was only on

the 18th that he signed the affidavit and that too because of the inflicted torture. He further mentioned that because of the torture his eye sight had diminished and he had lost the use of his legs. The judge directed that he be sent before a Doctor.

After recording his evidence, the Defence Counsel requested that he wished to cross-examine the prosecution witnesses. The judge then fixed further hearing for 18th November.

A Handsome Bouquet

Mr. Ian Thomas, Examiner in Music and Speech of the Trinity College of Music, London, has observed that the students from Jaffna have been extremely well-prepared so that in the Examination they have done well.

Mr. Thomas has also given lie to a prevalent idea that the Trinity College of Music was a 'Girls' Examination.' The observation of the Examiner is a handsome tribute to our students, both boys and girls and also an encouragement to the parents and teachers who have prepared their 'charges' well for Examination in spite of the prevalent tensions - shells and bombs included.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

MASSIVE CROWDS WEEP FOR VICTOR

The body of Victor, the Area Commander of the LTTE at Mannar, who was killed in a confrontation between the Tigers and security forces on the 11th, was brought to Jaffna on the evening of the 13th.

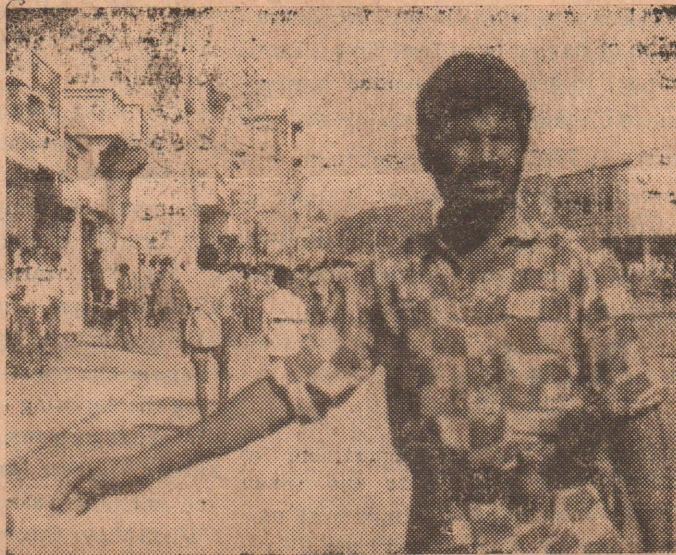
His body was lay in state at St. Mary's Cathedral, Jaffna where a Requiem Mass was sung. There was a massive crowd present to pay their last respects. Elders and young ones thronged the precincts of the church which was crowded to full capacity. Frequent appeals had to be made through the public address system to ensure order.

The whole atmosphere was charged with emotion and there was weeping and mourning all around, both from the young and the old. Jaffna did not see the likes of it before.

Later, the body was taken to Point-Pedro via Atchuvely, Uduppiddy, Valvettiturai, Polikandy and Thikkam. All along the route massive crowds pressed their way to have a glimpse of the body.

At Point Pedro, the Point Pedro Traders' Association erected a stage

decorated with flowers, flower-pots and thornas. The coffin containing the body in tiger-uniform was kept for half an hour for the people to pay homage. Earlier a guard-of-honour was presented by the girls of the area enroute to the site and a band troupe played a pensive tune led the motorcade. Flowers were showered on the coffin while black flags fluttered in the hands of almost everyone. Several wreaths and large garlands of jasmine rose and temple flowers were placed on the body. Some men and women young and old wept as they paid their homage.



On Monday the 13th there was a mass meeting at Point Pedro organised by the Traders' Association to mourn the death of Victor. Several speakers including Christian, Hindu and Muslim dignitaries spoke. Religious hymns, Christian, Hindu and Muslim were sung by different volunteer groups.

A 21 gun salute was given by the LTTE armed group. Point Pedro never witnessed such a massive crowd in its history and it is estimated that over 20,000 participated in the homage.

Due to lack of time the body was removed amidst protests by more than three-fourth's of the crowd who could not get a glimpse of the body. In spite of a spick and span arrangement by the Point Pedro Traders' Association there was near chaos as the body was removed.

The motorcade had to move at snail's pace as both sides of the road was flanked by massive crowds enroute to Nelliady where there was a halt for a few minutes. The people had a view of the body from the roadside. The motorcade left for Mannar the birthplace of Victor despite the curfew.

A 'Death bed' request

An 86 year-old mother, Mrs. Aparanam Salomaipillai has appealed to His Excellency the President to permit her to see her son Fr. Aparanam Singarayer who is at Welikade, before her death.

UNMASK YOURSELVES

A Literary Gang of Four comprising the Pungudutivu Art and Literary Friends Association, Puthusukai, Alaveddy Gnarayiru Padapallikkal Vaddam and Alai Elakkiya Vaddam - have issued a leaflet asking the Progressive Writer's Association to unmask them-

Says Gang Of Four

selves and come out with a clear stand on the National Question.

The leaflet also calls into question the earlier role played by this Writers' Association on the National Question.

If states finally that this so called Progressive Writers' Association has been more than a willing accomplice of Sinhala Chauvinism in the past.

Yesterday (17th October), a Writers Synposium organised by the Sri Lanka Progressive Writers' Association, was held at Navalar Hall, Nallur.

Roped, Dragged

Two brothers Kandasamy and Tharmalingam of Kokuthoduvai had come as refugees to Kumulamunai. Last week they had gone to fetch their cattle. The security forces who were in ambush opened fire and killed the younger brother Tharmalingam on the spot.

The elder one Kandasamy was half dead was tied to an army vehicle by a rope and dragged along the road. The body was so lacerated by this dragging that he succumbed to these multiple injuries of dragging and shooting.

The relatives of the dead brothers later interred their bodies on the 10th October.

Torture...

(Continued from page 11)

ever settles down back home," says Mr. Seevaratnam.

Mr. Seevaratnam responds with a sigh when the two are asked how they feel toward the Sinhalese, the majority ethnic group in Sri Lanka, whose army has been accused of the anti-Tamil excesses. "We have no detestation toward the Sinhalese, but the way they are killing us now, we cannot live with them."

To illustrate, Mr. Seevaratnam holds up a page of color photographs in a Tamil newspaper, purporting to show Tamils massacred by Sinhalese.

The 48-year-old Mr. Seevaratnam, who was, by his own account a wealthy man and a prominent Tamil politician in Sri Lanka, now works as attendant at a Vancouver parking lot and runs an office cleaning service on the side. "I don't worry about that," he smiles, "the dignity of labor is the answer. I don't care what I do. But if I could, I would go back, too."

(Courtesy of "The Globe and Mail", August 29, 1986)

Army Out To Kill Kittu?

At a Press Conference held by the LTTE on 16th October, it was revealed that Selvabala Subramaniam (19) was apprehended by the LTTE with a Pakistan-made hand grenade. TNT- HE 36- Mk-1 (1984/1986) which was meant to explode within 3 seconds after removal of the clip.

Investigations reveal that he was instigated to kill 'Kittu' the local commander of the LTTE. He was promised a handsome reward of one lakh if successful. There were also others of the LTTE on the 'hit list' including Prabhakaran, the leader of the LTTE on whose head, handsome lucrative prospects abroad, were held out. Selva had already received Rs. 21,000 from the Security Forces.

It was further stated that he had full access to the Army High Command both at Palaly and the Jaffna Fort. He was to give information about the movements of the militants, their camps, their ammunition, and weapons and numbers of vehicles used by them.

Selvabala Subramaniam was born on 15th August, 1967 and is from Ariyalai. He is an old boy of Jaffna Central College and passed the G.C.E. (O.L) and was preparing for the Preliminary Engineering Science Course at the Jaffna Tech. "Financial difficulties, a frustrated love affair and family misunderstanding forced me to take this dubious road", confessed Selvabala.