

# Saturday Review

V. N. Thiruvananthapuram  
7/6/82

## SRI LANKA

Vol. 1 No. 19

June 5, 1982

Rs. 2

### Viewpoint

#### TOO MANY HOSANNAS TOO SOON !

A "Tiger" in the hand is worth Five in a Foreign cage! That must have been the solemn thought in the mind of Sri Lanka's first ever Tamil Inspector General of Police Rudra Rajasingham when he returned virtually empty-handed from Madras a few days ago. Just over two months in the I.G.P.'s chair, the failure of Operation Recovery Tiger, was no discredit to him however. The dice were loaded too heavily against him and the Sri Lanka government from the beginning itself - a cold fact which should have been taken into account by the Police and other authorities in Colombo.

On the very first day the "Daily News" announced the capture of Prabhakaran in Tamilnadu, it quoted "a senior Policeman" as saying:- "His arrest is a very significant break-through, the best we've had in years". Mark the words: "the best we've had in years". Who were the WE? It was a piece of unwarranted assumption that displayed extreme naivete on the part of the "senior policeman" whoever he was. It is like a man making his honeymoon plans when he hears that his neighbour is getting married!

Here was a youth taken in by the Police of another country, not because of any alleged terrorism or because he was a freedom fighter for Tamil Eelam, not because they wanted to do the work which the Sri Lanka Police should have done, but simply because he was guilty of a breach of peace on their own soil. The poor Pandy Bazaar policemen who arrested Prabhakaran did not even know who they were catching - whether it was a cat or a tiger - until the arrested man calmly announced his own identity. For a youth with Prabhakaran's tough reputation, to submit meekly to arrest and "hand over his visiting card" was an act that needs some pondering over. And if Uma Maheswaran who according to the "Sun" report had two revolvers and a vial of cyanide did not make use of any of the three, but used only his head and submitted to arrest, that needs thinking over too.

All these apart, the authorities should have known how the dice were loaded against them in other respects as well. Firstly, the two countries are not bound by any extradition treaty. Secondly, political criminals are as a rule not extradited. Thirdly, the government of India is under no obligation to go Tiger-hunting unless the Tigers break Indian law. Fourthly, a Terrorist in one man's political language may be a Freedom Fighter in the other man's language.

Fifthly, as a well-known authority on International law put it:- "So long as International law provides no remedy against abuses of governmental power, international society cannot be regarded as an institution for the mutual insurance of established governments". In fact, abuse of governmental power is even worse than political crime by individuals. To quote the authority again "It is doubtful whether states wedded by their law and tradition to the principle of non-extradition of political offenders will acquiesce in any conventional regulation impairing the asylum hitherto granted to political offenders. Such acquiescence on their part is unlikely at a time when the suppression of individual freedom and the ruthless persecution of opponents in many countries tend to provoke violent reactions of a treasonable character against the governments concerned".

As the Dhammapada said it: "Every action has a reaction". Army and Police terror, mob attacks, arbitrary arrests, inhuman acts, Torture, Sadism, are not the kind of actions that will provoke no reactions. What does one expect victims of such actions to do? Go on picnics?

# Amity talks to end? Amir under pressure by the M.P.s

The Tamil United Liberation Front is likely to break off amity talks with the Government, the SATURDAY REVIEW reliably learns.

The simmering dissatisfaction among TULF parliamentarians with the eight-month-old jaw-jaw boiled over after the brief TULF-Government meeting on 3 June, reports indicate.

The majority of TULF parliamentarians had, after this meeting, expressed the opinion that it is pointless to go to the negotiating table again, it is learnt.

Over the past two months, the feeling had grown strong among these parliamentarians that, by dangling the bait of amity talks, the Government was taking the TULF for a ride. But TULF Secretary-General Appapillai Amirthalingam had up to now successfully prevailed upon them to tag along with him to pow-wow with the Government.

Amirthalingam's position became increasingly untenable as the Government has so far failed to redeem two of its important pledges to the TULF. Home Guard Units haven't been set up; they were to have been set up on 1 May. Nor has compensation been paid to the Jaffna victims of the 1981 violence though the government solemnly promised to

start paying compensation before the end of May.

These broken promises coupled, more importantly, with the people's—especially the youths'—increasingly articulate disillusionment with talks that have produced nothing more tangible than assurances have finally prodded the majority of TULF MPs into action.

They have, the SATURDAY REVIEW understands, told the leadership it is time to put a stop to these amity talks—the aftermath of the 1981 District Development Council Elections—unless it wants to commit political suicide.

## 'Tighter security for the T. U. L. F.'

The government-controlled "Ceylon Daily News" gave Page 1 prominence to the following report on Thursday June 3, under the headline: TIGHTER SECURITY FOR TULF—

"The Defence Ministry has directed Police to tighten security for leading members of the TULF following intelligence reports that they may be attacked. Several threatening letters

have been received. The authorities have also got tip-offs about possible attacks.

"The CID and ISD (Intelligence Services Division) operatives in the North have been told to keep a close tab on the situation there relating to the security of leading Tamil personalities".

## 'Extradition unlikely' — Indian visitor

The Indian Government is most unlikely to hand over the Tamil Eelam Liberation Tigers arrested recently by the Tamilnadu Police to the Sri Lanka Government, Dr. Aru Gopalan, Secretary of the Eelam-Thamilakam Coordinating Society in Madras, told the SATURDAY REVIEW.

Dr. Gopalan, who was on a two-week fact-finding tour of Sri Lanka, spent three days in Jaffna last week.

Explaining his prediction, Dr. Gopalan said the Central Government just could not ignore the tremendous feeling building up in Tamilnadu round this issue; moreover all political parties in Tamilnadu agree that the arrested youths should not be handed over to Sri Lanka, as evidenced by the consensus reached at the recent all-party conference in Tamilnadu.

But, added Dr. Gopalan, it is very unlikely that the

arrested Liberation Tigers will get political asylum in India. Clarifying this point, he told the SATURDAY REVIEW that India does not usually give political asylum; when it does, it is only to acknowledged political and other leaders, like the Dalai Lama of Tibet.

In Dr. Gopalan's opinion, the course the Indian Government is likely to follow is to send the Liberation Tigers to a country of their choice if the need arises.

# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Published Weekly  
by

**KALAINILAYAM LTD.,**

303, K. K. S. Road  
JAFFNA SRI LANKA  
Tel: 7707

Chairman of  
Board of Directors  
**K. C. THANGARAJAH**

Editor  
**S. SIVANAYAGAM**

Subscription Rates  
inclusive of local  
postage and foreign  
Air Mail rate

Sri Lanka  
Annual Rs. 120/-  
Half-year Rs. 60/-  
India  
Annual Rs. 200/-  
(Indian rupees)  
All other Countries  
Annual U. S. \$ 50  
Cheques payable to  
Kalai Nilayam Ltd.

Advertising Rates  
Contracts — Rs. 10/-  
per col. centimetre  
Casual — Rs. 15/-  
per col. centimetre

Subscribers are  
requested to inform  
Circulation Manager  
in the event of the  
non-receipt of their  
copies.

## JAFFNA OFFICE

Until further notice,  
both business and editorial  
offices of SATURDAY  
REVIEW will function  
temporarily from No. 66,  
Chapel Street, Jaffna.  
Telephone inquiries to  
KALAI NILAYAM LIM-  
ITED (7707).

## COLOMBO OFFICE

The Colombo office of  
the SATURDAY REVIEW  
will function at No. 142, New  
Bullers Road, Colombo 4  
(Telephone 86811).

## LEELA Jewellery

### Palace

Visit our  
air-conditioned  
showroom

No. 117-119

Sea Street

Colombo 11

Tel: 35639

## SUBSCRIBERS

Subscribers are requested  
to notify in time any change  
of address to the Circula-  
tion Manager, Saturday  
Review.

## Y. M. C. A

### SHAKESPEARE ORATORY & ONE MAN THEATRE CONTEST

Girls & Boys—Age 14-19 Yrs.

Details — Y. M. C. A.  
Jaffna.

Entries Close on 15-6-82.

# NEWS BRIEFS

## WERAPITIYA'S WARNING

A warning that certain clandestine subversive attempts may be made by certain political groups was made by the Deputy Defence Minister, Tikiri Banda Werapitiya at a conference of high ranking Police and Government officials. He said that the terrorist activities in the north during recent years had a much harder impact on the Police Force than the insurrection of 1971.

## JAFFNA COLLEGE

**Ordinary Level Classes:** (London & A.E.B. examination)

Students wanting to prepare for the 1983 examination may enrol immediately.

**Advanced Level Classes:** (London & A.E.B. Examinations)

a) Classes preparing students for the 1983 examination are in progress.

Students preparing for the local Advanced Level examination in August may enrol in September, 1982.

b) Classes preparing students for the 1984 examination will commence during the course of this month. Those interested may enrol immediately.

All details may be obtained from the College Office.

Jaffna College,  
VADDUKODDAI.

Principal.

## JAFFNA COLLEGE

Wanted for Immediate Appointment the following:—

- i. A Clerk with experience or qualifications in Accounts and a knowledge of typing in Tamil.
- ii. A teacher to handle Primary classes (Grades 1-5).  
(Preference will be given to a trained teacher, or a teacher with experience).

Please apply on forms available at the College Office on or before 19 June, 1982.

Jaffna College,  
VADDUKODDAI.

Principal.

## WE STOCK YOUR REQUIREMENTS OF:

Reinforcement Bars, Machinery,  
Structural Steel, Sanitary Wares,  
Pumps, Tools Etc

## MASCONS LIMITED.

35, Stanley Road,  
Jaffna.  
Tel: 8221.

## SHAKESPEARE CONTEST

The Jaffna YMCA is organising a Shakespeare Contest for boys and girls between 14 and 19. The closing date for entries (Oratory, One Man Theatre) is 15 June. Details from: Programme Secretary, YMCA, Jaffna.

## CANADIAN GESTURE

The Canadian High Commission in association with the Rotary Club of Colombo West presented a Piano Recital by a young Canadian Pianist Laurie-Jeanne Lister in Colombo in aid of the Jaffna Library Book Fund.

## BURGLER TWICE

The house of V. Thiruchelvam of Iyanar Lane, Chunnakam, was burgled for the second time within months. A pair of gold bangles, an expensive radio and ever-silverware were stolen, when the inmates were out of the house. The previous burglary occurred on January 29th.

## FORGED Rs. 100 NOTES

Forged one hundred rupee notes were detected in circulation in Jaffna. The Police who traced the origin of the notes to a bank in Jaffna have interrogated some bank employees in this connection.

## PASSPORT OFFICE

A Passport office has been opened in Kandy from June 1st.

## YOUTH'S BODY FOUND

The body of Chinniah Kumarasingham (20) who was missing from Omanthai was discovered in a decomposed condition in a thicket two miles away from his home.

## REFUGEE INFLUX IN GERMANY

The West German Government has expressed concern over the growing number of foreign refugees according to a report from Bonn. Within the one year ending September 1981 the numbers had grown from 177,000 to 629,700.

## BISHOP DIES

The funeral of the late Rev. Bishop Leo Nanayakara, Bishop of Badulla, took place on Monday, May 31st.

## VIJAY'S LOVE MATCH

India's No. 1 Tennis Player Vijay Amirtaraj got engaged to Sri Lankan girl Shyamala Wincelous in Colombo on June 2nd. Shyamala is the daughter of Mr. G. Wincelous, Managing Director of the Virakesari Group of papers.

# THE TIGER file

On the night of Wednesday May 19, 1982, at Pandy Bazaar in Madras occurred an incident which started a chain of vibrations in Sri Lanka two days later. Prabhakaran, reputed to be a crack shot and a leader and master-mind of the proscribed "Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam" was taken into Police custody along with an aide of his, Sivakumar, following a highway shoot-out with the other leading "Tiger" Uma Maheswaran and a compatriot Jotheeswaran. The latter two were on a motorbike. Jotheeswaran who was injured was admitted to hospital under police custody, while Uma Maheswaran had sped away.

One week later came the news that the Tamilnadu police had also arrested Mukundan, the name adopted by Uma Maheswaran in India. He was reported to have been captured at Gummudipoondy railway station while attempting to flee Tamilnadu. Mukundan was reported to have been in possession of two revolvers and a vial of cyanide at the time of capture. While Prabhakaran and Sivakumar were captured without the Tamilnadu police knowing their identity, the capture of Uma Maheswaran was the result of a massive manhunt and a detective trail.

On the night of the 26th, Police Headquarters in Colombo were yet struggling with the doubt whether the Mukundan who was captured was in fact Uma Maheswaran. But "SUN" reporter Ranil Weerasinghe who had flown to Madras in the meantime sent in a confident report to his paper confirming the identity of the captured man as the most-wanted Uma Maheswaran. Reporter Ranil Weerasinghe is known for some time now as the media man reflecting the Sri Lankan Police thinking on the campaign against Tamil "terrorists".

## The INDIAN EXPRESS report

One of the early reports of the May 19 incident appeared in the "INDIAN EXPRESS" of the 21st. The report written by a Staff Reporter and published on Page 1 said:

Two Sri Lankan nationals of Tamil origin were arrested by the City police on Wednesday night on a charge of opening fire and causing bullet injuries to another Sri Lankan national in Pandy Bazaar. According to police, there was a confrontation between two groups, and in the process, Prabhakaran (28) alias Karikalan and Sivakumar (24) alias Raghavan, opened fire with unlicensed revolvers on Mukundan and Jotheeswaran. Jotheeswaran (22) sustained four bullet injuries in his leg and was admitted to the Rayapettah hospital. Mukundan escaped in the melee.

On hearing the gun-shots, Deputy Inspector Nandakumar of the Pandy Bazaar Crime detachment rushed to the spot with his staff and arrested the culprits.

According to police sources the persons involved in the shooting incident are believed to be associated with the "Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam" who have escaped from the Sri Lanka police. They are alleged to have come to India without travel documents by paying fabulous amounts to country boat operators. Jotheeswaran and Mukundan reportedly quit the organisation in protest against certain activities of the group, and this was allegedly resented by others. The CB (CID) is in touch with Sri Lanka police for information on the arrested persons...."

As was to be expected the Sri Lankan media coverage of the news from Tamil Nadu reflected the kind of euphoria which seemed to conclude that this was the end of the Tiger chapter in Sri Lanka's contemporary history! The 'Sun' which always sought to get maximum yardage out of "Terrorism in the North" carried the headline on May 22nd: "GOVERNMENT SEEKS EXTRADITION OF TIGER BOSS: LANKA'S MOST WANTED MAN FACES CHARGES ON 16 COUNTS".

Columnist Migara in the following day's issue of the 'Weekend' thought that 'things had changed within the Indian political scene. For the first time in recent times they had arrested a Sri Lankan wanted for a criminal offence in Sri Lanka and also informed Sri Lanka about it'.

### Request for extradition

On the 25th the 'Sun' announced "A Government to government level request has been made for the extradition of Velupillai Prabhakaran alias Velu the Terrorist Leader who is now in the custody of the Tamil Nadu authorities. A high ranking Foreign Ministry source told 'Sun' yesterday that the request from the government of Sri Lanka has been channelled through the High Commission in New Delhi".

### Migara contradicts

Five days later Columnist Migara contradicted his own paper's news item by saying "Officials in Colombo who were at Republic Square to discuss the matter (extradition) finally came to the conclusion of not asking India as yet for extradition of the fugitives. The arguments adduced was that Sri Lanka cannot risk a snub by India. For, if India did refuse extradition on Sri Lanka's request, it could naturally turn out to be a great moral victory for the Terrorists who would claim Mother India as being on their side. Secondly, the government's own image within Sri Lanka itself was at risk. Had India refused, no doubt, anti-Indian feeling would have been raised and the government would probably once again be faced with a law and order situation, within the country while the opposition harps on the ineffectiveness of the government. With this in mind the government decided to take a cautious approach towards extradition and sent the Inspector

# The Sun's initial euphoria dies down

General of Police Rudra Rajasingham to New Delhi to brief the Indian authorities."

The headline for Migara's column said "JAFFNA TIGERS GET EXTINCT" - which was a demonstration of the paper's undue euphoria. Since Migara is too knowledgeable a columnist the headline was apparently framed by some over-enthusiastic sub-editor.

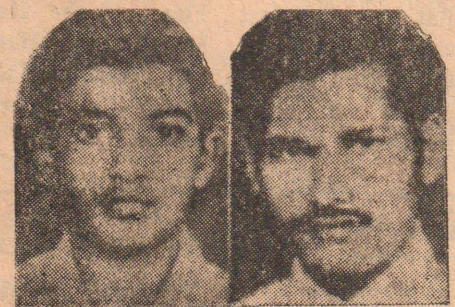
At this point however, the self-inspired euphoria of the 'sun' had begun waning. The page 1 headline said, "TAMIL NADU POLITICOS GIVE PATRONAGE TO TIGERS: TREMENDOUS FINANCIAL BACKING AND 'SAFE HOUSE': M. G. R.'s life too threatened by Terrorists". On the same page a boxed item said that Rudra flies home after a "successful mission". The fact that it wasn't so successful was to come out only later.

Meanwhile 'Sun' Reporter Kenneth Amerasekera report-

ing from Jaffna brought in a comic element to the same page with the story headline "SUSPECTED TERRORISTS CAUGHT RED-HANDED." He spoke of "POLICE ROUNDING UP 8 SUSPECTED TERRORISTS IN AN OPERATION WHICH THEY BELIEVE HAS SOLVED THE MYSTERY BEHIND THE SERIES OF ROBBERIES IN THE PENINSULA".

*There are robberies happening everyday in all parts of the country but to the 'Sun' every robber in Jaffna becomes a 'TERRORIST'!*

Editor Rex de Silva who writes an innocuous column on world-wide current affairs could not keep the Tiger out of his column in the "Weekend" of May 30th. He spoke of the separatist problems that Mrs. Gandhi herself faced in India and tried to make a case why she should not shield Jaffna's Terrorist Tigers.



Prabhakaran

Uma Maheswaran

The 'Virakesari' of Wednesday, June 2nd, quoting PTI News Service from Madras said in a report published on page 1:

About 200 members of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam movement are reported to have received instructions to get away from Madras City and take cover in suburbs or in other States according to reliable sources here. The same sources indicated that the two groups who were involved in the recent incident in Madras now feel that continued disunity between them

could only jeopardise their real objective of achieving Tamil Eelam."

The three leading members of the movement who were given permission to meet their lawyers had expressed regret over their confrontation recently. This same source also stated that Muhunthan had expressed appreciation of the way the Tamil Nadu Police had treated them. When he required some books on Surveying the Tamil Nadu police had brought them to him after a prolonged search in several book-shops.

(Continued on page 4)

## TIGER FILE

(Continued)

Here is an extract of a speech made by Mr. A. Amirthalingam leader of the Tamil United Liberation Front in Parliament when the Bill proscribing the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam was tabled on 18th May 1978:

Now, Mr. Deputy Speaker, you and all of us know that the Tamil youth have in the past been the most studious and law-abiding people in this country. They have not been up to violence of any type. I appeal to hon. Members to try to understand the background of the violence that erupted in the Tamil areas... The standardization was introduced for the first time, and a number of Tamil students were shut out of the university. For the first time they formed a Tamil Students Organization. They called it "Thamil Iaignar Peravai". That organization was the first organization of the type in the North which started taking out processions. An effigy of the then Minister of Education was taken in procession and burnt. That was followed by the arrest of some of those student leaders.

Then in 1972, when the Republican Constitution came in, these students and other young men started distributing leaflets condemning that constitution. A number of them were arrested and locked up, some of them for months. Are Members aware that for the first time when they were there in prison they came into contact with insurgent elements from the South? That was the first place they came into contact with them and started getting new ideas. We who were directing political activity

along certain channels got alarmed when these developments took place in the prisons of this country. The so-called insurgents were in prison and some of our young men who were also taken into custody and put into the same prison with them came into contact with them, and an exchange of ideas, an exchange of techniques and tactics took place. But there were certain other things which added fuel to this flame. What were they?

These young men who were taken to the fourth floor were inhumanly tortured. My Friend the Member for Manipay had during the lifetime of the last Parliament time and again raised these questions of inhuman tortures that were inflicted on these young men.

Mr. Harindra Corea-Chilaw  
By the last government!  
(Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

By the police and the last Government. I will not say that the Member for Attanagalla went and tortured them, but it was the police and the last Government. That is not all. In fact, the names of certain particular police officers were mentioned on the Floor of the House as persons who inflicted this torture on the youth.

One of those persons who was mentioned most on the Floor of the House was this Inspector Bastiampillai. There was another incident where a young girl was taken into custody, stripped and assaulted. The matter was raised on the Floor of the House by the Member for Manipay. The man in charge of those investigations was Inspector Pathmanathan. These young men

# How the lambs became Tigers

What Amir Said in Parliament in 1978

had built up certain antagonisms towards certain police officers. It is not a case of their declaring war on the Government. I am only trying to give you the background to the violence that broke out in the North during the last few months. So, after these incidents the victims of violence at police hands naturally would have resented the treatment they got. You will be surprised to hear that one young man who was taken to the fourth floor had every hair of his beard pulled out by this Inspector Bastiampillai. That was in 1973. (Mr. H. B. Abeyratne-Yapahuwa)

The question was raised on the Floor of the House. What action was taken? (Mr. A. Amirthalingam)

Nothing was done. The unfortunate thing is, whether



A. Amirthalingam

they are in power or you are in power, we are at the receiving end, and the police continue to be in power and behave in the same way.

Not only that. Another young man's private parts were inserted into the exhaust of a motor bicycle and

this particular police officer started the motor bicycle and the young man became impotent after that. This is the sort of torture that was inflicted on young men, not one or two but there are hundreds of them who over the years were treated in this way. Naturally the present day youth will not take things lying down as we in our generation would have done. As the Hon. Minister himself said in the course of his introductory speech, proneness to violence is there all over. The young men who were infuriated by these things reacted in a particular way. I am not saying as to who could have done this, which particular person could have done it. I do not know. But there was this resentment against these police officers..."



Cartoonists, they say, are the first casualties when Press freedom gets threatened. Cartoonist Wijesoma who is easily the best practitioner of this art found his talents completely wasted during his years in the Lake House. Flashes of his brilliance showed after he joined the 'Island'. Here is one example that appeared in the 'Island' last year.

### Air Tickets

### Special fares

### American Express

### Visa

TO ANY DESTINATION  
IN ANY AIRLINE

TO SINGAPORE, MIDDLE  
EAST, LONDON AND  
OTHER EUROPEAN  
COUNTRIES

TRAVELLERS CHEQUES  
AT BANK RATES

FOR NIGERIA?

CONTACT

## Mackinnons Travels Ltd.

NO. 8, POINT PEDRO ROAD, JAFFNA  
Telephone: 8154 JAFFNA

Head Office: MACKINNON BUILDING,  
4, Leyden Bastian Road,  
Fort, Colombo 7.

Telephone: 29881, 20456, 29563, 22641  
Telex: 21124 / 21936 MAKINON CE.

## Another Flashback: C. I. D. Sought the help of Tamil Nadu Police 4 years ago!

"Detectives inquiring into the murder of four CID officers are now trying to unravel the international ramifications of the Liberation Tiger Movement which is believed to be responsible for the killings.

According to the widow of Inspector Bastiampillai—one of the officers killed last month—a telephone call received revealed that some Lankans residing in England had been aware of the death of her husband long before

the local Police had identified the body.

An ASP from the Internal Security Division (ISD) is now in England probing this matter. His investigations are expected to take him to several other capitals.

The CID too is expected to send an officer to Oman to question a person said to be the main share holder of the farm where the CID officers were killed. Local investigators are expecting assistance in this matter from the Oman Police Chief

Mr. Felix Silva, who happens to be a Sri Lankan.

The DIG (CID) Mr. Herbert Weerasinghe and the Director of the CID Mr. A. Navaratnam are now in India to solicit the assistance of the Tamil Nadu Police in apprehending members of the Liberation Tiger Movement who may seek refuge there. Police are of the view that some members of this movement may try to slip away to India, in the face of the relentless operation to trace them down....



Prof. Arasaratnam

(Continued from last issue)

From the very early years British administrators realised the importance of tobacco to the economy of the province, though the main burden of their concern was on its role as a revenue-raising commodity. More efficient methods of collecting the export duty on tobacco, combined with the increase in exports raised the total duty realised on tobacco exports to Rs. 232,200 in 1798. Under the Dutch this duty had never fetched more than Rs. 80,000 a year. The duty on tobacco was 25%. In the first decades, with the pacification of southern India and the extension of British rule there, the demand for tobacco grew and the trade expanded. It appears that about 2½ million pounds of tobacco were exported from Jaffna annually. Of this around 68% went to Malabar, another 30% to Southeast Asia and the rest to south Ceylon. Besides the well established Travancore market, from the end of the 18th century, there was an expanding trade to Southeast Asia, mainly to Acheh and then to Penang. This trade was largely pioneered by south Indian Muslims of Nagore and Porto Novo (Cudalore) and also some Chetties from these ports in partnership with them. With the expansion of British political power over that coast and over Ceylon, these merchants are seen to act in partnership with English private traders stationed in Fort St. David.

#### Crises in the Tobacco Trade

With British power paramount in India and in Ceylon, it might be expected that the tobacco trade with India could have been put on a firm, regular footing. The subsequent history of the tobacco trade shows that this was far from being the case, that its sometimes violent fluctuations affected producers, middlemen and government revenue alike. This is a result of a peculiar characteristic of British imperial policy which bound the colony to the mother country with a tight knot but left each colony struggle against its sister colony like two independent political entities. The fact that Travancore was an autonomous protected state further complicated matters. Tobacco ex-

## The 1982 Chelvanayakam Memorial Lecture

# A Historical foundation of the Economy of the Tamils of North Ceylon (Continued)

ports were increasingly dependent on the ruler of Travancore who used his near monopoly position to control prices and volume of exports. All attempts to effectively free the trade on the Jaffna end met with firm opposition of the ruler of Travancore. The Ceylon government entered the market as a monopolist purchaser and exporter of tobacco to Travancore in 1812. It also raised the export duty to 50% and later 60%. This played havoc with the Achenese market which could not stand such duties. The lost Southeast Asian market could not be regained, though government introduced a scheme of refund of part of the duty for exports to markets other than Travancore. These upsets in the trade affected exports and production in the period 1826 to 1833. Many middlemen were driven out of business.

Government had been falling on each other in an effort to fleece the profits on tobacco as much as possible. Prices were high, duties were high, while markets were being lost and there was great uncertainty among producers.

#### Over-dependence on Travancore

In the wake of the tariff reforms introduced on the recommendations of the Colebrooke Commission, the export duty on tobacco was reduced to 2%. This had an immediate effect on the volume of export but the central problem remained. The monopoly over the import and sale of tobacco in Travancore and Cochin enabled the rulers to keep prices at an artificially high level which had an enormous effect on consumption and demand for Jaffna tobacco. The Indian Government was reluctant and unable to persuade the state of Travancore to abandon this monopoly.

export was in 1896 when 10,244,752 pounds of tobacco were exported for a price of Rs. 1,918,951, closely followed by 10,188,528 pounds in 1895. Exports in these years never fell below 7½ million pounds and export earning were between Rs. 1,400,000 and Rs. 1,900,000. This was a valuable addition to the purchasing power of the Jaffna tobacco farmer.

But this very expansion brought attendant problem. The market continued to be a restricted and specialised one in Malabar where the particular aroma of the Jaffna leaf was very much desired. As long as this market could absorb the entire produce, things were all right. But the great expansion of the 1890's caused a glut in the market. Production had exceeded demand and prices fell. As this would have had a marked effect on the Jaffna economy, the authorities were constrained

at the turn of the century and with greater urgency in the first years of the 20th century when the market for Jaffna tobacco collapsed in Travancore. In 1901, the exports fell to 5,736,000 pounds at a price of Rs. 583,660 and in 1902 even lower to 3,870,000 pounds at Rs. 454,967. This decline was caused both by a fall in production and even more by a steeper fall in price.

This fall in price was never redressed and growers had to live with low price: in the 20th century. Through the help of agricultural experts, new varieties of tobacco suitable for cigarette making were introduced. The Travancore market picked up though not to the previous levels. In the 1920's export from the north were between 2½ million to 4 million pounds. Despite these fluctuations and uncertainties, tobacco cultivation provided a significant addition to earnings in Jaffna. It enabled a number of farmers to divert from unproductive paddy farming to a crop which at least enabled them to earn a living. The earning was, however, not high, particularly after the drop in prices in the 1910's. Costs of cultivation were heavy and what the producer was paid was always small. It brought money into the economy and kept a number of people employed - farm labourers, processors, transport workers, middlemen, dock workers.

## Tobacco in the Jaffna

### economy : 19th & 20th centuries

The decline in exports upset the financial system of Jaffna: the Indian merchants had annually defrayed about 125,000 to 140,000 Pagodas (worth about Rs. 600,000 to 700,000) which remained in circulation within the peninsula. This gold coin was used to pay for imports of consumables such as rice and textiles which had to be paid for in this coin. Besides the reduction in volume of exports, the government as monopolist buyer paid the producer in paper currency which had no value outside the island and was not acceptable to foreign merchants. It thus upset the foreign trade of Jaffna and caused a shortage of imports.

These ups and downs of policy towards the tobacco trade had played havoc with the production and affected the producers adversely. Exports had dropped from an all time high of 3½ million pounds per year in the 1820's to 750,000 in the 1830's. The Indian Government, Travancore State and the Ceylon

to look at it as a major problem. It was necessary to diversify the export markets and to achieve this it would be necessary to introduce new varieties other than those suited to Malabar. The problem was looked at

#### Problems of Over-Production

In the second half of the 19th century, tobacco cultivation and export began to fare better, having been freed from the monopoly of the Travancore Raja and subject only to an import duty in that state. Production and exports began to rise and the years 1880 to 1900 appear to have seen the heights of tobacco cultivation in Jaffna. New land was turned over to tobacco. The export figures for these years tell their own story and were never reached in the 20th century. The highest recorded

## PIONEERS

in the manufacture of  
Synthetic Textiles  
in the North

Specialists in

Nylon & Polyester  
fabrics

# CEYMA

Silk Industries Ltd.

Thirunelvely  
Jaffna

Telephone: 7170

T'grams: "Ceyma Silk"

# Tension and Torture

(Continued from  
last issue)

The Tamil Refugees Rehabilitation Organization was founded in the midst of the communal violence that engulfed the country in August '77 by certain individuals who found themselves involved in the task of saving the lives and properties of the people affected by this violence. These individuals soon banded themselves into an organization, when they realized the enormity of the problem confronting them. Apart from caring for the Tamil students of the Katubedde Campus who were evacuated from the Campus by the University authorities, the Organization was soon looking after the needs of over 14,000 people who passed through the 7 camps established and run by this Organization and providing them with food, clothing, shelter and security (Sansoni Commission, Written Submissions of Tamil Refugees Rehabilitation Organization (1980), p.18).

## TRRO : GOVTS

### NON-RECOGNITION

The TRRO appealed to the Government for registration as a charitable organization in order to be in a position more effectively to collect the vast funds needed for rehabilitation. However as it stated in its representations to the Sansoni Commission on 16 January 1978, "even this simple act of recognition of the Society as a charitable organization has not been forthcoming so far". The recognition never came. Because of this non-recognition, the consequent lack of funds and insufficiency of personnel, the TRRO seems to have begun to scale down its operations in 1980. Its place fortunately was and is being taken by the Gandhiam Society. From early 1981 the Christian Church too seems to have been satisfied that its immediate task was over and so the task of continuing relief and rehabilitation was left to the Gandhiam Society.

## GANDHIYAM

### BORN IN 1976

The Delegation — for reasons that will become obvious in the course of this Report — extended a large part of its fact-finding activities to the work of Gandhiam. It learnt that the Gandhiam Society was inaugurated in Vavuniya in 1976, that is, before the 1977 exodus from the estates. Its objectives were the eradica-

# in Vavuniya (2)

tion of poverty, disease and ignorance through a programme of one-acre farms, mobile health clinics and pre-schools. The motivation was Gandhian. The Delegation was witness to the spirit of commitment of the Organizing Secretary, S. Rajasunderam, of the President and other officers and field full-timers of the Gandhiam Society. These persons certainly display an indomitable will to act in a difficult situation.

## THE ONLY ORGANISATION

After the racial riots of 1977, Gandhiam was closely associated with the TRRO in the Vavuniya area in the effort to provide basic services to the increasing influx of refugee families, chiefly from the estates. With the slowing down and the eventual closure of TRRO activities in the area, Gandhiam became the only organization that was dedicated to the welfare of the refugees.

It is largely the refugee settlements of Gandhiam that are presently the object of the harassment of State personnel. To this harassment the successive Delegations of MIRJE directed their attention.

## ABOUT 7000

### FAMILIES

At the time of the visit of the fourth Delegation (March 21-22, 1982), Gandhiam was responsible for 48 refugee settlements in the Vavuniya area alone (not counting, therefore, the settlements sponsored by Gandhiam in the Eastern Province). The settlements are spread over a wide area, the farthest being about 50 miles away from the office of Gandhiam in the town of Vavuniya. The Organizing Secretary of Gandhiam told the Delegation that precise figures were not available but estimated that the post-1977 refugee families in the area would be around 4000, to which number must be added about 2000 arrivals between 1972 and 1977, making a total—with pre-1972 refugee settlers — of about 7000 families or a total population of 40,000 persons. It is the safety of these families and persons that is at stake.

## ARMY AND POLICE HARASSMENT

Among the responsible persons whom the Delegation interviewed was the Rev. Donald J. Kanagaratnam, formerly Principal of Sri Lanka Theological College, Pilimat-alawa. In 1981 he resigned from the Principalship and moved to a place 5 miles from Vavuniya town. His house is named Oppuravillam or House of Reconciliation. It is close to some Sinhalese settlements. Rev. Kanagaratnam speaks Tamil, Sinhalese and English fluently and one of his main objectives is to promote good neighbourly relations between Sinhalese and Tamils in the area and in the country.

November there was another attack at Periathambanai near Madhu where two youths were shot and killed. The people of the area still live in fear and terror after army and police attacks and harassments. There were further attacks on people engaged in farming on 7th January 1982. I along with Rev. Jayasiri Peiris who was my guest during that time made a quick visit to all the villagers attacked at Maniyarkulam, Kallaru, Ganeshapuram, Sevidankulam and Koolankulam on the 7th evening and 8th morning. What is reported below is what was seen and heard from the people who suffered from the attacks.

We were told that very

hood. The people were pulled out from their homes in the dark, harassed and questioned till evening without breakfast and lunch. The soldiers were provided food by helicopters. After the attacks the people looked dehumanized and mentally tortured and spoke to us with tears showing signs of fear and mental agony.

## WOMEN VOLUNTEERS HARASSED

The Vavuniya Gandhiam Movement is the one and only organization helping these poor people in the villages, who are the poorest of the poor. It has Centres with dedicated volunteer workers working to improve the Socio-Economic, Cultural and Educational conditions of these people. In the utter darkness of their miserable lives they look upon Gandhiam as the only glimmer of hope for a better life. The women volunteer workers, Misses Sitadevi and Angeline Mary, at Maniyarkulam were harassed, questioned, frightened and abused in a very crude manner. Joseph Antony Balan, male volunteer of the same Centre, was badly assaulted and suffered deep pain. Miss Karunadevi of Koolankulam Centre was very badly harassed and taken into custody. She was taken to the Vavuniya Police Station and kept there the whole night. Ravindaran of the same Centre was also harassed and arrested and taken to the Army camp. Chelliah and his brother of Ganeshapuram Centre were also severely assaulted. The mental agony and physical pain which these two dedicated workers had undergone cannot be adequately described in words.

## MANIYARKULAM

The Delegation spent a fair amount of time at Maniyarkulam, which is one of the Gandhiam settlements in the Vavuniya area. About 150 refugee families are settled here on the border of the old village of Maniyarkulam. About 5 miles away from the refugee settlement at a place called Varikoddiyoor there is a Sinhalese settlement and a model village called Rankothagama constructed under the model village scheme of the Prime Minister, where the houses

(Continued next page)

# MIRJE

## Mission

### Report of the Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE) delegation to Vavuniya 21st - 22nd March 1982

Rev. Kanagaratnam gave us again the facts outlined in the communication received from him by the MIRJE President on 11 January 1982 and immediately relayed by the MIRJE President by circular letter to several organizations and individuals considered capable of making effective and immediate protest to the authorities. The Delegation, now further satisfied by its own on-the-spot investigations that the facts adduced by Rev. Kanagaratnam are true and correct, wishes here to reproduce the following extracts from the communication and circular letter:

The Army and Police attacks and harassment of innocent people in the Vavuniya District which began in November 1981 continue unhindered in the New Year in spite of several protests. On the 16th of November a large battalion of soldiers attacked an agricultural farm in Palamodai, harassing, intimidating and assaulting innocent people engaged in farming. On the 19th of

large battalions of soldiers including Police and C.I.D. attacked the villagers of Maniyarkulam, Kallaru, Ganeshapuram and Koolankulam in the dark at about 1 a.m. and 2 a.m. on 7th January. Every house was searched, people harassed and brought to a central place, questioned, further abused, insulted and harassed. The people who understood Sinhala heard the filthy sex utterances and references made regarding the young girls and volunteer workers in the villages. The saddest aspect of the attacks is that the victims were hill-country Tamil plantation workers who suffered tremendously in recent racial riots and came as refugees to settle down in Vavuniya. They had begun their new life with hope, clearing the jungle, building homes and cultivating their garden plots in spite of several hardships. The soldiers and police mercilessly ran over by foot and truck, and destroyed, the plantations on which these poor people depend for their liveli-

(Continued from page 6)

have been allocated exclusively to Sinhalese families.

The Tamil refugee families were visited by Army personnel on 6 January 1982. They were rudely interrogated by the Army, asked to show their permits to land and abused as *kallathonis* (illegal immigrants from South India).

#### ON THE SIDE OF THE THUGS

Some lawless elements from Varikoddiyoor - a very small group of not more than a dozen rough and high-handed men - have recently been harassing the Tamil refugees, provocatively and unjustly encroaching on land that has been cleared and cultivated by the Tamils. On one occasion one of these Sinhalese thugs, who attempted to make passes at a Tamil girl and was therefore politely asked to keep off the garden where her family lived, severely beat up a Tamil man, relative of the girl, in front of the Tamil man's own children. When the Tamils plead for their right to live peacefully in the area and reap the fruits of their sweat and toil, the Sinhalese thugs reply. "We want you out. Remember that you cannot complain about us to the Army and Police. They are on our side".

#### WE SIT AND WATCH AND WEEP

A Tamil youth (speaking Sinhalese like a Sinhalese, he had been to a Sinhalese school in a village close to Anuradhapura, from where his family had fled in 1977) told the Delegation: "We have nowhere to turn for help. The Army is against us. The Police is against us. If not for Gandhiyam, we would all be dead."

Tamil refugees from the Matala area (some of them were even personally recognized by a member of our Delegation who works in Kandy), speaking Sinhalese easily, told us at Maniyarkulam:

"We are absolutely helpless here."

"We just sit and watch and weep when the Sinhalese come and take away the crops that we have planted."

"We were attacked and not allowed to live where we were. So we came here. Here we are now being attacked again. Where are we to go? We cannot go to India because we know nobody there. Drive us to the sea. Let us drown there."

"We want to tell the Sinhalese people like you how much we have to suffer."

This Report is one attempt to carry the story of the people of Maniyarkulam and

the other settlements to the people of Sri Lanka. We are convinced that many Sinhalese people do not know the facts of the harassment of the Tamil refugees in the Vavuniya area. We are convinced that there are only a very few who do not want to know and still fewer who know the facts and yet want to deny them.

#### SARVODAYA

For reasons that we judge to be without justification, the Army and the Police seem to oppose Gandhiyam. In the course of the harassment, the insults and the humiliation they inflict at will on the refugees on the occasion of their periodical visitations, they have often asked the refugees publicly to denounce Gandhiyam and have openly suggested to the refugees to transfer their loyalty to Sarvodaya (Sri Lanka).

#### 'Trying

to sow

discord

between

Gandhiyam

and

Sarvodaya'

The Delegation considers that this is a most serious and insidious onslaught on the liberties of the individual to choose one's own form of association and that it is further a dastardly and cowardly attempt to sow discord between the two voluntary organizations, Gandhiyam and Sarvodaya. Sarvodaya has the right to work out its own programmes according to its own guiding principles. But so also has Gandhiyam, and we feel that Sarvodaya will agree. And for the refugees whose mother-tongue is Tamil, whose culture is Tamil-Hindu, no one who is not a racist will want to contest the fact that Gandhiyam is immensely better qualified and equipped to serve the Tamil refugee settlements than Sarvodaya, just as Sarvodaya is immensely better qualified and equipped to serve Sinhalese Buddhist villages than Gandhiyam would be. The Delegation is convinced that if Sarvodaya were not unduly pressurized by State personnel, it would wholeheartedly accept the contentions of the Delegation in this regard.

The Delegation had direct experience of the prejudices of the Police against Gandhiyam. On the night of 21 March it was reported to the Gandhiyam office in Vavuniya that three youths had been carried off to police

detention in Vavuniya from the Gandhiyam settlement at Kallaru. Around 8.30 p.m. the Organizing Secretary of Gandhiyam and a member of the MIRJE Delegation went in the vehicle of the Delegation to visit the youths

who were in the lock-up of the Police Station at Vavuniya and to see to their basic needs of food, clothes and toilet articles. (The three youths had been already severely assaulted and had not been given anything to

eat.) "You want to give these rascals a cigarette?" sneered the Police officer on duty to the MIRJE Delegate, a Sinhalese. "Know that they are not even entitled to a sarong and a shirt as they are terrorists."

## GENERAL INDUSTRIES LTD.

FOR YOUR REQUIREMENTS OF LETTER PRESS  
OFFSET GRAVURE, LEXOGRAPHIC ROTARY  
AND OTHER KINDS OF PRINTING INKS

For Quality Printing Use

## PRISM INK

CONTACT:

**GENERAL INDUSTRIES LTD.**

53, KEYSER STREET,  
COLOMBO 11.

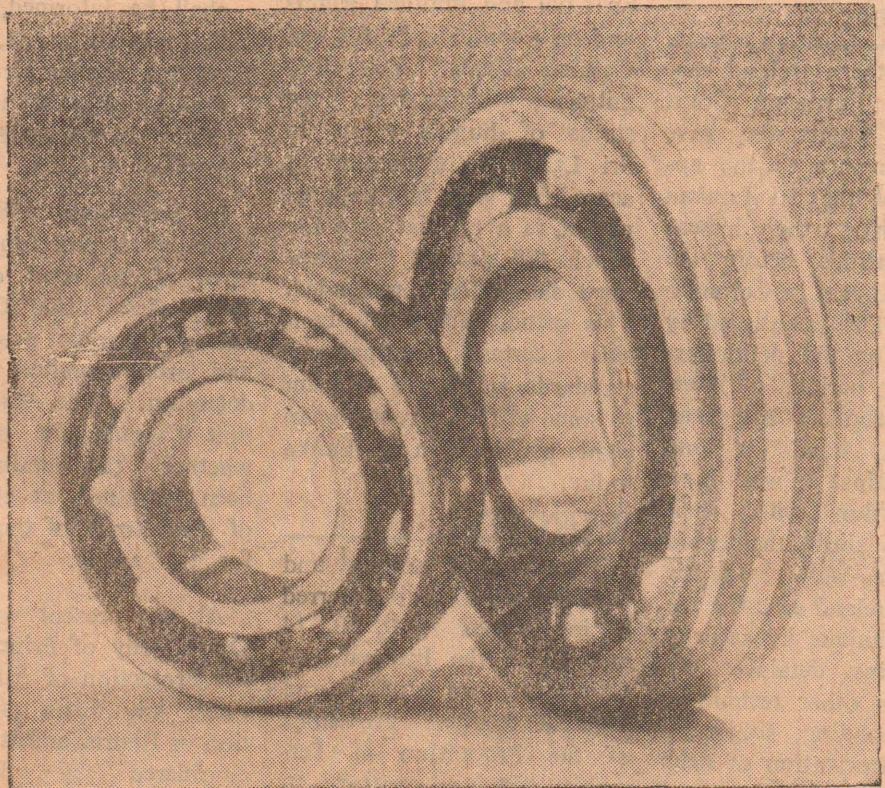
Tel: 25198, 28765, 20255

TELEX 1193

Cables: GEYE COLOMBO.

## NTN

BALL AND ROLLER  
BEARINGS



SOLE AGENTS AND DISTRIBUTORS:

**Consolidated Bearings  
And Supply Ltd.**

23, Bristol Street, Colombo 1  
548165 Cable: JMPOBEAR

# ICJ REPORT

## Effectiveness of the Terrorism Act

(continued) (12th weekly instalment)

Persuaded by these arguments, the United Kingdom government abandoned further use of administrative detention orders in December 1974 and released all existing detainees by 1976.

The undersigned interviewed families of the detainees in Jaffna in August. The families detailed the frightening manner in which large groups of security officials, some in civilian clothing, came in early morning hours to arrest detainees without warrants and without identifying themselves. The families stated that they were not told where the detainees were being taken and were informed of their whereabouts only after more than a month. They have not been allowed to visit detainees. Now, they have learned that their family members who were detained have been assaulted. It is not difficult to imagine that such tactics, may, in the long range, be counter-productive.

### DEGRADING TREATMENT

The Northern Ireland case before the European Court of Human Rights may have further relevance to the application of the Sri Lankan Act. During the habeas corpus hearings before the Court of Appeal in Colombo in July 1981 it was alleged by attorneys for the petitioners that during periods of interrogation detainees had been required to stand for long periods against a wall in a stress position with their hands high above their head against the wall. In the Northern Ireland case the use of this technique by security forces against detainees, together with other techniques such as hooding, subjection to noise, deprivation of sleep and deprivation of food and drink, was determined by the European Court of Human Rights to constitute inhuman and degrading treatment and thus a violation of Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights. During the hearing before the court the United Kingdom agreed to discontinue the use of such techniques. The European Commission on Hu-

man Rights had earlier considered that such techniques constituted torture. The Court of Appeal decision in the habeas corpus proceedings in Colombo did not specifically find whether such techniques had been employed against detainees in Sri Lanka.

The great concern of the Sri Lankan government over the growing violence in the Tamil areas is understandable. Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that the limitations on human rights present in the Terrorism Act and the possible counter-productiveness of the Act will lead the government to urge Parliament to permit the Act to expire in 1982 or to amend it to better protect the rights of detainees.

### INTERNATIONAL NORMS

The Sri Lankan government has evidenced its commitment to human rights by its ratification in 1980 of the two International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. This commitment, subjecting the status of human rights in Sri Lanka to evaluation in accordance with international norms, is a positive step for which the present government should be commended. This section will briefly consider certain international standards which are relevant to some of the current human rights problems in Sri Lanka today.

### DETENTION

The rights of arrested and detained persons are referred to in Articles 7, 9, 10, 14 and 15 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act are contrary to the following articles of the Covenant:

"Anyone arrested or detained on a criminal charge shall be brought promptly before a judge of other officer authorized by law to exercise judicial power and shall be entitled to trial within a reasonable time or release." (Article 9 (3)).

**Ethnic Conflict and Violence in Sri Lanka: Report of a Mission to Sri Lanka in July - August 1981 on behalf of the International Commission of Jurists by Professor Virginia A. Leary.**

The Terrorism Act permits detention on administrative order for a period up to eighteen months.

"No one shall be guilty of any criminal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a criminal offence under national or international law, at the time when it was committed." (Article 15 (1)).

The Terrorism Act contains provisions for retroactive application.

In addition, it appears that in the application of the Terrorism Act, the following provisions have not been conformed with:

"No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment." (Article 7)

"All persons deprived of their liberty shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person." (Article 10 (1)). "Any one who is arrested shall be informed, at the time of his arrest, of the reasons for his arrest and shall be promptly informed of any charges against him". (Article 9 (2)).

In September 1981 the Court of Appeal found that three of the four detainees then before the Court in habeas corpus proceedings had been assaulted during detention. The Court said that it could not determine whether the detainees had been informed at the time of their arrest of the reasons for the arrest.

At the present writing, a Draft Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under any Form of Detention or Imprisonment is being considered by the U.N. General Assembly. Although the Principles have not yet been formally adopted by the General Assembly, they have been approved by the Human Rights Commission and Sub-Commission and thus represent an appropriate standard against which to measure the Terrorism Act.

The Draft Body develops in more detail the general

provisions contained in the Civil and Political Rights Covenant. It provides that "A detained person shall be entitled to communicate with a lawyer of his own choice within the shortest possible period after arrest" (Principle 15 (2)). Not only does the Terrorism Act make no provision for access to a lawyer soon after arrest but the government has stated that withholding access from lawyers and family members is one of the important and necessary aspects of the Act. A government pamphlet concerning the Terrorism Act states, "If the Police are to conduct and complete their investigations successfully, it is important that these detainees should not have access to their lawyers and relations for a certain minimum period."

### FAMILIES NOT INFORMED

Principle 14 of the Draft Body of Principles states, "Immediately after arrest and after each transfer from one place of detention to another, a detained or imprisoned person shall be entitled to notify members of his family of his arrest or detention or of the transfer and of the place where he is kept in custody". The families of prisoners detained under the Terrorism Act have stated that they were uninformed of the whereabouts of their detained family members for more than a month after their arrest.

### "Habeas Corpus writ an important procedural protection"

Principle 23 of the Draft Body of Principles provides that "Any evidence obtained in contravention of these Principles shall not be admissible in any proceedings against a detained or imprisoned person." Thus, confessions obtained during prolonged detention without access to lawyers or obtained when there has been evidence of torture or inhuman or degrading treatment (Principle 5) should not be admissible in evidence. The Terrorism Act does not prohibit the admission of evidence obtained under such circumstances. (Section 16 et seq.)

It has frequently been pointed out that incommunicado detention, such as permitted by the Terrorism Act, opens the door to

abuse. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights stated in a report on Chile:

"Unlawful detention incommunicado is, moreover an encouragement to other crimes, particularly that of torture. For if the officials in charge of detention facilities need not produce the detainee in a short time, they may with impunity employ brutal means, whether for purposes of interrogation or intimidation."

### DENIAL OF ACCESS TO A LAWYER

The International Commission of Jurists has pointed out that "several decisions by the Human Rights Committee under the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Rights finding violations of the Covenant by Uruguay also demonstrate the relationship between torture and detention incommunicado, and in particular denial of access to a lawyer."

### TEMPERED BY THE APPEAL COURT

The Bennett Report in the United Kingdom on Police Interrogation Practices in Northern Ireland reported that "the security forces regularly denied detainees access to a lawyer in order to create an atmosphere more favourable to extorting a confession."

The Court of Appeal in Sri Lanka has wisely attempted to temper the application of the Terrorism Act by requiring access to lawyers, and regular medical examinations for the four detainees for whom habeas corpus writs were requested. The existence of the writ of habeas corpus is therefore an important procedural protection in Sri Lanka. Nevertheless, 23 persons remained in custody of the Army for whom relatives had not filed petitions for writs of habeas corpus. For these persons there has been no judicial control.

(Next week: Derogation from Human Rights during State of Emergency)



# LETTERS

## Sinhala nationalism or Racism?

50/2B, Siripa Road,  
Colombo 5,  
31 May 1982.

The Editor,  
Saturday Review.

Sir,

While thanking you for the generous space given to my letter in your issue of May 29 and your attention to it in your reply, I hope you will grant me the opportunity to clarify some of the matters at issue between us, since they are questions of great importance to the Tamil people.

I agree that in relation to the colonial period it is possible to speak of 'Sinhala nationalism' since the Sinhalese were then a subject people. However, when you see in the nationalism of the Anagarika Dharmapala era only a 'healthy' movement directed towards raising the self-respect of the Sinhalese and rejection of western influence, you are fundamentally wrong.

The ideology of Anagarika Dharmapala and his associates had, in addition to it: anti-British and anti-western elements, a strong racist component directed against both Tamils and Muslims. (For the evidence see, e.g., Dr. Kumari Jayawardena's analyses.) This isn't surprising because the class of small Sinhala traders and businessmen who were the Anagarika's base were much more directly in conflict with Tamil and Muslim traders than with British interests, which they were too weak to challenge, except rhetorically. (As Prof. Ralph Pieris has shown, the Anagarika, while making anti-British speeches, wrote letters to the Governor assuring him of his loyalty!)

Even in 1956, Sinhala nationalism still had a certain duality: on the one hand, it expressed the aspirations of the rural bourgeoisie and the Sinhala-speaking petty bourgeoisie to break up the monopoly of power by the westernised urban bourgeoisie (that is why it made possible a temporary cultural upsurge); on the other hand, it was anti-Tamil and racist

in character because of the rivalry for economic advancement and employment between these classes and their Tamil counterparts. It is in the interests of those classes who assumed leadership of the nationalist movement that one should look for explanation of the fact that, as you put it, the Sinhala people failed to build up 'a homogeneous Ceylonese nationhood' after independence. Let us not forget that in 1956 and immediately after this concept was affirmed in the South only by the working-class movement, whatever the betrayals and crimes of its leadership later.

There can be no question today, however, of the interests of oppressed or underprivileged social groups in the South being articulated through Sinhala nationalism: what masquerades under this name is the ideology of semi-fascist groups, and that is why today I would speak unqualifiedly of Sinhala racism and not of 'Sinhala nationalism'.

As for Tamil nationalism, you are wrong in your conjectures about my position. As long as a people are oppressed, I recognise that their nationalism has a necessary role to play in their emancipation, even though it must ultimately be transcended in the historical process. Nor do I believe in 'assimilation', because I recognise both the need and the desirability of linguistic and cultural diversity in a future socialist society of Sri Lanka, in which I firmly believe the Tamil people will find their due place as free, equal and voluntary participants.

Yours faithfully,  
Reggie Siriwardena

129, Temple Road,  
Jaffna.

The Editor,  
Saturday Review.

Sir,

This is in response to your Editorial of May 15 on the metamorphosis of Sinhala Nationalism into Racism and

the reply to Reggie Siriwardena (May 29) on the equation of Sinhala Nationalism with Racism. I only hope that the above exchange will not develop into another hackneyed debate on whether racism is a logical extension of nationalism, determined by objective conditions, or only an unfortunate but a gruesome aberration, caused by the dominance of certain subjective conditions.

The nature of relations between Nationalism and Racism is dialectical and cannot be explained by the mere citing of political anecdotes, as you have done. Neither, could it be explained by an emotional treatment of Sinhala racism by Sinhala liberal / humanists like Reggie Siriwardena, who feel a deep sense of guilt, shame and shock at the intensity of the racist onslaught being unleashed against their Tamil "brethren".

All that I wish to state at present is that the prerequisite for a comprehension of the National Question in Sri-Lanka is the total and absolute recognition of Tamil Nationalism as a historical reality—both, inevitable and irreversible—and the de facto existence of a Tamil Nation. Corollary to the above, is the need for a total and absolute recognition of the degeneration of Sinhala Nationalism, once a progressive force in the context of anti-colonial struggles, into national chauvinism and a camouflage for class exploitation within the Sinhala Nation. As to whether Tamil nationalism, now a progressive force, will traverse the same path, is a matter to be determined by the history of class struggles within the Tamil Nation. In any event, such speculations will make little sense to a people at the receiving end of political, economic and cultural genocide. Unless one comes to grips with the above realities, any debate on the National Question is meaningless.

Yours sincerely,  
Ketheeswaran Loganathan.

University of Peradeniya,  
May 21 1982.

### WHAT IS RAMAKRISHNA'S PROBLEM?

Dr. V. Ramakrishna has raised some questions (apparently provoked by the TULF slogan of a separate state) in his communication 'What is the Tamil Problem?', in *Saturday Review* (22 May 1982).

Our ex-Marxist friend now seems to be opposed to everything foreign. Foreign languages, foreign goods, foreign currency and foreign ideolog-

ies are all evil to him. I guess he had forgotten to include foreign words in Tamil and the foreign food and fuel which Tamils here have been consuming over the past few decades. I wonder if it is all right for us to teach foreign science to our children, use 'foreign' printing systems for teaching Tamil and even use foreign technology to broadcast in Tamil. Whatever may the case be, foreign ideology is taboo.

Let us work towards total self-reliance and re-discover the science and technology of our ancients. Let us delve into our 'ola leaves' and re-create the aircraft of our mighty Ravana, re-discover the mysterious weapons of the Mahabharatha war and find the Sanjeeva mountain, the Kamadhenu and Manimekalai's 'Amutasurapi' and solve all our problems. (Incidentally are all these concepts 'native' to the Tamils?) Let us do away with Darwin, Newton and all other foreign pests, so that we may return to the wisdom of our glorious past!

But, sadly, the world of today is a little too complex to seek solutions for all its problems in the thoughts of men who lived many centuries ago. Valluvar, undeniably, had a lot of wise words to offer, and Kampan, although not a great philosopher was the most brilliant poet of our past. But they have no answers to many of the questions of today.

Navalar, unfortunately, did not quite belong to the new era. He was a reactionary in a number of ways and what was progressive in his Saivaite revival was motivated less by anti-colonialism than by anti-Christian attitudes which had their source in his feudal outlook.

An unconditional condemnation of colonialism need not be accompanied by illusions of grandeur about the ailing feudal system whose collapse was, in any case, inevitable. Ours was a feudal system whose Indian counterparts had already begun to rot and was in the long run, incapable of withstanding the assault of a powerful and aggressive colonial force.

I would like to make some observations about the terms "true freedom" and "role in society" (for the rising generation) used in the communication. All freedom is relative in human society and any 'role' in class society is determined by the social class of the individual and by the nature of the society.

Finally, may I add that there is nothing definite or permanent about 'Tamil identity'.

S. Sivasegaram.

No. 11, Kachcheri  
Nallur Road,  
Chundikuli,  
Jaffna.  
20th May, 1982.

Dear Sir,

### WHO ARE THE LEADERS?

In recent speeches by the Leader of Opposition and other M. P.s of the T.U.L.F. on the subject of the Tamil nationalist movement, and the past leaders of the Tamil-Speaking nation, there has been a tendency to omit any reference to the late Dr. Naganathan, and the late Mr. C. Vanniasingham, not to mention the late Messrs. Rasamanikkam, Rajavarothiam, V. A. Kandiah, Kathiravetpillai, Dr. Paramanayagam, and other pioneers of the movement. In contrast, reference never fails to be paid, in the same context, to the late Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam.

The omission is regrettable as it shows a lack of appreciation of the contribution made particularly by Dr. Naganathan and Mr. Vanniasingham in creating, developing and sustaining the concept of Tamil nationality. This was no mean feat then, although today we take it for granted.

Eelam, such as it is accepted today by the mass of the Tamil-speaking nation, was anticipated by them more than a generation ago, and, it is perhaps, no accident, that Dr. Naganathan, when, under the influence of the Indian independence movement, (he was born in Madras, where his father was Assistant Registrar of the University), he changed his name from Hensman, should have taken the name of Elangai, as his first name.

None of the above leaders of the Tamil-speaking nation had or needed any other weapons than their transparent sincerity, conviction, loyalty, devotion and abounding generosity. They can be truly said to have spent themselves without regard to health, wealth, family or personal interest, for the sake of the cause to which they were wedded, and which they held so dear.

They were not enticed by ministerial office. Dr. Naganathan and Mr. Vanniasingham, in particular, could have had it for the mere asking, from any of the Prime Ministers of the day.

Dr. Naganathan's contribution to the Tamil nationalist movement, the task that he performed as founder General-Secretary of the Tamil Congress and later of the Federal Party, in building up those two parties at a time when it was an unpopular cause, particularly among several influential and powerful sections of the Tamil-speaking intelligentsia, and the personal and fin-

(Continued overleaf)

## LETTERS

(Continued from page 9)

ancial sacrifices that he made, should be better known to the Leader of the Opposition than any other Tamil M. P. living today, as it is at Doctor's Surgery, at 79, Galle Road, Bambalapitiya, that he learned the rudiments of the political philosophy, which he expounds today.

It is matter of fact that to this day there are a great many Tamil-speaking people who became emotional, even to the point of tears, when speaking of Dr Naganathan. Mr. Chelvanayakam was certainly, the most respected Tamil Leader of our time, but there is no gainsaying that Dr. Naganathan was the most beloved.

It will not go down well with the majority of the Tamil-speaking nation, who cherish the memory of Dr. Naganathan, Mr. Vanniasingham and all other late pioneers of the Tamil nationalist movement if the present Tamil M. P.s should continue to pass over them, and fail to express even a token word in memory of these leaders of the Tamil-speaking nation, as and when the occasion warrants.

All this is said, not in a spirit of reproof, but with a feeling of regret, the Leader of the Opposition and the other present M. P.s of the T.U.L.F. have forgotten who their leaders are, although the Tamil-speaking nation has not forgotten.

Yours faithfully,  
Miss. P. V. Kanagasooriam.

163, Hospital Road,  
Jaffna.

The editor,  
Saturday Review,  
Jaffna.

Sir,

The Tamil speaking people—  
A way put

Your correspondent Rishi's article appearing under the above title in the S.R. of 15-5-1982, betrays a classic manifestation of shallow conclusions based on a pathetic ignorance of correct political perspectives and strategies. It is contended that the TULF as constituted now, is not capable of delivering the goods. There is of course no doubt about this position. The TULF is the proverbial mouse which laboured and brought forth a mouse—the District Development Council system. It was abundantly clear to knowledgeable political observers that the District Development Council (or rather Presidential Councils) would in no way help in solving the problems of the Tamil speaking people since there would be no real devolution of power or authority on the D.D.Cs.

Thus the Tamil speaking people were led up the garden path once again by their own leaders. To further deceive them, pomp and fanfare is being attached to the DDC mouse as evidenced at the recent ceremonial sitting of the Jaffna DDC. The hard fact is that all power resides mainly with the President and this will be wielded through his mouth-piece, to District Minister at the District level. One would only wish that the Tamil speaking people should not allow themselves to be further bamboozled with the vainglorious talk of the DDC Secretariat being shifted 'ere long to Nallur, seat of the last King of Jaffna. The Chairman of the Jaffna

DDC mentioned in his so-called policy statement, as he used to do not infrequently in the past, that he was beset not only with serious limitations as regards power but also with the non-availability of the necessary where-withal to translate plan into achievement. In other words he has neither the authority nor the money to achieve even the limited ends.

Now, Rishi contends that the collective TULF leadership has become a 1-man show and that the MPs do not dare to ask what their leader is doing and that the present leadership is averse to the creation of a second-line leadership. Rishi then goes on to advocate the infusion of young blood into Tamil politics to take forward the struggle along the Parliamentary path—through vigorous debates inside and outside Parliament. Surely this game has gone on for the last 50 years i.e. from the time of the Donoghmore days?

Is this still the way out for the Tamil speaking people? Can the capitalist Parliamentary system provide any solution to the National Question in Sri Lanka? Has it happened in Britain which is supposed to be the mother of Parliamentary democracy? Haven't the problems of Northern Ireland only grown worse over the years? Aren't the Welsh and the Scottish people still being shabbily treated there? What is happening to the blacks in the U.K.? Or, in the case of the US what has been happening to the original inhabitants of America such as the Amerindians, the Blacks and the other National Minorities there? In fact the present UNP Govt. borrowed a part of the US system in creating the Executive Presidential system here. Or, what is happening in neighbouring India—the land of the Gandhis? Isn't that country replete with ethnic problems? Aren't there demands from the Sikhs and the Nagas for separation?

So, in one word, there can be no solution to the National Question under the capitalist system. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. In Sri Lanka the problems of the Tamil speaking people have steadily grown worse over the years notwithstanding the supposedly brilliant and vigorous debates indulged in by the past Tamil leaders within and outside Parliament. These people should at least at this stage do some serious re-thinking about their position, without being carried away by rhetoric from their leaders who have no correct perspectives as well

as by those adventurists dish-ing out ultra-Tamil sentiments. Why continue to pursue the tame, negative, counter-productive and barren path?

Assuming that young blood is infused into Tamil politics mainly in the form of MPs as Rishi advocates, the people will have to be clearly told what they will be able to achieve in a highly devalued Parliament with an Executive President sitting on top of it like a jockey on a horse.

Let us ponder well over the whole problem. True, the Tamil speaking people have been subjected to the worst kind of discrimination and oppression in several fields. The UNP piously admitted all this in its 1977 Election Manifesto and promised to find solutions specially through an all-Party Conference. What happened? We have only gone through the trauma of repeated racial riots and rampages resulting in enormous and untold suffering and hardship and losses to the Tamil speaking people throughout the country including their traditional territories. In this connection it is as well to understand that the working class, the peasants and the ordinary masses throughout the country are also being oppressed as never before.

Hence, the most prudent thing for the Tamil speaking people to do is find common cause (they have everything to gain and nothing to lose by this approach) with the oppressed sections in the South to wage a determined and concerted struggle to smash the capitalist structure. One cannot gainsay the fact that it is through such a path that the problems of the Tamil speaking people can be solved. It is under a socialist set up that even secession of a Nation, if it still so decides, can take place under the banner of the right of Nations to self-determination. Finland, Latvia etc. were allowed to secede from the USSR after the 1917 revolution.

Now, any attempt on the part of the Tamil leadership to dissuade the Tamil speaking people from closing ranks with the oppressed sections in the South to fight the common oppressor is foolhardy and suicidal. It is as well to bear in mind that even at the moment there are forces in the South who are actively campaigning for the 5-point demands of the TULF as a transitional measure in the fight for full democratic rights of the Tamil speaking people.

V. Thirunavucarasu

Your Stay in Jaffna

Made Luxuriously Comfortable

# HOTEL ASHOK

Jaffna's Newest Star Class Luxury Hotel with  
32 fully Air-Conditioned Rooms, and all Modern  
Comforts

Hot & Cold Water      Air Conditioned Restaurant  
Piped Music              Air Conditioned Bar

Just 5 minutes from the Railway Station and  
20 minutes to Jaffna Airport

**HOTEL ASHOK—Discover the Charm  
of Jaffna in Comfort**

RESERVATIONS

OR

MANAGER

STARLINE HOTELS LTD.  
39, Chatham Street,  
Colombo 1.

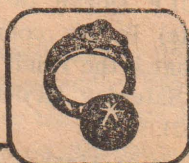
Telephone: 25959; 29445  
Telex No. 21524 Stalit Ce  
Telegram: STALIT

HOTEL ASHOK  
3, Clock Tower Road,  
Jaffna.  
Telephone: 8246; 8336;  
8337  
Telegram: STAHOTEL

A quality  
collection deserves  
a quality  
Showroom

*Lalitha*

**Jewellery Mart LIMITED**  
JEWELLERS AND GEM MERCHANTS



99.101.103.105

SEA STREET, COLOMBO 11, SRI LANKA  
TELEPHONE 23691.31993

CABLES: "LALITHAS"

# Clash of cultures in colonial Jaffna

Any work of art which seriously explores the socio-political problems of a community as its main subject, faces the danger of becoming coldly abstract and of degenerating to the level of a sociological treatise or a political pamphlet. Engels offers a suitable guideline to such artists when he writes to Minna Kauksy "I am by no means an opponent of tendentious, programmatic poetry as such... But I believe that the thesis must spring forth from the situation and action itself, without being explicitly displayed". Mahakavi's verse-play "Kodai" staged at the Veerasingham Hall last Saturday not only met the above demand but produced a highly entertaining and instructive evening.

The title "Kodai" (ie: Summer; the arid season) was apt as it not only evoked the atmosphere of Jaffna where the play was set, but symbolised the aridity of the indigenous culture and the dehydration of the traditional native values under the British rule. The tragic impact of the Western Christian culture on the native lifestyle is subtly revealed through a moving love story which occurs in 1937, in the family of Manikkam of the 'lower caste' by his hereditary vocation of playing the Nathaswaram.

His practical-minded wife Sellam, who is quite sensitive to the changing tides, advises her husband that they should marry their daughter Kamali to Murugappu the young policeman because he earns a regular monthly salary, wears shorts and works for the superior aliens; and not to the girl's actual sweetheart Somu, the disciple of Manikkam, whose vocation is playing the Nathaswaram wearing a verty! She even goes to the extent of planning that she should slowly wean her son Ganesh away from his love for the native drums, and teach him English so that he might become a clerk.

Panchaiyar, the Brahmin priest intrudes into their conversation, and his relaxed attitude in this out-caste's house even eating out of Manikkam's plate, reveals a

radical personality. Even Vidhanaiyar (the village Headman) is shocked at the priest, but Panchaiyar cajoles him too to drink Sellam's coffee, assuring him that no one would betray this incident to outsiders. Mahakavi's devastating sarcasm towards casteism is revealed through the comical hesitations and scruples of the Vidhanaiyar. The Vidhanai has actually come to employ Manikkam in His Majesty's Service that evening to play the Nathaswaram for the welcome to be accorded to the new white Government Agent; this not only excites the family but disturbs them as they wonder what strange notions would pass in the mind of the whiteman as he listens to the native music.

## Drama Review by Suresh

Meanwhile the family is revealed more intimately, and we see Ganeshu, the son, studies the biography of King George the Fifth (whom he doesn't know from Adam!) and about his "just and righteous rule"; the parrot-like manner in which he repeats these facts and praises in a monotonous musical voice, shows Mahakavi's satire of the western educational system whose context was totally removed from the realities of the native life.

Sellam, seeing the gradual changes in the behaviour and speech of her son who is gradually becoming westernised in a college, is thoroughly confused and nears a mental paralysis; this reveals the dramatist's insight into the disturbing influence of the alien culture on the psychology of the natives. Later, as a wandering Swami passes

her house she misinterprets his mantras and sprinkles salt-water on her son to exorcise the strange demon that has taken possession of him. The "strange demon" is nothing but the western culture! This ignorance and blind superstitious beliefs are realistically recorded by the dramatist.

In the evening Manikkam and Somu get dressed to perform for the new Government Agent and movingly get inspired to prove the glory of their native music which their fathers had played. But tragically, the Vidhanai enters hurriedly and lets him know that the organisers had rejected his services as they had felt it more appropriate to employ a

*Mahakavi's  
verse - play  
KODAI,  
presented by the  
Nadaga Aranga  
Kalloori at the  
Veerasingham Hall on  
Saturday 29th May*

western "Band". The crowning irony is that it was the natives who had functioned in the organising committee which rejected oriental music revealing the depth of their conversion to the alien culture!

Now Sellam is more than ever convinced that her daughter should be married to the policeman Murugesu and not to Nathaswaram-playing Somu, with whom her daughter's attachment had now deepened. She conveys her decision in a tone of finality to Manikkam and Somu and leads her husband to bed.

Disappointed, Somu takes his Nathaswaram — which now bears the stamp of rejection and inferiority—and leaves the house vowing to struggle for dignified existence in this hostile environment. As he sits by the temple and plays the Nathaswaram inspired by his dreams

and frustrations, the divine music electrifies the atmosphere symbolising the still undiminished glory of the indigenous culture. In the fore-stage the Brahmin priest repeats the ecstatic tunes he had earlier told Manikkam, describing his vision of a new society when with the removal of the alien government the Hindu temple as well as the native cultural features would again stand with all their splendour.

### INSPIRING

### ENDING

Meanwhile Kamali defying her mother's wishes joins Somu in the temple, and they are blessed finally by the priest. The ability of these young lovers to stand faithful to each other against the temptations and challenges of the alien culture gives the play a courageously optimistic and inspiring ending.

The fact that the clash of cultures and Mahakavi's optimistic vision subtly evolve through the story, and are not presented through overt speeches or broad conflict: of political personalities, is a tribute to his artistic craftsmanship. That the themes are presented through the life of this simple 'lower caste' family shows not only the depth of penetration of alien culture on native life, but also the dramatist's comprehension of the problem in its entirety. Though he is critical of the disruptive features of the alien culture, Mahakavi is unbiased and objective as he also attacks casteism, blind superstitions and the selfish opportunism of the Tamils themselves; this adds to the complexity and richness of the play.

### STYLIZATION

### OF ACTION

Though the dialogue is in verse, it is well varied from colloquial language and racy humour to the heights of poetic ecstasy. Though the

static characters are not portrayed in depth, yet it is sufficient that they are realistic and inter-act in a way that gives clear expression to Mahakavi's themes.

All credit goes to "Nadaga Aranga Kalloori" for daring to stage this verse-play. The actors heroically struggled against the musical effects and monotony of the poetic lines and made the play incredibly realistic. With stylization of action in appropriate places, use of lights and music to give added emphasis, they made the play written in 1966 to come alive on the stage.

### RELEVANCE

### OF THE PLAY

The standing ovation of the audience and their excited comments left one in no doubt that they had found the play inspiring and relevant. Though the British role is over, no one can deny that still the native culture is struggling against the cultural imperialism of the West, whose degenerate features are daily peddled through third-rate films, novels and T.V. shows. The fact that casteism and other self-destructive features of our community are still evident, too made the play relevant. The audience also knew that the demise of the colonial masters only created a new race of rulers and that the same struggle of the Tamil Nation has to still continue.

### SHAPING

### AWARENESS

Acquainting the audience with the recent history of our community, and opening their eyes to some of the worst features of our values, the play proved that more than hoarse-throated speeches by politicians, much more than clichetic political pamphlets, a well written play has a deeper influence in shaping the awareness of the masses.

Ask for

# LINATEX

Polyester Cotton Sarongs

Linatex Industry (Lanka Ltd) Puttur. Phone: 02 (Avarankal)

# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## Vimalarasa : Trial fixed for July 26

Jaffna undergraduate A. Vimalarasa whose continued detention without trial for over an year has brought forth widespread protests, was produced by the Army authorities before the Court of Appeal on Monday, May 31st. A Bench comprising Justice O. S. M. Seneviratne and Justice Abeyewardene gave time till July 19 for

the State to file affidavits and fixed the trial for July 26th.

Meanwhile the Jaffna undergraduate body has announced a renewed mass protest beginning June 24th. The campaign will include a hartal, closing of shops and student boycotts and death fasts.

## T. E. L. F. appeals to Mrs Gandhi: Don't extradite them

Here is the text of a letter sent by the Tamil Eelam Liberation Front to Indian Premier Indira Gandhi, the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu M. G. Ramachandran, all political parties and newspapers in India:

The Executive Committee of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Front implores the Government of India and the Tamil Nadu State Government not to EXTRADITE Tamil youths taken into custody by the Madras Police and wanted by the Sri Lanka Government for alleged terrorist activities. Many Tamil Eelam youths have been in custody for several years without ever being brought to trial. Some of them have been done to death after arrest and are said to be missing by the authorities here.

Laws have been passed by the Sri Lanka legislature which laws constitute a negation of a judicial or fair trial. In fact the International Commission of Jurists Report of 1981 criticising many of the provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (Sri Lanka) has stated in its report, thus: "A number of objectionable features of the Sri Lanka Act are similar to the provisions of the widely criticised Terrorism Act of South Africa of 1967". The police authorities here are known to have brutally beaten

up and tortured the arrested Tamil youths and have proceeded to record under duress statements by them confessing to crimes they are alleged to have committed. Such extracted confessions have been made admissible in evidence against them in a Court of Law.

Since its assumption of office this Government has enacted legislation that violates its claims to be a just government, while, paying lip service to human and fundamental rights. We appeal therefore to your Government on humanitarian grounds not to have any treaty of extradition with the Sri Lanka Government which has ceased to be humane in its approach to problems here.

## In memory of Sivakumaran

The Tamil Eelam Liberation Front holds a meeting today (5th June) at Kalyana Mandapam, Nallur, at 6 p.m. to commemorate the eighth death anniversary of SIVAKUMARAN.

While University of Jaffna waits anxiously for its Agriculture, Engineering Faculties —

# Parachuted Law Faculty about to descend?

Is the University of Jaffna likely to get a Faculty of Law before the top priority Faculties of Agriculture and Engineering?

THE SATURDAY REVIEW understands that there are interested and influential parties who are pushing hard to set up a Law Faculty by August.

At a recent meeting of the Jaffna University Senate, a member had raised a question about moves to set up a Faculty of Law.

Vice-Chancellor S. Vithianathan is reported to have replied that though a feasibility report had been submitted, there were no plans to act immediately on it.

### Singapore Connection

Despite this disclaimer, the SATURDAY REVIEW understands that a member of the Jaffna University Council—a prominent young legal academic with a pipeline to the top—is making use of his political clout to sell the idea and make the Law Faculty a reality soon.

There is a Singapore connection too, the SATURDAY REVIEW learns. A young lawyer from Singapore had recently contacted some Jaffna

University personnel and other prominent personalities, touting the need for a Law Faculty.

Well-wishers of the University are rather intrigued by this hard sell for a Law Faculty while the plan to set up the urgently-needed Agriculture and Engineering Faculties seems to have been put in cold storage.

They recall that when the

Jaffna Campus was opened in 1974, the then Premier Sirimavo Bandaranaike promised to set up an Agriculture Faculty. The University Grants Commission too has accepted the need for such a Faculty in principle.

Vice-Chancellor Vithianathan himself has argued the case for Agriculture and Engineering Faculties in his Corporate Plan for 1980, they add.

If the move to set up a Law Faculty at the Jaffna University fails, permission may be sought to set up a private Law College in Jaffna, SATURDAY REVIEW understands.

## Prabhakaran's appeal

Stop feuding with the rival liberation group headed by Uma Maheswaran.

This is the gist of a written appeal to his followers handed over by Velupillai Prabhakaran on 3 June to Tamilnadu lawyers representing him, the SATURDAY REVIEW learns.

In this appeal Prabhakaran has stressed that 'hereafter there should be no division among us. Both groups should get together'.

Prabhakaran has also pointed out that the internecine feuding between the two groups has only led to the shattering of the people's morale.

Uma Maheswaran — like Prabhakaran, facing trial in Tamilnadu — is expected to reciprocate with a similar appeal to his group.

## Stop killing each other says Amir

"Our youngsters should stop killing each other, as it means not merely the liquidation of Tamils but the destruction of Tamil culture" said A. Amirthalingam, Secretary General of the Tamil United Liberation Front, at the end of a one-day fast to observe the first anniversary of the burning of the Jaffna Public Library on 1 June, 1981."

## Impound Chandrahasan's passport, Mandalaya tells President

The Sinhala Bala Mandalaya has urged President Jayawardene to impound the passports of S. C. Chandrahasan and other lawyers who have been retained to watch the interests of Tamil youths arrested by the Tamilnadu Police. Mr. Chandrahasan is the Legal Secretary of the Tamil United Liberation

Front and has been spearheading moves to obtain redress for human rights violations on Tamil youths held in prolonged detention. In their telegram to the President, the Sinhala Bala Mandalaya says:

"It is reported that a group of lawyers from Jaffna includ-

ing Chandrahasan is intervening on behalf of the Northern Tamil terrorists who have been arrested in India. We strongly protest against this interference. We request that passports of Chandrahasan and others be impounded immediately and necessary action taken".