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## FOREIGNERS BANNED FROM NORTH & EAST SRI LANKA

THE SRI LANKAN government has banned visits by all foreigners to the violence-torn northern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka. The majority of the people living in these provinces are the island's minority Tamils and the Tamil speaking Muslims.

A notice dated 23 October 1985 issued by the General Manager of Railways, Mr. G.P.S. Weerasooriya, to all railway stations in the country prohibits the 'issue of tickets to all foreigners' intending to travel to 'north of Anuradhapura, the Districts of Trincomalee and Batticaloa'. The notice further states that 'All Railway officers should ensure that foreigners do not travel by rail to any of these areas'.

The ban on foreigners was a prelude to the massive offensive undertaken by the combined security forces in the Tamil

areas of the north and east in which hundreds of Tamils have been killed, several hundred houses have been set ablaze and several thousands of ordinary civilian Tamils have been forced to flee as refugees to other parts. Ostensibly the offensive is against so-called Tamil terrorists, but the victims have always been civilians.

There is no doubt that the primary aim of the government in prohibiting foreigners visiting the Tamil areas is to ensure that the outside world is kept totally in the dark as to what is actually happening in those areas.

Even previously, the government had placed several obstacles against foreign correspondents visiting the Tamil areas. They were subjected to censorship or refused visas. Car or taxi owners were forced by the security forces not to transport foreign reporters. At military check points, their cameras, notebooks etc. were confiscated and they were forcibly returned to Colombo to be expelled. However, some reporters entered the country under the guise of being tourists, managed to enter the Tamil areas by rail and filed their stories of atrocities committed by the security forces on their return. The total ban on travel by rail of all foreigners is to ensure that this does not recur.

Political commentators in Colombo see a much more sinister motive behind the move to ban foreigners from travelling to the Tamil areas. In the context of the virtual collapse of the so-called ceasefire and in the absence of any positive movement in the direction of negotiations, observers believe that the government is getting ready for a massive blitzkrieg operation particularly in the Vavuniya, Mullaitivu, Trincomalee and Batticaloa areas which will include aerial bombardment of civilian centres and of the jungles around them with a view to driving out or killing the Tamils in those areas. The government aims to achieve two purposes by this operation. Firstly, the removal of civilian Tamils from these areas would deny the Tamil militants the safety they presently would appear to have, and secondly it would facilitate the colonisation of the abandoned areas with thousands of Sinhalese brought from outside these areas.

## 100 TAMILS KILLED, 60 HOUSES BURNT IN TWO WEEKS

MORE than 100 Tamil civilians have been killed and 60 Tamil houses burnt down over the last two weeks in Batticaloa district alone, according to Mr. P. Ganesalingam, former TULF Member of Parliament, who represented Paddiruppu in the district. All these acts of violence took place under cover of the search-and-destroy operations launched in the area, Mr. Ganesalingam charged.

"Why should they kill innocent Tamil civilians who have in fact helped to defuse land mines and have given the authorities information on these land mines," the former MP asked. He said that 148 boys had been arrested over these two weeks and except for a few who were released, the whereabouts of other detainees were not known.

Mr. Ganesalingam narrated the details of the killings. Nine were lined up and shot dead in Batticaloa town on November 13. Another eight, all of them over 40 years of age, and clearly with no connection with militant activity, were killed on November 16. The search-and-destroy operations in Mandur on Wednesday on the pretext of capturing militants allegedly involved in

*Continued on page 24*

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## JAYAWARDENE'S MESSAGE

President Jayawardene has abandoned even the pretence of seeking a negotiated solution to the crisis in Sri Lanka. His recent utterances, both within and outside Sri Lanka, indicate his intransigence, to seek an end to the ethnic conflict by military means. And they also reflect the callous and contemptuous disregard he and his government have always displayed towards the Tamil people, their rights and their lives.

When asked about the risk of alienating Tamil opinion if he opted for a military solution, he told his BBC interviewer on 25 October: **"I think I am not afraid of alienating Tamil opinion"**. This is not the first time that Jayawardene has shown such conspicuously blatant lack of respect for Tamil opinion. On July 11, 1983, he told the London Daily Telegraph, **"I have tried to be effective for sometime but I cannot. I am not worried about the opinion of the Tamil people now . . . Now we cannot think of them. Not about their lives or of their opinion about us . . . The more you put pressure in the north, the happier the Sinhala people will be here . . . really, if I starve the Tamils out, the Sinhala people will be happy . . ."**. Within two weeks, the world witnessed the most barbarous and inhuman atrocities committed against the Tamil people. As the carnage continued for days, the President observed an eloquently menacing silence.

Everything that he does demonstrates that he is not serious about a peaceful political solution to the ethnic conflict. He denies the existence of an ethnic conflict, and characterises it as a 'marxist conspiracy'. He refuses to admit that it is a political problem requiring a political solution. He told INDIA TODAY (15.12.85): **"The Tamil problem is more a military problem and any military problem has to be tackled militarily"**.

If that is his view, one wonders as to why he went through the subterfuge of a 'peace process' at Thimphu in Bhutan and sent his Queens Counsel brother with a coterie of bureaucrats to negotiate with the Tamil groups whom he now calumniates as **"a gang of murderers. They are called boys, militants, radic als, but they are simply murderers"** (India Today, 15.12.85). The President himself provided the answer in the same journal: **"Yes. We were not ready earlier. Now we are acquiring arms and getting our soldiers trained. We are getting ready for a decisive military action . . . Already there is a strong feeling that we should stop all these talks and strike again"**.

What about the so-called ceasefire? It was a smokescreen and a ploy to gain time, to build up the government's war machine. The Ceasefire Monitoring Committee appointed to monitor violations has been rendered ineffective. What useful purpose could be

served by a monitoring body which cannot even publish its findings? Having agreed to the appointment of the CMC, the President suppresses their findings through an Emergency Regulation which he himself promulgates prohibiting the publication within or outside Sri Lanka of 'any matter relating to the meetings and inquiries of the Committee'. It was during the 'ceasefire' that the security forces, in alliance with murderous gangs in the form of 'Home Guards' but armed to the teeth by the government, rampaged through towns and villages in the eastern province wreaking havoc and destruction and forcing thousands of terror-struck Tamils to flee. It was a 'ceasefire' which never came into operation.

What do Jayawardene and his government mean by 'decisive military action'? At a public function held in Colombo on 19 November, he likened the Tamil militants to mosquitoes and told his audience that the only way to destroy the mosquitoes was by "destroying their breeding places". What are these 'breeding places'? The Tamil areas of the north and east of course. Already vast areas of the north and east have been depopulated and destroyed. What the President means by his 'decisive military action' is complete destruction of the Tamil area.

The President has also announced how he proposed to achieve his stated objective: **"I am not fully prepared to tackle Jaffna. I want to finish first with the other provinces. It is not difficult to handle Jaffna. We can cut off food and supplies to the peninsula and flush out the terrorists in a month's time"**, he told the India Today. So the agenda is ready - finish off other areas like Vavuniya, Mannar, Mullaitivu, Trincomalee and Batticaloa first; then cut off food and other supplies to the Jaffna peninsula to deliver the final blow. What about the civilian population in these areas? Who cares, they have also to be destroyed because they constitute the 'breeding places'! That may sound dreadful coldblooded genocide. But that is how Jayawardene thinks and acts.

But what happens if India were to intervene in some way to stop this genocide? The President had a simple answer: **"But if that happens, then all the Tamils living among the Sinhalese will be finished"**, was the blood curdling reply of this 'Buddhist' President.

Jayawardene's message is clear: **"We are going to destroy the north and east which are the breeding places of the Tamil mosquitoes; in case India intervenes in some way, then the Tamils in the rest of the country will also be finished"**.

Human history has had the misfortune of witnessing several maniacs afflicted with such a psychopathic condition. Hitler, Amin and Pol Pot immediately come to mind. But why the destinies of the island of Sri Lanka, which is said to have been thrice blessed by the Prince of Peace and Ahimsa, the Lord Buddha, should face the tragedy of being presided over by people with such predispositions is difficult to comprehend. May be it is KARMA, as the Buddha would have said.

# SRI LANKA'S MILITARISATION FOR 'FINAL SOLUTION'

by P.R. Ganeshan

**T**HE PEACE efforts by India to bring about a negotiated political solution to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka would appear to be in the doldrums. The so-called ceasefire engineered by India has virtually collapsed. While attacks by Tamil militants on security personnel continue, Sri Lanka newspapers are replete with daily accounts of the armed forces raiding Tamil militant 'hideouts' and killing and arresting hundreds of 'terrorists' in the course of 'security operations', an euphemism for acts of indiscriminate reprisals and retaliation against civilian Tamils and their property.

While Rajiv Gandhi is attempting to turn the screw on the Tamil militant groups in Tamil Nadu, the Sri Lankan government has been making full use of the interregnum provided by the 'ceasefire' to launch a massive build-up of men and weapons. The unprecedented arms drive together with the creation of a near-war psychosis among the country's majority Sinhala population would appear to confirm the Tamil suspicion that the Jayawardene regime is not seriously intent on a peaceful solution. All the indications are that the government is feverishly engaged in the militarisation of the country to seek a 'final solution' by military means. President Jayawardene confirmed this when he told 'INDIA TODAY' (15 December) that his government was "getting ready for a decisive military action".

## Israel Terror Tactics

Even as the illfated 1984 All Party Conference was in progress, the Sri Lankan government had begun to beef up its military machine. It is no more a secret that the Israeli Secret Service has been actively engaged in training the Sri Lankan security forces. Reliable reports indicate that some Israeli service personnel are even involved in military operations against Tamil guerillas. It was conceded by the government in the Sri Lankan parliament that scores of Israelis have been admitted into the country without their having to fulfil the normal visa requirements.

NO doubt the retaliatory burning and destruction of homes, and sometimes whole villages, and the hundreds of Tamils who have fallen

victims to reprisal killings, bear the stamp of Israeli policy and practice as operated in the West Bank. An opposition Sri Lanka English language weekly, 'FOREWARD' (15 October 1985) stated, "These Israelis are scattered around the country. Some man sensitive positions in the intelligence services, both as advisers and trainers, as well as operatives in the government's counter-intelligence network. Others are attached to and work with army and Special Task Force units in the north and east. Many people hold these Israeli advisers and trainers responsible for the new tactics of inflicting reprisals in the most unexpected places and escalating terror tactics against civilians".

The secret meeting between President Jayawardene and the Israeli Prime Minister, Shimon Peres, in a Paris hotel in late October was no accident, and political observers note in that meeting the strength of the Israeli-Sri Lanka connection. While the Minister of National Security, Lalith Athulathmudali, tries to underplay the Israeli role in the country's security set-up, President Jayawardene does not mince words about his friendship with Israel. He told 'INDIA TODAY' (15 December 1985), "And Israelis are our friends. I have my independent views on international politics. Israelis are helping my soldiers. I have sent ten of my soldiers whose arms had got blown off for medical treatment in Israel".

## SAS Mercenaries

As part of the process of the induction of foreign elements into Sri Lanka's security and intelligence structures, the government entered into a contract, about a year ago, with Keeny Meeny Services (KMS), a Channel Islands based company with a dubious background to provide ex-SAS British mercenaries to undertake major reorganisation of the security services and training. This company supplies personnel and training for authoritarian regimes like the Sultanate of Oman. The presence of KMS mercenaries and their role in Sri Lanka has been admitted by the Minister of National Security who conceded that they are engaged in 'training the Special Task Force consisting of police commandos'.

The Sri Lankan Special Task Force, (STF) has achieved, within the brief period of its creation and existence, a notoriety for indiscriminate retaliatory attacks on civilian Tamils and their property. An independent commission which inquired into the so-called Tamil-Muslim clashes in April this year in the eastern province came to the conclusion that the STF was instrumental in not only inciting the violence, but also played a direct role in the destruction of thousands of homes. Where the operational control of the STF lies remains a mystery for it is neither under the control of the Army Commander nor the Police Chief. Reliable reports and unanswered questions raised in the island's parliament hint that the STF is under the control of Mr. Ravi Jayawardene, the President's son.

## Costly Exercise

The conspicuously costly exercise of militarisation that is taking place in an island which does not face any visible or invisible external threat is hard to believe. The security forces have commenced, and in some cases completed, renovating and re-equipping 14 old airfields built by the British during World War II. Three of these airfields, Sigiriya, Koggoda and Katukurunda have been reopened and the existing runways at Vavuniya, Anuradhapura, Minneriya, Batticaloa, Weerawilla, Amparai and China Bay in Trincomalee are being re-laid and extended. Hundreds of families living around airfields of Palali in Jaffna and Batticaloa have been ordered, or are under orders, to evacuate their homes to facilitate extension works.

The Boeing Corporation of USA has been awarded a contract of 5 million dollars for the construction of an alternative international airport to the one in Colombo, near the eastern seaport city of Trincomalee. It is also believed that the security forces have shifted their main operational base from Katunayake, 70 km north of Colombo, to the regional airport at Ratmalana, 15 km south of Colombo. A large number of new army and STF posts have been established in the northern and eastern provinces.

The government's programme of militarisation has included a considerable increase in the number

of men under arms. The most alarming of the government's efforts is the creation of a para-military force, called the Home Guards, which "form the sword arm of Sinhala chauvinism". Without proper training and discipline, they come from the racially motivated thuggish sections within the Sinhala community. Recruited for their only qualification of loyalty to the ruling party's politicians, they have been provided with lethal weapons which they use with indiscriminate ease to gun down Tamil civilians.

The government also had freely distributed arms to Sinhala settlers in the Tamil areas, ostensibly for self protection; but these armed elements, together with the armed rabble constituting the Home Guards, are engaged in a campaign of murder and arson, pillage and plunder, rape and terror in the Tamil areas.

### A 100,000 Army

In August this year, the government decided, on a recommendation from the President, to raise a National Auxiliary Force of 10,000 and 100 officers at a capital cost of Rs.2.5 million for buildings, equipment and weapons, and recurrent cost of Rs.16 million for salaries, travelling etc. to augment the country's 20,000 armed forces. The Minister of National Security at a recent meeting announced the government's intention to raise a permanent army of 100,000 troops. He also announced in parliament in late October this year the formation of four new battalions, but he refused to give precise details on 'security grounds'. Reliable reports reveal that the government has already commenced a four month military training course at Mawathagama for 200,000 Sinhalese (all single males) who are expected to be sent to colonise Tamil areas.

All police personnel are to be given commando-type training. A special police commando unit of 1300 is to be established by direct recruitment. Increased salaries will be paid to those serving in the police commando unit. While a Sub-Inspector in the normal police force would receive Rs.1000, when he joins the STF, he would receive Rs.5000. An ordinary police constable who would normally receive Rs.900 would find his salary increased to Rs.2000.

Already school cadets and Home Guards are being sent to Pakistan for training. The Manpower unit of the

Ministry of Education, Youth Affairs and Employment, has chosen 500 recruits for a training course with the army. The 500, all Sinhalese, 70 of them graduates and the rest 'A' Level qualified, will join the armed services for a period of five years. They will then be posted as teachers in state schools throughout the island. Their training includes jungle warfare and commando techniques.

### A Movement in Arms

In early October this year, the Sri Lanka government steamrollered through parliament in a single day the Mobilisation and Supplementary Forces Bill. This enactment, condemned by the opposition as the latest attempt by the government to militarise public life more extensively, enables compulsory conscription of all sections of the population. The Act enables the setting up of a National Auxiliary Force, any other Auxiliary Force, any Para-Military Force, the Home Guard and a Civil Defence Force.

According to the explanatory note to the legislation, the NAF would "be a youth and young adults movement in arms" and it is intended to augment the existing military and para-military security forces. Those called up will be liable for military training every year and will serve for 10 years. The NAF is liable to be called for active service by the President to deal with "prevention or suppression of any rebellion or insurrection or other civil disturbance".

The opposition and civil rights organisations in Sri Lanka have already commented upon the sinister purposes behind the new legislation and the creation of the NAF which they fear would become the para-military arm of the ruling party to crush any opposition.

### A Selective Force

Although every young person is liable to be called up for service in the NAF under the Act, it is the Reserve Advisory Council and the Competent Authority appointed by the Minister in charge who enjoy the power to decide as to who will be admitted to the NAF. Recruitment on the basis of selectivity is designed to guarantee that the NAF will comprise only of persons recommended and approved by Ministers, MPs and local politicians belonging to the ruling United National Party.

These supplementary forces need not necessarily be under the operational command of the

Commander of the Armed Forces. Under the Act, the President is empowered to place them under the operational control of "any fit and proper person designated by name or office". For instance, if the President so decides, he could appoint his son, Mr. Ravi Jayawardene, who holds no official position in the regular forces, to command and control the NAF or any other Supplementary Force created under the Act.

The fact that the Act empowers the President to call up the NAF and other Supplementary Forces for active service to deal with "prevention or suppression of any rebellion or insurrection or other civil disturbance", would enable the President to activate the Forces even in a situation where there is no actual or imminent rebellion, insurrection or other civil disturbance. He could call them into active service under the pretext of taking steps for the 'prevention' of those eventualities. Further, it is to be noted that the phrase "other civil disturbance" is not specifically defined in the Act. This being so, it is highly probable, on past record, the government will be in a position to characterise all opposition campaigns and trade union action as 'civil disturbances' and use the NAF and other para military forces to suppress them.

### Spending Spree

The government has also been engaged in a spending spree on arms purchases on a massive scale. So much so, it is reported that sleazy international arms dealers, from far away Brazil to nearby Singapore, are found in the empty tourist Colombo hotels to make the right connection with agents of the relevant Ministers. Strange as it may sound, for a little island of 25,000 square miles, there are no less than five Ministries in charge of the subject of security. Arms contracts are clinched in cut-throat and unbelievable competition, not at the conference tables of the Defence Ministry presided over by President Jawawardene, but on the gambling and dining tables of Colombo's casinos and hotels.

Sri Lanka's business world has established more than 50 agencies of international arms manufacturers, sellers and agency houses in Colombo alone which act as local representatives for an assortment of international arms suppliers. A local agency representing an aircraft company, which had started with marketing ball-point pens, today has

## SITUATION WORSENING

*The following is the text of a personal letter dated 21 November addressed by a Church Leader in Sri Lanka to a friend in the USA. We reproduce it with the kind permission of its author and recipient because of the topicality of its contents. For obvious reasons, we have deleted the names which might identify the parties and expose them to retaliation:*

The situation here in Sri Lanka has not improved and is definitely worsening. Under the cover of a ceasefire declared at the request of India, the Armed Forces are doing so many things which India is unable to control. From last month all foreigners have been forbidden to enter the territories inhabited by the Tamils and therefore, the outside world does not know exactly what is happening here. What is happening here is something similar to what is happening in South Africa but because India has thrown a blanket over Sri Lanka, other countries are not raising their voice of protest. It is true that thousands of refugees have come to the Jaffna Peninsula from Trincomalee and other places. The aim of the Government seems to be to settle the Sinhalese in Trinco, Batticaloa and the other towns of the Eastern Province and thus make it a Sinhalese Province. The Tamils who have left the Province will not be able to return to their former places of residence.

We are not experiencing yet a shortage of food, because our people are used to a simple life and are easily satisfied with ordinary food. But there is a terrible shortage of fuel here now. Due to the activities of the militants, Government is unable to bring and sell the fuel the people need. We do not know how and when all these is going to end. The political intervention of India has only made matters worse for us. We have placed our full trust in God and we are continuing to pray for a just solution to our problem. You also please continue to help us by your prayers.

a firm foothold in the armament business.

Mr. Lawrence Sim Zecha, a director of Brazil's Bandeirante Ltd, who was in Colombo recently, said the competition was 'unbelievable'. He said though his company offered Tucano ground attack aircraft (each costing 1.3 million US dollars) with a credit package of 20 per cent down payment and an eight year instalment period, the Sri Lanka government was not even interested in looking at the specifications. Obviously Mr. Zecho had failed to make the right connection with the relevant Minister or his agent.

### Arms Purchase Chaos

The chaos in the arms purchases by the government is such that very often substandard items are dumped and those responsible get away with impunity. In one instance, the government had purchased a whole plane-load of ammunition and small arms, but a substantial part of it was found to be sub-standard. The agent who brought in the consignment is now believed to be in custody on suspicion that he had tried to sell the rejects to the Tamil militants.

Official sources say that there are many instances where arms and equipment have been bought by different Ministries at varying prices. The opposition MP, Lakshman Jayakoddy, recently referred in the Sri Lanka parliament to a tender calling for the purchase of shot guns, but where the lowest tender was not accepted. In this case, he said, a gun which could have been bought for 27 US dollars each had actually been bought at 47 US dollars each.

Arm supplies to Sri Lanka come from various sources including the US, UK, Pakistan, South Korea, China, South Africa, Singapore, Malaysia, Taiwan, Israel and other private international arms dealers. The government recently acquired six SF-260 converted military training aircraft from Sia Marchetti of Milan in Italy, capable of carrying four bombs of total weight 500 kg or four air-to-ground missiles and armed with two 7.26 calibre machine guns. Normally used in combat and bombing operations, the Sia Marchettis are already in service in Sri Lanka flown by foreign mercenary pilots including six Rhodesians who are believed to be paid a monthly salary of at least Rs.100,000 for their service. Lakshman Jayakoddy, MP, speaking in Parliament on October 8, questioned the purpose of the Sia Marchettis which travelled at 200 to 250 MPH and posed the question: Did the government intend to bomb and finish off whole areas?

### Arms Deal With US

Bell helicopters have been acquired through arms dealers based in Singapore. Lakshman Jayakoddy, MP, referred in Parliament to the purchase of 212 attack helicopters at a cost of Rs.10 million each and gun boats at a cost of Rs.278 million. Two Devro class gun boats have been supplied by Israel which has contracted to supply six more fast naval patrol boats. The government also has purchased nine British Cougar patrol boats fitted with 20 mm guns. China has supplied Sri Lanka with at least 30 patrol boats and T56 assault rifles.

Modern infantry gear, including armoured cars, anti-landmine vehicles etc. are reported to have been purchased from South Africa. American made small arms including M16 and AK47 rifles have been purchased from Pakistan which has, in addition, undertaken to provide training to several hundred Home Guards, cadets and soldiers. It is believed that Pakistan and Israel are acting by proxy for the US in the supply of arms to Sri Lanka. To what extent these supplies form part of the arms deal Sri Lanka entered into with the US last year for 71 million dollars is not clear.

It is difficult to imagine that Sri Lanka, with the highest per capita foreign borrowing in the world, has thought it fit to squander away its scarce resources on this wasteful and destructive armament drive.

In August this year, the Finance Minister, Ronnie de Mel, revealed that the government was spending Rs.16 million a day on defence. This figure has certainly increased many fold since then owing to additional purchases of weapons.

The government obtained approval from parliament on October 8 this year for a Supplementary estimate of Rs.833.37 million for the Ministry of Defence. This additional sum was for purchases made up to June 1985 over and above the provision made in the 1985 budget, and the Supplementary Estimate represented the advances the Treasury had already made for these purchases. Of the Rs.833.37 million spent, Rs.389.67 million was for the Air Force, Rs.217.56 million for the Navy and Rs.14.3 million for the police. Again on October 24, the Minister of National Security moved another Supplementary Estimate for Rs.580 million for the army.

The Budget for 1986 presented by the Finance Minister in November this year made provision for Rs.5,830,000,000 for expenditure on defence in 1986 which represented over 15 per cent of total expenditure. The high profile armament procurement programme of the government is best illustrated when one notes that the 1986 budget provision for education is only Rs.3.6 billion whereas the defence provision is Rs.5.83 billion.

The comment in 'INDIA TODAY' (October 15) aptly describes the plight of Sri Lanka: "For Sri Lanka, the ethnic strife is now a Frankenstein with an insatiable appetite for blood and cash, none of which the island can afford to pay now".

# Some Home Truths About Homelands

Florence Ram Aluwihare

**What is a Homeland** or better still a **Traditional Homeland**? This query is posed at a time when homelands here and elsewhere are and have been a source of controversy. About three weeks ago, I was surprised to read a bold caption (The Island 22 August), "**Militants are Racist**" says Lalith in London when addressing members of the World Federation of Sri Lankan Associations. About the same time a senior journalist had written about the "barbaric terrorists", emphasising that "they kill their kith and kin". Lalith's reason for describing them as racist was reported thus "they speak of **Homelands, the Language of Apartheid**". Did one expect such an explanation from a scholarly and responsible Minister? Curiously enough, the term homelands does not apply only to the human species. US Societies for the Protection of Endangered Species speak of the traditional homeland of the small dusky sparrows as having been the salt marshes of islands off the west coast of America. Recently the Marchioness of Tavistock chartered a plane to send back to China, for a park in Peking, a rare species of deer, since this animal's homeland had been the palace gardens of Chinese royalty.

## Ebb and Flow

Although I can claim to be a zoology graduate, I am certainly not qualified to delve into the fields of either the political scientist or sociologist, so may I be permitted to quote relevant excerpts from the lecture titled "Realities and dreams: the ebb and flow in the politics of separatism". The lecture was delivered by Professor Morris-Jones for the International Centre for Ethnic Studies. Professor Morris-Jones is recognised not only as an expert on Indian affairs but also on Ethno-Nationalism and Commonwealth Studies and as such he ended his academic career as Director of Institute of Commonwealth Studies and Professor of Commonwealth Studies at the University of London. Professor Morris-Jones, interviewed by Qadri Ismail for The Island had referred to homelands, amongst other matters, when answering questions about India. He said: "India is certainly a nation, but one which contains separate groups with fairly clear identities and areas of regional concentrations which I suppose you have to call nationalities. Meaning by that something which is a clear identity in terms of language and a **HOMELAND**, but which is compatible with membership of a larger nation. I think this distinction between nation and nationality is quite useful because it enables one to indicate grades of identity. So I would describe

India as a multi-national nation. And of course is a state" (THE ISLAND 21 August).

## Sovereignty-Association

Professor Morris-Jones also spoke of homelands in general terms thus: "From the viewpoint of our discussing of separatism the attribute of a homeland is perhaps the most interesting. For, clearly ethnic movements will tend to make different sets of demands according to whether the populations for which they aim to speak are territorially concentrated or instead, dispersed at large among the polity of which they are a part. If they are concentrated, demands can be located at a point on a well defined range, which extends from the diminutive to merely decentralised administration, through a measure of devolution of powers, to regional autonomy, to federalism to looser confederation, to the status of "sovereignty association" devised by Quebec. "Obviously in the case of most ethnic movements is a desire for "recognition of a distinctive cultural identity" . . . There are two questions also that we may well consider: "Do movements become dormant when they are weak or when they have been **successful and thus reconciled? Do demands escalate out of confidence or out of despair?**"

Whilst I was drafting this article I came across two further references to homelands, M.A.H. Ispahani writing about Mohamed Ali Jinnah in THE ISLAND of 11 September affirms that it was the discipline of Mr Jinnah's one hundred million followers which enabled him to "wrench from the unwilling hands of the British and Hindus a **homeland** for the Muslims of the sub continent in which Pakistanis and their children live as **free people without fear of domination or persecution**. (The bold is mine). Today one is tempted to pose a question. How many in Pakistan fear domination and persecution in their homelands? On the same day (i.e. 11 September) G. Ratna Mallawaaraty under the caption "Some thoughts on how to combat Tamil extremism and violence" writes of the "**stupid notion of traditional homelands**"! May we leave it to readers to adopt either the views of this writer or the more explicit and scholarly analysis of Professor Morris-Jones?

## Permanent Solution

We too have our scholars in various fields, such as history, political science, journalism and sociology, as well as some outstanding members of the United Religions Organisation. All have made

invaluable contributions to peace. One must also mention the Citizens Committee for National Harmony, the Movement for Inter-racial Justice and Equality and the Civil Rights Movement. How often have their suggestions fallen on deaf ears and met blind eyes. It was however heartening to read in the ISLAND of 11 September the point of view of the Ven. Sirimalwatte Sri Ananda Mahanayake Thero which he expressed when speaking to the newly appointed Brigadier Cyril Ranatunga, Commander Joint Forces. The Mahanayake Thero was adamant that there should be no further delay in solving the national crisis. He emphasised that "the present crisis needs a permanent solution, rather than temporary patching up". He added that "every citizen of the country no matter to which race or religion he belonged must be ensured the freedom to enter any part of the country and make any corner of the country his home **without fear or pressure** (bold is mine).

Can any right thinking intelligent Sri Lankan disagree with these sentiments? But our rulers must recognise that Government sponsored settlements of tens of thousands of new residents anywhere in the country is a very different proposition and can be a source of much tension, misunderstanding and ill will. It can never promote communal amity and peace.

## Vote-catching Tactics

It was a pleasure to read all that His Excellency the President said when addressing election meetings just prior to the polling day. He spoke of leading the country to victory, in his own way. If that way is similar to Mahatma Gandhi's peaceful pathway to victory, (as is suggested by the report of the President's speech in the press) then and only then, all must surely support him, even to the point of accepting the President, for a time, as a benevolent dictator. During those days when speaking he covered a wide range of subjects and included the years from 1926 through to 1933 and the decision to make Sinhalese and Tamil official languages. He recognized S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike as the intellectual who pioneered the need for a federal form of Government as long ago as 1926 in multinational and multireligious nations. He presented his audience with a historical survey briefly commenting on the BC Pact of 1957 and the DC Pact of 1965 and so on. We were able to read rather more than bold headlines: we could read between the lines and readily understand the sources of the present sad conflict. Vote-catching tactics of politicians and the system of "adversary democracy" has led to this impasse. S.D. Bandaranayake bitterly criticises what he calls the Westminster model and rightly so. Must we continue to lose time and dilly dally until it is too late? When will sanity and wisdom prevail?

May I mention one name only, not because his views are wiser than the views of others but because he has been an

## JCWI calls for Independent Appeals System

At least half of all Immigration Act prisoners want to leave the UK at the first opportunity, the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants (JCWI) claimed in a recent report.

Yet routine delays and inefficient record keeping which characterise Home Office procedures mean that detainees spend an average of six weeks in prison. The report claims that the Home Office could cut delays, reduce public expenditure and relieve the prisons of the burden of extra detainees by taking advantage of voluntary departure or temporary release provisions.

The JCWI report calls for an independent appeals system for all those facing deportation, rapid processing of applications for asylum and a directory at all points of arrival in the English language and appropriate languages and contact numbers for all advisory services.

For further information, please contact:  
The Refugee Forum, 42 Albany Street,  
London NW1. Tel: 01 482 3829.

### Home Truths — continued

outstanding young person from the age of 16 when he had the distinction of touring India, Pakistan and China as a member of Sri Lanka's Davis Cup Tennis Team. From that time he has won awards and scholarships here, in Pakistan and the USA. Jehan Perera (who incidentally is the grandson of a UNP senator Dr. M.G. Perera) spent two years on leave from Harvard while holding the Knox Fellowship to study communal conflict, full time in Sri Lanka. He lived with rural families in Anuradhapura and Kurunegala and even studied ploughing technologies in Sri Lanka. This brilliant and versatile young scholar is dedicated to finding a way to solve the present tragic situation. I wish to suggest that interested politicians and others should read the pamphlet which was published in August 1984 by the Centre for Society and Religion, 81, Deans Road, Colombo 10. A second booklet was published early this year on "Articles on the Ethnic Problem". Jehan in 1985 endorses SWRD's 1926 viewpoint. Did we have to delay for four decades? Nowhere worldwide has federalism led to separation says Jehan.

The situation is grave and urgent and a decision is called for such as federalism or regional autonomy. We urge our rulers to give all Sri Lankans the solace of living in a progressive multi-lingual 'Asian Switzerland' rather than in a 'war-torn' Lebanon, where civil strife would not only mean the tragic loss of thousands of lives, but would also create total chaos and turn back the pages of our history half a century or more.

Courtesy of "Lanka Guardian"

## 'CLIMATE OF AUTHORITARIANISM JEOPARDISES DURABLE SOLUTION' —

### Liberal International

*Deploing the 'erosion of human rights, the violation of liberal democratic principles and the escalation of violence in Sri Lanka', and holding that 'the increasing concentration of power in the state has produced a climate of authoritarianism which jeopardises the prospects of a durable solution to the current problem', the Liberal International, at its recent Congress held in Spain, called upon the Sri Lankan government to enter into negotiations for a peaceful solution to the ethnic conflict and to hold 'an immediate general election so as to legitimise the government process.'*

*The Liberal International includes the Democratic Party of the US, and the Liberal Parties of the UK, Canada, West Germany etc. Present at the Congress were Giscard D'Estaing, former President of France, David Steel, leader of the British Liberal Party, Martin Hungeman, the West German Economics Minister and Simon Veil, ex-President of the European Parliament.*

The following resolution proposed by the Swiss Party was adopted, without opposition, at the Congress of the Liberal International:

"This Congress —

1. deplores the erosion of human rights, the violation of liberal democratic principles and the escalation of violence in Sri Lanka;

2. notes that these developments constitute an impediment to the peaceful solution of the ethnic conflict;

3. notes that this escalating violence and social instability has led to a decline of economic development and so threatens the survival of Liberal values;

4. believes that the postponement of a General Election for six years has reduced the possibility for the participation of the Sri Lankan people in the political process and thereby undermined their confidence in it;

5. believes that the increasing concentration of power in the state has produced a climate of authoritarianism which jeopardises the prospects of a durable solution to the current problem;

6. believes that only an island-wide devolution of power will realise this objective;

7. calls on the government of Sri Lanka and the Tamil groups to agree upon a prolongation of the ceasefire and renewed negotiations in order to settle the conflict peacefully;

8. urges the governments of Sri Lanka, India and the High Commissioner for Refugees of the United Nations to develop plans for good and secured facilities for Tamil refugees, primarily in the region (i.e., in Sri Lanka or Tamil Nadu);

9. calls on the member states of the United Nations to contribute financially to those facilities and to take all diplomatic steps needed in order to promote a peaceful settlement of the ethnic conflict and the restoration of liberal values in Sri Lanka;

10. calls for an immediate General Election so as to legitimise the government process in Sri Lanka and thus restore the authority essential for a just settlement acceptable to all parties;

11. calls for the removal of all political disabilities imposed on individuals and groups so as to ensure the widest possible participation in a General Election;

12. calls on all member parties and groups of the Liberal International to extend their fullest support for the restoration of peace and liberal values in Sri Lanka, by the adoption of the above means, and to urge their respective governments to do likewise."

Amongst members of the Liberal International who supported this motion were the Democratic Party of the United States, the Free Democratic Party of Germany, the Liberal Party of Britain, the Union for French Democracy of France and the Liberal party of Canada. The Sri Lankan members of the Liberal International are the Sri Lankan Liberal Group (formerly led by Chandra Zoysa and now by Mars Mohideen, both of the Marga Institute), and the Council for Liberal Democracy (Joint Secretaries Chanaka Amaratunga and Asitha Perera).

# Some neglected aspects of the Sri Lanka question

By Rajmohan Gandhi

**S**OME relevant but, comparatively speaking, neglected aspects of the Sri Lanka question should be looked at. One is Tamil resentment at the Sinhala notion that it is only by the kind permission of the Sinhala majority that Tamils can enjoy the rights of citizens.

"The island was and is ours. But out of the goodness of our hearts we are prepared to tolerate you, provided of course you behave properly." Thus the Sinhalese to the Tamils. Many Sinhalese harbour the sentiment and quite a few express it. Old and widespread, the attitude is one that Sinhalese parents pass on effortlessly and unconsciously to their children.

Tamils contest the historical basis for such an attitude but at this stage it is the truth of human psychology rather than of history that should exercise us. History's facts, in any case, are hard to establish to everyone's satisfaction. Governed by the universal laws of human psychology, Sri Lanka's Tamils have hated the idea that while Sinhalese rights are innate, Tamil rights are Sinhala gift.

## Sinhalese attitude

Yet it is an idea that is instinctively accepted by many a Sinhalese, whether of "low" or "high" caste, whether educated in an undeveloped village or of Oxbridge variety, whether sprung from the lowlands or belonging to the Kandy hills. That we in India are only too familiar with similar or corresponding attitudes and have paid a high price for them is of course true. We know that political solutions are delayed or sabotaged by such popular attitudes.

When Sinhalese politicians speak of what the people want they generally have the Sinhala-speaking masses in mind. "His handicap," a distinguished Sri Lankan once said to me, referring to another distinguished Sri Lankan, "is that he is not one of the people". The latter's disqualification was that he had been born to Tamil-speakers.

The changing complexion of the Eastern province is another crucial element in the Lankan picture. In 1946, 8.4 per cent of this province's population was Sinhalese; by 1981 the figure rose to 24.9 per cent. Now the percentage is probably higher.

Freedom of movement is a citizen's right in every democratic country. But many countries also recognise and heed a region's attachment to its linguistic, ethnic and cultural complexion. It was Tripura's transformation from a tribal majority area to a Bengali-majority State that fuelled fears all over our north-east.

Foreigners migrating into this region is not the only worry of the seven sisters of the north-east. Assam, Meghalaya,

Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur, Tripura and Arunachal are also keen to save their languages and cultures from being submerged by an influx of population from other parts of India. This anxiety of our north-east is to a large extent understood and respected by the rest of India.

## Sponsor

Does Sri Lanka's Sinhala majority understand and respect similar Tamil fears in the Eastern province? Not to block a citizen's wish to live in another province is one thing: but to sponsor and finance and give incentives for a large-scale resettlement of Sinhalese in traditional Tamil areas, which is what Colombo has done for years, can only provoke Tamil fears and anger.

It is in the district of Trincomalee, which is a part of the Eastern province, that the change has been most dramatic. About a third of Trincomalee's population are now Sinhala speakers. And Muslims constitute slightly less than half of the Tamil speakers. That Lanka's Muslims speak Tamil has not always ensured an alliance between them and Hindu Tamils. Aware that 70 per cent of their community lives in areas where Sinhalese predominate, the Eastern province's Muslims have often sided with the Sinhalese.

## Population position

Trincomalee takes in the northern third of the Eastern province. Below it lies the district of Batticaloa, to the south of Batticaloa is the district of Amparai. The 1981 census gave the following figures for the three districts.

Trincomalee: Sinhalese, 86,341; Tamils 86,743; Muslims 74,403; Indian Tamils 6,767. Batticaloa: Sinhalese 10,646; Tamils 234,348; Muslims 79,317; Indian Tamils 3,868. Amparai: Sinhalese 146,371; Tamils 78,315; Muslims 161,481; Indian Tamils 1,410. Total for the province: Sinhalese 243,358; Tamils 399,406; Muslims 315,201; Indian Tamils 12,045.

That the Muslims can play a decisive role is obvious from these figures. Without a Hindu-Muslim alliance the Eastern province may not join a Tamil homeland or unit or be politically stable after joining. We should note that in the 1977 elections, because of a Sinhalese-Muslim understanding, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) could win only four of the 12 seats in the Eastern province.

In the Northern province the TULF won all 14 seats. The 1981 census gave the following percentages for the Northern

province. Sinhalese 3.0; Tamils 92.1. Muslims 4.7. There have been some accusations recently of an attempt to resettle Sinhalese in the Vavuniya and Mannar districts of the Northern province.

Muslims in the Eastern province are not necessarily against Tamil autonomy. But they say, "Leave Amparai alone." Muslim strength in Amparai is an old story and owes nothing to resettlement, but the increase in Amparai's Sinhalese percentage was assisted substantially by resettlement.

## Community relations

We have noted the connection between the Muslim factor and what may be called the hostage factor. The safety of their kith and kin in Colombo, Kandy, Kurunegala and Puttalam (to name some Lankan districts where Muslims are a significant percentage) weighs greatly with the Muslims of the Eastern province. Of Lanka's 1,056,972 Muslims (1981 census), 741,771 live in Sinhalese-majority areas. We can assume, however, that other considerations are also at work: Hindu-Muslim relations in India must be one of them.

The hostage factor also troubles a large number of Tamils. Of the 1,871,535 Sri Lanka Tamils (1981 census), over half a million (514,332 to be exact) reside outside the Northern and Eastern provinces. Hence the reported Sinhala remark that if it will require only ten hours for Indian forces to take Sri Lanka, it will require only five hours for the Sinhalese majority to deal with half a million Tamil hostages.

Recent emigrations must have reduced the numbers, but in 1981 Colombo had 165,952 Lanka Tamils and 21,504 Indian Tamils. Kandy, Nuwara Eliya, Puttalam, Gampaha and Badulla are other districts with a large Lanka Tamil presence. The future safety of Tamils in Sinhala areas lies in emigration or in a Sinhala-Tamil agreement.

Tamils of Indian origin or tea garden Tamils are another 825,000 or so at present. In the past they have often had to face violent Sinhalese reacting to acts of Tamils in Jaffna or Batticaloa. These "Indian" Tamils are actually aware of the hostage factor. Only 75,000 of them live in the north and the east, which is why their leader, Mr. Thondaman, says: "We support Tamil Eelam but that will not solve our problem."

To complete the picture it should be added that of the island's 11 million Sinhalese only 276,507 live in Tamil majority areas.

The "quota" factor has a historical significance and also a relevance across



## ALLEN ABRAHAM OF JAFFNA COLLEGE AND HALLEY'S COMET

THERE is a renewed interest in Professor Allen Abraham and his studies in Astronomy with the reappearance of Halley's Comet. Jaffna College will produce in the near future 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 eighth native Asian to be admitted to the Fellowship which includes six from India and one from Japan. What is very 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 alias Subramaniam Ambalavanar made his observations with a very small telescope (presented by a missionary astronomer from USA, in the early 19th century) aided also by observations of the naked eye with the help of his students and colleagues 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 learner astronomer -

*"Some people think that the telescope and other astronomical instruments are indispensable for the 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 extended 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 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 the girls and boys 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.

A. KADIRGAMAR, Principal Jaffna College

the Palk Strait. Because Sinhalese felt that Tamils had an unwarranted share of university seats, there were reservations for Sinhalese students. Many Tamil boys who were shut out despite their high grades took to the gun and the grenade.

On a wider front it was the language factor that injected the iron into the Tamil soul. The Sinhala-only path wounded Tamil sentiment as nothing else did. And a painful milestone along this path was the burning of the precious and deeply-cherished Jaffna library.

The rivalry factor in the relationship among the various Tamil groups has received some attention in the Indian press. But the following words in "Tamil Information", a privately circulated journal serving the cause of Lanka's Tamils, merit a wider audience. "Tamil society has also to learn to look inward. A clinical introspection is essential. Every society carries with it some canker in its vitals, which if not cleansed, can lead to its own destruction. Intolerance and factionalism, inability to accept a contrary point of view, self-inflated egoism, malice and mud-slinging are neither healthy nor happy attributes in a people fighting oppression and waging a struggle for liberation.

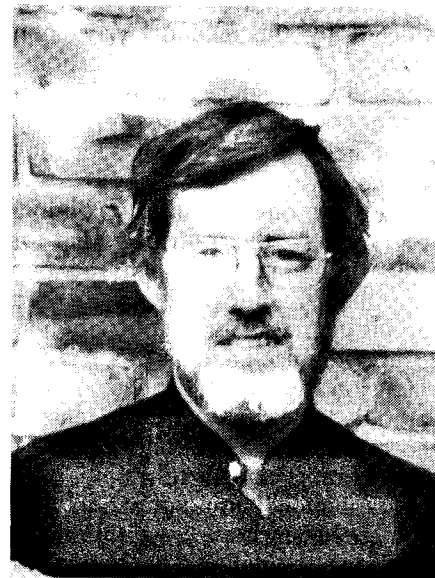
"If this debilitating process is not checked in time, that will be a sure way of defeating ourselves before the enemy defeats us. All guns need steady hands but if they are used in the cause of liberation they need clean hands as well."

(Indian Express)

## 'The Light Shines in the Darkness'

WHAT I enjoy most about Christmas in England are our candle-lit services, especially the Communion Service that we hold around midnight on Christmas Eve. As we sit in the flickering shadows, we feel deeply the sense of God's light shining in the darkness. Then we switch the lights on! Even if there was a power cut, we know that the darkness would soon fade into the new dawning day. No matter how deeply moved we are, we are talking about a symbolic light that shines in a passing darkness. But the event that the prophets longed for was one in which God's light would shine in the seemingly endless dark of cruelty and oppression. In Christ, we believe that light did so shine - but not so as to flood the world permanently with dazzling light. What we have is just the light shining in the darkness, and the promise that the darkness will not overcome it.

I saw that text last year above the tomb of El Salvador's murdered archbishop, Oscar Romero. In recent years, I have seen how friends in South Africa and Central America have been used by the Spirit to write powerful new chapters to the Christmas story. Now that story has a new chapter, written in Sri Lanka, and especially this year, in the Eastern Province. Light in darkness, hope in despair, eternal strength in a new-born baby. We shall read these old truths from Matthew, Luke and John once again this Christmas - but we shall also read what



Rev. JOHN KENNEDY

Methodist Minister in Batticaloa (1973-78), presently in charge of Old Ford Methodist Church, Danesdale Road, London E9. Rev. Kennedy has been concerned in recent years with the Christian contribution to the liberation struggle in Central America.

God is writing among you in Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Amparai. We already pray for you - help us now to learn from you.

# POLITICAL PARANOIA – A MALADY FAST EMERGING IN SRI LANKA

By Augustine Saverimuttu

ACCORDING to an internationally famed psychiatrist, the diversity of human behaviour in the fields of health and disease results from the individual's unique organisation of personality traits which in turn determines his behaviour. This diversity of human behaviour provides for medical men one of the most interesting aspects of their work.

In medical parlance, personality consists of a sum-total of inter-actions between many different traits of the individual. And certain traits are so prominent or pronounced that they exert a major influence on his thinking, feeling and behaviour. A paranoid patient poses a problem not only to clinical practice but very often to society itself.

It is time however that those in Sri Lanka took note of the fact that a new type of paranoid patient is fast emerging. I mean the political paranoiac. And if no proper controls are exercised, the number of aspirants to political power who may be afflicted by this malady may soon reach epidemic proportions, especially in a small country like Sri Lanka which is already being threatened with the crisis of a teeming population.

The symptoms of political paranoia are basically the same as that of ordinary paranoia, though the two symptoms manifest themselves in varying degrees. A paranoid patient is unsure of himself and his mood is one of tension and anxiety. In the political paranoiac, there is suppressed tension and anxiety and also a limitless degree of exuberance and garrulity.

Although a paranoid patient has little cherished hopes, aspirations or ambitions, the political paranoiac has an unhealthy and sometimes an uncontrollable excess of it. It is a pathological tendency for a paranoid patient to keep aloof or remain in seclusion. Potentates afflicted by political paranoia keep not aloof but aloft and drift in the dizziness of the clouds without as much as a look at the things below them.

"Ego-centrism" is a trait common to both the ordinary paranoiac and the political paranoiac. While the ordinary paranoiac is egocentric in

that he holds the conviction that the universe centres in him, the political paranoiac holds the same conviction but to a lesser or humbler degree in that the country (and not the universe, thankfully) centres in him.

The ordinary paranoid patient has no beliefs or ideas. The political paranoiac professes beliefs which he never practises, while his ideas are inscrutable and far-fetched. Needless to say that many of the ideas of the political paranoiac ultimately end in defeat and disillusionment.

The ordinary paranoiac, even when a goal has been attained, remains a disenchanted and disgruntled revolutionary. But in the political paranoiac the attainment of a cherished goal makes the paranoia more dominant and destructive. Hitler is an example.

If an ordinary paranoiac projects his personality sometimes, the political paranoiac projects his personality at all times. Although many paranoid patients come within the ambit of medical practice, there are several who remain outside it. The political paranoiac, of course, is clearly outside the ambit of any kind of medical practice, and that is more a misfortune to society than to his own self.

Then, of course, both the political paranoiac and the ordinary paranoiac have their delusions. In the political paranoiac they may disappear thankfully, at the next elections. In the ordinary paranoiac they may persist. Again the ordinary paranoiac usually changes medical practitioners. But the political paranoiac only changes political parties when it suits him, and that with the facility of a coquette who will flirt with half a dozen lovers in succession.

A paranoid patient is hypersensitive and often displays a hostile reaction to questioning. In the political paranoiac any questioning is treated with contemptuous disregard and persistence might lead to dangerous consequences. No amount of criticism will have any effect as his hide is impenetrably thick and therefore insensitive to any kind of feeling.

A paranoiac not infrequently

carries himself to the top of the world in flights of his own imagination. A political paranoiac carries himself to the top of the world on the wings of his electors after which he starts to "look in the clouds scorning the base degrees by which he did ascend." No amount of persuasion thereafter can bring him back to earth.

And lastly, a paranoiac is sometime co-operative. But the political paranoiac seldom or never is. He is supreme and infallible. His actions are always right and beyond question. His word is often law. If he changes his political colours, like a chameleon, we have only to admire his feat. If he decides that a free press is bad for a democracy, it is the unassailable truth. Or if he decides that a 'little bit of totalitarianism' is good for a democracy, or even a dictatorship is better than democracy, we dare not challenge him.

Sri Lanka has certainly had quite a number of political paranoiacs almost from the time the country obtained its Independence, and thankfully they had been effectively treated at successive elections.

I believe there is in Sri Lanka a Mental Health Act which was introduced to look after the health of paranoid patients. There is certainly a way of treating the ordinary paranoiac. But there is doubtless no way of treating the political paranoiac. He can only be treated at the elections that follow.

## Fewer Allowed to Settle in the UK

The number of immigrants allowed to settle in the United Kingdom during 1984 was the lowest since statistics were first compiled in 1962, according to the Home Office latest figures.

The number of people accepted from the 'New' Commonwealth and Pakistan fell to 24,800, that is 2750 fewer than in 1983. The refusal rate differed considerably between Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. It was about 1 in 2 from Bangladesh, 1 in 7 from India and 1 in 4 from Pakistan.

Removals and 'voluntary departures' also went up during 1984, 630 as against 550 in 1983. The number of deportation orders enforced in 1984 was 920 compared with 810 in 1983.

## Nuclear Carrier 'Kitty Hawk' in Colombo

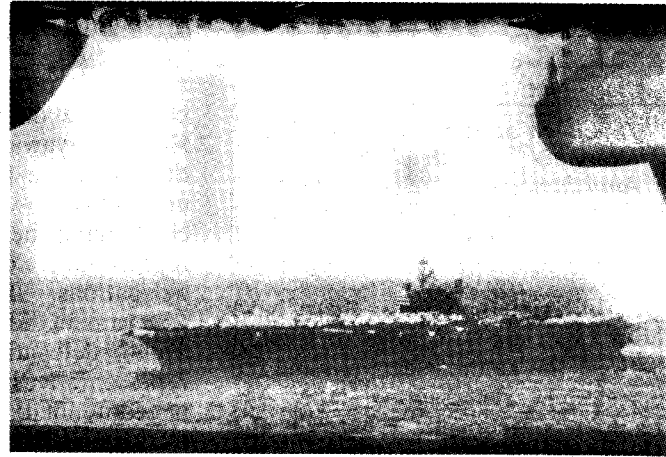
THE AMERICAN aircraft carrier, 'US Kitty Hawk', was in the Colombo harbour from November 10 to 14. The 'Kitty Hawk' which is a constituent part of the US Seventh Fleet has a crew of 5,300 and carries 87 aircraft. The giant carrier has a flight deck area of 4.1 acres and 17 storeys. It was accompanied by three other ships which included two destroyers.

According to JANE'S FIGHTING SHIPS and other authoritative and official naval intelligence publications, the 'Kitty Hawk' and aircraft carriers of this class are equipped to carry, and in fact do carry, nuclear missiles and weapons.

The issue of the arrival of the 'Kitty Hawk' in Colombo was raised in the Sri Lankan Parliament by the opposition MP, Mr. Lakshman Jayakoddy, who said that Sri Lanka being a non-aligned country should not allow the aircraft carrier to enter the territorial waters of Sri Lanka if it carried nuclear warheads. The Foreign Minister, A. C. S. Hameed, replied that his government had followed a consistent policy of not allowing naval vessels carrying nuclear warheads and weapons into the island's territorial waters, and attempted to assure that Sri Lanka had 'verified' that the 'Kitty Hawk' and its other escort vessels did not have nuclear weapons on board while in the country's territorial waters.

The truth of the Foreign Minister's reply is strongly doubted in Colombo and New Delhi. Sri Lanka has neither the capacity nor the nerve, depending so much on US handouts, to even raise the question of the presence of nuclear weapons on board the 'Kitty Hawk'. The giant carrier being virtually a mobile nuclear naval base of the US, it is highly improbable that it jettisoned on the high seas all its nuclear arsenal before it entered Lanka's territorial waters.

The Minister failed to disclose how Colombo had carried out its 'verification' exercise. Surely he could not have meant that the US authorities permitted Sri Lankan personnel to board the 'Kitty Hawk' to carry out their inspection in international waters before it entered Colombo harbour. Sri Lanka was not even in a position to obtain a verbal assurance from the US authorities that the carrier and its escort vessels did not carry nuclear weapons because the US arrogantly follows a policy of neither confirming nor denying the presence of nuclear weapons. In fact, when questioned by reporters in Colombo, the Public Affairs Officer of the 'Kitty Hawk',



"Kitty Hawk" from an American Helicopter

Lieutenant Art St. John J.G. stated that the official position of the United States Navy with respect to nuclear warheads and weapons on board the 'Kitty Hawk' was to neither confirm nor deny it.

It was this policy of the United States which so angered New Zealand Prime Minister, David Lange, as to deny access of US Naval ships to the country's harbours. Despite New Zealand being a member of ANZUS, David Lange created a crisis by insisting that the US should disclose the presence of nuclear weapons before entering New Zealand's territorial waters.

'Sri Lanka is not New Zealand nor is President Jayawardene Premier David Lange', was the comment by a veteran opposition politician in Colombo.

Sri Lanka as a member of the Non-Aligned Movement is a signatory to many resolutions which banned ships carrying nuclear arms from entering her ports. However, Sri Lanka while paying lip service to the NAM, has moved further and further away from the movement and towards the US since 1977. The alacrity with which Sri Lanka organised a sports carnival for the crew of the USS Kitty Hawk, USS Fox, USS Hoel and the USS Wichita during their four day stay in Colombo demonstrates Colombo's desire to please and serve US interests.

The 'Kitty Hawk' which from inside resembles a fully developed small town has a radio and television studio and broadcasts on nine TV channels. On board is also a printing press which produces its own newspaper for the crew titled, 'The Flier'.

## Dahanayake For Federal Solution

Why cannot the Tamils of Sri Lanka have a government like that of Tamil Nadu in the North and East, asked Mr. W. Dahanayake, MP for the southern constituency of Galle, in Parliament when he spoke during the recent budget debate.

Mr. Dahanayake is the oldest serving parliamentarian in Sri Lanka. During his younger days, he was a firebrand taking up the cause of the downtrodden when he was a member of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP). He later joined the Mahajana Eksath Permana under the leadership of the late Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike becoming Minister of Education in the Bandaranaike cabinet. For a short period, he became Prime

Minister following the assassination of Mr. Bandaranaike. Presently he is a member of the ruling United National Party.

Mr. Dahanayake said in the course of his speech that the solution to the present trouble was not such an elusive thing as some imagined. Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi had said that the regional autonomy allowed should be no more than that prevailed in India. The government should offer the Tamils a solution they could accept with dignity. They should also offer them a degree of autonomy within the framework of a united Sri Lanka. Such systems were found in Russia and even in India. Why

should they not offer them something similar to what prevails in India?

Mr. Dahanayake added that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was the best friend of Sri Lanka. He had stated at a recent press conference that he was not favouring any side, but wished to see peace restored in Sri Lanka. Gandhi was one of the greatest peacemakers. 'Blessed are the peacemakers', Christ had said.

Mr. Dahanayake asked, "Why cannot the Tamils have a government like that of Tamil Nadu in the north and in the east within the framework of unity? The government must make that offer at the next conference."

# 'GOVERNMENT PROPOSALS ARE UNACCEPTABLE'

Says TULF Leader

*This is an abridged version of an interview with Mr. A. Amirthalingam, Secretary General of the Tamil United Liberation Front.*

**Q. Mr. Amirthalingam, there have been two rounds of talks in Bhutan between the Tamil delegations and the delegation representing the Sri Lankan government. What was the reason for the lack of success at the first round of talks?**

**A.** It was apparent that there was no real change in the government's position. In fact the government delegation came up with proposals that had already been rejected by the Tamils. It was absurd for the government delegation to do that. In some respects, the proposals that were put forward by Mr. Hector Jayawardene were even less than those placed before the All Party Conference in 1984. The Tamil United Liberation Front had already rejected them. It was absurd for the government to expect the Tamil Liberation Groups and the TULF to accept them. There was no possibility for continuation of the talks on the basis of the government proposals. The talks, therefore, were doomed from the start.

**Q. What was the reason for the collapse of the second round of talks at Thimphu?**

**A.** They came to a premature abrupt end because of the reports we received about the large scale massacre of Tamil civilians by the security forces in Vavuniya and Trincomalee. The massacre at Vavuniya resulting in the killing of over 200 Tamils occurred on 16 August, and we heard about it on the BBC and Australian radios on 17 August. It was clear that the Sri Lankan security forces were violating the ceasefire arrangements and killing innocent civilians. We could not possibly continue the talks as if nothing had happened. The talks ended with the walkout by all six Tamil delegations.

**Q. Before the walkout, did the government delegation place any different proposals for discussion?**

**A.** There were several changes made to the original proposals. However,

before the discussions started, Mr. Hector Jayawardene, the leader of the Sri Lankan delegation, created an unnecessary controversy by challenging the credentials as to the representative character of the Tamil delegations. He said that the government did not accept that the six Tamil delegations were the only representatives of the Tamil people; he contended that the government too represented the Tamils. The Tamil delegations challenged the position adopted by the government and these exchanges took almost two days. Finally, Mr Jayawardene accepted rather grudgingly that there was sufficient representation of Tamil interests as represented by the six Tamil delegations and that it was possible to arrive at a final conclusion with the groups present at Thimphu.

Although there were changes in the proposals, they were not acceptable to the Tamil delegations and they made statements rejecting them. Before the discussions could proceed further, the news of the massacre at Vavuniya reached us which ended in the walkout I referred to earlier.

**Q. It would appear that all the Liberation Groups had agreed to the ceasefire. How effective is the ceasefire?**

**A.** The ceasefire was supposed to have come into effect on June 18. However, during the three month period between 18 June and 18 September during which the ceasefire was presumed to be in operation, over 500 Tamil people were indiscriminately killed by the security forces. This is how the ceasefire is being observed.

**Q. Do you think that the appointment of a Ceasefire Monitoring Committee would have any impact?**

**A.** Certainly the appointment of the Monitoring Committee is an improvement. However I doubt whether it would be effective in monitoring any violations because, the Committee has to totally depend on the government for its information, for its mobility and for other facilities required if it wants to be effective. I think the inclusion of the two nominees of the ENLF in the Committee is a welcome improvement. They may be in a

position to draw attention to the violations of the ceasefire by the army and to the true facts. The Monitoring Committee may have a deterrent effect on those who violate the ceasefire. I think only an independent international body like the Red Cross or a group of persons from some non-aligned country should monitor the ceasefire, and that is the only way it could be done effectively.

**Q. It would appear that the Sri Lanka government is using the ceasefire period to build up its military strength on a massive scale. The Minister of National Security is talking about setting up a permanent army of 100,000. In this context, how genuine is the government about a peaceful negotiated settlement?**

**A.** We raised this question with the Indian government officials at the time the ceasefire was being discussed. The position of the Sri Lankan government as conveyed to the Indian government was that the right of the Sri Lanka government to strengthen its armed forces for the defence of the country could not be questioned. It would therefore seem that the right of the Tamil militant groups to increase their numbers and strength was also acknowledged as a corresponding right.

**Q. With the formation of the Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF), comprising four Liberation Groups, the Tamil people hoped that other groups also would come together. Is there any possibility that the PLOT will also join the Front?**

**A.** Our efforts always have been directed to bringing about unity among all groups. Before the Thimphu talks we had discussions with the ENLF and PLOT separately. During and at the talks, all the groups adopted a common position. It is unfortunate that there is still some misunderstanding between the ENLF and PLOT. As far as the TULF is concerned, all the groups should get together in a united front to be effective and in the interest of serving the Tamil people. We will continue our efforts to bring about this unity.

**Q. The Federal Party in earlier years, and the TULF in more recent years enjoyed virtual monopoly of**

**representing the Tamil speaking people. Now that the Tamil Liberation Groups also have been recognised as representatives of the Tamil people, would you agree that the monopoly held by the TULF had come to an end?**

A. We of the TULF owe our position to the fact of having been elected by the Tamil people. The liberation groups have come to be recognised because of their struggle and sacrifices they have made. Any settlement without their participation and concurrence cannot be effective. In that context they have become recognised. But the ultimate representative character will have to be decided by the people. However, I am always of the view that the liberation groups having played a major part in the Tamil struggle in recent years must be given due recognition and are entitled to their due place in any future set up in the Tamil areas.

**Q. The killing of M. Alalasundaram and V. Dharmalingam, two former TULF MPs, by some yet unidentified group must have come as a rude shock to you and a big blow for the TULF. Have you got any comment?**

A. As you know, Mr. Dharmalingam was active in Tamil politics for over 35 years and served as an MP for 25 years. Mr. Alalasundaram, besides having been an MP, was the Administrative Secretary of the TULF. They were two of the most active workers in the north. Mr. Alalasundaram was going round all the districts in Jaffna and supplying information about army atrocities and other developments not only to us in Madras, but also to foreign journalists who visited Jaffna.

In fact I regard the attack on these two TULF stalwarts as an attack on me personally, because if I had been there, surely I would have been the first target for whoever was responsible for these killings. I think there is no point in deluding ourselves that the killings were carried out by some outsiders. There is no doubt that they were committed by some misguided Tamil elements. So strong was the reaction of the ordinary Tamil people against these murderous acts, those who were responsible for the killings have tried to disown responsibility or have tried to put the blame on other groups. In fact this attempt on their part is an indication of their realisation that they cannot take the people for granted. The people have told them in no

unmistakable terms that they will not tolerate these type of actions anymore.

The fact that several thousands of mourners attended the funerals of these two martyrs was symbolic of the love and affection the people had for them. However tragic the incident may have been, we do not want to pursue the matter further because we do not want to create further division in the ranks of the Tamil people.

**Q. TAMIL TIMES has editorially condemned these killings and commented that they were acts of naked terrorism and had nothing to do with Tamil liberation or freedom. Would you agree with that view?**

A. I entirely agree. In fact the placards which were left besides their dead bodies had described them as having betrayed the Tamil people and it is an absolute falsehood. Some of those who got elected on the pretext of serving the Tamil people are doing well occupying cabinet portfolios without raising a little finger on behalf of the suffering Tamil people who are subjected to genocidal attacks. But Dharmalingam and Alalasundaram sacrificed their seats in Parliament and their professional careers by refusing to take the oath of allegiance. They continued to devote their time and resources in the cause and service of the people. I think there is something rotten in the thinking of those who killed them. Your characterisation of their killing as 'naked terrorism' is absolutely correct.

**Q. It is known that the Sri Lanka government has submitted a working paper containing proposals for the setting up of provincial councils, and the Indian government is awaiting the reaction of the Tamil groups. What is the position?**

A. It is the common view of all Tamil groups that the proposals as stated in the Working Paper are unacceptable. However, the Liberation Groups are not yet ready to put forward their counter proposals on the basis that the security forces have continued to commit ceasefire violations. But I think before long we have to come to grips with the problem and respond. We would like a united response by all Tamil groups. Because President Jayawardene made certain statements in a press interview to the effect that the Indian government had accepted the proposals contained in the Working Paper, the TULF sent a lengthy memorandum to the Indian

government setting out three basic positions: Firstly, we pointed out that the integrity of the Tamil homeland of the northern and eastern provinces as one unit should be preserved, and that provincial councils being set up dividing the two provinces would never be acceptable. Secondly, the power over land settlement and distribution in the north and east should be vested in the devolved authority. We pointed out that the government should not benefit from the illegal and immoral land settlement policy which they had pursued for the last three decades thereby altering the demographic composition in the Tamil areas. Thirdly, the main problem presently facing the Tamil people being one of security of life and property in their home areas, the power to deal with internal law and order should be vested in the devolved authority. These three issues are basic and not negotiable.

## SRI LANKA - ONLY 'PARTLY FREE'

### Says US State Dept.

ACCORDING to the United States State Department, Sri Lanka is only "partly free". Using the 'Freedom House' classification of countries, the State Department in its latest report to the US Senate and the House of Representatives has described Sri Lanka as 'partly free'.

The 'Freedom House' classification categorises countries as either 'free' or 'partly free'. The countries falling into the category of 'free' are: Fiji, New Zealand, Belgium, France, FRG, Greece, Japan, Papua New Guinea, Iceland, Ireland, Solomon Islands, Austria, Italy, Sweden, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, India.

The 'partly free' countries are: Iran, Taiwan, South Korea, South Africa, Chile, Grenada, Uganda, Malaysia, Turkey, Bangladesh, Jordan, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Bahrain, Bhutan, Vanuatu, Western Samoa, Yugoslavia, Egypt, Kuwait, Qatar, Turkish portion of Cyprus, Hungary, Lebanon, Morocco, Malta, Poland, Israel's occupied territories, Nepal, Tunisia, U.A.E., Kenya.

# TRYING TO CELEBRATE CHRISTMAS

AS THE season of advent hope and Christmas festivity draws near, all of us have to ask ourselves whether there is still some hope in our hearts for a peaceful and just settlement in our beautiful homeland. Extremisms of whatever hue, which selfishly try to hold on to their point of view, cannot really show us the path of peace and justice. They only make our people – both Sinhalese and Tamils – accumulate much negative karma which might take a long, long time to be freed from.

Even if the killings and lootings do not come to the human court so that the perpetrators could be punished, there is – thank God – a hidden nemesis, an inner justice which no one can escape. Crime is its own punishment. The whole land, and all the hearts are under a cloud. People live in fear. The country ceases to develop and progress. Not only the economy, but even the minds and hearts and memories have begun to shrink. How sad!

Buddhists and Hindus, Muslims and Christians, all agree that violence begets violence. But there seems to be no end to it. The basic root of violence has to be eradicated. And the root of violence in our situation is the desire to control what does not legitimately belong to us – others' freedom, rights and homelands. The pursuit of such selfish domination – under whatever noble pretexts of unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty – cannot truly free people to be what they really are. Freedom to affirm one's identity – ethnic, religious, personal – cannot be bartered for any other convenience.

What we want for ourselves, we should be ready to let others have too. What the Israelis want for themselves, they should have for their own. What the Ulster Protestants want for themselves, they should concede also to the Irish Catholics – some kind of meaningful relationship to their motherland. English Canadians have to be sensitive to the rights, whether linguistic or economic, of the French Québécois. Africans in South Africa should give their fellow Blacks and Asians the same rights that they enjoy. Sinhalese in Sri Lanka must understand that like them the Tamils too want to be at home in their own country. That is not asking too much.

Being at home means that one's language and home and homeland and other basic rights be fully respected. Exploitation, under whatever legal and political fiction, remains exploitation. Even the simplest folk can recognize that. Certain values, people hold more sacred than life itself, to the point of laying down their lives, if need be. One such value is freedom. *Life without true freedom to be at home is lifeless life.*

I have met thousands of Tamil refugees in Europe, North America and India, who in spite of all the limitations of their displaced condition, seem to feel more at

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home in their new place, since even as refugees and immigrants and new citizens they enjoy equal rights with the people of the land when it comes to basic matters of health, education and welfare, to economic and political participation in the life of the nation. Because of their background in education and their desire to work and contribute, a few of these new immigrants seem to fare even better than some of the local citizens. That is the heart of freedom. In many places, at the end of three to five years, they can be full-fledged citizens.

Compare that to what has happened to our Indian Tamils on the Sri Lanka plantations. After many generations and decades, having contributed so richly to the economy of the country, most of them remain Stateless paupers with no political rights in the country where they born and have laboured all their life. Such injustice cries to heaven. And no land that does such things can be blessed – whatever the beauty of the scenery. They draw a curse on themselves. No one needs to curse them.

During the last few years of unrest in Sri Lanka, nearly half a million Tamils have been displaced – not to mention the cruel and cowardly killings of unarmed civilians; and that is one in every six has been displaced. A terrible statistic. And the other five live in fear and incertitude. Of these only a tiny fraction has been able to get away to India (which is already over-crowded) and to Western countries, and build a new life. Such emigration, as we all know, is not going to solve the problem of the great majority who remain, and want to remain in their homelands.

The hope we celebrate at Christmas is that the Ultimate in human form can come to birth where we least expect it, and often amidst exile, poverty and affliction. Jesus was born of a poor displaced girl of Nazareth, and put in the crib of a manger in Bethlehem. He continues to be the innocent, vulnerable child born of displaced parents amidst great insecurity and suffering. Jesus and the child-refugee continue to invite us to hear the angelic harmony within our hearts:

Glory to God in the highest  
And Peace to those of goodwill.

Without goodwill and true justice, there can be no peace. The Christmas message remains a challenge to all of us, whether in Palestine or Northern Ireland or South Africa or Sri Lanka or elsewhere.

No summit can bring peace. The participants are interested in their relative hegemony over the world. Summits can teach us how to balance war-heads and warring heads. True peace starts in the heart, a heart that is qualified with goodwill. Goodwill is to look with favour at the real needs of my neighbour – not to deny others what we so insistently want for ourselves: to be at home in our own home and homeland.

The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth. It is this true graciousness that we wish each other at Christmas time. True graciousness will not deprive my neighbour of his basic rights and freedoms. We know what happened to the child of Bethlehem, when as a young man he started fighting for freedom.

Remembering Jesus, we also remember all the young men who are sacrificing their lives in various ways so that the hoped for freedom and peace can be a reality for all. God help us.

Fr. C.A. JOACHIM PILLAI  
Toronto, Ont. X'mas '85

## Human Rights Charter for Refugees

The European Economic Community's Refugee Forum is campaigning for a European Charter which would guarantee basic human rights to all refugees. The hope is that such a charter will eventually be recognised and applied throughout Europe.

According to the Charter, refugees would enjoy equality of status with other EEC nationals in terms of political activity, rights of movement and work, and would also be entitled to welfare benefits.

## Deepavali Massacre

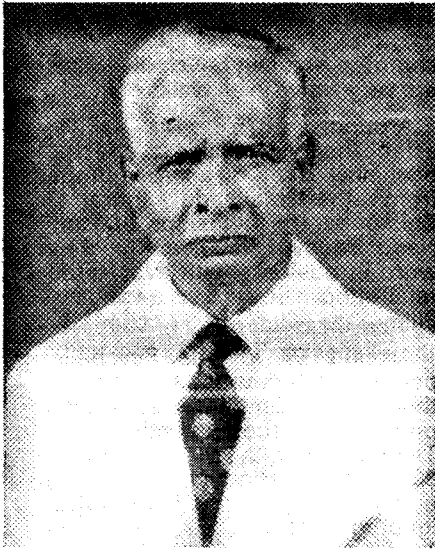
AT AN inquest held by a Magistrate at Trincomalee into the deaths of Mylvaganam Kanthini (21) and Mylvaganam Rajeswari, their brother Mylvaganam Tharmalingam testified that the deceased were his sisters.

Mr. Tharmalingam stated that he had come to his mother's house to celebrate the Hindu festival of Deepavali with his sisters at Kovil Street, Kantalai. He added, 'Suddenly around midnight while I was resting, some security men entered our house and dragged away my two sisters, while they were shouting themselves hoarse. Later, their bullet-riddled bodies were found at Usgirigama, Kantalai'.

Along with the bodies of the two dead sisters, there were four others. Nalliah Thiruchelvam (24) testified that one of the four was that of his elder brother, Ratnasingam aged 33.

## APPRECIATION

### Dr. S.A. Vettivelu



A glorious chapter in the annals of medical philanthropy in Jaffna has come to an end with the demise of Dr. S.A. VETTIVELU on 15 October 1985. "VETTIYAR" to thousands of people who rushed to him at the outset of any illness. This staunch disciple of Hippocrates was all hope and help to both the rich and the poor at a time when a visit to the Government Hospital was a dreaded thing.

He died at the ripe old age of 84.

The immortal poet Thiruvalluvar likens

the wise man to a fruit tree in full bloom in the vicinity; and if such a man happens to be a healer of the sick, he is a more indispensable thing – a medicinal tree. The people of Jaffna feel orphaned at the miserable feeling that this wonderful tree – old as it was – that spread its shadow to thousands who sought refuge, has been felled by Yama.

It was indeed characteristic of his practical wisdom that he gave up Government Service well in time to spend the most mature part of his life in alleviating the sufferings of his people, without consultation fees and sometimes with free drugs. But one had to reckon with the long queue that started lengthening with sun rise.

He did follow in the footsteps of the greatest philanthropist in Jaffna the late Retired Provincial Surgeon Dr. P. Subramaniam popularly known as "PS". The ready smile on the lips of both was the key to people's unbounded affection for these man Gods.

An agriculturist, horticulturist, a keen but quiet participant in the affairs of the country, he was obviously agitated by the turn of events against his people whose welfare was always near and dear to his heart.

To one who had mastered the art of living wisely and well, his anxiety for his son – the former M.P. for Jaffna, separated from him during the present impasse, cut short a career which would

normally be that of a Centenarian par excellence.

He, however, leaves behind a tradition richer in professional skills and medical ethics; and it is left for others of such high-mindedness to fill the gap. The need for such noble men has always been pressing but never more so than now.

(May Lord Siva grant his soul eternal rest).

Canagasabai Vamadeva

The late Dr. S.A. Vettivelu's funeral took place according to Hindu rites on 17 October. He leaves behind his widow Parasakthy, sons V. Yogeswaran, Ex-MP for Jaffna, Dr. Gnaneswaran (UK), Dr. Rajeswaran (UK), Dr. Maheswaran (USA), daughters Mrs. Balayogini Ramanathan, Mrs. Kamaleswari Nadarajah and Mrs. Sivakumari Thayaparan and brothers Dr. S.A. Tharmalingam and S.A. Nalliah.

## MURDER AT FUNERAL

While funeral rites were being performed at the Hindu Cemetery in Trincomalee in eastern Sri Lanka on 19 November, bombs were thrown at the mourners by 'Home Guards'.

In this incident, Sivapatham, aged 45, an employee of the Port Cargo Corporation at Trincomalee, was killed and another ex-naval employee, V. Kanagasabai, was seriously injured.

The explosion had occurred at the conclusion of the funeral rites; otherwise the casualties would have been more.

## 'HARTAL' IN TAMIL AREAS

PEOPLE of the northern and eastern provinces observed a peaceful 'hartal' on November 15 to mark the enactment of the discriminatory laws on 15 November 1947 which deprived the Tamil plantation workers of their citizenship and franchise. The observance of the hartal was initiated by the Tamil militant group, Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS) and, according to reports, the response from the people was far in excess of the expectations of the organisers.

Particularly in Batticaloa and Jaffna, almost all shops, schools, offices and businesses remained closed. All forms of transport were at a standstill. No hearings took place in the Jaffna and Batticaloa courts as the litigants, their lawyers and witnesses did not turn up. The court staff shut up 'shop' and returned home.

The Jaffna city looked abandoned with the familiar buses, mini-buses, taxis, private cars and even bicycles not to be seen anywhere. Only one taxi was seen in the city carrying a coffin.

In the plantation areas, Nawalapitya, Talawakelle, Nuwara Eliya and Badulla in particular, posters appeared everywhere in support of the rights of the plantation Tamils.

## APPEAL TO STOP ARMS AID TO SRI LANKA

The Organisation for the Protection of Tamils of Eelam from Genocide (PROTEG) has appealed to countries providing aid to Sri Lanka to stop the grants and loans as they were being used by Colombo to buy massive arms and ammunition to kill Tamils.

PROTEG said it was making this appeal since such aid-giving countries were signatories to the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide of January 12, 1951.

Mr. Chandrahasan, PROTEG convener, told reporters in Madras that Sri Lanka's Finance Minister, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, had on November 5 tabled his Government's revenue and expenditure estimates for the coming year, allotting Rs. 619.6 crores for defence. This was Rs. 283 crores or 70 per cent more than the allocation for defence in the previous year. The Minister himself had admitted that the Government's entire capital expenditure would be financed from foreign aid, loans, grants and other sources. Also, it was seeking to allot Rs. 200 crores from the capital expenditure to purchase arms and ammunition.

'Warmongers': Besides, Mr. Chandrahasan said the Finance Minister had declared in the country's Parliament

on November 13 that "Sri Lanka is now fully prepared for war, and will receive the support of the people". Another Minister had called for a halt to all development activities to wage a war against the Tamil militants". Hence, PROTEG argued, Colombo was diverting its development funds to its "war effort, namely the genocide of Tamils". What was more, Sri Lanka used the ceasefire to get Consortium aid. While the Aid Consortium met on June 20 last, Sri Lanka had unilaterally declared ceasefire from June 18 so that it could receive aid. But once the donors pledged aid, the Government started violating the ceasefire and submitted proposals already rejected by the Tamil organisations.

Replying to a question, he said Sri Lanka was getting armaments from South Korea, Israel, South Africa and Pakistan since other countries had refused to supply them.

**Plea to political parties in India:** Mr. Chandrahasan also requested the political parties in India to put pressure on such donors to stop aiding Sri Lanka. The appeal had already been sent to the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and PROTEG would seek an appointment with him to explain the situation.

# TAMILS IN THE SEYCHELLES

by K. Sachithanathan

## 1. Early History:

Tamils had known Seychelles from time immemorial. Tamils, Arabs, Chinese, Persians and Malays had been the commercial overlords of the Indian ocean region through many centuries. These people were responsible for the trade between the littoral states of Asia and Africa.

"Thirai kadal odiyum thiraviam thedu" is a Tamil proverb recognising the adventurous and sea faring commercial entrepreneur from the Tamil country. Coco de mer, called 'Thiruvoudu' in Tamil, were picked up by Tamils who came to Seychelles in the distant past.

Portuguese were said to have sighted these islands during the 16th century. Arab tombs washed away recently from the Silloutte Islands bear testimony to the pre-Portuguese Asian past of the islands. One of the islands in the Aldabra group named Malabar island is indicative of the longstanding Tamil influence in the region.

It has been frequently said that the Asian pirates from Oman, Malabar and Malaya had been menacing the incoming colonial-minded European politico-commercial sailors during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Ships laden with cargo belonging to the Portuguese and the Dutch were said to have been waylaid and robbed by these pirates.

From the Malabar coast, Kunjali was the leading pirate who criss-crossed the Indian ocean in search of Portuguese and Dutch cargo vessels. Kunjali had a flotilla of armed vessels protecting Tamil traders from the Portuguese and Dutch. For this purpose he was paid by the Naicker and Travancore kings in South India, and the kings of Jaffna and Kandy in Ceylon. Kunjali is supposed to have visited Seychelles with his men and used it as a base for his attacks. He took Coco de mer to the Kings in South India and Ceylon.

## 2. Recent History:

Recent records reveal that the first settlers of Seychelles left Mauritius on 27th August 1770 on board the vessel Telmaque de St. Malo led by Captain Lecore. Altogether there were 28 persons including 15 whites, 7 slaves, 5 Tamils as free labourers and 1 African woman. The purpose of this settlement was primarily to provide a port of call to the French ships sailing between

Mauritius and Pondicherry. From then on Tamils arrived in Seychelles continuously as immigrants.

The initial economic activity in Seychelles centred around felling trees and exporting them. The port which received the timber was Pondicherry where the French had a boat building yard. It took 13 days for one trip to Pondicherry. There were 15 to 20 sailings during the months of January to September, between Pondicherry and Seychelles for the purpose of this timber trade.

Tamils in and around the rich and fertile Cauvery delta of Tamil Nadu travelled to Seychelles bringing groceries, consumer goods, textiles. Many of them made Seychelles their second home, married and brought forth children. Of the 20,000 or so registered marriages in Seychelles between 1795 and 1980 about 800 had Tamil names. The number of marriages with Tamil names rose from 2% of the total during 1795-1845 to 5% during 1930 to 1980.

Tamils from Mauritius and Reunion also came to Seychelles as adventurers, skilled craftsmen, traders and sometimes advisers to the Governors. One of them was Mr. Ramalingam from Reunion who came around 1789. He earned the respect and admiration of the Governor of Seychelles who had him as one of his advisers. Rewarding him the Governor made exemptions to the land allocation ordinance and gave Mr. Ramalingam and his nephews three to four times land as was usually allocated to the other inhabitants.

## 3. Tamil Contribution:

Tamils contributed to the flowering and enrichment of Creole language and culture in Seychelles. Many words of Tamil origin are found in Creole. Karupilai (Karuvepilai), Poosnika (Poosani Kai), Murinka (Murunkai Kai), Maa (Maankai), Aamaa (Aam for yes) are few examples. Habits and the pattern of behaviour of Seychellois people have been greatly influenced by Tamils.

In 1864, Mr. Naicken established his business in Seychelles, became prosperous and found himself in possession of most of the urban land in Victoria. Even today many Seychellois consider the Naicken family as the pioneers of commerce in Seychelles.

In 1874, Mr. Kandasamy Chetty established his business. Chetty is a

common name in Seychelles. They are very active in all walks of life.

Around 1875, Mr. Pillay established his business and had been succeeded by a large number from the Mayiladu thurai - Chidambaram townships of Tamil Nadu. Today, Pillay is a household word in business with every other retail shop in Seychelles owned by a Pillay.

Around 5% of the Seychelles population today appear to retain their Tamil identity. A substantial proportion of the population are of Tamil descent. In 1901, there were 332 Tamil Hindus out of a population of 19,237. It cannot be ignored that by this time most Tamils and their descendants had been converted to Christianity. The construction of the International Airport in 1971 facilitated many Tamils to maintain close contact with Tamil Nadu. It is a fashion now to find a spouse from Tamil Nadu. The number of Tamil women resident in Seychelles has substantially increased during the last 15 years.

## 4. Tamil Identity:

Tamils willingly participated in the integration and development of the Seychellois nation. However, they as proud inheritors of a culture and tradition a few thousand years old have preserved its essence. The following steps have been taken by Tamils in Seychelles to retain their identity, culture and way of life.

- Decision to build a temple in Seychelles. Funds have been collected to purchase land. Thirupathy Devasthanam has tentatively agreed to provide finance and other assistance in the construction and maintenance of a temple.

- Regular prayers, meetings, religious festivals are conducted in the premises of the Seychelles Hindu Kovil Sangam.

- Tamil classes are conducted for children on Sundays.

- Tamil dances like kolattam and kummi have been encouraged. Radio Television Seychelles usually telecasts kolattam and kummi dances by Tamil women.

- Katha kalachebam on religious and other subjects is performed regularly.

- An exponent of the classical Tamil dance Bharatha Natyam has been invited by the Seychelles Hindu Kovil Sangam to perform in Seychelles.



# TAMIL TRAVAILS IN THE TROUBLED PARADISE

## HORROR IN THE JUNGLE

The following account was related by Mr. Kandasamy to SATURDAY REVIEW, an English weekly published from Jaffna in northern Sri Lanka:

"After certain incidents in our village on 14th August, the Security Forces who came to the area took away three youths from the neighbourhood. Their whereabouts could not be traced. All the villagers including myself, wife and children left Unit 2, Pavatkulam for the Refugee Camp at Pampaimadu.

At 8 a.m. on 1st November when I was on my way from Pampaimadu to Vavuniya on a bicycle, Army personnel who were at Kalvelikulam stopped me and took me into the jungle.

In the jungle I was handed over to another three soldiers in uniform who were armed. The soldiers who brought me left after removing Rs.95/ that was in my shirt pocket and ordering the other soldiers to kill me. The language spoken by the soldiers was Sinhala.

I was then stabbed by one of the soldiers who was in the jungle with a kris knife on the right side of my chest and I fell down.

Another soldier then placing one of his booted feet and pressing me to the ground cut me on the nape of my neck.

At this moment the soldiers who brought me into the jungle returned with a fifteen year old boy and two of the three soldiers who were with me, left leaving one soldier with me.

After speaking to the youth and chasing him away the two soldiers returned and

pressed me with their booted feet and on being hurt I cried out. I was stabbed again on the right side of my chest.

Blood gushed out of my injuries. The soldiers then rolled me over and left the place.

They returned after a few minutes and kicked me to see whether I was alive.

I was almost lifeless; I could not cry out. Talking amongst themselves that I was dead, they left the place.

A few minutes after the soldiers departed I heard someone cry out, 'Aiyamma' twice a little further away, but I do not know what really happened.

I then crawled a distance of half-a-mile towards Kalvelikulam, drank a little water from the pond and rested. At this time a helicopter was hovering above and I hid myself.

Later, I went into a house at 4th mile post and remained there for about 2 hours as it was raining. The house was deserted.

On seeing me a dog started barking and a man from the neighbourhood came there. He spoke to me in Sinhala and ascertained all that happened.

This Sinhalese man then summoned the neighbours and with their assistance, carried me about one and a half miles in a makeshift stretcher to the Mannar Road where they put me into the Mail Bus and requested them to drop me at the

**Kandasamy Ponnusamy (35) of Pavatkulam, father of five children, ages ranging from five to fifteen, had this horrendous story to tell. He is now hospitalised and will not be able to resume his normal life for some time.**

Vavuniya Government Hospital.

Accordingly the Bus Conductor had me admitted in the Vavuniya Government Hospital at about 3.00 p.m.

On 3rd November 1985 the Hospital authorities had me transferred to the General Hospital, Jaffna."

## GUNMEN KILL 4 TAMILS

A GANG of unidentified gunmen pulled five Tamils from a bus in the north central district of Polonnaruwa in Sri Lanka and shot four of them dead, according to a correspondent for the state-owned Daily News.

The reporter, Mr. Joseph Cabraal, said on 27 November that the sole survivor of the incident told the Polonnaruwa police that he and four other Tamils had been taken off the vehicle, brought to a nearby river and shot.

The man, identified as Raju Milton of Kotahena in Colombo, said that the bus was travelling from Colombo to the eastern town of Batticaloa on 25 November night. Mr. Milton was found by local residents with serious injuries.

### Tamils of Herts

The third annual general meeting of the Tamil Union of Herts was held at Watford on the 24th November 1985. Well over 150 people including children were entertained to dinner, and a musical entertainment. A new working committee of 15 members from different areas was elected. The following are the office-bearers:-

President - Mr. Logan Rasiah.  
Vice President - Dr. T. Sasitharan.  
Joint Secretaries - Messrs. K. Thanabalasingam and S. Sathiyabalasingam.

The good wishes of the patrons, Mr. C.J.T. Thamotheram and Dr. T. Ratnavel, were conveyed to all members and it was agreed that the setting up of a Tamil School in 1986 would receive priority in future activities. It was resolved to contact families from all counties around Hertfordshire as well.

For details please write to P.O. Box 288, Watford, Herts. WD2 1BR, or Phone 0923 41458/662811.

A social evening with a variety entertainment is to be held on the 18th January with a view to attracting new members.

## A Tamil Driver's Fate

**This is the text of a letter sent to the ceasefire monitoring committee by Mrs. Selvanayaki Kandasamy, widow of Mr. B. Kandasamy who was shot dead by the Security forces at Elephant Pass:**

I regret to bring to your notice the following facts regarding the shooting of my husband Balasingam Kandasamy of 34/1, College Road, Neeraviady, Jaffna.

On 18th November morning my husband was driving an empty lorry bearing No. 26 Sri 5881 with a cleaner named Sriskantharajah and another person named Subramaniam Kanagarajasingam along Kandy Road, towards Puthukudiyiruppu from Jaffna. When the lorry approached Elephant Pass barrier, the lorry was halted by the Police in front of the Army Camp. The vehicle and the occupants were thoroughly checked and allowed to pass. The driver, my husband, had just started the lorry and when it was on the move, he received gunshot injuries from bullets fired from the Army Camp.

On noticing the lorry being halted the Police on duty at the barrier rushed towards the lorry and ordered the driver to remove the lorry without delay. The cleaner Sriskantharajah thereupon pointed out to the Police that the driver had fallen down in his seat and was lying in a pool of blood. When the cleaner tried to awaken the driver, he was found to be dead. Thereafter the body of my husband was removed to the Jaffna Hospital. The eye-witnesses to this incident are the cleaner, Sriskantharajah and the other person, Subramaniam Kanakarajasingam.

I beg to bring to your notice that I am a mother of seven children five of whom are girls. Only one daughter is married and my husband was the sole bread-winner of the family. Besides the income he earned, I have no other means of income.

I beg that drastic action be taken against the offender. Please grant me relief for the maintenance of me and my family.

Mrs. S. Kandasamy

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The organisers would welcome papers on relevant subjects to be read at the conference, and published thereafter in a Conference Handbook.

For further details please contact:

Dr. R. Niththyanathan, M.Sc., Ph.D.,  
Headmaster, West London Tamil School,  
179 Norval Road, North Wembley,  
Middx. HA0 3SX. Tel: (01) 904 3937.

Lunch and refreshment will be provided. The afternoon session will be followed by a cultural evening.

This event is being funded by the Greater London Council.



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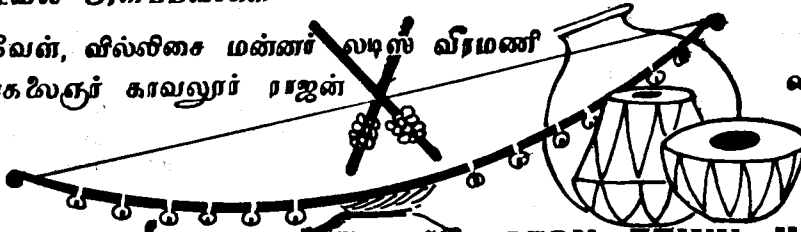
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# TULF protests over 'forcible eviction' of Tamils

The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) has in a telegram to President J.R. Jayawardene protested against the "forcible eviction" of Tamils from villages in the Trincomalee district to settle Sinhalese there and urging an "immediate cessation of this diabolical plan".

"The Hindu" in a report has said that an identical telegram was also sent to Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi requesting his "effective and immediate action to save the Tamils of Trincomalee".

The telegram states that the decision to declare Sompur, Senaiyur, Kattaiarichan, Koonitheevu and other villages in Mudur, as prohibited zones and to forcibly evict Tamils and refugees was inhuman and added to the misery of the already suffering people.

The TULF has also said that unless this was stopped forthwith, escalation of violence will become inevitable and the responsibility will be wholly on the Government.

"The government armed Sinhala Home Guards continue on the rampage in Trincomalee and Vavuniya districts. Their latest outrage has been the shooting and killing of persons and cremating the dead in Trincomalee town" the TULF added.

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To celebrate our fourth anniversary we are pleased to offer new subscribers free copies of our November and December issues.

## OBITUARY

We regret to announce the death under tragic circumstances of Mrs. Padmini Manikkaratnam on Friday 6th December at her residence at 245 High Road, Willesden, London. Padmini, 33 years of age, was a Dental Surgeon and only recently married. She was the daughter of the late Mr. Somasundaram and Mrs. Somasundaram of Arialai, Jaffna. The mother is flying to London for the funeral.

## IN EVERLOVING MEMORY OF DR. T. THAMBYAHPILLAI (Research Fellow, Imperial College)



who passed away on December 4, 1984

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Our hearts always ache with sadness  
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What it means to lose you, nobody will ever know,  
We are proud of your worldwide reputation, your memories we treasure,  
We only wish you could come back."*

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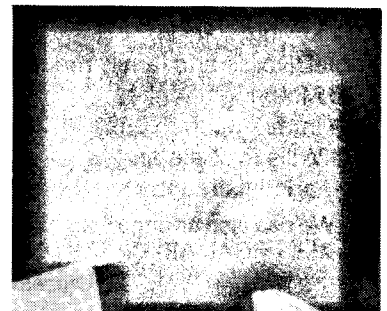
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## ARANGETRAM

The Bharatha Natya Arangetram of Lakshmi daughter of Mr. and Mrs. S. Ganeson took place on Saturday 7th December 1985 at Acton Town Hall before a large and appreciative audience.

The Arangetram was conducted by her Guru Selvaluxmy Ramakrishnan in the Kalekshetra tradition.

The function was under the patronage of Shri VP Dhananjayan, Director of Kalanjali School of Dancing in Madras and Shrimathi Shanthi Dhananjayan a dancer of great repute.



To advertise in this section, please send the text of your advertisement with **prepayment to Advertisement Manager, Tamil Times, P.O. Box 304, London W13 9QN.** First 20 words cost £12 and each additional word 75 pence. If a box number is used, an additional £3 is payable. Deadline for each month's issue is the 5th. Cheques should be drawn payable to Tamil Times Ltd.

Doctor brother seeks partner for sister, 23 years living in U.K. Partly qualified accountancy and computers. Students considered. Box M34, c/o Tamil Times.

Parents settled in Britain seek qualified Hindu, Tamil Sir Lankan bridegroom in British employment, 28-35 years, for their attractive, working daughter (British Citizen). Inter-marriage with professionally qualified son (28 years) also considered. Please write with basic details. Box M59, c/o Tamil Times.

Parents seek Christian, Jaffna Tamil, professional for I.C.M.A. P1. Working daughter, aged 29, Canadian immigrant. Box M66, c/o Tamil Times.

Father seeks U.K. Resident, Eelam girl for Civil Engineer son, 27 years. Write with particulars and photograph. Box M67, c/o Tamil Times.

Lakshmi took her first step towards the attainment of her goal at West London Tamil School under her Guru.

Shri Dhananjayan delivered a stimulating discourse on this art form. He expressed admiration with surprise at the truly commendable quality of the dance they had witnessed and stressed the arduous and special role of the Guru whose work it was - expressed through the pupil's talent.

The vote of thanks was given by Lakshmi's aunt Valli Suriyakumaran with the Ganesons joining on stage in final obeisance.

The programme wound up with the traditional Thillana and Mangalam.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Doctor sister seeks suitable partner for her graduate sister teaching abroad. Age 37. Box M55, c/o Tamil Times.

Sisters seek suitable bridegroom for Hindu Tamil doctor, 34 years. Working in Britain. Please send details including horoscope. Box M68, c/o Tamil Times.

Hindu Sri Lankan graduate Electrical Engineer (36). Working as research officer in U.K. with permanent residence status seeks partners in intermarriage for him and his sister (37) who is a graduate science teacher in Sri Lanka. Box M69, c/o Tamil Times.

Hindu Sri Lanka parent seeks professionally qualified groom in employment for working graduate daughter, aged 27, with U.K. Passport. Write with horoscope. Box M70, c/o Tamil Times.

Family seek bride for Jaffna Tamil, 31 years old, final accountancy student employed in London for five years. British Citizen preferred. No dowry required. All correspondence treated in confidence. Box M71, c/o Tamil Times.

United States settled professional, 42 years, divorced, seeks educated, attractive, well balanced - physically and mentally - bride, under 38. Returnable photograph preferred. Box M72, c/o Tamil Times.

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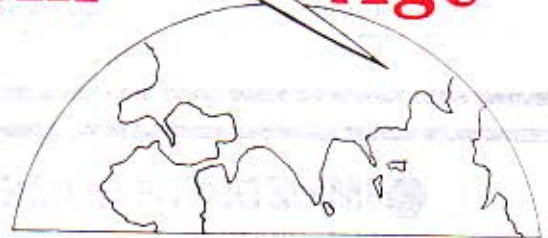
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## "CEASEFIRE PANEL IS INEFFECTIVE"

"At least one useful thing that the Ceasefire Monitoring Committee (CMC) could do was to publish the reports of its inquiries of incidents of violence and violations of the ceasefire. But even this has been prohibited by the government of Sri Lanka", a spokesman for the Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF), an umbrella organisation of four Tamil militant groups, said.

One of the points of agreement under which the ENLF agreed to the appointment of the CMC was that the Committee should have the right to publish its findings. However, the Sri Lanka government has promulgated an Emergency Regulation which prohibits such publication. The relevant regulation states, "No person shall, without the prior approval of the Secretary-General (of the Committee), publish in any newspaper within Sri Lanka or transmit from Sri Lanka to any place outside Sri Lanka for publishing any matter relating to the meetings and inquiries of the Committee".

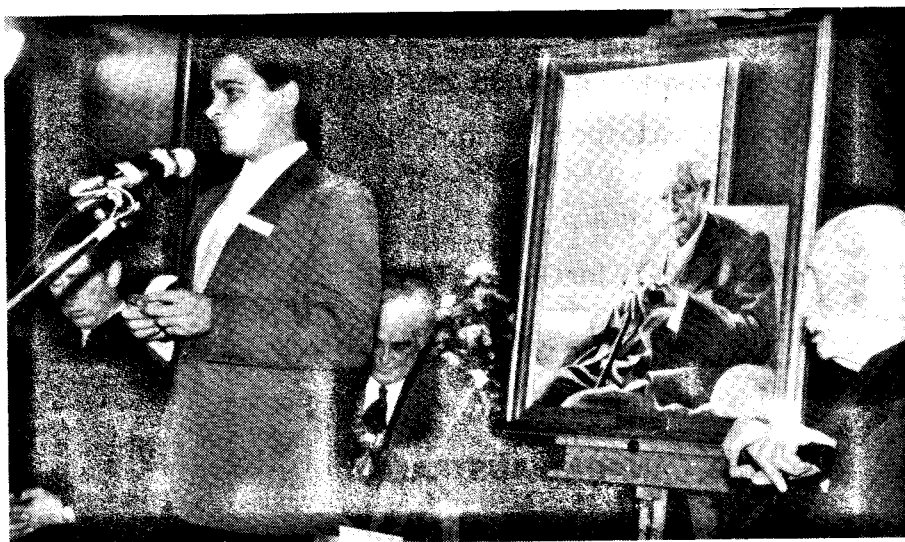
The ENLF spokesman said that the CMC has inquired into several incidents in which the security forces have killed and injured Tamil civilians and burnt their properties in the Tamil areas, but the government has banned the publication of their findings, because they must certainly be unfavourable to the government. In this context, the CMC had lost its purpose and become ineffective, the spokesman added.

It was part of the ceasefire agreement that the army would be confined to barracks and the so-called Home Guards disarmed and disbanded. However, the 'Home Guards' are continuing to terrorise the Tamil people and the security forces are carrying on their 'search and destroy' operations. Hence it became necessary for the militant groups to counter-attack to protect the Tamil civilian population, said the ENLF spokesman.

The CMC lacked the independence and freedom to carry out its work with impartiality because it depended on the security forces for their transport and security. The Tamil people were frightened to complain when the CMC members were surrounded by the army, added the ENLF. Mr. V. Prabakaran, the leader of the LTTE, in a statement said, "The Sri Lankan army has not gone out of control. Jayawardene is masterminding these attacks on the Tamils. He is playing a double game. He gives his instructions to unleash havoc and then claims that his armed forces have got out of control.

"The ceasefire is a drama. Under its guise, the Sri Lankan armed forces are continuing to perpetrate atrocities against our people; massacres are still going on; and Tamils are still being driven out of their homes".

## Prince of Wales unveils Lord Stockton's Portrait



GANDEE Vaikunthavasan, a young Sri Lankan Tamil artist, was recently chosen to paint the portrait of the Earl Stockton, former British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan.

Prince Charles unveiled the portrait on November 21 in the Stationers' Hall in the City of London, in the presence of Lord Stockton, the artist himself, the Master, Warden, freemen and liverymen of the "Company of Stationers and Newspapers Makers."

The Company commissioned Mr. Vaikunthavasan to paint the portrait when he won the open competition held by the Company. Lord Stockton, who gave six sittings to the artist at his home at Birch Grove House, Haywards Heath, Sussex, agreed to sit for the picture on condition that it was painted by someone under 30, "so as to give a young artist a chance."

The portrait shows Lord Stockton in a chair with his hands folded over a walking stick.

Unveiling the portrait, Prince Charles said: "He (Lord Stockton) manages to think at least 50 years ahead, which, for somebody in their nineties, is quite remarkable."

Mr. Vaikunthavasan, replying said: "This is a very special occasion for me and I would like to thank Lord Stockton for creating this wonderful opportunity by insisting that it should be a young artist and for his patience, co-operation, kindness and hospitality."

Mr. Vaikunthavasan is a graduate in Fine Arts (B.A. Honours) from Kingston Polytechnic. He started painting from the age of five, when he was a student at the Colombo Hindu College. His first painting was that of Pushkin. The portraits of notable personalities already painted by him include those of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, President Kaunda, Chairman Mao, President Mobutu, and former US President Jimmy Carter. He personally presented the portrait of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to her when she visited Zambia in 1976.

## IN THE PARADISE ISLE . . .

After eight years of the 'open economy' advocated by the World Bank and obediently implemented by the Jayawardene regime in Sri Lanka, the following 'achievements' have been revealed in official reports:

- 6 out of 10 people live below the official poverty line of a family income of Rs300 a month.
- One out of every 5 persons of working age is unemployed or seriously under-employed.
- One out of every three pre-school children is seriously malnourished.
- The rate of illiteracy and drop-outs from free education is growing.
- One out of every 8 persons suffers from mental sickness due to worry and stress.
- Narcotic addiction, male and female prostitution, venereal diseases and the crime rate in general are markedly on the increase.
- Bribery and corruption have broken all previously known records.

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the abduction of a Buddhist priest had no connection with that incident and had resulted in a killing spree with the Tamil civilians as target, Mr. Ganesalingam said.

### Peace March Attacked

A number of Tamil civilians, including Catholic priests and nuns and school

children, were injured, some seriously, when the security forces launched an unprovoked attack upon a peace procession in the eastern Tamil town of Batticaloa when the marchers were on their way to present a memorandum to the Deputy Superintendent of Police seeking to be "allowed to live in peace". The incident occurred on 22 November.