

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

Viewpoint

Vol. 2 No. 2

January 8, 1983

Three weeks from now on January 30, 1983, SATURDAY REVIEW celebrates its first birthday—that is, if the government permits us to continue until then! Mercifully, we at SATURDAY REVIEW, besides our other virtues—in this age of thuggery in high places immodesty cannot be a serious crime—are also blessed with incurable optimism and a sense of un-sinkable buoyancy, not to mention our firm belief in the saying “You cannot keep a good man down for long”! But all these do not mean that the danger to our continued publication is not real or imminent. We have been tipped off by friends from various quarters, some of them surprising quarters close to government decision-making processes, that we are now under very close surveillance and scrutiny and that the axe might fall on us any time. Pity of course, if that should happen to us. The greater pity it will be for the very foundation of free expression in this country. If President Jayawardene's government is yet interested in announcing in the forums of the international community that Sri Lanka is a democratic country where free expression is possible SATURDAY REVIEW remains its best advertisement and probably its only one!

Within this brief one year of publication, we have got used to open admiration from a growing fan club of

readers; unlike most daily newspapers, our readers do not buy this for the largeness of the size or the cheapness of the price or to read the obituaries and the classified advertisements and the job vacancies. Copies of SATURDAY REVIEW in many homes are not even used as old paper; they go from hand to hand and are even preserved. There was a reader from Trincomalee who wrote to us last week that he becomes a nervous wreck if his paper gets delayed more than two days! We have to mention these, with a purpose. SATURDAY REVIEW fills a need which no other paper, daily or weekly, can hope to fill. It is a need that feeds the very thought-process of a growing reader-

ship, a readership that is by no means limited to the North or East. As our valued contributor H. A. I. Goonetilleke once told us: “Eyes getting used to darkness at noon have come to value your journal as a small candle in the enshrouding gloom”.

We mentioned about our open admirers and we are proud of them; but what does one make of a country where there are readers who tell us in confidence and secrecy that they like us very much indeed, and may God bless us, and may we continue our good work, but better not quote him or tell another soul! What is the meaning of this creeping fear in this country? Why are people looking

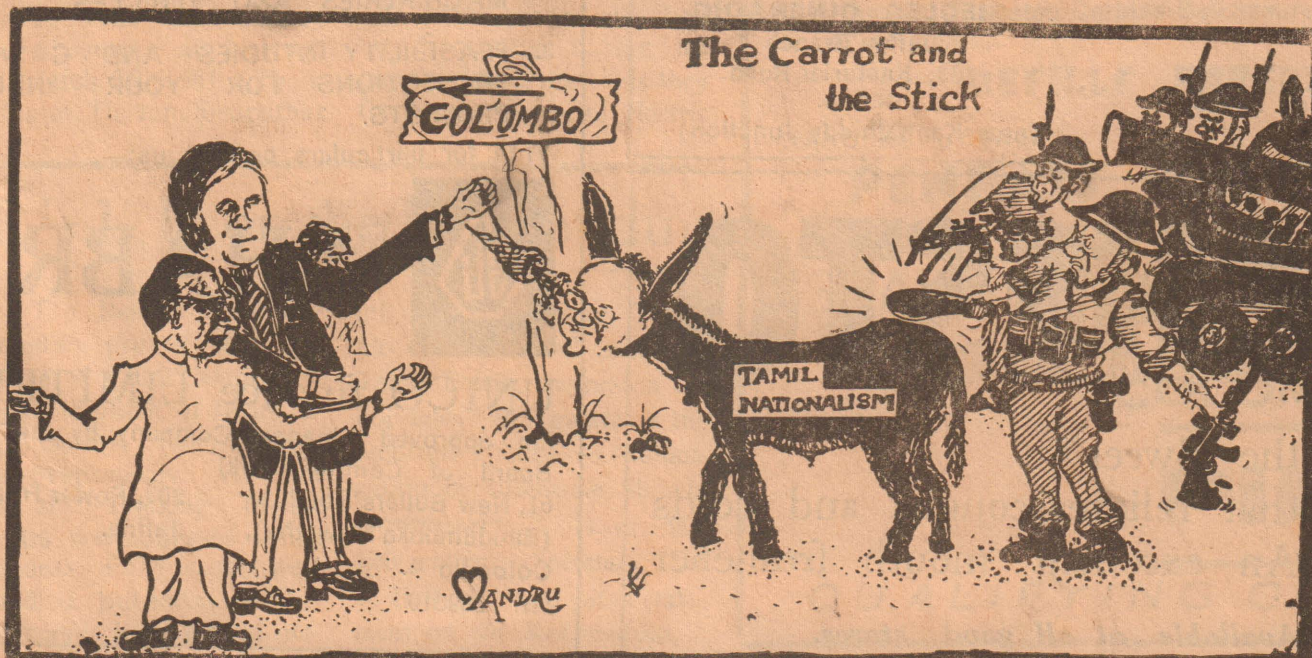
nervously behind and sideways before coming out with an honest expression of opinion? Why are people afraid to say something in public which they express in private? Why are people talking in whispers on matters affecting public interest? These are symptoms of a dangerous atmosphere. It is an ill wind that blows no good to anybody, least of all to the government ultimately. Remember the mighty Caesar and how he fell? Conspiracy and intrigue, whisperings behind the ear and talking under sleeves are habits that are brought about by fear and choking of free expression in a society, and this is where journals such as the SATURDAY REVIEW fulfil an important role. We owe no apology

to anybody for what we do. We owe an apology only to our subscribers and devoted band of readers in case we are unable to continue doing what we have been doing thus far.

SATURDAY REVIEW shares with the President his cherished desire to establish “Dharmistha” in this land. We shall continue to raise our voice against oppression of any sort, against racism, against injustice, against discrimination, against State terrorism, against inroads into individual rights and liberties, against high-handedness, thuggery, pistol-waving, torture, and mass media manipulation of news, news distortions, and any affront to human dignity anywhere. Does that sound too bad a list in the ears of a democratic government?

It is not sufficiently realised how useful a free Press could be even from the selfish point of view of the government in power. A free Press is like a cleansing mechanism. It is a safe outlet for its own political sewage, even if it stinks for a while. When a government ends up in muzzling the last independent newspaper in the country and blocks all surviving outlets of free expression, it runs the danger of getting smothered in its own shit!

# WE SMELL DANGER





## Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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**JAFFNA**

**EDITOR**  
S. Sivanayagam

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## Ashes brought to university

The ashes of Prof. K. Kailasapathy were brought in a ceremonial procession of staff and student from his residence at Raja Veethy, Jaffna, to Ramanathan Hall. A meeting chaired by Dr. S. K. Parameswaran followed.

## In Memoriam

Late Honourable  
**THAMPIA MUDAIYAR  
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## Calling our Colombo subscribers

Beginning this week we are trying out on an experimental basis a hand delivery service to most of our individual subscribers in Colombo. This should enable you to get your copy of the SATURDAY REVIEW not only in good time but also in good shape. Every attempt is being made to cover all the zones in the Colombo City Limits. Please bear with us if we are unable to make it as comprehensive as we would wish to. All Offices and Institutions will however continue to get the paper through the post as well as those individual subscribers whom we are unable to reach through hand delivery.

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## Rambaikulam Church incident: Damaged Gandhiyam jeep in court custody

When the nine suspects who were arrested in connection with the protest fast and police assault at the St. Anthony's Church, Rambaikulam, Vavuniya on December 15th 1982, were produced before Magistrate A. D. M. Pettiyagoda at the Vavuniya Magistrate's Court on the 27th of December, Mr. S. Sittampalam who appeared for the suspects disclosed that the things which were damaged by the the police and later confiscated by them, had still not been returned to the owners. The Magistrate ruled that these articles should be handed over to be kept in the custody of the Court.

The Magistrate also said that if legal proceedings were not filed against the suspects before the tenth of January the articles should be returned to the owners themselves.

Dr. S. Fernando, Dr. Rajasundaram, Mr. Eelaventhana and six others who were arrested after the Rambaikulam incident were later released on bail. The articles in question which had been allegedly damaged by the Police are a jeep belonging to Gandhiyam, a cassette recorder and a camera.

During the proceedings there was often heated argument between the Police and Mr. S. Sittampalam who appeared for the accused.

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A Sri Lankan expatriate in the United States of America who does not wish his identity revealed has sent the 'Saturday Review' a photostat of a Christmas Appeal made by Fr. Singarayar and sent abroad three years ago. The printed appeal in Tamils dated 20th December, 1979.

Fr. Singarayar, as readers are aware, is now held in detention in the Magazine Prison, Colombo, awaiting trial. We are publishing below a faithful English translation of this letter:

'Amala Utpavam',  
Columbuthurai,  
Jaffna.

Dear Friend,

Greetings. You might wonder about this letter from a stranger. Though the seas separate us, we were born in Tamil Eelam and speak Tamil. It is this bond that emboldens me to pen this, as of right.

During this Christmas season, with the New Year and the Thai Pongal fast approaching, the season's greetings to you. I pray that these festive days embolden us to resolve to liberate our motherland and act steadfastly to attain this end.

The holocausts the Tamils suffered in this country, the standardization which razed to the ground the educational and job opportunities of the Tamil student drove you all into exile. Living according to our forefathers' dictum-traverse even the oceans and acquire wealth-you toil and toil to earn your living. I believe you are setting apart a portion of your earnings for Mother Tamil.

Wherever and however you live, you will never forget your motherland. You will come back to Tamil soil to safeguard the motherland. Not when but how you return—that is the question today.

We have already seen some expatriates returning with luxury cars, TV sets and modern gadgetry. Their whole ego-centred life is enclosed by the four walls of their house. We weep to see such people.

Our only desire is that you should not join this selfish band; that instead you participate in the constructive effort to build up our land and our economy to provide worthwhile job opportunities for our unemployed and therefore frustrated youth. We are confident that you will participate in these efforts.

Birth springs up from death and destruction, they say. From the blood the Tamils shed in August 1977 there have sprung up new creative efforts which fill our hearts with joy. We see around us institutions springing up to promote and foster the growth of the economy of Tamil Eelam. Under the Chairmanship of Mr. C. Loganathan, the for-

# Fr. Singarayar's Eelam appeal in 1979

mer Chairman of the Bank of Ceylon, an institution called 'Consultancy and Finance and Development Limited' has been set up to serve the needs of those who want to develop themselves and those who want to foster their development.

'Manithan' (Man) is a group of undergraduates from the University of Jaffna who are researching the natural resources of Tamil Eelam and the possibility of starting viable industries. There are several groups like this, too numerous to mention.

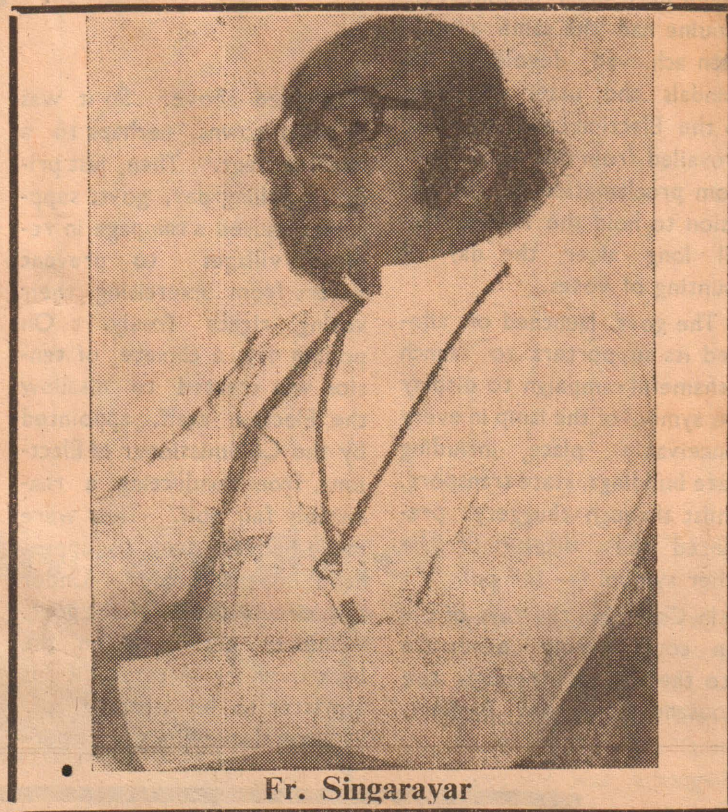
These research efforts effectively demolish the sophisticated Colombo Tamil's dogmatic assertion that business can be carried on only in Colombo.

My dear friend! We urge you to think about the economic development of Tamil Eelam. There are several people who are prepared to guide you. Set up new industries after careful thought. Bring along with you the machinery and equipment.

Acquire the necessary training while you are abroad. We are prepared to guide and help you.

Please spare a thought for the six lakhs of people who are confined within the 60 square miles that is the Jaffna Peninsula. Four lachams become two. Two lachams then become one. In this one lacham they have to build a house, a well and a water closet: you can just imagine the plight of these people. Drinking water is turning saline. Thirty five percent of those who go to hospital suffer from diseases caused by saline water. If the underground water turns saline the process is irreversible. Therefore your thoughts should extend beyond the peninsula.

Instead of bringing along with you luxury limousines and then 'garaging' them due to a fuel shortage, bring machinery, equipment and tools which can help to develop the country and provide jobs for youths. You could



Fr. Singarayar

then set up factories either on a co-operative basis or as a private company, which would provide employment opportunities for Tamil youth. Help Tamil Eelam to first achieve economic freedom. That is your primary duty by

your motherland.

I trust this letter will prove thought-provoking. I am waiting to help you if you do contact me.

Thanks and Greetings.

Yours sincerely,

Sgd: A. Singarayar, OMI.

20-12-1979

## Nirmala's & Nithi's detentions challenged

The detentions of Mr. Muthiah Nithiananthan, Lecturer, Jaffna University and Mrs. Nithiananthan have been challenged in the Court of Appeal.

Mr. Alvapillai Rajasingham of No. 330, Navalar Road, Jaffna, the father of Nirmala has filed applications seeking Writs of Habeas Corpus under Article 141 of the Constitution.

The Petitioner has cited Mr. T. B. Werapitiya, Minister of Internal Security, Major General Tissa I. Weeraratne, Commander of Sri Lanka Army and Mr. Rudra Rajasingham, Inspector General of Police as Respondents.

Attorney-at-Law C. V. Vivekananthan has settled the Petitions on behalf of the Petitioner. In seeking the Writ of Habeas Corpus on his daughter Nirmala, Mr. Rajasingham, the Petitioner states:

"Nirmala Nithiananthan, wife of Muthiah Nithiananthan alias Thirthavel, the corpus in respect of whom this application is being made is the daughter of the petitioner.

The first second and third respondents are the Minister

of Internal Security, The Commander of the Army and the Inspector General of Police respectively.

The corpus majored in political science at Wheaton College, U.S.A. and passed out as a graduate of the same institution in 1975. The corpus having distinguished herself further in the fields of music and drama was appointed Director of the Vocational Institute of the Chundikuli Girls College, Jaffna in 1981.

The corpus is married to Muthiah Nithiananthan alias Thirthavel, Lecturer in Economics at the University of Jaffna, and was residing with her husband at Navalar Road, Jaffna.

On November 20, 1982 at about 1-30 p.m. a team of police and army officers visited the residence of the corpus, searched the premises and took away the corpus and her husband Muthiah Nithiananthan alias Thirthavel.

The petitioner later learnt that the corpus and her husband had been removed to and were being held in custody by the army at the Gurunagar

Army Camp, Jaffna.

The petitioner fears that the army and police personnel who are holding the corpus since her arrest are subjecting the corpus to cruel, inhuman, degrading treatment with a view to overawe and intimidate a female detainee into making statements which the army and police officers wish her to make.

That while the corpus is being held under police and army custody, the latter have leaked information to the press which is intended to discredit, defame and prejudice the interests of the corpus.

The corpus being an asthmatic and needing constant medication and the regular services of a medical specialist is being held in solitary confinement which could endanger her life."

The petitioner further states:-

"That had the corpus committed any offence, the corpus should have been produced before a court of law within 24 hours of such arrest under the provisions of the normal law and within 72 hours under the Prevention of

Terrorism Act No. 48 of 1979.

That as far as the petitioner is aware the corpus has not been so produced, and the detention of the corpus in the hands of the Police and army officers is totally illegal.

That the petitioner has become aware that many Tamils have been taken into custody and illegally detained by the police and army personnel who are subjecting them to torture, cruel and inhuman treatment in flagrant violation of article 12 of the constitution and the respondents have, as far as the petitioner is aware, not taken any steps to prevent the same."

In seeking a Writ of Habeas Corpus on his son-in-law, Mr. Muthiah Nithiananthan alias Thirthavel, Mr. Rajasingham states:

"The corpus has distinguished himself as a writer, won a Sahitya award, and has been commended by the Minister of Rural Industrial Development for research work the corpus did concerning the plight of plantation workers. The

(Continued Overleaf)



# How the govt. won the referendum

Mr. T. G. Edirimanne of No. 1, Station Road, Katugastota writes:

The satisfaction that the govt. has expressed over the results of the Referendum would have been undoubtedly genuine had the same results been achieved, devoid of the scandals and utter disregard to the Election Laws, that had prevailed from the word "go" from proclamation of the decision to hold the Referendum till long after the day of counting of votes.

The govt. launched or allowed its supporters to launch a shameful campaign to display the symbol of the lamp in every conceivable place, including state buildings, state transport, whilst through thuggery prevented the display of the other symbol — the pot.

In Colombo, the rays of the sun could hardly penetrate into the streets through the thousands of green banners,

suspended above. So it was in other towns, perhaps to a lesser extent. Then, just prior to polling day, govt. supporters caused a rampage in remote villages to prevent voters from exercising their voting rights freely. On polling day, a climate of tension was created to disallow the Election staff, appointed by the Commissioner of Elections, from conducting a reasonably fair poll. They were made helpless even to apprehend impersonators. Under such circumstances, if the govt. wishes to pat itself on the back over its victory, it is a matter to be ashamed of. Several questions arise per-

taining to any future polls (if any).

Firstly, the precedent that has been created, namely the holding of the Referendum under a State of Emergency, the inability of the Police Chief and the Elections Commissioner to cause the observance of the laws of the land, the alarming rate of impersonation, the presence of pistol packing politician could make one wonder whether the money spent on a fake Referendum has been justified.

It could be said that the birth of organised violation was on the day of the Proclamation.

The hope that we must

now have, is that violations of this nature are not repeated. This seems very unlikely. Indeed, we fear that in the future, these violations would spread to other areas as well. In fact, only yesterday, one of the newspapers carried a news item where a politico assaulted a warden in the Game Sanctuary at Yala.

It is a fact that there has been a general deterioration in discipline amongst the younger generation — mostly thrust upon them by erring elders. In this situation — the acts of the recent Referendum appear as a booster towards indiscipline.

Since we cannot affect an

erasure of this unfortunate period, the next best thing we could do, is to appeal to the authorities to see that these violators are brought to book and justice meted out.

Let us therefore divert all our attention towards finding ways and means to restore the climate where the laws of the land are complied with to the best of our ability OR resign ourselves to the pathetic fact, that the law of the jungle has come to stay, where the motto "Survival of the Fittest" is practised.

T. T. Sekeran

of Colombo 4. writes:

The Editor,  
The Saturday Review,  
Jaffna.

Sir,

The UNP's strategy for the Referendum was quite simple. Set to get just about 27 lakhs out of the 81 lakhs of voters they had only to see that there was a low poll. They could then scrape together this minimum by hook or by crook. How did they set about their objective?

The muzzling of the opposition was foremost on their cards. This was achieved by the sealing of the opposition presses, the imprisonment of the leading opposition spokesmen, the manhandling of opposition polling agents and booting them out of the polling booths, and the breaking-up of opposition meetings by the fascist goon squads. Further the potters were set upon by the lamp-lighters at every turn instilling fear into all and sundry. Even venues for several opposition meetings were denied and sometimes permission for the use of these venues withdrawn in the last minute by the land-owners or the local bodies.

Then came the manipulation of the radio, TV and the kept press. The mass media were turned on at full blast, desecrating the opposition and eulogising the government. The cacophony about 'development' and about the 'Naxalites' (in spite of all the shouting, vast numbers didn't understand this term) became shriller as the polling day loomed nearer.

The intimidation of the guardians of the law, by

overt and covert threats was practised island-wide by almost all the UNP politicians. The threats made the police to acquiesce to their demands, for fear of reprisals. The IGP's orders were ignored by the police officers ignominiously. Those who went to the police station to complain about UNP misdeeds found themselves were in dark, disgusting dungeons, whereas the real miscreants were at large performing their dirty tricks. Festoons of banners, symbols and posters of the lamp vintage went unharmed whereas those of the pot variety were mercilessly torn down.

Another feature in their strategy was the depoliticization of the masses. The rulers didn't want the populace to think politically. So they set about executing this ploy by organising tamashas, graced by pop-groups and film stars. The politicians took a back seat on UNP platforms and spoke little because they knew they were not much trusted. The musicians and the film stars all seemed to say, 'Think otherwise, but not politically.' However as these artistes were singing for their supper, they called upon the audience to vote lamp, after mesmerising them with their jilting words.

Yet they feared that they might not be able to get low poll, nor a favourable one at that. To circumvent this possibility, they decided to have the referendum under a state of emergency. Even their earlier decision to lift the emergency, three days prior to the

polling day was rescinded. They knew that low polling could only be ensured by deploying army personnel, with the muzzles of their guns grinning at the masses with a vengeance. Further terror squads of storm-troopers went on a rampage bribing and cajoling, restraining and intimidating, terrorising and impersonating on a scale hitherto unknown in this country. Thus they managed to salvage their reputation by a margin of only about five lakhs of votes. But it is a hollow victory. It is hollow because about 26 lakhs or about one third of the voting population has totally rejected the government proposal. It is hollow because the UNP has lost in 6 districts or in about 75 electorates outright and won by slender margins in several others. It is hollow because about 50 lakhs including the abstainers, have rejected their insidious schemes. All these seem to suggest that the UNP colossus is not only very hollow but also has feet of clay.

Yet, in order to prolong their sadistic misrule, Democracy has to be sacrificed at the stake alive. In yet another context, Joan of Arc was burnt so, because the powers that were, feared her presence inimical to their interests. But here and now, the wood has been piled on high by the hatchet men. The chief executioner has just lit the pyre. The flames are fast enveloping the distressed damsel, Democracy. In the name of Dharmista aren't there any gallant knights to save her?

## Nirmala's...

(Continued from page 3)

corpus had also won the Wijewardene award for journalism when he was employed at Lake House.

"The corpus is married to my daughter, Nirmala and was residing with her at Navalar Road, Jaffna.

On the 20th November 1982 at about 1.30. p.m. a team of army and police officers arrived at the residence of the corpus. One of the army officers assaulted the corpus with hands. The rest of the officers ransacked the premises before taking away the corpus and his wife.

"I later learnt that the corpus and his wife had been removed to and were being held in custody by the Army at the Gurunagar Army Camp at Jaffna.

"I fear that the army and police personnel who are holding the corpus since his arrest are subjecting the corpus to cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment with a view to overawe and intimidate the corpus into making statements which the army and police officers wish him to make.

"that while the corpus is being held under police and army custody, the latter have leaked information to press which is intended to discredit, defame and prejudice the interests of the corpus.

"The corpus is an asthmatic. At the time of the arrest he was convalescing after a bout of gastro-enteritis which lasted two weeks. The corpus had been denied fur-

ther medication.

"I state:

(a) that had the corpus committed any offence, the corpus should have been produced before a Court of Law within 24 hours of such arrest under the provision of the normal law and within 72 hours under the Prevention of Terrorism Act No. 48 of 1979.

(b) that as far as I am aware the corpus has not been so produced and the detention of the corpus in the hands of the police and army officers is totally illegal.

(c) that as I have become aware that many Tamils have been taken into custody and illegally detained by the Police and Army personnel who are subjecting them to torture, cruel and inhuman treatment in flagrant violation of article 12 of the Constitution and the respondents have, as far as I am aware, not taken any steps to prevent the same.

"(d) that such violation of the fundamental rights have become possible because the 1st respondent has been issuing without lawful justification and / or recklessly detention orders under Section 9 of the Prevention of Terrorism Act with conditions of detention which enable the police and army officers to keep the detenus away from access to Courts of law or any outside persons in all for periods up to 18 months.

"(e) that I have become entitled in law to apply to Your  
(Continued on page 9)



## G. C. S. U

## statement

"The strengthening of the anti-U.N.P. forces at the Referendum held on 22-12-82 is a good omen for the working class. Out of the 81 lakhs of registered voters, 50 lakhs did not vote for the Government.

"The U.N.P. indulged in corrupt practices in the Referendum Campaign. The U.N.P. conducted the Referendum campaign in an autocratic manner by remanding opponents, banning "Aththa" and "Sudandiran" news papers, sabotaging propaganda meetings of the opposition, threatening innocent people by thuggery etc. The U.N.P. wielded state power to suit them by using the Emergency. It has also been reported that mass impersonation has been done.

"However, the anti-U.N.P. masses have acted bravely in the face of this thuggery, corruption and threats. The U.N.P. has suffered an ignominious defeat in the South where the left movement is strong and in the North and East where the Tamil speaking people who are ever struggling against the oppression of the Government. The U.N.P. has suffered a set-back in Colombo District too inspite of mass thuggery unleashed.

"The U.N.P. was able to score a victory in this manner because of the disunity in the working class and the left movement. We should learn a lesson from this."

## The Tamil

## Congress view

"The ACTC is happy that the electoral districts of Jaffna, Vanni, Trincomalee, and Batticaloa have voted against the Referendum. We thank the Tamil voters in those electorates. It should not be forgotten that these are Tamil districts where the Government was defeated. These results further underline the fact that these districts are quite out of tune with the rest of the island. It is most significant that this is the area of Tamil Eelam.

"The ACTC is particularly happy that the fact that these four districts have voted so heavily against an extension of this Parliament has established that the people in these districts do not want their representatives in Parliament to represent them a day longer than July 1983. The people in these four districts have endorsed the call by the ACTC to treat this Referendum as a no-confidence motion on the U.N.P. and TULF whose representatives are in these four districts."

## referendum

## How THE HINDU saw it

THE SEEDS OF authoritarianism were sown by President J. R. Jayewardene the day he decided to seek "re-election" to the highest elective office in Sri Lanka long before his term would have expired. A constitutional amendment was pushed through to enable him

of holding a referendum to prettify the project of lengthening the life of the present parliament by another term of six years. After all who could deny that a referendum was the ultimate among known democratic processes? Mr. Jayewardene also saw to it that

ne's main concern seems to be to have captive Parliament for the entire period he is going to be President, he has gone through his projected idea with a rare sense of thoroughness and—a lack of inhibition. The results indicate that the Government polled 54.7 per cent of the votes cast and the combined Opposition 45.3 per cent. And in the new Parliament they will still continue to enjoy the five sixths majority he has at present. Worse, under the Constitution Mr. Jayewardene (as boss of the UNP) can pick, choose and manipulate his party's new members of Parliament. A significant aspect of the political situation is that he has lost the referendum heavily in the Tamil areas, a clear indication that the Sinhala-Tamil rift is actually widening under this dispensation. The Tamil United Liberation Front has announced that it will, in protest, refuse to nominate new MPs to fill the vacancies arising out of the proposed resignations in August. If he does not in the meanwhile make meaningful moves to bring the Tamil leaders to the conference table, Mr. Jayewardene will be virtually leading the country towards one-party rule with all its menacing implications—and, in the end, may have won nothing more than a Pyrrhic victory.



to seek a fresh mandate from the people and this was no difficult task either, considering the big majority the ruling United National Party has in Parliament—a formidable 143 in a house of 168. And as was expected, he was voted back to power although the poll percentage in his favour was not quite what he had hoped for—despite the confusion in the Opposition ranks, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party's candidate registered a decent 39.07 per cent of the valid votes. This was clear enough indication of the diminishing of the UNP's political dominance in the Island, but this did not deter Mr. Jayewardene from taking another unhealthy step. The astute politician that he was Mr. Jayewardene knew full well that in a future election to Parliament (due in 1983) the UNP was unlikely to fare as well as it did in 1947 and therefore, he hit upon the idea

in preparation parliament approved of an amendment to the constitution to perpetuate itself in position without the members having to face the electorate. And Wednesday's referendum verdict only approved this unorthodox course

Mr. Jayewardene obviously has his own notions of democracy. He imposes an emergency in the country even as the people are asked to take part freely in the referendum. Many Opposition leaders are put behind prison bars and thus literally incapacitated from taking part in the related campaign. There is an atmosphere of fear among the people in the northern and eastern provinces, especially where the authorities have stationed forces in the name of maintaining law and order in the face of a call for boycotting the referendum given by the Tamil United Liberation Front. As Mr. Jayewardene

45% Voters  
are now  
represented  
by 1/6 of  
the M. P.s!

Mr. P. R. Solomon of Main Street, Jaffna, writes: From the plethora of letters to the Press and from the platform speeches of politicians of various hues, hardly anyone would have disagreed that the Referendum was going to be a more keenly contested issue than the Presidential Poll in October.

But what did actually happen? The president and party lost about 3 lakhs of votes between October 20th and December 22nd. One would have expected this number of votes to be credited to the party of the pot. Oh no, there too, there was a shortfall of 4 and a half lakhs for the same period. Where did these 3 lakhs plus 4½ lakhs of votes go to considering the fact that the Referendum was a more keenly fought out issue? Could these votes have been cast but vanished into thin air?

It is also not a little intriguing that the C. D. N. commented in its editorial on the morning after that the result was not without surprises. And that the surprises dispelled any suggestion of a manipulation and the election was fair and free—an obvious non sequitur.

Be that as it may, 54.66% of the voters are going to be represented in Parliament by 5/6 of the M. Ps and 45.34% by 1/6 of the M. Ps in these times of proportional representation. O tempora! O mores!!

Yours truly,  
O. Dharmista

Mr. T. Saravanapavan of P. O. Box: 1131, Medicine Hat, Alberta, Canada T1A 7H3 writes:-

The Editor,  
Saturday Review.  
Dear Sir,

In Sri Lanka and especially in the dry Zone the Cactus plants grow profusely. Man-except for Ayurvedic physicians-never cared to find out whether cactus leaves can be eaten. Goats and cows never cared to eat them however hungry they may be because of the thorns they have. Nature has protected and preserved the cactus leaves from man and animal by giving them the thorns. If the thorns were not there then there won't be any cactus

## Who likes to eat CACTUS? Write for Recipes

plants left in this world.

Here in Medicine Hat, Alberta, Canada cactus leaves are sold in the Super Market (Safeway) as a vegetable. It comes all the way

from California which is over 2000 miles away. According to the label on the packing the cactus leaves are "slightly spicy and similar to tangy green

beans". In Sri Lanka there is an abundance of cactus plants and people should experiment and see how they should cook and eat them. The eyes and the thorns should be removed before cooking. For recipes they should send a self-addressed envelope with postage and write to Frieda's Finest Produce Specialities Inc., 732 Market Court, Los Angeles, CA90021, U.S.A.

In closing I may mention that I have no financial or other interests in this company. I am bringing this information to the notice of all Sri Lankans so that they could fully exploit their natural resources. Happy eating.



# David Selbourne on

Continued from last issue

"Sri Lanka is gradually coming apart at the seams. The trouble is that the public and the army are both up against an enemy which is being shielded by the community; indeed, without popular support, the Tigers would not have got this far," says the author in the second instalment of a two-part study of the movement for Tamil Eelam.

This term "Tiger" is a misnomer. They are not running wild in the jungle, but moving about in Jaffna and its district, hiding among the people: clean-cut young men, with moustaches as close-clipped as Brigadier Ranatunge's, the army commander in the northern province. They do not need to camouflage themselves to pass undetected among the ordinary passers-by of the city. No wonder the Tamils refer to them as "our boys". That is precisely what they are.

Talking to them, in and around Jaffna, makes everything clearer. The turning-point for most was the 1977 anti-Tamil riots; the discovery, as one Tiger put it to me, that ahimsa was not sufficient.

## PARANOIA DEEPENS

The Tigers are armed, the DIG of Jaffna, **W. B. Rajaguru**, told me, with Sterling sub-machine guns, self-loading rifles and 303s. Some of the weaponry has been seized in raids, but other items, he says darkly, "are not standard issue". Funds for them, he alleges, have been collected by Tamil expatriates in Singapore, Brunei and Malaysia. ("We have got our machine guns from the army and smaller weapons from outside (India)," the Tigers told me.) He calls the Tigers "pure terrorists of the urban guerrilla type."

Surrounded by awards and trophies, the Army Chief of Staff in Colombo, **Major-General Tissa Weeratunge**, one of the many relatives of President Jayawardene in high places, was honest about the situation. "We are not on top," he told me. In Jaffna, they say, a whole truck-load of troops goes out to buy a tube of toothpaste or a box of matches.

"The initiative is with the terrorists," he continued. "They choose the time and place. We can only be reactive." He also claims, as paranoia deepens, that the political training of the Tigers

is being "coordinated from Britain", and that there is a "West Asian connection".

Nine of the 16 police stations in the Jaffna District have already been closed. The Mayor of Jaffna, **Rajah Visuvanathan**, complains that the police are no longer carrying out their ordinary civic functions. (Obviously, a traffic cop is a sitting duck for a sniper.)

When I arrive at the Gurunagar army camp in Jaffna—where it is all spit-and-polish, with junior ranks springing to attention like jack-in-the-boxes—they are combing the pages of the Jaffna *Saturday Review*, with its open editorial support for Tamil Eelam. On the wall is a chart of military vehicle dispositions; on a desk, files marked "TULF; Secret".

## 'POLITICALLY LOW-LEVEL'

Despite their internal conflicts, and accusations by some Marxist students in Jaffna that they are "politically low-level", the Tigers seem better disciplined and less frightened than their police and military opponents. It is difficult to join them; there is, they told me, a six-month probation period, a tightly-organised cell structure, and strict discipline, including an internal death penalty. They are also constantly on the move, so that it is difficult for anyone to give accurate information under interrogation. There are cells not only in Jaffna, but in other Sri Lankan cities, including Colombo. Their central tenet is the "commitment to a separate, Tamil State which will be socialist and democratic."

Brigadier Ranatunge, who forgot his impartiality sufficiently to tell me that "we are a majority Buddhist nation" is bitter, not merely about the ambushes and killings but about the political response to them. "When a policeman is shot dead," he complains, "no politician attends the funeral service. But the politicians are scared, too; Jayawardene does not set foot in Jaffna. And when our forces make a breakthrough, we get shot in the back in ambushes."

The trouble is that the police and the army are both up against an enemy which is being shielded by the community; indeed, without popular support the Tigers would not have got this far. **Bishop Wickremasinghe** angrily accuses those who help them of "fiddling with terrorism". The soldiers insist that it is only through fear of Tiger reprisals. Yet Tiger numbers are growing, and

**DAVID SELBOURNE** is a writer, journalist and Tutor in Politics at Ruskin College, Oxford.

Article by courtesy: *Illustrated Weekly of India*

the bitterness of the police and military is of men who are not winning. Ranatunge says he wants to "finish off this terrorism". But he cannot. In the meantime, new paramilitary forces are being trained, and new levels of foreign assistance being sought by both sides.

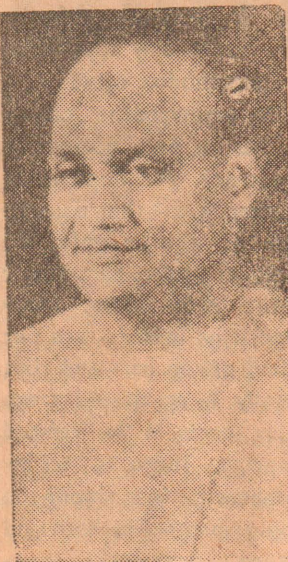
## PARCEL BOMBS

The Tigers, for their part, seem confident. They tell you that their membership is increasing daily and that detentions and brutality "are making us strong, increasing our momentum". "We think very deeply into the question of violence," a Tiger told me. "Our targets for assassination

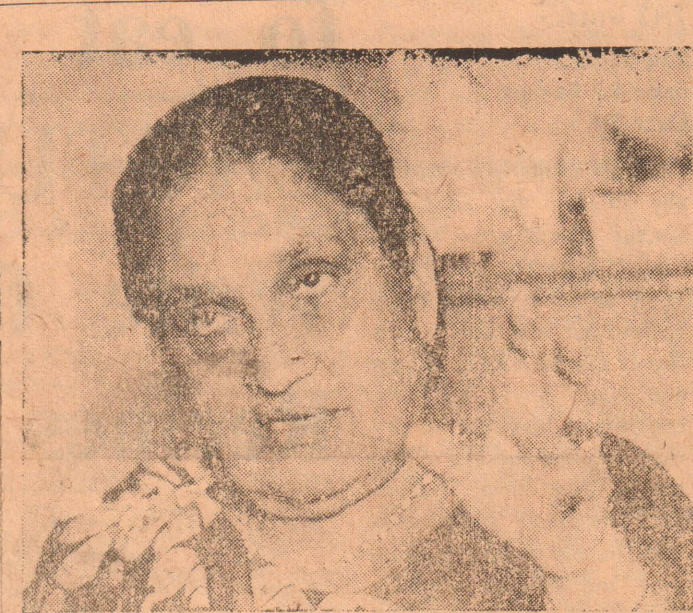
are the armed agents of the state, and we select them only after a careful study and full inquiry." Even DIG Rajaguru, who says that "their animus is the same as the Naxalites", admits that the Tigers are "hard to pin down and getting more skilful". Torturers like Inspector G have started receiving their first parcel bombs. The Tigers say, eyes laughing, that the police and the army are inefficient.

The immediate prospect for both sides is a dire one—neither a political nor a military solution in the offing.

The days of **Appapillai Amirthalingam**, the Secretary-General of the TULF, must be numbered. He has not only been leading his troops away from the sound of gunfire, but, at the same time, denying the obvious: that it is the activities of the Tigers which have induced Jayawardene to discuss the Tamils' demand with the TULF in the first place. Moreover, he told me that they would have to learn to get used to the army in the Northern province. "How?" I asked him. "Like we live with mosquitoes," he answered, laughing. He did not sound like the liberator of the Tamils. While trying to pacify his own Tamil militants, he is



## 'Amirthalingam stresses the weakness of the Tamils, Chandrahasan their determination'



Mrs. B. "She has other fish to fry"

trying to extract concessions from the Sinhalese by discreet, and even secret, negotiations.

He believes that dialogue, and not the approach of the election season, has led to the containment of repression (though, at best, it is only a lull). "I have no army, no police to give my people protection," he told me. "I had to go to those with power and get them to maintain law and order. If I had told Jayawardene to go to hell, so many more Tamils would have gone to heaven. We are not fighting from a position of strength. We are walking on a razor's edge." He calls his a "pragmatic" approach, and says that in the complex chess game he is playing, or thinks he is playing, with Jayawardene, "We are smart enough not to be checkmated".

But the main TULF leadership has already lost the support of the younger generation of Tamils; Amirthalingam's own son is opposed to what his father is doing.

Part of the trouble is that, as Tamil militancy has grown, the TULF's elderly parliamentarians—many of them lawyers (they call it the Tamil United Lawyers' Front)—have got out of their depth with talk of armed struggle, to say nothing of the fact that they have more in common, in class terms with their opposite numbers than a dividing factor. Amirthalingam even sympathises with Jayawardene's dilemma. "I am able to see," he told me, "that he cannot move as far as he would like." But what Amirthalingam cannot see is that he is himself being overtaken.

Certainly, with Lenin in their back pockets and guns in their holsters, the Tamil militants in the North are now a world away—not only from traditional Hinduism, but from the leather-bound law reports in the Colombo offices of most of their leaders. "After the 1981 riots," says **S.C. Chandrahasan** the son of S.J. V. Chelvanayagam, a former leader of the Tamils, "I told our youth: Give the TULF one last chance. Instead they went back to dialogue. Ours was a mass movement," he says bitterly, "until the TULF opted for negotiation".

It seems only a matter of time before he takes over his father's mantle from the discredited TULF leaders. And he does not speak the same

Continued next page



# Sri Lanka - 2

(Continued from page 6)

language as Amirthalingam. "Repression," he declares, "helps to make our struggle a reality, and suffering takes us towards our goal." Amirthalingam stresses the weakness of the Tamils; Chandrasahasnan their determination. And if the latter were to succeed to the leadership, there would not only be an end to negotiation but a boycott of Sri Lankan institutions and the setting up of a provisional government, either in Jaffna, or in exile.

## J.R.'s low opinion of Tamil leaders

Jayawardene does not disguise his low opinion of the present Tamil leaders; he does not think most of them even want Tamil Eelam.

Without the fetters imposed on her, Mrs. Bandaranaike would be a real threat to Jayawardene and the UNP. (She is a threat even with them) Indeed, despite the splits in her own SLFP, and the fact that she personally cannot take part in the next elections, her confidence about a come-back seem to be rising. At present using the suspicions of the Buddhist clergy about a "sell-out" to the Tamils to promote her own cause, she does nothing to abate Tamil fears that she would crush their movement for Tamil Eelam if she were eventually to return to power. She is fishing in troubled waters.

"No one wants Eelam," she said by way of dismissing my question. When I challenged her, she put it differently: "No government could agree to it. This is too small a country." She hardly seemed interested in the subject. "For her the Tamil problem is a non-problem," they say in Colombo.

But then she has other fish to fry, the Tamils can wait. A victimised mother-figure is, in any case, a potent force in the sub-continent's political culture, whatever her own crimes and misdemeanours. "She has suffered enough" they say in Sri Lanka, as they used to say in India of Mrs. Gandhi, who, in comparison, has not suffered at all.

Now, Mrs. Bandaranaike offers Sri Lankans her person, her wrongs, her son, her criticism of the politicians in power. It is the familiar family tamasha. But whereas in India the Janatha disintegrated while holding power, here it is the Opposition which is at sixes and sevens. The JVP of the 1971 insurrection is reincarnated as a

parliamentary party; Colvin R. de Silva, the veteran Trotskyite, is contesting the Presidency with Jayawardene. But at the time of writing, the rest of the Opposition—the left included—was not inclined to support him.

De Silva, like Bandaranaike, thinks that "this little country is too small to bear separation. The two fragments would become instruments of other interests." But it is too late for such caveats. He admits that it is the "most unstable situation in my 50 years as a politician". Sri Lanka is gradually coming apart at the seams. There is even an independent Tamil left being born in Jaffna which, for the first time, is not linked to Colombo.

an exodus - still largely unrecorded outside Sri Lanka—from the line-rooms of the tea and rubber plantations during the racial attacks of 1977 which brought arson, plunder and murder to the "Indian" Tamils.

The police and the army—as many as a thousand at a time have invaded, some landing in helicopters, others driving their armoured cars ('it was like ploughing') across the new crops-harass the settlements, searching for Tigers and beating up suspects.

The former plantation-coolie, middle-aged and pallid, with what seems like a malignant growth on his lip, now squats before you in a ragged headcloth, his face gray-stubbed. He was tied, struck in the face with fists, and hung up-

neighbouring villages, exclusively Sinhalese or exclusively Tamil. "They are afraid of us now", say the plantation refugees, "because our numbers are growing". Moreover, under Gandhiyam pressure on the local administration, ten per cent of them have been given land deeds. There are tensions, too, between the indigenous and refugee Tamils; but the harassment has made the settlers even more determined. "We will stay here," they say as they gather around you.

Many of the settlements are 25 miles or more into the jungle from Vavuniya. In fact what they have achieved, in spite of obstructions by the state and the army, is a prodigious collective effort, carr-

The presidential elections have united Tamils at least in one respect, that of their trepidation. "We associate every election with violence," they say. And when there is 'trouble in the north' - a euphemism for a Tiger killing—you become acutely sensitive to every sound and smell in Colombo. If you catch a whiff of Kerosene, you immediately think someone's house is burning."

This could be a Cyprus in the Indian Ocean, especially since the Ceylon Tamils who live in Sinhalese areas could be vulnerable hostages should the cause of Tamil Eelam now be pushed forward without compromise. And even if the practical problems of Tamil statehood - partition, defence of a long border in the north and east of Sri Lanka, economic viability, international guarantees, and so on have hardly been raised, let alone thought about, it is a political aspiration, a true national question



*'The Tamils have to learn to get used to the Army in the North...' Amirthalingam*

In such a confined space as Sri Lanka, the middle-ground between the two communities is disappearing; but then it never was more than an island within an island. The Anglican Bishop of Kurunegala, Lakshman Wickramasinghe, admits that "time is running out."

As with the British and the Catholics in Northern Ireland ordinary Sinhalese are finding it increasingly difficult to distinguish between terrorism and Tamil demands for justice. Worse, it is the younger Sinhalese generation - and the younger Tamils also - who are least capable of mutual understanding; their horns locked in racial combat, and both sides bent on a "final solution."

He is standing with his feet in a furrow, teeth blackened with caries. We are in Vavuniya, which is 80 per cent Tamil, in the North Central province. His is the tale of

side down from the roof beams, face bleeding, for hours. He crosses his thin arms on his chest to show how they tied him, but if this is a crucifixion, there will be a resurrection here also.

There are already more than 40 new Tamil villages in this district, and the Sinhalese are moving in also. It is colonisation and counter colonisation. Even landless Tamils from Jaffna have come down here to settle. "They are supposed to be running farms," Brigadier Ranatunge said to me with asperity, holding up Gandhiyam brochures between thumb and forefinger, "but they are terrorist centres. Why should I harass innocent people?" To the army, every striped shadow is now a tiger.

## FRONT LINE OF STRUGGLE

The whole area seems on the verge of explosion, with bitter hostility between

ied out with the help of the Gandhiyam's moving spirits: S. A. David, an architect and S. Rajasundaram, a medical practitioner; and with the aid from overseas voluntary organisations.

More ominously for the Sinhalese, "we have started moving towards liberation," said a squatter-village headman, 20 miles from Vavuniya, formerly a tea-plantation worker, "Here everybody is for Tamil Eelam." On the up-country estates, they ask: "What good will Eelam do us? Will it find jobs for one million plantation workers?" But here, they say, "We are fighting for the next generation."

Free of the suffocation of the line-rooms and the shackles of their serfdom, this is a new political language and a new defiance. Vavuniya, not Jaffna, is the front-line of the Tamil struggle, and on this battlefield, they are not likely to be defeated.

if ever there was one, that needs careful watching.

## Political Purchase

Moreover, with the Indian mainland only 22 miles away from Jaffna, a political cordon sanitaire cannot be placed around Sri Lanka; India is too important and too close as a behind the lines arms source and tiger sanctuary beyond the reach of the Sri Lankan army. According to S. C. Chandrasahasnan there are already around 1,000 Tamil youths from Sri Lanka in, what he called, "de facto asylum in India".

Of course, real Indian support will be needed for Tamil "liberation", but even without it, New Delhi's discreet approval—not the same as support—for Tamil Eelam, and its unhelpfulness over Colombo's demands for the extradition of Tigers, are already

(Continued overleaf)



# C. Sivanesan replies Chandrasiri Weerasekera

Mr. Chandrasiri Weerasekera's letter published in the SATURDAY REVIEW of 4th December, '82 demonstrates the typical misunderstandings of even the educated Sinhalese to the demand for Eelam by a major portion of the politically conscious Tamils. A peaceful solution can be found without resorting to mutually wasteful and destructive violence only through such open discussion as promoted in your journal.

If equal rights had existed, the demand for separation would never have arisen. There is open discrimination against the Tamils in every sphere. The system of democracy practised with the spoils system whereby the party which comes into power rewards its supporters in all spheres (e.g., job bank), may be temporarily harmful to even the Sinhalese who had been actually supporting the defeated party, but ultimately their own party may gain power after a few years or they can cross over to the party in power with much publicity and gain their rewards. In this game of favouritism to supporters and discrimination against opponents, the Tamils are always losers. Since 1956 even proportionate share of employment is not given in the public sector to Tamils and in many sectors recruitment of Tamils is much less than 10%, even as low as 2% or 3%.

## Education - Tamil

### man's patrimony

Higher education is a sensitive sphere for the Northern Tamils who had highly depended on education to earn a living not only here but also in Malaysia and recently in several other parts of the world. Education is the only patrimony that the Jaffna Tamil can give his children excepting the unproductive house and jewellery given as dowries to daughters. It is highly frustrating for an educated parent to find that he cannot give a good education to his children who are fully competent to benefit from higher education. They do not have economically productive esta-

tes and plantations or businesses to hand over to their children. Therefore most Tamils may be satisfied with proportionality in public sector employment but not in higher education.

The right for higher education cannot be denied on any principle to capable students, whose main talent lies in studies. What is the purpose of any economic development without the facility for higher education? Education should not be considered merely as a means for employment but also for the development of personality and for expression of talents and a high quality of life through education alone.

## Dynastic fights should not be interpreted as racial conflicts

If equal opportunity cannot be given and the proportional principle is to be followed, it means that there is going to be difficulties on the basis of language or race which can be rationally done only through federalism or at least regional autonomy with education coming under regional authority.

The historical facts mentioned by Mr. Weerasekera contain much distortion. Were not Vijaya and his followers the first pioneering invaders who showed the way? Did he not deceive Kuveni and exploit her? In fact Vijaya and his seven hundred followers obtained their seven hundred wives from the Pandia Kingdom in Mathura which is accepted by most historians as the Tamil Pandyan Kingdom of Madurai. With the seven hundred wives came a thousand Tamil families belonging to various craft guilds. Which means that if the original inhabitants were not Tamils (which cannot be completely ruled out) the first Tamil

migrants came peacefully for matrimony and as economically and culturally productive people. From the beginning we find a predominantly Tamil mixture in the Sinhalese blood and hence today we cannot distinguish easily most Tamils and Sinhalese if they are similarly dressed whereas most Sinhalese can be easily differentiated from North Indians.

Even according to the Mahavamsa about three thousand Tamils migrated to Sri Lanka peacefully on the invitation by the ruling king Vijaya a few years after the invasion by Vijaya and his followers. Throughout the history of Sri Lanka most Tamils migrated as traders, craftsmen, sculptors,

obtained the help of Tamil kings in South India. The Chola invasion took place because the Sinhalese king supported the Pandyan king against the Chola king. Some Sinhalese kings even invaded India. Looking at historical facts objectively we find that there had been much more wars among Sinhalese rulers when the help of Tamil kings were obtained than wars between Tamil and Sinhalese kings. Even in the latter case the wars were dynastic fights of kings and not racial conflicts. Periods of peaceful relations, trade and matrimonial relations were much vaster than the race episodes of wars between Sinhalese and Tamils. In fact it is

ever his origin may be is entitled to all the human rights and equal treatment without discrimination. No doubt a few countries do not maintain this standard but they are condemned by the world community. Let us not belong to that category.

In this Dharma Deepa which is claimed to have maintained Buddhism in its pure form and where four great religions have flourished together peacefully, let us try to find a peaceful solution to our problem through dialogue and discussion. Unification as desired by Mr. Weerasekera can still be maintained but only on the basis of equality,

architects, painters, priests or for marriage to kings and aristocrats. Even at the end of the Sinhalese dynasties we find the last three Nayakar kings at Kandy were Tamil kings who spoke and wrote in Tamil invited to rule because of matrimonial relationship. At that time there was never any prejudice or hatred against Tamils on racial grounds, completely misinterpreted by some naive and petty minded historians who have created a traditional hatred between the Sinhalese and Tamils from their own hatred-filled minds. They hide the fact that Tamil Captains were fighting for Dutugemunu against Elara whose army also might have had Sinhalese soldiers and captains.

It is true that there were some Tamil invasions. But those invasions took place mainly because most Sinhalese were involved in the South Indian dynastic rivalries and when Sinhalese kings fought among themselves with rival claimants to the throne they

highly paradoxical that the descendants of most of the Tamil soldiers (who mostly came on the invitation of some Sinhalese claimants to the throne) are today Sinhalese speaking and attacking the Tamils some of whom may be descendants of Sinhalese.

Regarding place names, Mr. Weerasekera should realise that there are innumerable places in the Sinhalese areas which are of Tamil origin as there may be Sinhalese names in Tamil areas. In the ancient Ptolemy's map of Sri Lanka Adam's Peak is named as 'Olispada' which is strikingly similar to the Tamil name Sivan Olipadam. Even the name Ceylon is said to be derived from 'Eelom'. An inscription found near Galle is written in Chinese and Tamil characters.

Historical facts should not be distorted to create hatred, prejudices and conflicts. According to the accepted civilized democratic standards today any person who is born and bred in a country what-

freedom, justice, non-discrimination and equal opportunity in all spheres, to promote the development of all sections.

If the principle of proportionality is to be followed then this should be reflected in the constitution as federation or at least regional autonomy. But if some on the majority community think that they can maintain unity through discrimination, subordination or domination against the minorities through periodical mass violence and terror, they would be the guilty persons responsible for the demand for separation and any subsequent violence resorted to by the disgruntled minorities. Let us have right understanding as enunciated by the Buddha and use the right means to achieve a mutually beneficial solution on the basis of compassion and justice.

## David Selbourne : The Indian connection

(Continued from page 7)

significant factors in Sinhalese calculations about what it can get away with in its struggle with the Tamils.

Yet, with Mauritius demanding the return of Diego Garcia, Sri Lanka's deep-water harbour at Trincomalee is also of increasing potential value to Western interests. Indeed, some of the Tamil leaders

actually see further hope for the cause of Tamil Eelam in the growing involvement of the superpowers in the area.

They think that an unstable, but strategically critical, Sri Lanka would give the Tamils extra political purchase, especially under Indian protection. That the Colombo government, after the presidential elections, might also try to crush their movement

with even more Western assistance (particularly West German) than it is already getting, no one is saying.

Now, he is a mere night-watchman, come down in the world to this lonely vigil from being a Sinhalese overseer of Tamil Labour on a British tea-plantation. Between the frogs croaking, there is deadly silence. "Tigers are being sheltered right here," he

says, pointing into the moonless night towards Dehiwela and Wellawatta in South Colombo.

He lapses into silence, his expression glassy. "We let them live here," he says into the blackness, as if talking to himself, "but can we go to Jaffna?" No harm has ever been done to civilian Sinhalese in Jaffna, so I am told, but there is no point in arguing.

"Jayawardene has extended the hand of friendship to them but they spurn it. They are more united than we are. But if the Buddhist clergy rise up, it will all be over for the Tamils. They cannot take the north. This is a Sinhalese country," he says flatly. The night is airless, suffocating. Only the bull-frog, croaking, answers.





## Mrdanga Arangetram in Jaffna today

Master Kuralarasu Velanai Veerasingham's Mirudhanga Arangetram will take place today (Saturday) January 8th at the Veerasingham Hall, Jaffna, at 6 p.m.

Kuralarasu is a pupil of Mirudhanga Vidwan A. M. Chandrasegaram and student of Wesley College, Colombo. Besides being a winner of several school prizes Master Kuralarasu is also an Art Student of Gate Mudaliyar A. C. G. S. Amerasekara, the doyen of Sri Lankan Artists.

Kuralarasu will give another special performance on the mirudhangam at the Bandaranaike Memorial Hall, Colombo on 23rd January.

He is the eldest son of Mr. and Mrs. Velanai Veerasingham of Brownson Industries.

Today's recital will be in the presence of Mr. K. P. Ratnam, M. P. for Kayts. The M.P. for Chavakachcheri Mr. V. N. Navaratnam will preside.

## Karen Breckenridge dies in car crash

Mr. Karen Breckenridge, Director of the United Nations division at Sri Lanka's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, died on Monday in Geneva in a motor accident. Mrs. Breckenridge, who was also with Mr. Breckenridge suffered serious injuries.

Mr. Breckenridge played a key role in the Law of the Sea Conference, an agreement on which was reached recently.

He was also a well known figure in local theatre.

## K. L. girl's Arangetram

The Bharatha Natya Arangetram of Sri Devi daughter of Mr. R. Thambapillai and Mrs. Nagadevi Thambapillai of 21A, Jalan Scott, Kuala Lumpur took place at the Lionel Wendt Theatre, Colombo 7 on Tuesday 28th December, 1982. Sri Devi is a disciple of Kumari P. Suriyakala of Madras.

## Sri Lankan Doctor in Nigeria dies during home leave:

### Nigerian tribute

Dr. Chelliah Dhayanandhan who was Senior Medical Officer at Benoni Hospital in Nigeria passed away after a brief heart attack while he was in Colombo on home leave.

The 'NIGERIAN OBSERVER' carried the following announcement by Benoni Hospital Limited of Nigeria, along with a large picture of Dr. Dhayanandhan.

"The Chairman on behalf of the Board of Directors and staff of Benoni Hospital Limited regret to announce the sudden and untimely death of Dr. CHELLIAH DHAYANANDHAN, aged 38 years whilst on home leave on the 29th of September 1982.

"Dr. Chelliah Dhayanandhan until his death was the Senior Medical Officer at Benoni Hospital, Elema Layout, GRA, Benin City. He joined the staff of the Hospital in January 1978 at the inception of the new hospital and served for a period of four years and nine months. He was truly devoted to his duties and gave help and succour to the very ill.

"As a member of the Benin Club, he was known to be very amiable and developed expertise in the field of billiards and snooker, winning the recently concluded snooker championship.

"Our heartfelt sympathy goes to his wife and little children, members of his family and his friends both in Sri Lanka and Nigeria.

"We pray Almighty God to grant his friends, relations and former co-workers the strength to bear this irreparable loss.

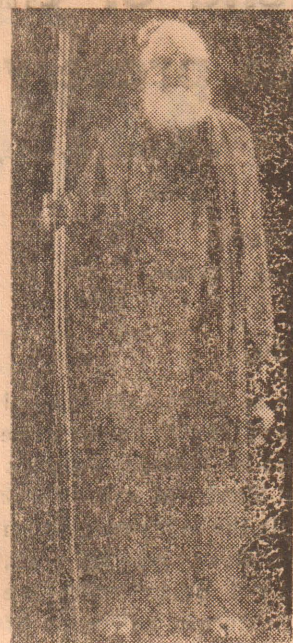
"MAY THE SOUL OF DR. CHELLIAH DHAYANANDHAN REST IN GOD'S PERFECT PEACE - AMEN."

Dr. Dhayanandhan who hails from Anaicoddai served the Health Dept in Anuradhapura District for six years. His last posting was as D.M.O. Kahatagadigiliya. After resigning from Govt service, Dr. Dhayanandhan was attached to the Hatton Private Hospital for an year before he took up his Nigerian assignment.

His remains were cremated at Jaffna on the 22nd October, 1982. He leaves his wife Sushila, daughters Narmili and Premili.

# people

## American Swami in Jaffna



SRI SIVAYA SUBRAMUNIYA SWAMIGAL, the head of the Saiva Siddhanta Church, USA, who is now on a visit to Jaffna will be here until Monday the 10th. The Swami who arrived in Sri Lanka on January 2nd will leave for Rameshwaram by boat on the morning of Saturday the 15th after a stay at Thiruketheeswaram Temple on the 14th.

Sri Sivaya Subramuniya Swamigal who is an American by birth is a pupil of Siva Yogaswami of Colombuthurai, Jaffna.

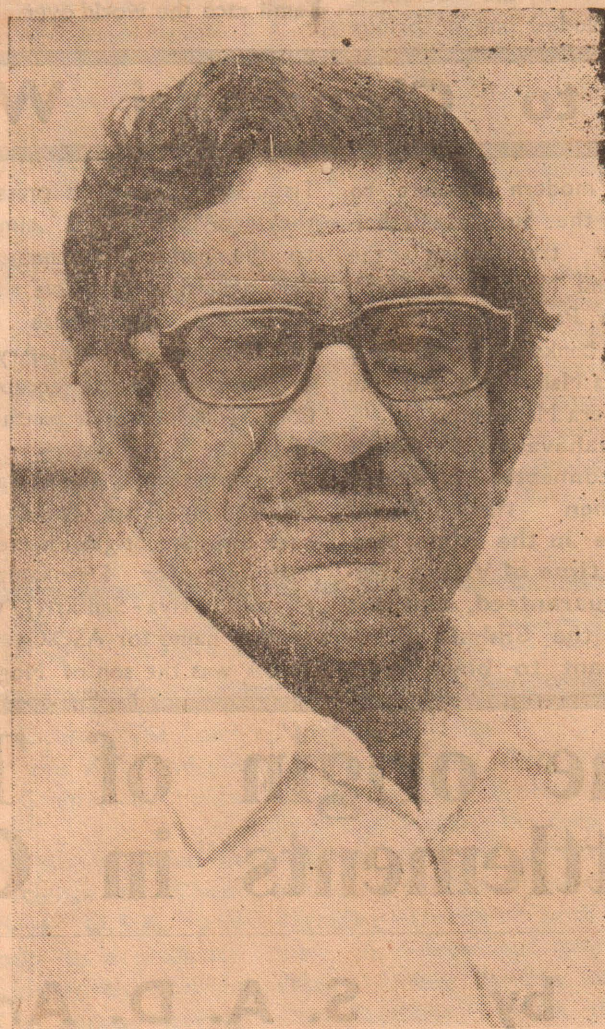
The Swami who has been participating in regular workshops at the Kumbalavalai

Pillaiyar Temple, Alaveddi, since his arrival also participated at his 56th Jayanthi Celebrations organised by the Sri Subramaniya Ashram, Alaveddi, where he resides.

Today (Saturday) the Swami will participate in the worship at Pannalai Balasubramaniya Temple and will be received by devotees at Ilavalai South, and at Valakamparai. This afternoon at 2 o'clock he will meet Associate Members of the Saiva Siddhanta Church.

Tomorrow (Sunday) the Swami will visit Erlalai and will be taken in procession from Mallakam Junction at 4-30 p.m.

## Prof. Kailas remembered



Three meetings were held this week in Jaffna in memory of the late Professor K. Kailasapathy. The first one was held at Bond Institute on Sunday, the 2nd and was arranged by "Visai" a cultural organization.

The second meeting organized on behalf of Writers and Artists Groups was held on Monday the 3rd at Trimmer Hall with Prof. A. Sivathamby in the Chair. Prof. S. Vithiyannathan, Vice-Chancellor, University of Jaffna, Mr. Devanesan Nesiah G. A. Jaffna and Poet Writer E. Murugian, were among the speakers.

The third meeting organized by the 'Thinakaran' held on Wednesday the 5th at the Veerasingham Hall with Mr. R. Sivagurunathan, Editor of 'Thinakaran' presiding. The photograph of the late Prof. Kailasapathy was taken in procession from the 'Thinakaran' office to Veerasingham Hall.

Prof. Kailasapathy's 31st rites were held at his Jaffna residence on Thursday the 6th.

## He Wins Golden Medal in Philately



Mr. C.S.S. Muttucumaru, the Director of ACS group of firms in Jaffna and the president of "Philatelists International" the Stamp collectors' club, has been awarded the Golden Medal for his mint

postage stamps of the post-independence period 1948 to 1982.

The Stamp exhibition was held recently in Colombo, having been arranged by the Philatelic Bureau of Sri Lanka after a break of 15 years. The exhibition was divided into three groups: 1. Pre-Independence period - 1857 to 1947; 2. Post-Independence period from 1948 to 1982; and 3. Junior Collectors.

Mr. Muttucumaru whose collection was highly commended by the large number of visitors to the exhibition, is the District Secretary of the Northern District of Y's Man International, Sri Lanka region.

Mr. Muttucumaru is the only son of the late A.S. Sellappah of the Survey Department, Taiping, Malaysia, (of Varuthalavilan, Tellippalai) and of late Mrs. Sellimuttu Sellappah of Kokuvil East Jaffna.

## Nirmala's...

(Continued from page 4)

'Lordships' Court for the issue of a mandate in the nature of a writ of Habeas Corpus directing the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Respondents to bring up the said Muttiah Nithiananthan alias Thiruvavel before Your Lordships' Court forthwith to be dealt with according to law.



# LETTERS

## Hysteria during National crises

Bloemendhal Road,  
Colombo 13.  
3rd January, 1983

The Editor,  
Saturday Review,  
Jaffna.

Dear Sir,  
[HYSTERIA IN NATIONAL  
CRISES

Congratulations on your candid "VIEWPOINT" of 1-1-83, wherein you have mentioned several instances of panic and hysteria displayed by the Sri Lanka Government, Sri Lanka Press & people, and

Sri Lanka Security forces in a National crisis—starting from 1958 to the Sepala Ekanayake hijack affair of 1982. One more glaring instance of such hysteria and panic was displayed last year when the Tamil Nadu Police arrested some Tamil youths who were promptly labelled "Tigers". Overcome by euphoria, Sri Lankan Ministry Officials (including expert State Lawyers), top Police Officers (including X.X.X. and a team of sleuths from the Colombo Press (including one notorious

hack now in umbrage) took wing to New Delhi and Madras and came back like dogs with their tails between their

legs and growlingly insulted the Tamil Nadu Police by offering them a pecuniary reward which was contemptuously spu-

red. Sri Lanka, I think, put up a very puerile display  
Yours faithfully,  
K. J. Fonseka.

## The Jaffna man is a special blend of the Tamil race: Help him preserve his Identity

9, Vivekananda Avenue,  
Colombo-6.

The Editor,  
Saturday Review,  
Jaffna.

Dear Sir,

Just as there are special blends of Tea & liquor there are also in isolated instances special blends of races. For example the Jaffna man, though of Dravidian origin, his dress, dialect and other habits are quite different to those of other Tamils in Africa, Malaya South India and our Estates. He is a special blend of the Tamil race the world over.

Today cry of the Jaffna man is really not for separation but for recognition and preservation of his identity for posterity. By his splendid isolation and constant contact with the Dutch, English, Moors and Sinhalese, he had become a special blend of the Tamil race.

For any solution to any problem, a proper understanding of the problem is essential. This is why we have undeclared war in the North. The goal of the Jaffna man is not separation or domination but recognition and preservation of the identity.

Government should give full life and meaning to the District Development Councils, its own brain child. If that is done, all communities will be able to live unitedly under one flag, the Kandians in the hills, the country Sinhalese in the South, and the Tamils.

Politics and Politicians have created a problem where one did not exist. Let us heed the Voice of Reason and Sanity and join hands for the progress of our motherland.

Yours faithfully,  
D. J. Thamotheram.

## Another reply to Chandrasiri Weerasekera

In his letter — "History and Eelam" — in your esteemed journal of 4-12-82, Mr. Chandrasiri Weerasekera of Peradeniya states—what he claims—the Sinhalese point of view on the demand for Eelam.

I am sure that every Tamil will take off his hat to the sentiment expressed when he says that the Sinhalese have no ill-will towards the Tamils and the Tamils are full citizens like the Sinhalese and are entitled to equal rights with the Sinhalese. But when he attempts to correct himself in the next line and say, "they are also entitled to a PROPORTIONAL ethnic share", a Tamil is tempted to "eat" the hat he took off. Perhaps in time, the Tamils may even be granted "Tamil Eelam" in proportion to their numbers only after the systematic colonization of Tamil areas like Amparai in the East and Pavatkulam in the North!

### Myths, legends & folklore

Since he has based his good will on certain remarks he had made earlier in his letter, I too on good faith wish to place before your readers my point of view, as a Tamil.

As for his claim of descent from Vijaya, the story in the Mahavamsa, may I refer him to "A Concise History of Ceylon" by C. W. Nicholas and S. Paranavitane (1961) pages 24-27. It begins: "These stories about the origin of the Sinhalese people and how they came to settle down in this island are overlaid with myths, legends and folklore."

The frantic attempt by

several modern scholars to Aryanize the Sinhalese ethnically by transferring the Pandya and Madura of South India to Pandu and Muttra near the banks of Jamna only discredits Mahavamsa and the great Thera Mahanama.

If Mahavamsa's South Indian connection is accepted, then the Tamil presence in the island during the time of Vijaya himself is guaranteed, and this perhaps the Sinhala Scholars want to black out.

## The origin of Tamil settlements in Ceylon

by S. A. D. Ariadurai

Otherwise why do they labour to claim "Pandu connections", while Sinha and Banerjee in History of India (1952) page 46, observe: "The Kurus were one of the most prominent tribes of the later Vedic period, but it is curious that Pandus are mentioned for the first time in Buddhist literature, when they are described as a hill tribe".

Again, while introducing Buddhism into the island, who was the king? Was it not the son of Mutasiva (Moochasivam in Tamil—"elder Sivam") Devanampiya Tissa, who received Mahinda Thera? Also we have to note the names of the other sons of Mutasiva who succeeded Devanampiya

Tissa. In order of succession they are Uttaya (n) similar to the name Uttayan of Manimekalai - Mahasiva and Suratissa. Were these not Saiva Tamils, for the Aryans at that time had not accepted Lord Sivan into their pantheon of gods.

Incidentally the name Devanampiya Tissa could not have been the original name of that king for Devanampiya (Devanampriya - Sanskrit) was another name for ASOKA and TISSA was the son of Mogali,

ans, for we know early "Buddhists themselves used the term "Aryan" to mean "mlechhas" i. e., out-cast, an unclean stranger, vide, Tamil-English dictionary by V. Visvannathapillai published in Madras.

Again, for Mr. C. W. to contend that the Indo-Aryans had to come and introduce a high state of agricultural development on Eelam, especially to cultivate paddy, a plant not known to the pastoral Aryan Marauders, is indeed far fetch-

people living at the further end of the great route, the parts of South India where they serve as a link between the East and Far East. They were a half-way house people. Perhaps in pre-historic times they had watched the ships coming from the west and had loaded them for the return journey with what their own ships had brought from China and Ceylon..... These Tamils were a Dravidian, pre-Aryan. One of their kings, king Pandya, had sent an embassy to Augustus. They had known at one and the same time the civilisation of the West and the civilization of China—thanks to their familiarity with the sea. Like the Cretans the Tamils were great divers—the foremost pearl divers in the world". Perhaps these quotations should suffice to register the "pre-Aryan" knowledge of Ceylon to the Tamils, for Ceylon with her pearls is only too near to the Tamils of South India.

As for the finds of Buddhist relics in the North and East of Lanka, the Tamil Epic Manimekalai stands as a living monument to the fact that some Tamils embraced Buddhism at a certain period of their very long history and the circumscribed names of Panadura (i), Kalutara (i), Matarra (i), are clear evidence of Tamils' presence in those parts of the island, too.

Finally, as for the "bloody threat", I would only like to quote the Kural of our Sage Thiruvalluvar, on self-control:

"What ever else is uncontrolled, control the tongue; or you will come to grief in many a faulty word".

president of the third council held during ASOKA's time. Further, Asoka's Edicts do not mention his missionary activities in Lanka in spite of the claim that his own children were involved. But the fair Thera Mahanama has also mentioned, "For the two monarchs Devanampiya Tissa and Dhammasoka already had been friends for a long time, though they had never seen each other" (Mahavamsa 11:19) Could pen-friendship have existed at that time?

### Agricultural development

Yes, if Mr. C. W. and others are in favour of an "Aryan theory" we have no objection, because, as Tamils we are proud to be Dravidi-

ed. To say that agricultural prosperity drew the attention of the Tamils of South India after the advent of the 'Aryan Sinhalese' is to distort history. For, in History of India by Sinha and Banerjee page 2, one reads, "But it would be a mistake to think that the mystery of the sea never allured the Indian mind. The Dravidians in pre-historic times navigated the seas in pursuit of trade and commerce. The evidence of the maritime activity of the Aryans is not quite clear"

### Tamils and pearl-diving

Once again, DIOLE speaking of the maritime activities of the Tamil says, "We find proof of their liaison in the



Neervely Rs. 8.1 million robbery case.

# A.S.P. Jurampathy denies torture allegations

Cross-examined by Mr. N. Satyendra, the Senior Defence Counsel in the Neerveli bank money robbery case, Assistant Superintendent of Police Jurampathy, C.I.D. told court that he had not heard of Oxford University don David Selbourne describing him as 'the chief torturer' of the accused in a newspaper article.

In the course of evidence ASP Jurampathy said that Thangathurai the first accused, was not assaulted by him or in his presence by other police officers either at Panagoda or the Elephant Pass Army Camp, nor was he hung upside down and the "chillie treatment" given.

Under cross-examination by the Defence, witness said that he was a god-fearing man. Asked whether he had cried for what he had done, witness said that there was no need for him to do so.

Replying to a question whether he agreed that under the cloak of National Security, the freedom of human beings cannot be infringed, witness said that he was only an investigator and he did not understand about 'national security'. Witness added that he was not aware about the Eelam Liberation Movement being a threat to national security. That was not his concern, he said.

In this case, six accused including Kuttimani (nominated M. P. for Vaddukodai) are indicated under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, with conspiracy, robbery of Rs. 8.1 million from the People's Bank and the murders of P.Cs Muthubanda and Abeyratne at Neerveli on March 25, 1981. Thangathurai, Thevan, Sivapathar

Master, and Nadesuthasan were the other accused produced in the court. The fifth accused who is absconding is being tried in absentia.

Earlier Nadarajah Thangavelu alias Thangathurai, 1st accused narrated the following gory facts of torture while in custody, to High Court Judge Mr. C. L. D. Moonemala, on the 15th of December during the court proceedings.

"I first met ASP Jurampathy on the 7th of April 1982 in the Panagoda Army Camp. Inspector Ganegama and few other police officers were with him. For about half an hour I underwent rigorous questioning.

"On the next day Inspector Ganegama took me to the room in which I was questioned the previous day. ASP Jurampathy and many other officers too were present. I was questioned for about an hour. During questioning I was beaten brutally. Mr. Jurampathy attacked me with his legs, while Mr. Ganegama used an 'S-lon' pipe. After this they threw me into my room.

"When my interrogation ended, the third accused Thevan was taken for questioning. I could distinctly hear noises of assault and Thevan's cries of agony. On the next day, 9th too I could hear the beatings and Thevan's cries between 10 a.m. and 11 a.m.

"On the 12th of April Major Alagama questioned me while I stood beside him. He questioned me while seated opposite on a chair. The Police Officers who were present assaulted me frequently during the questioning. After this they fixed very powerful electric

bulbs in my room which blinded my sight. These lights were kept focussed on me, day and night.

"On the 16th of April I was taken in a truck to the rest house situated beside the Elephant Pass Army Camp. They tied my hands and legs to a bed in the room in the ground floor. Some police officers assaulted me mercilessly.

"On the 13th I was taken to a room in the upper floor and tied head downwards on a hook in the ceiling. The questioning started at 7 a.m. and ASP Jurampathy, Messrs. Gunasinghe, Ariyapala, and Ganegama were

present with a few other officers. They stripped me of my verti, and tied a sack, whose both ends were open, to my waist. My face was inside the sack. Below they put chillie powder over a burning coal, and directed the agonizing fumes to my face which was within the sack. They also put chillie powder into my eyes and in my private organs. Between intervals they asked me questions. This torture continued for 45 minutes.

"When I was untied I saw the second accused who had been brought there to witness the treatment. Later, in front of my eyes, he too

was given the same agonizing treatment. We were given such treatment on many other occasions.

"On the 28th April I saw the fourth accused lying flat on his stomach, naked, and being beaten by a heavy stick. A police officer took me to this place to witness the beating. He ordered me to tell the accused 'Tell the truth rather than getting beaten to death'. I told this to the accused in the Elephant Pass Army Camp. We gave many statements just to preserve our life from the agonizing torture and merciless beating of the officers."

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## T.E.L.F. on the Referendum

"The Results of the Referendum proved that the people of Tamil Eelam have begun thinking of their future clearly, independently and prophetically. At one time the thinking of the masses was confused when the ideas of the leaders were muddled. But today the Tamil people have started act-

ing with self-reliance. Though we won in all areas in Tamil Eelam, the reason for our defeat in Amparai is the recurrent Sinhalese colonization by successive Sinhala Governments," says Mr. Eelaventhana, Secretary of T. E. L. F. in a press statement on the Referendum,



# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## We get bouquets from Brigadiers too !

SATURDAY REVIEW has a way of getting talked about even where the subject of discussion has nothing to do with the paper; and for a paper that has been receiving from its very inception bouquets and bouquets all the way, the latest bouquet came from guess? - from Brigadier Cyril Ranatunge who relinquished duties this week as Army Commander in Jaffna. Mr. Ranatunge who is a Senior Brigadier will now continue in Colombo as Chief of Staff of the Sri Lanka Army.

Last Wednesday Brigadier Ranatunge met pressmen in Jaffna at a conference at the Army Camp, (SATURDAY REVIEW for some reason never gets invited for these conferences or carol parties!) before his departure to Colombo in which he introduced his successor Brigadier Balthazar.

Brigadier Ranatunge spoke without reserve about several matters including terrorism in Jaffna, about the questioning of Jaffna M. P., Mr. Yogeswaran, about the peaceful nature of the vast majority of the Jaffna people, about the restricted life they, the Army Officers themselves, lead in Jaffna.

Referring to the burning of the Jaffna Public Library he had nothing but the severest condemnation. It was a vile,

criminal act, he said, but at the same time he thought it unwise to keep the burnt section of the library as a monument for exhibition - as a reminder of an act of hooliganism. He recalled in this connection a past editorial comment in the SATURDAY REVIEW and said that the paper had given healthy positive advice to whoever who was trying to make political capital instead of restoring the library once again. (The reference made by Brigadier Ranatunge was made in the editorial of August 7, 1982 - Editor S. R.).

In another oblique reference to SATURDAY REVIEW, Brigadier Ranatunge said that in a democratic set-up any newspaper has the freedom to focus the grievances of the people and be critical if it chooses to on any action by the authorities. But as disciplined Army men they had no interest in political or racial questions. Their only interest was in combating terrorism and maintaining law and order. In the 1971 insurgency several Sinhalese youths were shot to death not because they asked for Sinhala Eelam but because they tried to wage an armed war against the State.

Brigadier Ranatunge said he hopes to retire soon and was looking forward to visiting Jaffna next time and spending a holiday here as a 'free' man.

## Jan. 10 - Tamil Eelam National Heroes' Day

The tenth of January is to be commemorated in a big way as the Tamil Eelam National Heroes' Day. The day which marks the anniversary of the deaths of eight people after a police attack on the International Tamil Research Conference held in Veerasingham Hall, Jaffna, in 1974, has been remembered annually to remember the death of others

too who have lost their lives under State Terrorism.

The TULF will hold religious observances and memorial orations at 6.30 a.m. opposite the Veerasingham Hall. The TULF in a separate statement has called Tamils "in Eelam as well as abroad" to observe the day as a day of mourning.

# Some to get axed, some to rise from the ashes ?

Political circles are abuzz with speculation about the Cabinet changes President J. R. Jayawardene will make after he is ceremonially sworn in for his second term of office on 4th February.

The hottest talking point in the North and East is that Regional Development and Hindu Affairs Minister C. Rajathurai is likely to be 'guillotined'. His portfolio, according to these circles, may go to Mr. Yogendra Duraiswamy, a one-time member of the Diplomatic Service and Government Agent of Jaffna in 1981 when it was set on fire by rampaging men in mufti. Among Mr. Duraiswamy's diplomatic postings were New Delhi-the subject of queries raised in Parliament by Kayts M. P., K. P. Ratnam- and Indonesia. Home Affairs Minister K.W. Devanayagam too may not be able to retain his portfolio.

According to informed circles the President considers Messrs. Devanayagam and Rajadurai political deadweights. Both the Presidential election and the Referendum bloodied their noses and have shown that their political influence in the Eastern Province is virtually nil.

Another speculation doing the rounds is that Mr. Chelliah Kumarasuriar-the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications in Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike's United Left Front Government who has now made a broad jump into the UNP bandwagon may be appointed District Minister of Jaffna. Mr. Kumarasuriar is reportedly staking a claim for a higher position on the ground that he is too senior a man for a mere D. M's post.

Another talking point is that the Constitution may be amended to provide for

two Vice Presidents: at the moment there is no constitutional provision for a Vice-President. In that event one of the Vice-President's posts is likely to go to Rural Industries Minister S. Thondaman. The other may be offered to Prime Minister R. Premadasa. If he accepts, then Minister of State Anandatissa de Alwis will step into his shoes. What intrigues political observers is what happens if Mr. Premadasa declines the offer. Will it mean the chop for him?

In this background, the discreet arrival of political broker and constitutional adviser, Dr. A. J. Wilson from New Brunswick University has set tongues wagging. Has he come here with the set purpose of again bringing the Government and the TULF together at the negotiating table, observers wonder. History is about to repeat itself is the snide remark of a local political commentator.

## Tamil writers told: Reject Sahitiya awards

Nine organisations in Jaffna have called upon Tamil writers who are to receive the Government's Sahitiya Academy awards to reject them as a mark of protest against its unprecedented policies of national oppression.

The organisations are: Thesiya kalai Ilakk'ya Peravai, Yal Nadaga Arangak Kolloori, Alaveddy Jayiru Padaipaligal Vattam, Alai Ilakkiya Vattam, Puthusu Sanjikai Kulu, Mekam Sanjikai Kulu, Illavalai Nadaga Manram, Pungudutivu Illakiya Vattam and Yalpana Samuka Vijjana Kalvi Vattam.

In a cyclostyled appeal, these organisations point out that national oppression has become intensified, as

never before, after this government came to power. Since 1977, the Tamil speaking people have been the victims of chauvinist violence and state terrorism. The burning of the Jaffna Public Library, the Eelamadu office and prominent bookshops reveals a planned, deliberate attempt to destroy Tamil culture. Those responsible for these dastardly acts though identified have not been tried even under the normal laws of the land while, ironically enough, the Government has clamped down the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act upon the Tamil people. This Act has been condemned as inhumane by such respected international bodies as Amnesty

International and the I. C. J.

Under this Act, the appeal points out, clergymen, doctors, lecturers, artists and youths have been detained for long periods and tortured in Army Camps, without being brought to trial. Today undergraduates, students and the public are showing their determined resistance, in many ways, to the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the Government's dictatorial ways. In this context it is the moral duty of Tamil writers and artists to voice their protest against the detention of Mr. M. Nithiananthan, University Lecturer, publisher (two of his publications have been chosen this time for Sahitiya Awards) and literary critic.

The appeal urges Tamil writers and artists to follow the example of Sinhala composer Premasiri Khemadasa who recently refused to accept the prize for the best composer of film music.