

# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 4

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7 th December 1985

## MASSACRE TALLY

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(See Page 8)

# COLOMBO-7 TAMILS PLEASE WAKE UP

By the term 'Colombo 7 Tamils' we refer to all those well-to-do members of the Tamil community who still live in the South but who have no use for the North.

That quite a number of them reside in the posh Cinnamon Gardens area is not the basis for our appellation.

What we are trying to do is to draw a distinction between those Tamils in the South who care for their 'country cousins' and those who don't.

The North has been burning for nearly a decade. How many 'Colombo 7 Tamils' had bothered about it all—until the July 1983 Holocaust?

Even then, many of those directly affected ran away to foreign climes, while the others, after the situation settled down, relapsed into their own little world in which they had been living happily—and hope to live happily in the future too.

Most of them have only scorn—and curses—for the militant groups who by their daring have brought on new dignity and self-respect for the Tamil people.

"Why do these fellows want to do all these mad things and cause trouble to us?" is a typical reaction of the 'Colombo 7 Tamils' to developments in the North.

Few of them have bothered to analyse what has brought the North and with it the whole of Sri Lanka, to the brink.

If the 'Colombo 7 Tamils'—professionals, businessmen, industrialists, financiers—had cared enough earlier, by taking a keener interest in the people in the North, may be the present situation could have been averted.

Even now, if they move in the correct direction, they could do much to defuse what is an explosive situation.

There are many 'Colombo 7 Tamils' with access to the top people in the Government right up to President Jayewardene.

How many of them have bothered to make use of these contacts to persuade the Government to desist from its fiery course, which is leading Sri Lanka to NO MAN'S LAND, and adopt a sensible approach to the National Question?

They would prefer to leave everything to the Tamil political leaders; most of them have also run away!

Take the question of the refugees, a pitiable by-product of the continuing ethnic violence.

There are over 100,000 of them scattered in make-shift camps in the North, undergoing untold suffering.

How many 'Colombo 7 Tamils' have taken a hand in providing relief?

Many of them have contributed to the National Defence Fund, the

majority of them anonymously, of course.

But, even anonymously, how many of them have contributed to the various organisations engaged in relief work in the North?

How many of them, for instance, have contributed to the SATURDAY REVIEW Refugee Relief Fund?

How many of them are subscribers of the SATURDAY REVIEW, the only newspaper in Sri Lanka which is espousing the Tamil cause?

"The SATURDAY REVIEW? Never heard of it", some of them might even say, as they scan the advertisements in the state-controlled 'Daily News' to see what more they could add the consumer junk that is already choking their homes.

Aiyah, this simply won't do. It is time 'Colombo 7 Tamils' woke up to the reality that their own future is inextricably linked to that of their folk in the North. There is no way of getting out of it.

So, damn it, do something, individually and collectively, before it is too late.

## RED THREAT OR RED HERRING?

The Government, acting under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, has begun to round up persons in the South who, it seems to believe, are involved in a plot with Tamil militant groups to topple it.

Over a hundred arrests have been made so far. Most of them are current or former members of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna or the Communist Party of Sri Lanka (Moscow wing).

To us, it appears that the Government is building up a case to show the world that what it is up against is not an ethnic problem but a communist threat.

It tried this after the July 1983 Holocaust also, by proscribing the JVP and the CP, implying that they were behind the mayhem, whereas all the evidence pointed in a different direction—at ele-

ments within the Government itself!

Among those under arrest are Indika Gunawardena, formerly of the CP and Lionel Bopage, former Deputy leader of the JVP.

## NO PROPOSALS

The Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF) has denied any chances to submit proposals on the Devolution of power within the Unitary state of Sri Lanka, according to reports from Madras.

The TULF, it is reported to have submitted a proposal to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and President Jayewardene are expected to discuss the proposals in Dacca on 7th December at their 'mini summit'.

Release ALL Political detenus in Sri Lanka jails



## Saturday Review

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Dr. (Mrs.) Sam Abraham	2889.00
Mr. S. Tharmalingam	200.00
Anonymous	22.00

The above contributions are acknowledged with thanks.

## M.A.R.R. DAY

The Mannar Association for Relief and Rehabilitation (M. A. R. R.) observed 21st November as "MARR DAY 1985," to collect funds to meet the needs of about 3500 refugees who have been temporarily settled in three camps in the district.

MAAR volunteers, numbering more than 1000, approached benefactors in schools, offices and public places to sell specially made, polythene bags imprinted with the slogan JOIN THE MARR TO HELP THE NEEDY.

The District Minister of Mannar, the Government Agent, the Bishop of Mannar and the Incumbent of the Buddhist Vihare, Mannar, bought the first batch of badges.

## MOBILISATION OF SUPPLEMENTARY FORCES BILL

# Making Cannon-Fodder Of Youth

Yet another piece of anti-democratic and reactionary legislation enters the Statute Book of this country with the hurried passage of the Mobilisation of Supplementary Forces Bill in Parliament last month.

This law will make it compulsory for Sri Lankans of both sexes who are above 18 years of age to enlist themselves in the proposed National Reserve when required to do so by government. Failure to enlist in the Reserve when called upon to do so will constitute an offence punishable with a 4 year term of rigorous imprisonment. Since the youths constitute the great majority of the population of this country, it is they who will mostly be affected by this law.

The Minister of Education, Youth Affairs and Employment in presenting the Bill without the Opposition being present said the government was facing a crisis situation and that it was necessary to bring new legislation and establish new organisations. ('Island' of 11-10-85). He was obviously referring to the situations in the North and East. Therefore, it must be understood that the compulsory conscription contemplated by this legislation is purportedly for the purpose of fighting the militant youth in those areas. This means the government either does not believe in or has admittedly failed to bring about a political solution to the National Question.

### COMPULSION

The element of compulsion in the legislation shows that the government knows it cannot induce the youths in the South in large numbers even by boosting Sinhala chauvinism to voluntarily fight against the militant youths in the North and East. But it cannot be merely to fight these Tamil militants that the government has passed this legislation providing for compulsory conscription. There are other reasons that are even more sinister.

The National Security Minister has gone on record as saying as far back as in July that "with the steady building up of security forces over the last eighteen months, they were more superior to all the terrorist groups put together" (Island - 30.9.85). It was reported in the Press earlier that the Cabinet decided to raise a National Auxiliary Force of 10,000 men and 100 officers to meet defence requirements in the North and East (Sun of 8.8.85). Speaking of a military might that is "best equipped today", the National Defence Minister has said that "What the terrorists do not realise is that the State is now fully prepared for any contingency"

(ibid). He has also said that a Special Task Force has been set up and a number of new units such as the National Auxiliary Force established.

It was reported in the local press that according to the 'Madras Hindu', a large number of army officers and soldiers from Sri Lanka were to receive training in anti-insurgency and guerilla warfare in Pakistan from the second week of August this year (Sun of 30.7.85). We already know about the existence of the Mossad-trained commando unit of the police. Besides the government was also reported to have decided to give a training in the Special Task Force or the commando unit to all police officers. The Commando unit alone was said to be confined to a sizeable 1,300 (Island of 27.10.85).

by

H. A. Seneviratne

Above all, President Jayewardene in a recent BBC interview is reported to have said that there were only about 10,000 'terrorists' in the Northern and Eastern Provinces and the number actually armed was "about half that". Asked how long he will take to defeat them he has said "Well I think, one year the most" (Island 27.10.85).

If what the government has about its ability to fight the Tamil militants is true, there is no need to subject the entire population above 18 years to compulsory conscription for this purpose. There is no need for it even if what the government says is not true.

The fact is that everything that is reactionary and oppressive is introduced as something necessary to protect the majority Sinhalese from the minority Tamils. The gravity of the present political crisis within the deeper economic crisis with its hidden dangers to the system has made the government desperate. So are the imperialist advisers to this government.

### INEVITABLE DOOM

The Opposition members of Parliament before they walked out in protest against the great hurry to get the Mobilisation of Supplementary Forces Bill through, had said that they could not understand this haste on the part of the government. But the reason for the haste lies in the very nature of this piece of legislation. The law itself

and the manner in which it was passed is enough proof of the fact that here is a government that is prepared to do anything — literally anything — to save itself from inevitable doom.

The government is visibly frightened of the silent and leaderless millions who suffer and bide their time under the unbearable stress of ever worsening economic conditions. The government cannot trust them. Under a treacherous leadership it would have been easier to trust them than when they were leaderless. The government has to aim at maiming and decimating the masses by making them fight each other. This has to be done before it is too late for the government. The Mobilisation and Supplementary Forces Act is its *modus operandi*.

Under this legislation compulsory conscription will not be to the existing Armed Forces but to para-military Forces to be set up separately. These forces, unlike the armed forces, can be used under the Act not only against the workers and peasants irrespective of their race but against any section of the masses whose strikes or protests against any injustice could be construed as 'civil disobedience'. The protesters themselves could be conscripted partly or wholly!

This will mean that the youth of this country who should play a vital role in fighting this government will fight each other on pain of a four year term of rigorous imprisonment, if they refuse to do so. That is how they would be subdued. Of course, in the event of any situation that cannot be contained in this way still the Armed Forces are there! Or so they think.

The people of this country should realise the gravity of the situation awaiting them. The youth who are to be made cannon-fodder should in particular unite irrespective of communal or other differences to force the government to withdraw this sinister piece of legislation.

## HUMAN RIGHTS DAY

The Exhibition and Seminar of the Movement for Inter Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE) Northern branch which was scheduled for 9th December at Trimmer Hall, has now been fixed for 12th December, 1985 at the YMCA Hall, Chundikuli, Jaffna at 11.30 a.m. This is to mark International Human Rights Day and will be presided over by Rev. Fr. Jeyaseelan. Among the speakers will be Prof. K. Sivathamby and Prof. K. Nesiah.



# ALLEN ABRAHAM — FIRST LANKAN FRAS

The writer of this article—the Principal of Jaffna College—suggests that a postage stamp be issued in honour of Allen Abraham — the first Sri Lankan to be admitted as a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society.

There is a renewed interest in Professor Allen Abraham and his studies in Astronomy with the reappearance of Halley's Comet during the course of this year. Jaffna College hopes to produce a publication giving more information in historical perspective of Allen Abraham as a man, an outstanding teacher of Mathematics, an Astronomer, a Tamil scholar and a Christian Layman.

A publication of the Royal Astronomical Society giving a list of Fellows and Associates published in February, 1921 has the name Allen Abraham, B.A., Professor of Mathematics, Jaffna College, Vaddukoddai, Ceylon first on the list, since the list is in alphabetical order. On scrutinising the document I find that there were about 759 Fellows in 1921 and Professor Allen Abraham was the first native Ceylonese to be admitted as a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society on the 12th of January, 1912. There was one other person who was admitted to the Fellowship from Ceylon before Professor Abraham on 11-6-1909 and he was an Englishman Allec Joscelyn Bamford, B.A., Associate Astronomer for the Government of Ceylon, Observatory, Colombo, Ceylon. The same document reveals that Professor Allen Abraham was the 8th native Asian to be admitted to the Fellowship — which includes six from India and one from Japan. Taking into consideration all the other Fellows from Asia he was the 18th to obtain the Fellowship with seven Englishmen from India, and one each from Japan, Federated Malay States and Ceylon. But what is most interesting is that most of the others who were admitted as Fellows of the Royal Astronomical Society were all working in established institutions or observatories with many facilities available for scanning the skies and for making appropriate records, but Allen Abraham was Subramaniam Ambalavanar made his observations with a very small telescope (brought in probably by a missionary astronomer from the USA, in the early 19th century) aided also by observations of the naked eye with the help of his students and colleagues on palmyrah tree trunks, at Karaitivu, Jaffna.

The following quotation from one of the unpublished lecture notes of Professor Allen Abraham

written in the early part of this century entitled *The Place of Astronomy in the Elementary School Education* throws some light on the remarkable observatory skill of the learned astronomer—

“Some people think that the telescope and other astronomical instruments are indispensable for the

tended field and in a few moments it surveys the whole course of the sky. In giving a grasp of the whole field showing the relation and connection of the different parts, it is superior to the telescope. In addition to the unaided eye, the oldest astronomical instrument, there are a few simple appliances of great value for beginners. The plumbline,

the boys and girls be made to find the latitude of the school building by finding the elevation of the pole star by the protractor or by measuring the height of the gnomon and the length of its shadow or if they were made to determine the arrow (?) of the clock from a reading of the sundial or by noting the transit of a star across the plumbline. The ancients had no astronomical instruments such as we have. They did much by the simplest of all astronomical instruments, the gnomon. Much can be done with it in an elementary school.

There are several more published and unpublished articles of Professor Abraham which will be compiled into a book very soon adding to the many invaluable publications of Jaffna College.

by

A. Kadirgamar

study of Astronomy. This is a wrong notion. The human eye is the astronomical instrument provided by nature. How great were its instruments before the invention of the telescope. Quick as thought, in a glance it commands a widely ex-

the protractor, the gnomon and the sundial belong to this class of simple instruments. They would put so much meaning into the subjects connected with them. A flood of light would be poured upon some of the dark places of Geography, if

## WELL DONE, RONNIE!

Mr. Ronnie de Mel holds the All-Sri Lanka record as the Minister of Finance who has presented the most number of national Budgets. This year's was his ninth performance.

The runners-up position is shared by three politicians — President Jayewardene (of the 1953 Hartal Budget fame), the late Mr. U. B. Wanninayake and the late Dr. N. M. Perera, with six Budgets each.

I, too, hold a record of sorts relating to Budgets. Since 1947, I had been in Parliament every time (except once) when the Budget was presented, first as an interested student visitor to the public gallery and from 1956 as a journalist in the Press gallery.

The exception was this year. I could not be present because of my commitments in Jaffna.

I hear from colleagues that Ronnie was his brilliant best this year, particularly when he bashed the Food Commissioner.

N. M. introduced the system of announcing price hikes not with the Budget, as was the practice up to 1970, but several days or weeks earlier, by Gazette notification. Thereby, much of the sting was taken out of the Budget.

Ronnie, known as a great admirer of N. M., had generally followed this practice until recently.

This time, too, there were a number of pre-Budget price increases, while others came with the Budget and many more are likely to follow, judging by the state of the Government's finances.

The unknowing public, going by past experience, believed that the fresh burdens placed on them through the increases was all the work of Ronnie. You cannot blame them.

But an agitated Ronnie told Parliament that the main price increases, those of rice, flour and sugar, had nothing to do with his Budget. “Anyone could go through the Budget with a fine comb and see for himself,” he said.

by

Gamini Navaratne

The culprit, according to him, was the Food Commissioner, who had been given a directive by the Government about ten months ago to operate on a “no profit, no loss” basis but he had bided his time and announced the increases just before Budget Day, 13th November!

To make it more embarrassing for Ronnie, the Co-operative Wholesale Establishment upped the price of dhal about a week earlier!

Okay, okay, but the intriguing question is why did not Ronnie take up the ‘inaction’ of the Food Commissioner at Cabinet level all these days? Why?

As Minister of Finance, it was his duty to have raised it because the increases in question affect his budgetary calculations.

Or did he raise the matter but his Cabinet colleagues took no notice? This will be very hard to believe.

Whatever it is, it was unfair for Ronnie to have attacked a person who is not in the House under cover of parliamentary privilege.

The Budget itself has given much to the rich but little to the poor, as with his past Budgets. This is all in line with the political and economic philosophy of the United National Party.

The abolition of the gift tax—particularly will help those with black money—undeclared, often ill-gotten wealth—garnered under the ‘open economy’ to ‘launder’ it.

The Ronnie I like is the Ronnie who was in the opposition. I remember how he tore to shreds the Budget speech of the late Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike in 1966! Then he was a Socialist whose heart beat for the masses. He dismissed F. D. B.'s Budget as an out and out capitalist one.

His speech on that occasion is worth reading and re-reading. How he railed against the private sector, multinationals, et al!

But later he joined the United National Party and has continued to present capitalist Budgets himself year after year.

If another Hartal situation develops—the simmering discontent in the South over rice and curry issues could boil over when the price increases begin to bite—well, the scapegoat is there!



## A REPLY TO JEHAN PERERA

It would seem uncharitable to take to task in the columns of of the SATURDAY REVIEW, a liberal Sinhalese writer who publicly acknowledges the alienation of the Tamils from the Sri Lankan polity and calls for a "governmental recognition of Tamil rights". But liberal intentions are not synonymous with intellectual clarity or in-depth understanding of Sri Lanka's national phenomenon. Sometimes expressions of such intentions become nothing more than journalistic balderdash.

According to Jehan Perera (SR, 26th October) there is a certain 'concept' of nation in the western political tradition and a certain different concept of nation in the East European tradition and since Sri Lanka is a democracy (sic) belonging to the Western tradition the Tamils-speaking people cannot be granted the status of a 'nation'. But he misses the most vital element, almost a self-sustaining element in the whole concept of nationhood. It is the consciousness of and expression of that consciousness by the people concerned that matters. The nation can hardly be viewed as the conferment of a status on a people by an outside agency.

What is the nation? Hugh Seton Watson once offered a seemingly simple answer: 'Many people have tried to find a definition but it seems to me, after a good deal of thought, that all that we can say is, that a nation exists when an active and fairly numerous section of its members are convinced that it exists. Not external objective characteristics, but subjective conviction is the decisive factor..... Note that I do not even say, 'when the members believe, but when a section of its members believe'.

It is the Tamil speaking people who determine that they are a nation. To them it does not matter whether the Jayewardene brothers and the UNP government belong to the western political tradition, East European political tradition or no democratic political tradition at all! Fifty years ago the Tamils did not consider themselves a nation. A hundred years ago they would not have considered themselves a nation. To-day they consider themselves a nation. The periodisation will be appreciated by any one who knows what nationalism is all about.

### EMERGENCE

The emergence of nations has taken place under different historical circumstances. The circumstances were created, albeit, unevenly, in different places at different times, in different ethnocultural matric-

es by the global expansion of the capitalist mode of production or what some would prefer to describe as world-wide industrialisation. Without it the Sinhalese and the Tamils would not have acquired their present consciousness or evolved into nations. Nationalism is at once universal and particularistic. Hence Sinhala nationalism, Tamil nationalism, Welsh nationalism, Polish nationalism etc.—a universal phenomenon with particularising adjectives. The circumstances in which nations emerged in Western Europe, in Central and Eastern Europe, North and South America, Africa and Asia, considerably differ among themselves. The national phenomena of South Asian countries bear many similarities and are comparable. One cannot dump USA, India, Nigeria all in one academic basket and pull out a cap to fit Sri Lanka.

# NATIONS, NATIONALITIES, TRADITIONAL HOMELANDS

There is, however, a problem of terminology in dealing with different situations or manifestations of the phenomena of nationalism. But labels which are convenient for academic purposes should not be foisted on a people, with constitutional implications. There are nations which identify themselves with a state and states without corresponding nations. There are nations who do not have their own states, or who may aspire to have their own states, and

way attenuated by describing the Sinhalese—a nationality and not a nation? Or will the Tamil-speaking people be rendered less resistive merely because they are granted the status of a nationality and not a nation?

### STATE-LESS NATIONS

Two or more nations may decide to live under a single state with appropriate constitutional arrangements. It is the nation which perceives itself to be the victim of oppression and discrimination, which generally seeks to secede from the oppressor state and establish a state of its own. The outcome of such a national liberation venture is often, if not always, determined by the relative strength of the two sides and the role of outside forces. The outcome may be a prolonged impasse.

But there is no general law, as Jehan Perera would appear to claim, when he says that "at this time in world history the realities of International politics have established that the largest (such) unit is the country". On the contrary, it may well be argued that it is the reality of nation-states which determine course of the international politics. The relationships may well be described as dialectical! The nation-states have been the

generate an adequate national income. In other words, "at this time in world history", nations, which do not have states of their own and which are victims of persistent discrimination and oppression, are less likely to be inhibited by considerations of size or economic viability in deciding to work towards the establishment of separate states.

How do nation-states against whom the separatist demands are raised, deal with such demands and the movements which give rise to them? I will confine myself to the so-called two traditions referred to by Jehan Perera. One cannot speak of the Western political tradition and of India in relation to the national question and fail to mention such relevant features of these polities as the adherence to the principle of secularism, avoidance of linguistic chauvinism, federal form of government, entrenchment of fundamental rights and their enforcement through an independent judiciary, bicameral legislature, rule of law etc. It is not necessary to discuss here the various steps taken by successive Indian governments to solve the internal aspects of India's national question from the setting up of the States Reorganisation by Nehru to the resolution of the Punjab problem by Rajiv Gandhi. Unlike the Soulbury Constitution and the two Republican Constitutions of Sri Lanka, the Indian Constitution was drafted, enacted and adopted with democratic consensus. Incidentally the principle of the right of self-determination is not alien to Western political tradition. Additional 'precedents' may yet emanate if Tom Nairn's sensational theses are proved right and if there is a further 'break-up of Britain'.

### A TRAGEDY

In discussing the so-called East European political tradition, Jehan Perera has turned Lenin's theory of nationalism on its head. Perera speaks of "a tradition in which a nation is not seen politically as such..." If one is speaking of a tradition one has to include the professed principles as well as the practice of honouring them even if it be in the breach. Trotsky hailed Lenin's legacy on the national question as one of the eternal treasures of mankind. It is a tragedy that his principles are being reneged by the so-called Marxist States, while the so-called non-Marxist States are throwing away the (nationalist) baby with the (Marxist) bath water. Lenin never countenanced eternal nationalism as such. But in this epoch of

(Continued on page 7)

by Amali

such groups are conveniently called nationalities. Some scholars view the distinction between the two as ambivalent and unclear and prefer the use of a common term "national minorities". But a truly 'national state' remains the ideal, an "unobtainable symbiosis between a complete nation and a complete state". There is a Sri Lankan State. Where is the Sri Lanka nation? Does one create a Sri Lankan nation by describing the Sinhalese and Tamils as nationalities as opposed to nations? Will the Sinhala hegemony over the Sri Lankan State by in any

building blocks of the present international system. As a result of the internationalisation of capital, of industry and division of labour, the old criterion of economic viability for individual nation-states has become redundant. This is the era of small states and mini-nationalisms, and nation-states can survive without self-sufficient resources, without even a national market, merely by occupying, as Eric Hobsbawm has pointed out, "a strategic position somewhere along the complex circuits of an integrated world economy" and exploiting it to



## SRI LANKA TAMILS: LEGITIMATE EXPECTATIONS-6

## ERA OF REPRESSION BEGINS

(Continued from last issue)

The police action was in keeping with the increasingly belligerent attitude of the Sinhala government. But it served to unite the Tamils of Sri Lanka with their brothers and sisters from many lands, who bore witness to the brutality of the police attack in January 1974 and Era Janarthanam and many others who were present at the Fourth International Conference of Tamil Studies, continue to lend support for the cause of the Tamils of Sri Lanka even today. It also served to solidify opinion amongst thousands of Tamil youth that their future lay in obtaining freedom — at least from the Sinhala army and the Sinhala police force.

## TAMIL MILITANCY

The years after 1974, witnessed the consequences of the failure of peaceful protest and parliamentary agitation to secure a fair deal for the Tamil people. It witnessed the rise of sporadic violence against the state and its perceived agents by isolated groups of Tamil Youths. The response of the Sinhala government was one of repression and the era of detention without trial and questioning under torture began. It was a repression which increased the reactive violence and did not quell it.

"If Sri Lanka is not to experience communal violence or terrorism and counter terror on a scale which would invite comparison with Northern Ireland or Cyprus, there will have to be more readiness for compromise and moderation than has yet been shown. Is it too late for an attempt to evolve an inter communal approach to the language question and the related matters of education and employment? It would be a pity of Sri Lanka's leadership waited for bombs to explode, and for the prisons to fill up again before conceding that the Tamils need reassurance that they have a place in the future of the Island." (Walter Schwarz: *Minority Rights Group Report on Tamils of Sri Lanka*, 1975) The words of Walter Schwarz soon proved to be prophetic.

These were the events that led to the formation of the Tamil United Liberation Front in 1976 with the Federal Party as its leading partner and the Vaddukoddai resolution of 1976, demanding the creation of a separate state for the Tamils of Sri Lanka.

The demand for a separate state came after more than 25 years of negotiation: it came after more than 25 years of refusal on the part of successive Sinhala governments to share power with the Tamil people within the framework of a federal constitution: it came 17 years after Tarzie Vittachi had remarked after the attacks on Tamil civilians in 1958:

"What are we left with? A nation in ruins, some grim lessons which we cannot afford to forget and a momentous question: Have the Sinhalese and Tamils reached the parting of ways?" (Tarzie Vittachi — *Emergency 1958*, Deutsch, London 1958).

The TULF contested the general elections of 1977 on the basis of setting up a separate state of Eelam and it obtained the support of large sections of the Tamil people in the North and East of Sri Lanka.

by

N. Satyendra

## UNP MANIFESTO

At the same 1977 general elections, it appeared that President Jayewardene's United National Party had acquired some understanding of the issues involved — its manifesto declared:

"The United National Party accepts the position that there are numerous problems confronting the Tamil speaking people. The lack of a solution to their problems has made the Tamil speaking people support even a movement for the creation of a separate state. In the interest of a national integration and unity so necessary for the economic development of the whole country, the Party feels such problems should be solved without loss of time. The party when it comes to power will take all possible steps to remedy their grievances in such field as:

- 1) Education, 2) Colonisation,
- 3) Use of Tamil Language, 4) employment in Public and Semi-Public Corporations. We shall summon an All-Party Conference as stated earlier and implement its decisions."

Many Tamils resident in the South of Sri Lanka, voted for the United National Party and helped President Jayewardene to win more than four fifths of the seats in the legislature and defeat Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP).

Soon after the new Government assumed duties in July 1977, an incident between certain members of security forces and some Tamils in a carnival in Jaffna sparked off widespread violence against Tamils, both in Jaffna and elsewhere.

"...The trouble began in Jaffna, capital of the Northern province, when Sinhala policemen, believed to have been loyal to the defeated Sri Lanka Freedom Party of Mrs. Bandaranaike, acted provocatively by bursting into a Tamil carnival. In the violent altercation that followed the police opened fire and four people were killed. A wave of rioting followed, spreading quickly to the south. Among 1,500 people arrested were several well known Sinhalese extremists, accused of instigating violence against Tamils. Martin Wollacott reported in the

Guardian from Sri Lanka (27 August 1977): 'It looks very much as if disgruntled Freedom Party leaders in many places saw an opportunity to embarrass the government and with the collusion of some Freedom Party police appointees and of local gangsters, organised and encouraged the attacks on the Tamils.' (Walter Schwarz: *Tamils of Sri Lanka*, Minority Rights Group 1983).

And in 1977, for the first time, the attacks were directed not only against Tamils from the North and East of Sri Lanka, but also against Tamils on the plantations. More than 14,000 Tamils entered refugee camps and more than 2000 Tamil families of southern origin, sought permanent sanctuary in the traditional home lands of the Tamils in the north and east. These were events which served to increase the togetherness between the Tamils of the North and the East and the Tamils who worked on the plantations. The government appointed a commission to investigate the incidents and this helped to assuage feelings to some extent, although, in the event, the recommendation of the Commission that compensation be paid to the victims, was not carried out.

In 1978, the Sri Lankan constitution was amended and both Sinhala and Tamil were declared 'national languages'. The language provisions in the new Constitution went further than the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact of 1956 and

the Dudley Senanayake — Chelvanayakam agreement of 1965. And this was not without an answering response from amongst the Tamil people:

"...Clearly there were no instant solutions for the accumulated problems of centuries. But at least, the President of this country has taken an initial first step in endeavouring to bring our peoples together...Solutions will have to be worked out and balances will have to be struck in the process of a working partnership. Let us not cooperate out of fear or compulsion. On the other hand let us not fear the prospect of working together to find some answers at least to the problems that all of us face in Sri Lanka... In so far as the Sinhala community is concerned, I believe that more and more of them have begun to realise that separation can come in this country only by the acts of the Sinhala community alone, acts which make it impossible for any self-respecting Tamil to be a part of Sri Lanka and to publicly acknowledge his loyalty to this country...The Sinhala community, by virtue of the very fact that it is the majority community, carries the heavy responsibility of securing a climate where the members of the minority community are encouraged to live with self respect, where they are encouraged and given confidence to found their families, plan their future and look upon Sri Lanka as their motherland. Justice is not only a matter of enacting suitable laws. Where liberty and justice die in the hearts of men, no law and no constitution can be of any avail... The future then lies in our own hands. The people of Sri Lanka have in their own hands the power to shape that future and in the final analysis everything depends on what they themselves want to do..." (N. Satyendra: *Ceylon Daily News*, 13th April 1979).

But despite its election pledges the government failed to right the unfairness of the 'standardisation' process which excluded some of the brightest Tamil students from Universities and sent them to join the swelling ranks of the militant Tamil political groups.

And in July 1979, the Prevention of Terrorism Act was enacted to curb the rising acts of militancy and violence by young Tamils in their traditional homelands in the North and East. It was originally intended to be in operation for one year, but later extended for further periods and in 1982 it became a permanent enactment. It was an Act which conferred on state authorities draconian powers of detention and investigative interrogation. It was a harsh Act which was harshly implemented.

(To be continued)



# THE SOUTH AFRICAN PARALLEL

Editor

## SATURDAY REVIEW

A furore is sought to be created over remarks made by Mr. John Howard, the Leader of the Opposition in the Australian Parliament comparing Sri Lanka to South Africa. Before this could die down, another leader of international eminence, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, has done the same thing by putting Sri Lanka and South Africa on the same plane, in a speech to the Lok Sabha recently. Responsible leaders like Howard and Gandhi weigh every word of what they say in public, especially when it is not complimentary of another country. Their words, therefore, cannot be far from the truth.

But in my opinion such comparison is only an understatement of reality. No doubt there is discrimination in South Africa but definitely less death and destruction than in Sri Lanka. For example, the Blacks cannot sit in the park benches reserved for whites but only in those reserved for negroes. There are other forms of discrimination too. But in Sri Lanka the Sinhalese and Tamils are supposed to be equal before the law but killing goes on merrily as if on a daily basis. I do not think that the number of negroes killed in South Africa which is a vast country can in any way approach the figures in Sri Lanka, the little Island of ours.

My humble opinion is that under present circumstances Sri Lanka can be compared to only one country i.e. Nazi Germany of Hitler and Goebbels who murdered people only because they were Jews. Can anyone say that such a situation does not exist in Sri Lanka where racist killing is the order of the day? If Sri Lanka does not improve her much-tarnished image quickly, I am afraid more world leaders are going to say in public what they have been feeling privately all these days.

R. L. Thevathasan

Chunnakam

## NEW PENSION SCHEME

Editor

## SATURDAY REVIEW

The new pension scheme implemented by the Government will be more beneficial to the public servants who retire on or after the 55th year than the rest. The new scheme paves way for early and easy pension calculations. It does not give weightage to the period served by the public servant. It was the age old tradition to give importance to the service rendered by a Government

Servant. Anything and everything should not be sacrificed for the mere sake of easy pension calculations.

A person who joins the public service at the age of 43 or 44 can retire at the age of 55 and draw a pension as much as 85% on the last salary drawn whereas a person who joins the service at 20 will have to wait for 35 years to enjoy the same pension benefit. We are all for the enhanced

pension provided by the State. But are we justified by the young and energetic who join the service when they are young and wait for such a long period to enjoy the same pension benefit? There is absolutely no incentive in the new scheme for people to join the Service at an early age and contribute their best to the State. Some sort of benefit or relief should be provided for those who serve the Government for a longer period. They should be given the option to retire after a specified period (say 20 years) of service rather than to wait till they reach the age of 55—probably stagnating on their maximum salary scale and getting frustrated.

According to the new scheme, 0.2% will be deducted from the pension of an officer for each month or part of the month thereof of no-pay leave obtained during his service. An employee who serves for a longer period will have more chance of obtaining no-pay leave than an employee who serves for a shorter period. Thereby an employee who serves the Government for a longer period will be indirectly penalised.

At present a Government Servant could retire from service at the age of 55 (Chronological age-C. A.) with a minimum of 10 years service (Professional age-P. A.) that is if the sum total of both the ages (P. A. and C. A.) amounts to 65 or more. On this basis any person whose sum total of ages (C. A. and P. A.) amounts to or exceeds 65 should be permitted to retire—provided he/she satisfies the minimum requirements of ten years of service (P. A.). Thereby equal weightage is given to the service rendered and the age of the employee. According to this sug-

gested scheme a person 48 years of age can retire if he has put in 17 years of service (C. A. = 48, P. A. = 17 C. A. + P. A. = 65). Undoubtedly the Professional age is more important than the Chronological Age as far as the State is concerned.

I hope this amendment to the New Scheme will satisfy all sections of public servants.

P. S. Gnanaseelan

Chavakachcheri

# LETTERS

## WAR OR PEACE?

Editor

## SATURDAY REVIEW

I am writing this letter with great pain in my heart. Everyone is fed up with the present government for its failure to solve the decades-long ethnic issue.

Even after the declaration of the cease-fire which was agreed upon by both the government as well as the militant organizations, the government is in the habit of making massive purchases of military hardware from abroad, and sending them to the North and the East.

This is not a new experience as far as the Tamils are concerned; whatever it may be, the government should not go back on its promise.

The Tamils are prepared to accept any durable solution that will satisfy their aspirations. But is the Government sincerely attempting to find one?

Will the government stop purchasing sophisticated weaponry to kill the Tamil people? The Sinhalese also should be aware of the fact that, in future, all these sophisticated weaponry could well be turned against them.

V. Roobakaran

Thirunelvely

## CALL TO PRAYER

Editor

## SATURDAY REVIEW

Through the SATURDAY REVIEW I would like to invite all peace-loving people in this Island to pray humbly and fervently for PEACE AND HARMONY in our country.

Religious leaders who can do a lot to restore peace, do not do anything concretely in this regard, it seems. So we cannot depend on them to initiate prayer. As such

wherever and whenever possible, group prayer could be organized. Otherwise let us make use of the family prayer time this urgent need and in case that is not possible, we can do it even individually. Let's remember the fact that PRAYER MOVES MOUNTAINS. Only prayer can save us Lankans from peril.

So let's start the prayer from to-day itself.

Chavakachcheri

P. J.

## APPRECIATION

## A. I. Chelvanayagam

A promising young sportsman ANNESLEY IVORAJ CHELVANAYAGAM met his death under tragic circumstances on Friday, 15th November, 1985 in Colombo. He was 24 years of age when he died.

An old Benedictine, he represented his College in Basket Ball, Athletics and Soccer and won colours and a star award during his collegiate days. He led the St. Benedict's College Basket Ball team in 1979 which emerged Runners-up in the All Island Basket Ball Tournament.

He represented Sri Lanka at the Asian Basket Ball Championship held in Bangkok and was awarded the Sri Lanka school colours.

On joining Singer (Sri Lanka) Ltd. he represented his firm in the Mercantile sector in Basket Ball, Hockey, Soccer and Cricket and played for the Mercantile Services Basket Ball team.

He was a social worker par excellence—an active member of the Old Bens Basket Ball Club and the Jaffna Y.M.C.A. His funeral which took place at Jaffna on 18th November, 1985 was very largely attended by a host of relatives and friends. He was the only son of Mr. W.J.S. Chelvanayagam, a retired Railway official and Mrs. Satkunam Chelvanayagam of the tutorial staff of St. John Bosco, Jaffna.

—A.L.S.

Applications are being received for Midwifery Training in 'Green' and 'McLeod' Hospitals.

## QUALIFICATIONS:

1. S. S. C. in not more than two sittings with 5 subjects in one sitting including 4 credits in Tamil Language or Literature and Arithmetic or Pure Maths or Commercial Arithmetic.

2. N. C. G. E. 6 subjects in not more than two sittings including 4 "B" grade passes with First Language and Arithmetic.

Height more than 4' 10", unmarried and preferably between 18 and 25 years of age.

Apply before 9-12-85, with copies of certificates and testimonials to the Medical Superintendent, McLeod Hospital, Inuvil.



## IN LIGHTER VEIN

## THE BLESSED TIME OF YOUTH

Ortaiveli Girl's College lay in the South-East quadrant of a junction with Old Trees road running North-South. In the North-West quadrant lay the famous Mattaiadi Gents College. There is a history behind this name. This College once had a Cricket coach named Maha-adiyan (the great hitter) who addressed himself to the problem, why does the village of Ariyalai produce so many excellent cricketers? He curled his moustache and raised his eyebrows and sat himself down to think. The thing that struck his mind was that Ariyalai had many palmyrah trees. He then remembered that all Ariyalai lads started playing cricket using palmyrah stems (mattai) for bats and palmyrah nuts for balls. Then the light dawned on Maha-adiyan. He lifted his right hand and pointed to the sky. "Eureka," he cried and ran, having the good sense to have his sarong on unlike Archimedes the ancient Greek. He promptly got the boys together and began training them with mattais for bats and kottais (palmyrah nuts) for balls. In a few weeks the standard of cricket went up miraculously. Like with all great discoveries, the explanation was simple. Due to the unevenness of the bat and the ball, neither the batsman nor the bowler will know which way the ball will turn. And then if the batsman hits the ball, neither the batsman nor the fielders will

know which way the ball will fly. By playing under these conditions, the team became very versatile. This explains the name Mattaiadi.

The fame of MGC rested besides on its discovery of another game known as non-violent cricket. This game resembles cricket, except that one tries to win not by hitting the ball violently for fours and sixes, but by a judicious choice of umpires. This game has been taken up and advocated by elder statesmen and national leaders who have been attracted by Gandhian principles except that they reserve the right to use gladiatorial methods in dealing with recalcitrant minorities and with embarrassing by-elections.

Our action begins when the Ortaiveli girls invited the Mattaiadi boys for a friendly one-innings game of cricket—non violent of course. The girls duly won the toss and went in first to bat. Some say they have a coin with both sides tails. The girls batted from 8.00 to 12.00 scoring 10 runs and no one out. The wickets fell several times. But it turned out that each time it was due to a freak gust of wind. The umpires were of course the Physics and Applied Mathematics mistresses of OGC who had a genius for explaining such freaks. Explanations such as French Nuclear tests in the Murora atoll were

forthcoming. There was a sumptuous spread for lunch during which several of the boys were persuaded to eat more than was good for them. The *paayasam* (sago pudding) with plenty of coconut milk was irresistible.

The girls went back to bat at 1.00 p.m. and declared 20 for 1 wicket at 3.00 p.m. One girl was declared out when a providential bee stung the Physics mistress under the arm-pit when an appeal came, and she put up her hand in pain.

The boys went in to bat at 3.00 and were nil for nine wickets at 3.20 p.m. 5 were out LBW and 4 declared themselves out and rushed back to the pavilion—something to do with the *paayasam* (sago pudding) it seemed.

The last pair Sooty and Bumper belonged to that unfortunate category of schoolboys whose parents had importuned them to learn waltzing in order to accompany their elder sisters who had to get through a book full of Strauss' Waltzes on the piano. Sooty and Bumper were not much as batsmen. But this skill of Waltzing came in useful. Sooty and Bumper, simply waltzed round the wickets avoiding the balls and picked up the extras. The girls having been trained to bowl at the legs of the batsmen were unable to hit the wickets.

By 4.00 p.m. the boys had equalled the girls with a score of 20. Twinkle the head girl and captain of the girls' side appealed on grounds of bad light. The umpires obliged and walked out with the bails.

Sooty and Bumper were incensed. They sat down cross-legged on the pitch and refused to move. There was confusion amongst the spectators. A little later Twinkle approached the two boys followed by other girls bearing plates full of goodies for tea. "You boys must be tired" she said gently, "we want to begin tea. We are all waiting. Wont you join us?" Sooty was beginning to look uncomfortable. Twinkle shrugged her head throwing back her hair and smiled sweetly at Sooty, her small ivory teeth shining against her dark brown face. After holding out for a while, the two boys stood up meekly and went in for tea.

Much later the boys were walking back towards their school. They had on the whole a fine evening. With the fire in Bumper's stomach assuaged, he was feeling sullen. "No wonder women make such successful Prime Ministers", he said. Sooty did not hear. He was looking at the sky, at Venus rising through the Mahogany trees. His mind was full of Twinkle. Such fancies do men weave in the blessed time of youth.

— Rajan

(Continued from page 4)

nation-states, equality of nations under a single state would be without any meaning if these nations do not have the freedom to secede. This does not mean that each and every nation should secede and set up its own state or the right of self-determination could only exist on paper and in reality be nothing more than the proverbial right of every man to eat from a golden plate. Without complete and meaningful equality (the Tamil) people belonging to the nation cannot cultivate any sense of belonging to the (Sri Lankan) State with which their nation got tied up, for whatever reason, or to the (island) country which they share with other (Sinhala) nations.

## TRADITIONAL HOMELANDS

The question of traditional homelands is long past the stage of being an arena for scoring points. As the SATURDAY REVIEW recently splashed across in banner headlines; "The Battle for Trinco goes On". It's not the seemingly insatiable land hunger of the Sinhalese masses that the Tamils are fighting

against. Oh, where and on which side of the great divide were these great Sinhala patriots, when those in the Samajist tradition fought for land reform from 1935 and gave it a legal shape, first during the fifties and later in the seventies? Those who opposed it first, those who circumvented it later and those who now have their lands restored are all demanding that the innocent Sinhalese villager be given a shot gun and be sent to the no-man's land to prevent the borders from reaching Colombo:

A combination of anti-Tamil politics and the vested interests of commission agents and their beneficiaries has always characterised Sri Lanka's expensive and badly-managed colonisation schemes, more often than not undertaken with foreign aid, from the 1930's up till the present Mahaweli plan. It is sheer hypocrisy to interpret the question of traditional homelands as a matter of conflicting demands for historical rights between the Tamil-speaking people and the Sinhalese en masse. It is even worse hypocrisy to suggest that "Sri Lanka

is a democracy belonging to the Western tradition" and hence the unacceptability of the Tamilian demands in their current form. Sri Lanka ceased to be a democracy, by its own past standards, even before July 1983. When Indira Gandhi imposed her notorious emergency rule in India, the universal indignation that greeted it was mobilised by the 'free press' in India and the Indian intelligentsia within and outside the country. Even in Sri Lanka the leading light of the

UNP warned the country to beware of "the cow and the calf president". But today, the Colombo media and the bulk of the Sinhalese intelligentsia are rallying behind the UNP Government, in the name of fighting the Tamils, despite the Government's crippling blows to the island's democracy.

It is to this aspect of Sri Lanka's contemporary crisis that the liberals, democrats and the leftists among the Sinhalese should address their minds and precipitate political action rather than resorting to journalistic hectoring towards the battered Tamils fighting for survival.

## SCHOLARS FOR PLANTATION CHILDREN

The Indian High Commission has invited applications for scholarships to be awarded by the Ceylon Estate Workers Education Trust to children of resident estate workers.

Applicants should have passed G. C. E. 'A' Level / G. C. E. 'O' Level / N. C. G. E. or an equivalent examination.

The scholarship is only tenable for G. C. E. 'A' level and University courses.

Applicants should not be more than 26 years of age on 1st January 1986.

Application forms can be obtained from the High Commission of India, P. O. Box 882, Colombo and the Assistant High Commission of India, P. O. BOX 47, Kandy.

Requests for applications should be received on or before 15th December, and the completed forms should reach the Hon. Secretary, Ceylon Estate Workers Education Trust, c/o High Commission of India, Colombo, before 15th January.



# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## IMPOLITIC STATEMENT

'The Times of India', in a recent editorial described as 'impolitic' Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's statement that it was now up to the Tamil representatives to come with a working paper as a basis for the settlement of the ethnic problem.

Here is the text:

It was not in the least necessary for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to publicly declare, metaphorically speaking, that the ball was now in the court of Sri Lanka's Tamil leaders, and that the onus to produce a working paper for a possible political settlement rested on them. Indeed, it was impolitic of the Prime Minister to have made such a statement. This will give considerable satisfaction to Colombo which cannot but welcome this public demonstration of India's willingness to pressure the Tamil leaders. The Prime Minister could not possibly have wished to confirm the Sri Lankan Government in its intransigence.

Nor can this country legitimately 'stand above' the ethnic conflict and help Colombo impose a solution on the Tamils though this is precisely the role that Sri Lanka (and the United States) would like New Delhi to play.

For one thing, the Lankan security forces have been guilty of several crimes which the retaliatory actions of the Tamil guerillas cannot offset. For another, the primary responsibility for ethnic discrimination and repression in the island repu-

blic rests firmly with successive Governments in Colombo. The presence of thousands of Tamil refugees in this country is a testimony to these facts.

It may be impolitic of New Delhi to say so publicly, given the role it is trying to play, but the claims of justice demand that the Government of India does not ignore the reality on the ground.

Any working paper put forward by Tamil leaders would have to renounce, implicitly if not explicitly, the demand for Eelam. This would deprive them of an important bargaining counter and the one decisively important concession they can make in response to reasonable terms of settlement offered by Colombo. The onus, therefore, rests on to the latter to come with an appropriate proposal on paper for discussion and negotiations with the Tamil leaders.

There are, of course, differences between various Tamil groups. While the Government should try privately to help resolve these differences, it can gain nothing by bringing these to public notice and by seeking to openly exert pressure on some of the groups in not too indirect a manner.

All in all in its apparent urgency to clinch a settlement (which is not necessarily the same thing as an effective solution), South Block should be careful not to abandon a sober and cautious approach to what is a complex and vexed question with important regional and geo-political implications for this country.

## SHANKAR'S COMPETITION

The last date for receipt of entries for SHANKAR'S INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S COMPETITION 1986 is 31st December, 1985.

This Competition, now in its 37th year, attracted over 170,000 entries last year—proof of its ever-increasing popularity.

There has been substantial Sri Lankan participation in this Competition every year. Last year

Sri Lankan children carried away some of the top prizes.

Those interested in entering the Competition should contact the Indian High Commission for a copy of the rules.

The address is: High Commission of India in Sri Lanka, State Bank of India Building, Sir Baron Jayatilleke Mawatha, P. O. Box 882, Colombo 1.

## Eastern Front: MASSACRE TOLL MOUNTS

The death toll, especially in the East, continues to mount despite the 'peace efforts', the 'negotiations' and the 'cease-fire' (honoured more in the breach).

Last week alone the Security Forces had reportedly massacred nearly 76 Tamils in the East and the North. Besides, a tiger-militant is reported to have committed suicide by taking cyanide before he could be arrested, while 4 other militants died in an encounter in Iranaimadu.

As a reprisal for the kidnapping of a Buddhist monk and 14 other Sinhalese in Pullumalai, the Security Forces cordoned off a vast area in Batticaloa where Mandur is located. In a search operation which was launched by the Security Forces on 27th November in which heavy vehicles, helicopters and an unspecified number of soldiers were pressed into 'service', this massive operation left 24 fishermen shot dead in cold blood and many more feared missing.

19 bodies which had been washed ashore, were identified and cremated and without inquiries (such cremation without inquest is now possible under the Laws of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka!). Among the dead were many innocent civilians who were fleeing Mandur by country boats to Kurumanveli. A vigilant helicopter hovering over the area sprayed bullets from the skies so that these 'refugees' reached the 'other side' without suffering. The people killed were:

P. Krishnapillai (30), M. Selvarajah (30) father of 4, K. Velupillai (34) Father of 3, P. Balasundaram (30) Father of 6, Velu Meharasa (16), K. Arulanandam (20), K. Veemasenan (42), V. Tharmalingam (36) Father of 6, S. Thangarasa (32) Father of 5, P. Vasantharajah (30), K. Raja (42) Father of 5, P. Kanesapillai (28), S. Perin (35) G. Balakrishnan (41), Yogarajah (30).

There is no trace of the other bodies.

The representatives of the Batticaloa Citizens' Committee, Rev. Fr. Chandra Fernando, Mr. Sam Thambimuttu and Mandur S. Mahendran visited the area and obtained first hand information. Meanwhile Prince Casinader, President of the Batticaloa Citizens Committee has sent an urgent telegram to the Ceasefire Monitoring Committee to take heed of the innocent Tamils.

In another search and destroy operation undertaken by the Security Forces, 21 Tamils were

reportedly killed in Mutur, Samboor, Kaddaiparichchan, Koonithevu and Chenaiyoor. The sole escapee, Kandiah Sundaram, narrated his experience of the 'happenings' to the Eelanadu of 2nd December:

"Security Forces who came to Kaddaiparichchan in the early hours of 27th November, took into custody 2 people and set fire to about 25 houses. At Chenaiyoor they burnt about 20 houses and arrested 9 people. Again in Kaddaiparichchan area, they set fire to about 15 houses and arrested 9 people. 18 of the people who were taken into custody at these three places were shot dead later in the noon and burnt. Three of us were taken to a refugee camp at Samboor where they launched another search operation; there they ransacked houses and robbed 'fowl-pens' in the area. They put these fowls in gunny bags and took them along the coast. The four remaining captives in the boat including myself were then asked to jump off the boats. As we jumped out we were machine gunned from behind. All three died. Only I live to relate what happened.

On 1st December after a bomb-throwing incident at Kallady in Batticaloa in which a soldier was killed and 3 others were hurt, the Security Forces opened fire at random killing 6 Tamils including a doctor. Among them are—

Dr. Kandappu Jeevanandam (40) father of 3; Veerakulasingham (28) Gnanapragasam Special Service Officer; Pillaiyar Thambi Kandasamy (30) father of 6; Velupillai Ponnudurai 34, father of a child; Kulanthaivelu Chelvanayagam (35) father of 2;

The sixth person has not been identified.

On 30th November at Thampalakamam in the Trincomalee District, 7 Tamils were shot dead in a search operation.

Mrs. Mylvaganam, mother of 6 children has lodged a complaint with the Trincomalee Citizens' Committee that her husband was killed in the above incident and his body burnt along with other bodies by Security Forces, near a firewood depot.

In the meantime 30 people from Koonithevu, and 56 people from Sampoor in the Trincomalee District are reportedly missing, according to complaints lodged with the Citizens' Committee.

On 3rd December 6 military personnel were reportedly killed in a landmine explosion at Dehiwatte in the Mutur area of Trincomalee. Later, security personnel burnt 9 houses in a near by Tamil village and took into custody 9 Tamils travelling in a mini-bus.