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Enlisting Religion & Archaeology for Racism

Destruction of Hindu temples and idols used to be an uncommon feature except during times of communal strife. Now it is becoming more frequent and deliberate. Defacing and disturbing archaeological sites, planting evidence of Sinhala Buddhist settlement in Tamil areas are becoming increasingly common now.

The recent chain of events of such nature started with the sudden and mysterious appearance of a new Buddha statue at the Vavuniya Kacheheri junction at the site of an Amman temple. The campaign of the local population foiled the plans of building a temple around it. But the removal of the statue did not take place

as demanded by the people. The buck was being passed around amongst government politicians and officials with various removal orders, stay orders and numerous other orders. The final order came from the very top with characteristic shrewdness. The new statue has been now replaced by an ancient statue and the people of Vavuniya have been granted their latest facility—a museum to foster Buddhism!

The second incident which happened in December last year is alarming to students of history. Archaeologists from the University of Jaffna have spotted three newly built cement and limestone Buddhist stupas on the archaeological sites at VEDIYARASAN Kottai, Delft. The stupas have made their appearance without any sign of any archaeological excavation. The Archaeological Department which is supposed

to have constructed the half built stupas seem to have worked on the stupas at periodic intervals — in order not to arouse the suspicions of the local population,

Uniformed men at temple

The third incident at Kanchi-rankuda in the Thirukovil A. G. A. District in Batticaloa seems the most sinister. A group of uniformed men had made their appearance in the village in December last year and had intimidated and had forcibly got the roof of the Murugan Temple removed by the villagers who patronise the temple. They had left the village threatening to bring some other statue to replace the Murugan Statue. Groups of poor Tamil peasants being attacked and uprooted by the armed forces has become common in the Eastern Province. It culminated in the violent incident of Navagirikulam in July-August last year. Religion, is often the weapon used against these unknowing villagers.

Ousting Muslim peasants

One can cite examples such as the Digavapi project where direct State action and State policy in the name of Buddhism is directed towards ousting hundreds of Muslim peasant families from the area.

Lord Buddha has for the Tamils also been a symbol of serenity and peace. The Hindu tradition has imbibed much good from Buddhism. But unfortunately, Lord Buddha is increasingly becoming a symbol of oppression and violence against Tamils. His name is vainly used for much deceitful and hypocritical political ends.

DEATHS

V. KULANAYAGAM — Management Accountant, Westbourne International Holdings Ltd., London, beloved husband of Sakuntalarani, son of late Mr. Vairamuthu and Mrs. Vairamuthu of Alvai, son-in-law of Mr. & Mrs. Sathasivam of Trincomalee, brother of Rajanayagam (Nigeria), Thavanayaki, Indranayaki, Pathmanayaki (Dept. of Pharmacology, Peradeniya) Kamalanayaki (Colombo Hindu), Yoganayaki (Central Bank), brother-in-law of Navamani (Nigeria), Kumarasingham Customs, Panchalingam (formerly of Bank of Ceylon), Dr. Rajamahendran (University, Peradeniya), Anandakrishnan, Indrani, Sivalingam, Bahirathan (all of USA), Manoharan (Navy) and Chandrakanthan, expired, Cremation in UK. 39, St. Lawrence Road, Wellawatte.

SIVANATHAN — THILLAI-NATHAN, Retired Draughtsman, Public Health Engineering Division, beloved husband of Sivanukulam, father of Sivaja (UK), Sivathman (Kannan UK, Sivakaran France), Sivaraman, Manager Gordon & Co., Ltd., Wellampitiya Branch, Sivanujun, brother of Pushparani, Thidaweerasingham, Rajeswary Namasivayam, Punniyawathy Sivakantha, Saratha Luxumikanthan, father-in-law of Radhika nee Ponnambalam, expired, Sivasinthu, 2, B. A. Thamby Lane, Vannarponnai, Jaffna.

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TALK ON TAMIL BUDDHISM

Professor Karthigesu Indrapala of the Department of History, University of Jaffna, will talk on "Buddhism among the Tamils—300 B. C.—A. D. 600", on 10 February at the Evelyn Rutnam Institute for Inter-cultural Studies, Jaffna.

This is the second of the talks scheduled by the Institute.

The Inaugural Lecture by Dr. Senaka Bandaranayake was on the topic "The Periodisation of Sri Lanka History and some related Historical and Archaeological Problems".

Army attack at Cement Factory: The full Story

(By a Staff Writer)

Appeals from religious groups and ladies clubs to stop army excesses in Jaffna have always been answered with soothing assurances from the Army High Command. But these remain mere verbal assurances. Often innocent members of the public are the targets of assault and harassment by the forces. Jaffna was rudely reminded of this on the night of January 25, when more than a hundred workers, supervisors and engineers were brutally assaulted by the army when working on their night shift at the Kankesanthurai Cement Factory Third Stage Worksite.

The incident is alleged to have started with the Security Guards assaulting some workers who were at dinner in the canteen, on the pretext of an inquiry. Workers say that they have all along noted with uneasiness, the extra-friendly relationship between the Security Guards who were all Sinhala and the army. They also state that all had not been too happy between the workers and the Security Guards.

The particular incident seems to have been sparked off by the arrival of a group of workers from the Pavat-

kulam quarry on 'punishment' transfers. The group comprised both Sinhala and Tamil workers who had started their quarrels in Pavatkulam itself. These workers were thrown together. Workers report that on the night of the incident the Security Guards on the pretext of an inquiry had intervened on behalf of the Sinhala workers from Pavatkulam and had severely assaulted the Tamil workers. The Tamil workers retaliated and resorted to throwing stones at the office of the Security Guards. This apparently took place at around 8-45 p.m.

Four Army Trucks

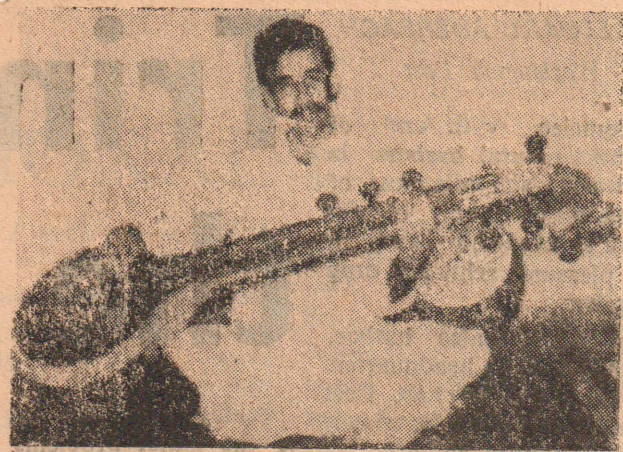
A little after nine, army personnel in four trucks are alleged to have appeared on the scene and had surrounded the worksite allowing no one to escape. At this point the lights went off completely and the place was immersed in darkness. The workers and the staff who had gathered around the scene of the clash were asked to kneel down with their hands up when assaulted.

Workers also allege that they were individually questioned whether they were

Sinhala or Tamil and that Sinhala personnel escaped assault by calling out, "I am Sinhala". Those who ran away to hide when they saw the army approaching and those workers who continued to work peacefully in far away corners of the worksite seem not to have been spared either. "They hunted us like rabbits", one worker said, still shuddering from the experience.

The personnel in charge of Stores, even the nurse's assistants in the Medical Centre seem to have been attacked. The canteen was broken into. An electrician who turned around to see his watch yanked off from behind—caught it in the eye—and is in hospital with a serious eye injury.

The rampage is stated to have lasted till about 12 midnight. The question is being asked: How did the Management allow the conflict among the workers to precipitate to such an intensity? No one seems to know why the army was called in or who called them in. Anyhow the fact that the army appeared on the scene within a quarter of an hour of the clash seems very suspicious to workers and staff at the Third Stage Worksite.



DAVID ALBERT, the American exponent of Carnatic Music gave a Veena recital at the Veerasingam Hall on the 23rd of January. Mr. Albert's rendering of a composition of the great modern Tamil nationalist poet, Subramanya Bharathi drew great applause from the Jaffna audience.

A 4-year wait for a lift at Jaffna hospital

"We are not civilised yet. A civilised society learns to take care of its sick first" burst out an angry doctor from the Jaffna Hospital the other day. The staff at the Jaffna Hospital seems to have become very impatient with the callousness of the state bureaucracy in matters dealing with the sick.

To this day the Jaffna General Hospital does not have a lift to transport patients from the first to the second floor. All patients including heart patients have been walking up the stairs.

It is learnt that money was passed for the lift from the decentralized budget in 1978. The CEB which is responsible for the installation of the lift handed it over to a private contractor. It took them 3 years, that is till May 1981, to import the lift.

Since May, for eight months the staff and the patients have been impatiently waiting for the completion of work on the lift. Sources from the hospital say that workers de-

scend from nowhere, work in the lift for a couple of days and then vanish. The staff who want to hurry the process are pushed around from one bureaucrat to another.

The hospital's water supply also has become a headache to doctors working there. Since November last year, the hospital has had to manage with an interrupted water supply—owing to pump failure. Water, the most crucial facility in a hospital for patient care and sanitation is available for only a few hours a day. Those in charge seem to give a very nonchalant answer "we'll repair it in a month's time".

Power failure, even with a special unit of the CEB stationed in the hospital seems frequent. We are told that if there is a power failure at night - no one bothers to attend to it till morning.

To many, administering such facilities may seem mere bureaucratic details. But to those patients - it may mean their very lives.

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by **STUART AUERBACH**
Washington Post

Trincomalee, with one of the best natural harbors in the world, sits idle most of the time, used only by Sri Lanka's seven-ship navy, a few pleasure yachts and drug smugglers.

The Trincomalee harbor, which served as headquarters for Britain's Far East fleet during World War II, slowly is coming back to life.

After a 12-year ban by the Sri Lankan government, military ships from three nations have called there last year. The latest was a U. S. destroyer, the Cushing, whose visit demonstrated the expanded U. S. naval presence in the Indian Ocean region.

While the small, somnolent town of Trincomalee is not the ideal liberty port for sailors who want the traditional shore pleasures of whiskey and women, the expanded Western and Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean makes it a real prize if for no other reason than to give sea-weary crews a chance to get off their ships.

Trincomalee & the Americans

Pentagon officials say one of the major problems with the increased U. S. naval presence in the Indian Ocean region is giving the sailors a chance to get time off their ships.

There are a decreasing number of liberty ports in the area, with India generally considered off-limits to U. S. naval vessels due in part to the delicate state of relations between Washington and New Delhi. Islamic Pakistan is a difficult place for U. S. sailors to have fun. That leaves Singapore and the Kenyan port of Mombasa as the major drop-in spots for U. S. naval vessels.

Sri Lanka is almost perfect port of call for U. S. ships.

The government of President Junius Richard Jayewardene is generally pro-American. The people are pleasant, the weather good. The country has beautiful beaches and plentiful cultural sights. The capital city of Colombo has good port facilities as well as some sailor recreation spots.

There have been published reports in India, many appearing in the pro-Soviet Communist Party daily newspaper The Patriot, that the United States was seeking a naval base either here or in Trincomalee.

Mr. Jayewardene declared that his country would not give a base to a foreign nation, and Ambassador Donald R. Toussaint of the United States characterized as a "myth" the report that the United States was seeking

to turn Trincomalee into a base for its Indian Ocean fleet.

Instead, Sri Lanka appears to have evolved a new policy of letting any nation's military ships use its facilities as long as the ship is not carrying nuclear weapons and the country is not at war.

As a result, about one U. S. ship every two months calls at Sri Lanka. A greater number of Soviet ships call here, and two Indian vessels arrived in Colombo recently. So far only three foreign vessels—one from Bangladesh, one from Australia and the Cushing—have called at Trincomalee.

Mr. Jayewardene said Sri Lanka reversed its policy against the visits there for one reason: money. "We are a poor country and we can use all we can get, especially foreign exchange," he told the Far Eastern Economic Review in a recent interview.

He said an Australian ship brought in about \$320,000 in docking fees, purchases of supplies and money spent by sailors on shore leave. Two U. S. ships that called in Colombo in March were

reported by the Sri Lanka Observer, a government-controlled newspaper, to have spent \$500,000 each during their stopovers.

Soviet ships while more frequent callers here than Americans, are not known for free-spending sailors. Most of the Russians apparently are restricted to their ships.

"I like American sailors," said a 13-year old boy patrolling outside a Colombo hotel with a string of necklaces over his arm. "They come with lots of money."

Besides trying to sell necklaces, he also offers drugs and women. U. S. officials, highly conscious of the problem of drugs coming aboard ships, have sent two narcotics specialists from the Philippines to aid local authorities in keeping the narcotics traffic down.

Nonetheless it is obvious that drug peddlers are trying to cash in on the visits.

While the American sailors did not have much opportunity for wild times in Trincomalee, they did play volleyball against Sri Lankan naval Cadets and donated books and medical equipment to welfare organizations. In short it was a perfect goodwill visit as far as U. S. policy-makers were concerned.

Many people here and in neighboring nations, especially India, fear that large numbers of foreign ship visits will turn Colombo and Trincomalee into classic sailor rest-and-recreation ports, with rampant prostitution and other problems.

LETTERS

Dear Sir,

In SATURDAY REVIEW's maiden Editorial, you bemoan the fact that "otherwise decent, respectable, educated... professionals, journalists, academics... show surprising clarity of thought EXCEPT on the question of Sinhala--Tamil relations!"

Desmond Morris in his book THE NAKED APE says "There are one hundred and ninety three living species of monkeys and apes. One hundred and ninety-two of them are covered with hair. The exception is a naked ape, self-named Homo sapiens. This unusual and highly successful species spends a great deal of time examining his higher motives and an equal amount of time studiously ignoring his fundamental ones. He is proud that he has the biggest brain of all the primates, but attempts to conceal the fact that he also has the biggest penis, preferring to accord this honour to the mighty gorilla.In acquiring lofty new motives, he has lost none of the earthly old ones.....his old impulses have been with him for millions of years, his new ones only a few thousand at the most and there is no hope of quickly shrugging off the accumulated genetic legacy of his whole evolutionary past."

The same author in his book THE HUMAN ZOO says: "We are each one of us a member of some particular in-group, and it is difficult for us to view the problems of inter-group conflict without, however unconsciously, taking sides.....we must try to step outside our groups and gaze down on the battlefields of the human animal with the unbiased eyes of a hovering maritan...it might be suggested that if two human groups clash and one exterminates the other, the winner is biologically more successful than the loser... It is a small view. The bigger view is that if they had contrived to live competitively but peacefully alongside one another, the species as a whole would be that much more successful.....Man has the inborn task of defending three things — himself, his family and his tribe. As a pair-forming, territorial, group-living primate he is driven to this and driven hard..."

It is perhaps the "animal" in man that causes inter-racial conflicts all over the world. It is said that no less than 59 million human animals were killed in inter-group clashes of one sort or another from 1820 to 1945.

Yours faithfully
N. Deva Rajan
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(Continued from the previous issue)

(3) Education

The allegation of discrimination in education was in the field of entry into higher education. In secondary education Mannar, Vavuniya and Batticaloa are least developed districts in terms of facilities. This remains the same today. In higher education why did the introduction of admission formulae take place in the seventies? The government explanation was based on the media of instruction and the alleged overmarking by Tamil examiners. The Commission appointed by the government did not find this to be true. The idea that only Tamils will resort to these types of activities can be maintained only by a racist argument. But why did such allegations arise only in the seventies? This should be explained because examinations in the mother tongue had been conducted in the Arts stream from the sixties, and no such accusation had been heard before.

District quota system

The underlying reason for the introduction of these formulae was the increasing competition to enter the universities where the available space was not expanding and the number of those aspiring for places was increasing. In the seventies the competition for the Science faculties became specially acute, and it was then that admission formulae were first introduced. The result of the standardised marks was the increase in the proportion of Sinhalese in Science faculties at the expense of the Tamils. In the Arts stream the situation was not affected in such a manner. The district quota system gave added advantage to the few Sinhalese students from privileged families who managed to come up to grade 12 in the Science stream in the districts. What has happened since 1977? Cut down on the welfare system makes it still more difficult to expand facilities in higher education. In fact the government is encouraging private initiative in higher education.

In the meantime the education authorities are experimenting with formulae. The presently operating formulae for admissions discriminate against students from Colombo and Jaffna districts. But these are districts where, in grade 12, we find students from relatively underprivileged sections of society, since in these areas educational facilities are more developed and have spread to some extent.

Sinhala-Tamil relations: the most crucial problem of Sri Lanka Society

Rather than establishing an adequate base to facilitate the expansion of education to all communities, the present trends in education seem to aggravate the disparities and discrimination not only on an ethnic basis, but also on a class basis.

(4) Employment

The influence of political, personal and family connections in securing employment is a well known fact in Sri Lanka. Specially in the state sector, political patronage has become the deciding factor for appointments. The other factors like family connections seem to function within this framework. Since all governments during the post-independence period in Sri Lanka had been Sinhala dominated, the Sinhalese people who have more connections with the parties that were in the governments stood a better chance of securing employment in the state sector. Therefore this increased influence of the political factors in getting state sector jobs in effect meant a discrimination against the minorities. It can be argued that this form of discrimination affects mostly the Tamils from a poorer socio-economic background who have less influence even in their own communities.

While the increase in political influence for job opportunities in the state sector had meant a discrimination against the Tamil people, there is the popularly held belief among the Sinhala people that Tamils are more represented in the state services in comparison to their proportion in the population. What must be mentioned at the outset in expressing these opinions is that it is the type of jobs usually secured by the middle classes that comes the Social Scientists Association on December 1979. He cites a study by S. J. Thambiah who examined the ethnic representation in Sri Lanka's (then Ceylon) higher administrative services from 1870 — 1946. Thambiah's analysis has shown that the two minorities in Ceylon-Burgher and Ceylon Tamils — have contributed large numbers of personnel to the administrative services from 1870 to the 1920s. Their contributions were always in excess of their numbers in the total population. But already in

under discussion. In other words what is claimed by the Sinhalese is that the Tamil middle class has been able to secure more jobs in the state sector compared to their proportion in the population.

Anyhow this problem had been examined by C. Abeysekera in a paper presented to a seminar on the 'Nationality Problem' organised by

is now relatively absent in the higher rungs of the state services.

Once again I would like to stress that these studies are on the types of employment that only representatives of the social layers close to the middle classes can secure. When it comes to the broad masses of each community it is factors like political influence that reduced greatly

by **SUNIL BASTIAN**



"Not even 2%"
Leader of the Opposition
A. Amirthalingam

the thirties a gradual change in the ethnic representation could be seen and as shown by Thambiah 'by 1946, the Sinhalese dominance in the administrative service is complete.' In terms of classes what this means is that representatives of the Sinhala middle class petty bourgeois gradually became dominant in the higher administrative services, in which the Tamil and Burgher middle class petty bourgeois middle classes had a greater share earlier. C. Abeysekera examines further these trends in the higher administrative services and professions during the post independence period and concludes that,

- As far as administrative services are concerned, the tendency towards the increasing dominance of Sinhalese is confirmed. They have a representation in excess of their proportion ratio. The minorities have less than their due.
- This trend is not yet evident in the professional fields like medicine, engineering, accountancy, etc.
- The Burgher community has completely lost its position and

'hands' in the state sector is the only method available to make them economically viable. In such a situation of increased competition for few jobs available, there is a greater probability that the discriminatory policies, (already brought to our notice by the Leader of the Opposition) will become worse.

Social Basis of the National Question:

Kumari Jayawardena in a paper presented to the same SSA seminar cited above, traces the origins of the Sinhala Nationalist movement of the 19th century to the emergence of a Sinhala merchant capitalist class who gave the leadership to this movement. The Sinhala — Buddhist ideology that dominated this movement became an important factor for the Sinhala bourgeoisie to be in power. It was used in elections to secure votes and seats and 1956 saw a government being brought to power primarily on this ideology. The party that came into power also managed to get the support of the rural based Sinhala middle class petty bourgeoisie who were popularly identified as the (pancha maha balavegaya) at the time. From this time onwards we see policies implemented by the Sinhala bourgeoisie more decisively to satisfy their Sinhala supporter, specially the petty bourgeoisie middle class, who stood to benefit very much from the policies implemented by these governments in areas like Language, Education and Employment. At the same time these policies meant growing discrimination against the minorities in these areas. In other words the so called national revival that was supposed to have happened in the fifties was really a Sinhala Buddhist revival, that benefited ultimately Sinhala bourgeoisie and some sections of the petty bourgeoisie.

In the seventies the problems generated by the underdevelopment of our economy had done much to aggravate the situation. Due to growing problems there was greater competition for meagre resources, jobs, etc.

In this growing competitive atmosphere, it is the position of the middle class petty bourgeoisie that is mostly insecure. To secure their economic benefits, nationalism and chauvinism had become an important factor and the Sinhala political parties dominated by the bourgeoisie are also ready to use this instrument. Thus in this question we see a situation of how problems arising out of the basic underdeveloped nature of our society gets manifested in the national question.

(Next week —

Post '74 — a qualitatively different situation)

the chances of the minorities from getting jobs.

What has happened to this problem since 1977? According to the Central Bank Report of 1980 the total employment generation during the past three years was as follows: 1978 — 145,000. 1979 — 115,000. 1980 — 18,035. The decline in employment generation after an initial boom is significant. This parallels the trends in economic activity. The total Middle East migration in 1978 was 8082 and 9423 in 1979. The sectors where employment generation took place consist of Construction (Mostly Mahaveli, IPZ, Housing construction and Urban development and Tourism), Plantations (69% of the total increase in 1979) and trade. Geographically, this economic activity was not located in Tamil speaking areas except for some self employment in trade and a few tourist construction sites. The Job Bank scheme through which most of the lower grade vacancies in the state sector are filled, excluded the electorates represented by MPs from the Opposition parties, including the TULF. Thus it practically sealed off people from Tamil speaking areas from state employment. The leader of the Opposition in the course of the debate on the D. D. C.s stated that people from Tamil speaking areas did not even constitute 2% of those who got state employment between 1977 and 1980. With the steep reduction of the employment generation capacity of the entire economy, and with the state sector having to cut down the number of employees in keeping with the IMF enforced reduction in government expenditure, the competition for the few available jobs will rise. At the same time, within the existing capitalist framework the reduction of

From the pages of Hansard - 50 YEARS AGO

Debates In The Legislative Council of Ceylon—Thursday, November 8, 1928

(Hon. A. Mahadeva:-

Continued from last issue)

I now wish to read some passages to show what is the trend of opinion in the country, and to ask whether the object is really to make the Indians permanent inhabitants or whether it is to prevent all competition by the Indians even after they have become permanent residents. Some Honourable Members will remember the speeches that were at one time made to the effect that Ceylonese were being ousted by the Indian labourer. I shall now read from an editorial which appeared in this morning's "Daily News". It is supposed to be a fair reflection of the views of one set of politicians in this country who have a large backing, and it will indicate what they are out for; and I wish to ask, after I have read a few passages, whether that profession which we have heard given expression to by a few Members of this House, that is, only let the Indians make themselves permanent inhabitants of this Island and we will welcome them, is shared by all those who oppose the extension of the franchise to Indians. I say, most definitely, No. The editorial says in effect that the Tamils are naturally going to support the Indian cause, and further: "The Tamils of the North may be a thrifty race who can make a rupee go further than any other people in Ceylon." This is written by a Tamil himself, Sir. "But they will soon discover that the South Indian's rupee will travel infinitely further. Well, the South Indian will make his rupee travel further than the Jaffna Tamil and double the distance which the Sinhalese villager can make his rupee travel; but will the Indian's nature be altered by his becoming a permanent resident of this Island? The proposition has only to be stated to show that behind all the smoke screen of words uttered here, we are faced with no other object than to preserve what is known as the Sinhalese majority in this Island and to preserve it at all cost.

Objection to minority representation

I am sorry to have to speak plainly, Sir. But if the people object to the minority communities in this Island getting representation they themselves must remember that there are times when the majorities might become minorities. But immediately they feel the least danger of that in the distant future, or a century hence they begin to squeal. If that is their point of view I certainly say that the Donoughmore Commission's report had better be scrapped entirely. Let them now realize what the true state of affairs in this Island is and that those gentlemen who were dubbed Early Victorians for the views they expressed were after all right, and not the twenty-first century politicians from the West. Now, Sir, I want to ask who are the people who are now to-day claiming to speak on behalf of the people of Ceylon and are asserting that the Indian is depriving the Ceylonese of his livelihood and is therefore not wanted here? Is it this House that has been returned on a limited franchise? Is it this House that has been returned on an electorate where there is both at property qualification and a literacy qualification? Or is it the Ceylonese labourer himself.

"We want Indians on equal terms"

There are men who have thrown ridicule on my association with the Labour Party. I believe they would like to claim the monopoly for representing the views of labour. This same paper from which I quoted speaks of those who are hanging on to Mr. Goonesinghe's coat tails and who are described as capitalists in the Labour Party. I wish I were a capitalist as some of the people behind this agitation are. This paper speaks of those "who hang on to Mr. Goonesinghe's coat tails and kick their own people in the face". I suppose that is a pointed allusion to my honourable friend the Member for

The First

FRANCHISE

debate

Chilaw and to myself who have been proclaimed the new converts to labour. But these people cannot get away from the fact that the Labour Party can speak for labour far better than any other party, or any other body in this country. We may disagree occasionally with Mr. Goonesinghe; we may disagree sometimes with his violence and intemperance of language; but I have heard even in this House Members excusing their own violence by saying that they feel deeply. Therefore, I say if there is one party who can claim to speak on behalf of the labour of Ceylon—I do not want to make too much of a claim but I would limit it to the urban labour of Ceylon—if there is one party that can speak for the urban labour of Ceylon it is the Labour Party of Ceylon. And what is their attitude in the matter? They definitely say, "we want the Indians, and we want them on equal terms with Ceylonese."

Went on strike to help Ceylon labour

Now, Sir, it is most strange that these planter politicians should come here and tell us that the Sinhalese, or the Ceylonese urban labour views with dissatisfaction the rivalry of his Indian brother in the labour market. It is not so, Sir. The Honourable the Indian Member related how the Indians stood side by side with the Ceylonese labouring classes in their demand for bettering their conditions; how they went on strike when it did not concern them just to improve the conditions of Ceylon labour. If such are the conditions in the urban areas why are these people raising this cry that there is this menace of ousting Ceylonese from earning their livelihood in the markets of labour in Ceylon? Different men are influenced by different considerations. Unity is only desirable to them when they feel that they can sit perched up aloft supported by the cry of labour. But when their throne is threatened they tremble lest the adoration that is now theirs from a certain class will not continue to be theirs if another section of the people is added. That is the only explanation I can find.

No Sinhalese labour to replace Indians

Then my other friends speak of the menace of the Indian assisted labour. Now, Sir, if a cry is less thoughtful, if a cry should be more discouraged, I cannot think of any other cry. There is absolutely no competition between the Indian assisted cooly labourer and the Sinhalese villager. Large areas, on which Sinhalese labour will not place their foot, or lift their hand to promote, have been opened up and are now smiling fields and smiling plantations on account of the Indian assisted labourer. Where does the Indian assisted labourer compete with the Sinhalese Villager? Are there I ask sufficient Sinhalese villagers ready and prepared to-day to step in and work these plantations if, by some edict of the would be autocrats of Ceylon, all the Indian population were immediately packed off and sent away over Palk's Strait back to India?

It is obvious that there is not enough labour who will be willing to do it. There is not enough Ceylonese labour who are willing to replace Indian labour; and instead of welcoming these Indians into our midst, these Indians who have helped to make our life pleasant, who swell the profits of the railway by the produce they help to load on it, who help to build the various hospitals, who help to maintain the various roads in

Ceylon by the contribution they make towards the wealth of the country—they are treated and viewed as undesirable aliens. They should be looked upon as friends who are benefiting each and every one of us in this Colony and benefiting the Sinhalese, Tamil, and Muslim labourer most of all. Otherwise I assure you the taxation in this country would be so terrible that those who now pray for King Stork to replace King Log would be the first then to send their prayers up to Heaven asking for the recall of King Stork.

As I pointed out, I cannot sympathize with this cry of "the Indian menace." Labour in Ceylon does not sympathize with that cry. There are a few to whom this is really a menace. It is the man who, deprived of his power of addressing the Indian labourer and emotionally moving him in his own language, feels that his empire is doomed. I have always felt that however good a friend of the Sinhalese I may be, however ard I may labour in their behalf, I cannot capture a Sinhalese vote because I am separated from them by the great gulf that I cannot address an audience in Sinhalese.

I do not blame those who are round this table if they feel that they are themselves under the same difficulty, and if they feel that they will have to adapt themselves to new conditions if the Donoughmore Commission report is adopted and that they too will have to address an audience in Tamil. The nervousness that is unreasonable in me, when I say that however fit I may be I cannot capture a seat in a Sinhalese district, becomes very reasonable in my honourable friends when they find that they are ousted from a seat in a Sinhalese district because of their not being able to make themselves understood to the Indian labourers in that district. These are difficulties inherent in our country.

(Continued in next issue)



Foreign View

Although there seems little probability in the near future of Ceylon Tamils carving out a separate, independent Tamil Eelam (nation) inside Sri Lanka this demand has shown a tenacity and explosiveness that cannot be ignored. It has already led to virtual martial law in the northern province with Jaffna as its headquarters. This city is the home of both the separatist movement and an underground terrorist group — the Tamil Liberation Tigers. According to Sri Lanka President Junius Jayewardene, the terrorists have plenty of arms.

A Tamil intellectual in state service (assured of anonymity) told the REVIEW: "We may finally agree to remain part of Sri Lanka but nothing short of a separate administration complete with flag and national anthem is going to satisfy our people." One of the secessionist leaders, interviewed separately, remarked: "If only 10,000 of our young men can be trained abroad militarily, we can chase out of the northern and eastern provinces not only the police but also the army which we consider an army of occupation."

FOREIGN SUPPORT

There have been charges made already in parliament that some Tamil youths are training abroad. Jayawardene, in an interview with the REVIEW on August 31, refused to comment on the allegation but circumspectly confirmed some foreign support for the terrorists. He also declared that the break-up of Sri Lanka is one demand his government would never agree to, and he has no more than district development councils to offer for meeting the Tamil demands.

The demand for separation is the final rung on a ladder of steadily escalating demands which started in 1956 when, at the apex of the language controversy, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) government coming to power on the emotive promise of making Sinhala the only recognised Sri Lankan language—totally ousted Tamil. This led to the Tamil Congress promising its followers "the attainment of freedom for Tamil-speaking people of Ceylon by the establishment

of an autonomous Tamil state on the linguistic basis within the framework of a federal union of Ceylon."

But despite bombings, riots and the murder of Tamils considered quislings by militants of their own side, demand for total separation did not come until 1966. One important contributing factor was Colombo's glaringly discriminatory policies against a countrywide back drop of increasing difficulties and rising unemployment. These policies reached their peak in the 1970s.

Exactly 20 years after Sinhala was adopted as the sole state language, Tamils of the northern and eastern provinces joined together in the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) and adopted a resolution on May 1976, listing plenty of grievances including that of making Sinhala the only official language, "Thereby placing the stamp of inferiority on Tamils and the Tamil language". The resolution further declared: "The restoration and reconstitution of the free sovereign, secular, socialist state of Tamil Eelam has become inevitable in order to safeguard the very existence of the Tamil nation in this country."

D. C. ELECTIONS

The first major trial of strength by the separatist platform was at the parliamentary elections in July 1977. TULF sought endorsement of the "Tamil nation", for creating a separate state comprising "all geographically contiguous areas that have been the traditional homeland of the Tamil speaking people in the country." Its election manifesto pledged that elected Tamil representatives would draft a constitution for the independent state to be created "either by peaceful means or by direct action." It won all seats in northern province, polling 68.5% of the votes; in Jaffna district separatists polled a staggering 88%. In the contiguous eastern province that is part of the proposed Eelam, TULF won three of the four seats but with smaller margins.

The next, latest test was in the May 1981 district development council elections held under the new constitutional formula of proportionate representation, especially devised to ensure representation for anyone polling not less than 12.5% of votes cast. TULF still won all seats. The prevailing polarisation in Tamil areas is best underscored by the President's remark to the REVIEW on August 31: "Tamils are free to come and live anywhere here but can a Sinhala do the same in Jaffna?"

Antipathy between Sinhala and Tamils is rooted as much in history as in a peculiar schizophrenia afflicting both. The reactions and arguments of each alternate between that of a hard-pressed minority and an

Tamil Separatism: Tenacious explosiveness that cannot be ignored

arrogantly intransigent majority. Despite their clear majority Sinhala fear the large numbers of foreign Tamils who, including those in India's Tamil Nadu, are said to number around 50-60 million between Southeast Asia through the Middle East to the Caribbean. On the other hand Ceylon Tamils, despite being only 11.2% of the population, consider themselves strong in terms of the global Tamil brotherhood.

Largely of Indo-Aryan origin, the Sinhala believe themselves descendants of a lion. Often they have been on the verge of racial extinction, the last time being during the Dutch period about 200 years ago when wars and consequent ram-

in national affairs. The Sinhala refused and turned the tables after independence: the Tamil language was de-cognised. Tamil students were required to secure higher marks in entry tests to the university with the result that their numbers in the universities fell drastically

territory, language, citizenship, economic life, opportunities of employment and education — thereby destroying all the attributes of nationhood of the Tamil people.

The new constitution brought by Jayewardene has

by **Salamat Ali**
Far Eastern Economic Review

and opportunities for studying abroad were also severely restricted.

There was discrimination against Tamils in recruitment and the meagre development outlays the country could still afford. Systematic

made some amends. It retains the unitary form of government but the administration has introduced district development councils — that the Tamils demanded decades ago — as means of decentralisation of authority concentrated in Colombo. The constitution retains Sinhala as the only official language but along with Sinhala recognises Tamil as one of two national languages. The constitution requires the state to "give to Buddhism the foremost place" but it guarantees every citizen "freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice" and also promises non-discrimination "on the grounds of race, religion, language."

These steps should have laid to rest the demand for Eelam. But separatists do not believe they are enough. The new formula of admission to the universities is also considered highly inadequate. TULF chief Appapillai Amirthalingam, considered a dove in his own camp, refused to reply when asked if the demand would be abandoned if the Tamil grievances were removed. However one significant comment he made to the REVIEW was: "It is a classical case of giving too little, too late."

Now the extremist Sinhala, including those at various levels in the administration, are unwittingly strengthening the case for Eelam. This was shown in May 1981 in Jaffna when policemen, either through participation or acquiescence, brought about the burning of Jaffna public library, the office of the independent Tamil language daily *elanadu*, the house of Jaffna's M. P. Yogeswaran and a large number of selected shops and homes located hundreds of yards apart. Next, the demand for Eelam was made an excuse for extremely brutal attacks on Tamils and their homes in Sinhala majority areas during July and August. The viciousness of the riots and the agitation they caused among Tamils in India jolted the government.

(Continued on page 9)



Jaffna's M. P. Yogeswaran and wife
in front of their burned-down house

pant pestilences reduced their number to almost 500,000. Their fears also date back to early in the last millennium when they suffered severely from repeated invasions of the Pandi and Chola kingdoms of the Tamils in South India.

Tamils are also conscious of their separate racial identity. As a Dravidian people, cultural submergence and possible extinction are fears rooted deep in their racial memory.

In more recent times, Tamils have had a decided advantage over Sinhala because they have been placid enough to let Christian missionaries work among them. Remaining predominantly Hindus, they acquire Western learning and a close association with Western traditions. The country's oldest educational institutions are located in Jaffna which, being a relatively inhospitable land, forced Tamils to seek their fortune through education. They came to gain near-monopoly of the administrative services during British colonial rule.

On the eve of independence, the Tamils pressed unrealistically for a constitutional guarantee of parity

efforts were made — and are continuing even now — to move Sinhala from the seven over-populated provinces to the two relatively under-populated Tamil provinces of the north and east, Mahaveli's expanding irrigation network in the north is signalling immigration of Sinhala peasants into Tamil areas. Tamils believe that the Sinhala salients that will jut into their territory will effectively cut off several Tamil areas from Jaffna. According to them, the aim is to make Tamil Eelam's Trincomalee harbour secure for Sinhala.

But a more concrete grievance was provided by the growing official emphasis on promotion of Buddhism. Some Buddhist schools were moved into Tamil areas, Buddhists monks calculated that the rigid caste hierarchy of Hinduism would help them convert the low castes

These factors gave rise to TULF's charge in May 1976 that the republican constitution of 1972 had made Tamils a slave nation ruled by new colonial masters (the Sinhalese) who were using power they had wrongly usurped to deprive the Tamil nation of its

a window on INDIA

(By courtesy; ASIDE magazine, Madras)

Differences between the Sinhalese and Jaffna Tamils have at last spilled over into violent Sinhala reaction against the Indian Tamils of Sri Lanka. The July / August communal violence began with Sinhala policemen going berserk and virtually attempting to burn down Jaffna after three of their colleagues had been killed by unknown persons. Mildly expressed Indian concern and more vociferously demonstrated Tamil Nadu agitations over the Jaffna conflagration have undoubtedly given Sinhala chauvinists their chance to show the Governments of India and Tamil Nadu that too much concern over what is happening in northern Sri Lanka could lead to Indian Tamils elsewhere in the island facing the consequences at the hands of Sinhalese who allegedly don't know the difference between one Tamil and another, after living with them for centuries! The fact that the attacks on the Indian Tamils took place in a couple of racially-mixed plantation districts that are the fiefs of at least one outspoken racist in the Sri Lanka cabinet and a couple of other chauvinistic Members of Parliament, and the fact that the declaration of Emergency, was long delayed, would seem to indicate that some kind of a lesson was being forcefully demonstrated by those responsible: namely, a docile Indian Tamil estate labour population is henceforth to be considered hostage against any Indian overinvolvement in the affairs of the Jaffna Tamils.

In the April 1981 issue of *ASIDE* I had recalled the views of an eminent Indian repatriate from Sri Lanka who has been convinced from the late 1930s, when he was active in Ceylon politics, that the only solution to the Indo-Ceylon

problem was the Sethusamudram Scheme. His view was that the proposed shipping canal should be treated as a work project and the entire Indian population in Ceylon repatriated to work on the project and develop the hinterland.

A Central Government Techno-Appraisal Committee to assess the feasibility of the Sethusamudram project convened in various places in Tamil Nadu during August. And for the first time it was officially mentioned at all centres that Indian Tamil families to be repatriated from Sri Lanka (at a rate of around 10,000 families a year for about ten years from 1982) could be employed to ensure the necessary labour force for the project.

The committee will submit its report to the Centre by year-end. But, according to Chairman H.R. Lakshminaryanan, most persons who testified before the committee, including the Tamil Nadu government, "strongly favoured" the project and made earnest pleas for early sanction of the scheme. If, as now seems likely, the Sethusamudram Canal becomes a reality, will the project resolve several problems with one cut?

Separating the Palk Strait to the north and the Gulf of Mannar to the south lie the Mandapam peninsula, Pamban Bridge, Pamban (Rameswaram) Island on which are located Rameswaram and Dhanushkodi, Adam's Bridge - the legendary chain of rocks visible under water - that tenuously links India and Sri Lanka, and Talaimannar (or Mannar Island) in Sri Lanka. Only the smallest vessels can penetrate through this "barrage" and cross from Gulf to Straits and back. This, in effect, means that ships plying between the 1900 miles west coast and

the 1650 miles east coast of India have to sail south, round Sri Lanka and only then head north. It was to save this considerably longer journey that the Sethusamudram Canal Project was mooted as far back as 1860.

Little has come of the project in 120 years, though there has been a lot of planning on paper - and a lot of hot air at election meetings. Many a major project suggested much later was finished long before some of these plans. For instance, Suez was opened to traffic in 1869, Kiel in 1896 and Panama in 1914! In about the same period - more accurately, from 1860 to 1922 - there were nine different plans formulated for the Sethu Canal! All the plans basically envisaged cutting a channel through Pamban Island and shortening the distance between Kanyakumari and Madras, Vishakhapatnam

THE SETHU SAMUDRAM SCHEME

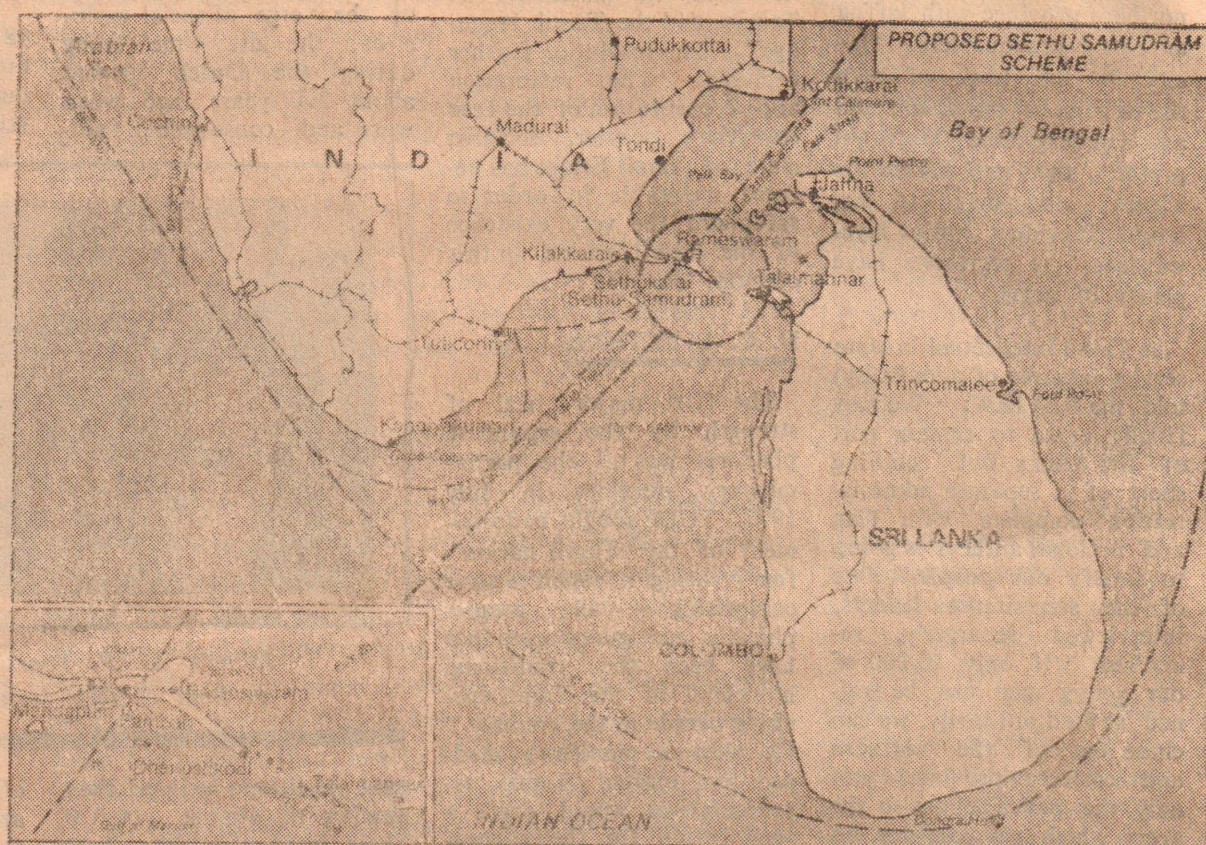
An Indian point of view

an exchange saving of Rs 5 crores a year. Time saved would be at least 13 hours per voyage. It is estimated that 700 coastal ships and 200 foreign vessels will use the Canal every year in addition to Indian naval ships, which will no longer have to steam through international waters to cross from coast to coast.

Every Tamil Nadu political party contesting an election in

cost of production of electricity cheaper. The canal will also help Tuticorin Port -- the fastest growing port in India -- develop faster still and will in addition provide a considerable boost to the fishing industry.

All this...and a solution to the problems of the Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka too! Such a solution -- an open invitation to every Indian Tamil in the



and Calcutta by approximately 350,300 and 260 nautical miles respectively! Ships touching at Tuticorin would save an additional 80 miles.

The latest thinking on the Canal appears to be that it will cost about Rs 110 crores and take seven years to build. About half the cost will be for dredging alone and the Dredging Corporation of India will be able to handle this work. Estimated savings are Rs 65,000 for a ship per voyage, about Rs 55,000 of this being on fuel alone. This will ensure a forei-

the last 15 years has promised to have the Sethu project implemented. The present party in power has an even greater reason than most -- it has Tuticorin to make a success of! The 630-mw thermal power station in rapidly-developing Tuticorin at present consumes 4 lakh tonnes of coal shipped every year from Haldia. This is likely to grow to 18 lakh tonnes by 1983 and 48 lakh tonnes when the power station is expanded. Sethu Canal will ensure a considerable saving per tonne of coal and make the

island, Indian or Sri Lankan citizen, to return to work on the Sethu project and settle in the hinterland -- might be the best answer India can give Ministers Cyril Matthew, Anandattisa de Alwis and their ilk. It is an answer which will help to solve two problems with one stroke. For that, the first cut of the Sethu Canal must be made on Pamban Island as quickly as possible. Ensuring this will be energy better spent by the Tamil Nadu government than all the efforts it puts into economy-hurting hartals. A. R.

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(Subramania Bharati was born on 14th December, 1882 and passed away on 11th September, 1921 at the age of 39. His Centenary is being celebrated throughout the world in 1982.)

Bharati is a name synonymous with, the fight for freedom; the fight for social reform; the fight for modernity; the fight for the emancipation of the masses; the fight for the preservation of the finer elements of the rich and ancient culture and inculcation of the new streams of modern thought and the attainment of independence in every sphere.

Every age has a problem of its own and each such epoch demands of thinking men some contribution or other of perennial sustenance. Bharati was born in an India which was subjugated to the fetters of foreign domination. As a boy he became alive to the prevalent situation and the prevalent conditions moulded him into Bharati, the poet of national resurgence and resurrection.

Literature which is to live must speak with the voice of an accumulated and conscious past to the living and changing present if it is to attain perennial value. The longer the history of any literature, the more difficult this is, and yet the more necessary, if it is to continue living. Bharati's contributions, reflected against this background, has stood the test of time and tide and serves even today as a rich and resourceful source of inspiration.

Bharati encouraged and infused confidence in the hearts of the people of India by inspiring words. He sang -

*"Would they that have
aspired for freedom
Be satisfied with anything less?
Would they that have tasted
divine nectar
Be content with sipping
wine?"*

BHARATI CENTENARY

THE POET OF NATIONAL RESURRECTION



Poet Bharati and wife

Further he asks-

*"When will this thirst for
freedom slake?
When will our love for
slavery die?
When will our Mother's
fetters break?
When will our tribulations
cease?"*

Bharati was conscious of a United India and always emphasized the need for National unity. He believed in cultural plurality and looked upon the various nation-

alities and cultures as an arrangement of Gems in a necklace. He believed in national unity even in diversity. He wanted each group to preserve its own individuality and identity to help promote the richness of Indian culture. Of the Tamils he said -

*"As I think of my dear
Tamil Nad
Sweet honey flows in my
ears;
A new strength charges
my breath
And I sing of my
ancestral land."*

Of the Tamil language, he says that it is the sweetest of all languages known, and its literature - that of Valluvan, Ilanko and Kamban - there exists no parallel in the world. The greatness of Bharati lies in his urge to preserve the individuality and identity of each cultural unit comprising the greater heritage of India. Modern political thought advocates this policy as a sure way to

Bharati is the heralding star of a new era in Tamil literature. He broke tradition and convention in Tamil poetry and ushered in a new era of Tamil poetry.

His personality is so great that it has left an indelible mark not only on Tamil literature but also on other contemporary literatures. The impact of Bharati on Sinhala literature is immense and the late Sinhala Mahakavi, P. B. Alwis Perera was preparing a paper on this subject to be presented at the 2nd International conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies held at Madras in 1968. But the cruel hand of fate removed him from our midst before the conference.

It is for these reasons that the Nightingale of India, Sarojini Naidu said on 13th October, 1947 just before the

by **A. THEVA RAJAN**

preserve national unity in multiracial, multilingual and multireligious countries.

Bharati counselled the cause of the down-trodden in society. He condemned caste; he condemned the ill-treatment of the labour force in Fiji Islands and other places; he condemned the inequitable distribution of wealth. He wanted all the people to live a life free from want. In one of his poems on the need to create a new social order he says -

*"We shall now lay down
the law
and die to preserve it -
We'll rather send the world
up in flames
Than suffer one man
to starve."*

This shows the depth of his conviction to evolve a new social order in which all men and women could live free from want.

opening of the Bharati Memorial Hall at Ettayapuram, thus:

"Poet Bharati has fulfilled the true mission of a poet. He has created beauty as a poet. He has created beauty not only through the medium of glowing and lovely words, but has kindled the souls of men and women by the millions to more passionate love of Freedom and a rich dedication to the service of the country."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, then Prime Minister of India acclaimed that Bharati is not merely a poet of Tamil Nadu and that he belongs to the whole of India. He wanted his poetical works to be translated into all the Indian languages.

(English translation from
Prema Nandakumar's work)

Foreign View: Tamil Separatism...

(Continued from page 7)

While most Sri Lanka leaders have shown little awareness of the highly divisive Tamil issues crucial to the country's integrity Jayewardene is keenly aware of the need to solve it quickly. The Singapore model he is attempting to emulate presupposes stability. Hence he has gone much further than his predecessors who were wary of showing any overt sympathy for Tamils for fear of a Sinhala backlash.

Addressing ministers, parliamentarians and other leaders of his party, the president said: I regret that some members of my party have said things in parliament which encouraged the violence, murders, rapes and

arson that have been committed. How many of our party leaders have spoken against it? I must have reason to be proud of the party I lead and, if I can't, it is better for me to retire and let those who believe in the harming of innocent people and their property solve the problems facing this multi-racial, multi-religious, multi-caste society. Let them take over the leadership. Please consider my words seriously, for it is not only our individual selves and our party that will be affected by what we say today, but at stake is the whole nation and also the welfare of its future citizens."

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LOVE & HUMAN RIGHTS

One woman's

love affair

strains Sino-French relations



Li & Bellefroid

When the Chinese authorities sentenced Li Shuang, 24, avant-garde painter and fiancée of French diplomat Emmanuel Bellefroid, 33, to a two-year stretch in a labour camp, for living with him, all love's labour was lost.

Miss Li, who was living with Mr. Bellefroid in his apartment within one of Peking's diplomatic compounds, was arrested by plainclothes Peking police when she went to the gates of the compound to greet her sister. At the time Mr. Bellefroid was away.

The charge against her was that she "is a delinquent youth" who had contravened Chinese regulations by living with a foreigner within one of Peking's diplomatic compounds.

The sentence predictably provoked angry denunciations by Bellefroid, by much of the French press and many politicians in Paris. This sparked off outraged replies from Peking.

Commenting on the 're-education through labour' sentence given to his fiancée, Bellefroid said the Chinese action was a gross violation of basic human rights and reflects a decision to halt the liberalization trend and particularly to bar contacts between Chinese and foreigners.

China's News Agency replied with a blistering attack both on Bellefroid and Li.

It accused Bellefroid of not only deliberately misrepresenting the facts of the case but also trying to "deflect attention from his own activities that were not compatible with his diplomatic status. To China's regret Bellefroid and some other French people are trying to make a mountain out of a molehill, distorting facts and whipping up an uproar."

Branding Li a 'delinquent youth', the Agency commentary said "This (action) comes under the Chinese Government's measures to re-educate and redeem delinquent

youths and is entirely within China's internal affairs. It absolutely has nothing to do with the relations between China and France".

The French, of course, see it differently, as they feel they have a special relationship with China. Apart from the sympathy that any couple in love might hope to get in France, most French observers expected China to relent and eventually give in, as it has in several other controversial marriages between foreigners and Chinese. When it didn't, French pride was hurt.

Claude Cheysson, the French Minister for External Relations, observed that the affair had adversely affected the whole of Chinese French relations. France, he said was surprised by the severity of the sentence and the almost total lack of public justification for it. He added "My government had hoped that the controversy could be

quietly resolved so Miss Li could leave China and marry Mr. Bellefroid.

A diplomat close to the case remarked "It really was a slap in the face for the new Mitterrand government" when the girl was sentenced to a labour camp.

The affair seems to have affected economic ties between the two countries too. The French Foreign Trade Minister Michel Jobert's visit to China was darkened by this controversy and the trade talks

ended with virtually no progress in broadening economic ties between France and China.

The Li-Bellefroid affair has had political ramifications in Peking. A top Chinese source said "Very strong feelings were aroused within the top leaders by this case. People saw Li as a prostitute, a whore selling her country as well as herself for the ease and luxury of life in the West."

Mobs chase them from hill country in 1977: Army attacks them in Vavuniya in 1982!

Below is the text of a protest letter sent to President Jayawardene by representatives of Trade Unions, and Christian Action groups, on the plight of Tamils of recent Indian origin

You would no doubt have had information regarding the attack by Army and Police forces on villagers of Mariyarkulam, Kallaru, Ganeshapuram, Sevidankulam and Koolankulam in the Vavuniya District in the early hours of the morning of 7th January. This is a continuation of a process of racial violence first unleashed in November 1981 at Palamoddai farm and also at Periyathambanai near Madhu. In the latter instance two youths were shot and killed.

We deplore these senseless attacks perpetrated largely on innocent refugees from the Hill country areas after the racial conflict in August 1977. These people who have suffered tremendous hardships earlier in 1977 now seem to be penalised for choosing to settle down in areas such as Vavuniya in order to live without fear and insecurity. They have toiled heroically in the face of great odds clearing the jungles, digging the wells in search of water, living in the remote and isolated settlements with little encouragement or help from Government sources, with barely any facilities like schools or hospitals, to produce a variety of agricultural crops. Most importantly, they have put their roots down and built homes on unproductive crown lands which were made available to them but which most of them do not own. Surely people like this who are chased out of their plantations in the South by lawless and racist elements deserve to find peace and security elsewhere in this

Island in accordance with their needs and capabilities?

If the armed forces and the police continue to search for "terrorists" among humble and simple folk like these refugees the obvious conclusion would be that they are singularly lacking in intelligence.

We also protest strongly at the harassment of Volunteer workers of "Gandhiyam" the only Voluntary Organisation which has helped these refugees to settle down in these areas, on the morning of 7th January. This Organisation has been in existence for several years, is a legal body, and its founders are deeply committed to Gandhian ideals.

In view of the above, we urge Your Excellency to take immediate steps to:-

1. Restrain the Armed forces and police in their operations in these areas and take appropriate disciplinary action against those Officers who have been found guilty of excesses.
2. Ensure security of life and property to all villagers living in these areas mentioned in paragraph one of this letter. Those who have fled their settlements be helped to return.
3. Pay compensation to all victims of this violence and to all whose crops and belongings have been plundered.
4. Safeguard the principles of voluntary land settlement by people of recent Indian origin in the

(Continued on next page)

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CEYLON TAMILS and the Revival of SOVEREIGNTY

What is the present legal status of the Sri Lanka (Ceylon) Tamils? In whom is the sovereignty of the Sri Lanka Tamils now vested? Are the Sri Lanka Tamils a minority community in one Country? Is the Sri Lanka Tamil problem an internal problem?

These are some of the questions that are being discussed not only by the Sri Lanka Tamils themselves but also by several interested observers of the present political scene both within and outside the country.

To throw some light on this question I set out below extracts from the judgment of the Trial-at-Bar No. 1 of 1976 in the case of the "Republic of Sri Lanka - vs - Appapillai Amirthalingam". They constitute a resume of the submissions and arguments advanced by the late M. Thiruchelvam Q. C. on behalf of the defence in that case and referred to in the said judgment:

Under eclipse

"Once there is a break in legal continuity the sovereignties of the inhabitants of the Island until then, under eclipse so to speak, appear once again. Hence the sovereignty of the Tamil Nation which was ethnically, geographically and linguistically separately identifiable and distinct is now revived".

"Historically the territory called Jaffna Patam that belonged to the Tamil Nation lay in the northern and eastern portions of Ceylon from the limits of Puttalam and Mannar to the Kumbukkan Oya".

"Therefore if an autochthonous constitution is to be promulgated the consensus of the majority of the Tamil Nation should be unequivocally obtained".

3 Kingdoms

"In fact the Tamil Members showed their repudiation of the Constitution in a symbolic way when they made a bonfire of it by way of a Public demonstration".

"Autochthony cannot be established by a mere counting of heads. The question is does the majority of the Tamil Nation accept the new Constitution? That should have been ascertained by a referendum or plebiscite, but this was not done".

"As the Constitution had no legal continuity with the past, and as the claims that it is autochthonous were also not

valid, the Constitution is illegal and the courts set up under it are not valid".

Let us analyse further these arguments.

Prior to the arrival of the Portuguese, there were three major Kingdoms in Ceylon viz: Kotte, Kandy and Jaffna.

The sovereignties of the inhabitants of these three major Kingdoms were vested in the respective Kings of each Kingdom.

In the year 1597 AD the Emperor of Kotte, Dom Jodo Paria Pandar, who conceived an affection for the Portuguese, left for Portugal and thereafter bequeathed his Kingdom to the King of Portugal (see CEILAO by Rubeiro pages 90 and 91). On his death the sovereignty of the King of Kotte passed on to the Portuguese.

The boundaries of Jaffna Patam at the time the Kingdom of Jaffna Patam had its own native King (see Ceilao by Rubeiro pages 90 and 91), are given in the "CLEGHORN'S MINUTES".

"2d. Jaffna Patam whose courts of Justice exercised jurisdiction in the northern and eastern part of the Island from the limits of Puttalam and Mannar, to the river Koomane or Koombukkan"

(see "CLEGHORN'S MINUTES" in Ceylon Almanac and Annual Register 1855-Appendix pages 3, 4 and 5)

Up to 1833

The Kingdom of Jaffna held on up to 1619 AD and with the fall of Jaffna the sovereignty of the Tamils which was vested in the king of Jaffna passed on to the Portuguese.

These two sovereignties later passed on to the Dutch and then to the British while the sovereignty of the people of Kandy which was vested in the King of Kandy also passed on to the British in 1815.

Though the British had taken over the entire Island these three areas were administered separately up to 1833. They were then amalgamated on the recommendation of the Colebrooke Commission.

When independence was granted to Ceylon, the Ceylon Independence Act of 1947 provided only for the grant of an Order-in-Council. The Ceylon Constitution Order-in-Council became effective with effect from 4th February, 1948. This

Order-in-Council did not empower the Ceylon Parliament to alter the Constitution completely but only provided for amendments to provisions of the Constitution without in any way contravening Section 29(2) of the Constitution.

But in the case of India, the India Independence Act empowered the Constituent Assembly that existed at that time to draft and adopt a Constitution for the whole of India.

by **R. Balasubramaniam**

Attorney - at - Law

Therefore to enact a new constitution in 1970, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranayake the then Prime Minister, moved a resolution at the Constituent Assembly on the 19th day of July, 1970 to break the legal continuity with the British Parliament and further resolved to declare and proclaim "Sri Lanka to be a free, sovereign and independent Republic..... deriving its authority assumed and exercised by the United

Kingdom in the grant of the present Constitution of Ceylon nor from the said Constitution". (Vide proceedings of the Hansard of 19-7-1970).

With the break in the legal continuity the sovereignties of the inhabitants of the Island namely people of Kandy, Kotte and Jaffna reverted to the respective people. Therefore in the absence of the legal continuity or the consent of the Tamil Nation

the Constitution enacted is not valid and binding on the Tamil Nation.

With the revival of the sovereignties, the Tamils as well as the Kandyans were entitled to exercise their sovereignties and enact and adopt a Constitution for each of them. But the Kandyans have consented to amalgamate and have one Constitution though they were entitled to

function as a separate State. But the Tamils have up to date not consented to the present Constitution and are therefore entitled to exercise the sovereignty which is already vested in them and be a free distinct separate State.

In a technical sense the Tamils are only against the forced amalgamation of two States and their decision to exercise the sovereignty cannot be said to be an attempt to divide the country. In other words, Ceylon is an Island with two States viz. (Tamil Felam and Sri Lanka). The problem of the Ceylon Tamils cannot be considered as an internal problem.

The Tamils of Ceylon are therefore entitled to decide to remain as a separate State (having been conquered only by the Portuguese, Dutch, British and their sovereignty having been received) or federate with the Sinhala State or States. What the decision should be has to be left to the free will of the Ceylon Tamils.

NEWS SNIPS

Army camp at school playground

Three young men suspected to be members of a proscribed movement were arrested by the Police on 28th January at a house in Ilavai, Jaffna.

Sinnathamby Ganeshalingam alias Farook of Madhu, Anthonipillai Uthayakumar also of Madhu and Thamotheeram Uthayakumar of Chavakachcheri were the persons arrested.

The Army surrounded Vadiadaippu a village close to Pandatterippu, Jaffna, and carried out a house to house search on 28th January, as a helicopter buzzed overhead. A temporary military camp was set up in the Pandatterippu Hindu College playground for this purpose.

Ponnuthurai Kanagakulasingham, a tea-kiosk owner was taken into custody and helicoptered to the Gurunagar Army Camp for questioning. He has not been released yet.

Army assault: Amir's protest

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. A. Amirthalingam, has written to President J. R. Jayawardena protesting the unwarranted army assault on workers and officials at the Kankesanthurai Cement Factory's third stage work-site. He has demanded stern action against the miscreants.

K. Yogendra, a Civil Engineer and S. Nirmalanathan, a Male Nurse who were seriously injured during the assault have been hospitalised.

Kachchativu Feast on again

After a break of an year, the feast of St. Antony will once again be celebrated on the barren island of Kachchativu which India has ceded to Sri Lanka.

The feast lasting from 10th to 14th March was not held last year due to an outbreak of cholera in Sri Lanka.

Rescued after 17 days at sea

After the harrowing experience of drifting for 17 days in the Indian Ocean, three deep-sea fishermen of Gurunagar, Jaffna—R. Yogaraja, 24, R. Nadarajah, 26 and R. Raghu, 24—were rescued by Maldivian fishermen.

They were later sent back to Sri Lanka by plane.

Mobs chase them from hill country

(Continued from page 10)

Vavuniya District and elsewhere in the North and East and the freedom of movement which other citizens enjoy and which the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka guarantees.

Yours faithfully,
Sgd: S. Raju

A. Ramiah Ceylon Workers Congress; M. S. Navaratnam, Ceylon Plantation Workers Red Flag Union; M. Karupiah, United Plantation Workers Union Democratic Workers Congress; R. Arumugam Lanka Estate Workers Union; S. Govindarajan, Illankai Thozhilalar Kazhakam; Jeffrey Abayasekera, Christian Workers Fellowship; S. T. Thiagarajah, Hatton Social Action

Centre: R. R. Sivalingam, Hill Country Youth Front; Rev. Fr. D. M. Xavier Bogawantalawa Social Action Group; P. A. Simon, Socio-Economic Training Institute Kandy-Hatton Branch; Revd. Fr. Clement Samarakoon, Holy Cross Church, Hatton; Revd. Sister Kamala Lourdes, Franciscan Missionaries of Mary.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

"EELAM DECLARATION" IN NEW YORK

Jaffna Medical Faculty opens today with one third space

Today Dr. Kalpage, Secretary to the Ministry of Higher Education formally opens the new Medical Faculty building at Thinnevely.

The entire building, a three-storeyed complex, was targeted to be handed over by 1980. Today, two years later, only the ground floor is being taken over from the contractors by the University.

When the Medical Faculty, Jaffna, was set up in 1978, for want of better accommodation, it was housed in the building put up by the previous regime for the Ayurvedic College at Kaithady. A completed medical faculty building was promised by the Administration by May 1980. The ground

floor originally intended to house only the Dean's Office and the departments of Anatomy and Biochemistry is now going to crowd in eight departments altogether.

The faculty is forced to take up this option or otherwise postpone its programme till the building is finished.

While blaming the administration and the contractors for the delay in handing over the building, students complain that much foreign aid and other funds are channelled to Ruhuna Medical College which is only an affiliate to the University of Peradeniya, as against the Jaffna Medical Faculty, a member of the University of Jaffna with full-fledged University status.

Arts Faculty students continue boycott of lectures

Dr. Kalpage faces another group of angry students from the University of Jaffna on this visit to Jaffna.

The students of the Faculty of Arts started a boycott of lectures on Tuesday the 2nd of February 1982 protesting the UGC decision not to grant B. Com. Degrees to those students who successfully completed a course in the years 1980 and 1981.

The UGC decision overrides the decision of the Council of the University of Jaffna which had decided to grant the Bachelor of Commerce degrees to these students.

The decision of the UGC affects 134 students belonging to three batches who have completed their course. The student statement says that this arbitrary and high-handed decision not only leaves

these students who have passed out helpless and degreeless but also seriously undermines the autonomy of the University of Jaffna.

The students have stated that the boycott will continue till the UGC reverses its decision.

Krishnamurti book in Tamil

The releasing ceremony of the Tamil book based on J. Krishnamurti's talks 'Dissertation on Awareness' will be held at the Law College Hall, Colombo on Wednesday the 10th February, 1982. The meeting will be presided over by V. Siva Supramaniam, retired Supreme Court Judge, and the speakers will be Nissanka Wijeyaratne,

A document under the title "Independent Tamil Eelam 1982" signed by Thillaiampalam Sri Kanthan, Secretary General, of Somerville, Massachusetts, U. S. A. states:

"My dear brothers and sisters, we are very happy and elated to report back to you that our promise to you that we will unilaterally declare Independent Tamil Eelam on January 14th, 1982 was successfully accomplished in the United Nations under the auspices of the division of Human Rights... Tamil Eelam today is a free, sovereign nation to be liberated at any cost from the invasion and occupation by the Army of Sri Lanka... We have posted about 500 letters to all the U. N. Ambassadors, Heads of States, Press and publications throughout the world about the risk in investigating in Sri Lanka.

The document states in the unilateral declaration, inter alia:

"Since Independence, successive Sinhalese governments have always encouraged and fostered the aggressive nationalism of the Sinhalese people, and have used political power to the complete annihilation of Tamils, making a one hundred percent Buddhist Sinhala Sri Lanka. They increased their membership in Parliament by confiscating Tamil lands and colonizing Sinhalese with foreign aided schemes, thus, making the Tamils a minority in their own land. They made Sinhalese the State language and Buddhism the State religion, thereby making the Tamils of Hindu, Christian, and Muslim religions second class citizens."

Minister of Justice, N. Satyendra, M. Sivasithamparam, M. P., and V. Ratnasabapathy, Principal, Law College.

The book is published by Narmadha publications, Madras, who show keen interest in bringing out Sri Lankan Tamil Publications. Mr. Kandiah Nawarendran is the author of this book.

In 1972, and again in 1977, the Sinhalese unilaterally abrogated the 1948 Ceylon Constitution, and enacted, unilaterally, a new Sri Lanka Constitution. Thus, the Sinhala Sri Lankan Governments do not possess the right of Conquest, the right of Continuity, or the Right of Consent to rule over Tamil Eelam.

The Eelam Tamils are being ruled by the Sri Lankan Government under the State of Emergency, and have been

them and the Government of Sri Lanka is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as a FREE AND INDEPENDENT THAMIL EELAM, they have full power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and do all other Acts and Things which an INDEPENDENT THAMIL EELAM may of right do And for the support of this Unilateral Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of

UNITED NATIONS DAY PASS		TIME IN: 4:12
THIS PASS MUST BE RETURNED TO SECURITY OFFICER PRIOR TO LEAVING BUILDING LOBBY		TIME OUT:
Date: 14 JAN 1982		
VISITOR'S NAME: SHANMUGALINGAM		
OF		
TO: Downing		
Mr./Mrs./Miss	Room 2545	Ext. 5930
Dept./Div.	THIS PASS IS VALID ONLY TO AREA INDICATED ABOVE	
BMS. 37 (7-77)		Authorized Signature: 6R

so for twenty five of the thirty three years of Independence. Present Sri Lankan laws make every Tamil a suspect terrorist to be arrested and tortured, burnt alive, and murdered by the Sri Lanka's police and army. Under the direct supervision of the Sri Lankan Government Ministers, they have burnt our towns, temples a Public library with ninety thousand irreplaceable ancient Tamil manuscripts, houses, shops, hospitals, and orphanages.... No Sinhalese has ever been arrested, prosecuted, or convicted for any of the massacres of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

The documents concludes:

"We THEREFORE, the Eelam Tamils, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good People and the Leaders of Tamil Eelam held hostage under threats of Massacre by the Government of Sri Lanka, solemnly publish and declare, that Tamil Eelam is, and of Right ought to be, a FREE AND INDEPENDENT THAMIL EELAM, that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the Government of Sri Lanka and that all political connection between

Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honour.

Signed:

Thillaiampalam Sri Kanthan.

President Reddy's Jaffna...

(Continued from Page 1)

The Sri Lanka Foreign Office announced in Colombo on the night of 25 January that the Indian President's Jaffna visit had been cancelled.

The official reason given was that it was 'too strenuous' for the President to travel to Jaffna by helicopter from Anuradhapura immediately after the Independence Day celebrations on 4 February.

The Indian President arrived in Sri Lanka on 2 February, on a five day visit.

The Leader of the Opposition and Secretary-General of the TULF, Mr. A. Amirthalingam, was among those who welcomed him at the Katunayake Air port.