

V. N. Wijayaratne  
21/6/82

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

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### Viewpoint

#### A Ruinous Financial Proposition

The first person to launch the word EELAM into the political vocabulary of Sri Lanka was the now-forgotten C. Suntharalingam, ex-Oxford, ex-I.C.S., ex-C.C.S., ex-Professor of Mathematics, ex-M.P. for Vavuniya and ex-Minister, who in his heyday was probably the most pugnacious politician this country had seen. He enjoyed the licence to say and do the most daring things in public, but his opponents only liked him all the more for it. When in 1967, he published a booklet "Eylom: Beginnings of Freedom Struggle", no one took him seriously; not even the Tamils. He spelt it "Eylom", but that was his distinctive way of doing things anyway. Even when nine years later in 1976 the newly-formed Tamil United Liberation Front passed the Tamil Eelam resolution at Vaddukodai, (see full text on page 11) it did not set the Kelani Ganga on fire! And then came the July 1977 elections; when the Sinhalese voters discovered to their dismay that in their anxiety to punish the Sri Lanka Freedom Party they had punished it too hard, leaving the Tamil United Liberation Front with a mandate for Eelam in their pocket, the second largest party in parliament and Appapillai Amirthalingam instead of Srimavo Bandaranaike the Leader of the Opposition, the Kelani waters began to emit sparks. From that time onwards, the word EELAM began to infuriate the Sinhalese people in the same way the proverbial red rag does to a bull. The word lost all chances of being rationally used. It became an emotional time bomb. The communication block caused by the word is so complete that we have yet to hear one Sinhalese leader or the man on the road even pronounce the word correctly!

And yet the word in itself is inoffensive. It was a word used in classical Tamil literature to describe the whole of Ceylon, just the same way as the Arabs called the country Serendib, and the Greeks called it Taprobane and the Portuguese called it Ceilao. But of course it is too late in the day now to restore to the word its neutral, unemotional content. But what of the concept behind the word?

It was true, as far as the Tamils were concerned, that in the dust and tumult of the elections of July 1977, the word EELAM carried with it a very heavy emotional war-head. But it might surprise most Sinhalese to know that there are thousands of Tamils today who do not approach the issue of Eelam with any emotional hang-over; or with any bitterness towards the Sinhalese, but yet firmly convinced on cold, clinical analysis that a future separate state of Tamil Eelam would be the only rational solution to the problems of not only the Tamils, but the Sinhalese themselves.

Has any Sinhalese sat down and totted up the colossal damage done to their own national development by twenty six years of racial strife? What have they to show for thirty four years of freedom from colonialism? Except their own State-aided colonising of more and more Tamil areas? What fruits of freedom have they achieved by it? Except the fruits of foreign aid that come from a begging bowl? What is the use of paying more and more for the upkeep of an Army not called upon to fire a single shot at a foreign enemy, but wasting valuable petrol and ammunition in ruling the Tamils in their own areas? (How does it help one's pride in fancying oneself as the ruling race within, if the resources for it have to come from the begging bowl outside?)

The Sinhalese people and politicians are known to act on impulse; they are not calculating enough. That is both their strength and weakness. If they do some serious calculation, they might end up with one profound truth: ruling the Tamils is going to be a ruinous financial proposition!

# Amir Will be there at World Thamil EELAM Convention at New York

The Secretary-General of the Tamil United Liberation Front and Leader of the Opposition, Appapillai Amirthalingam, has a three-fold aim in attending the WORLD THAMIL EELAM CONVENTION to be held at Holiday Inn, Nanuet, New York on 3rd and 4th July.

He told a SATURDAY REVIEW representative at an exclusive interview in his home on 16 June that, basically, he has three aims in mind in planning to attend the Convention: "I hope to meet various groups of expatriate Tamils in London and America and bring about unity among them. Secondly, I will strive to dispel the differences of opinion prevailing now. Last but not least, I will clarify the standpoint of the TULF on various issues that have cropped up here. I hope to impress on them that statements made abroad have an impact here and therefore call for foresight and well-considered judgment."

Mr. Amirthalingam plans to leave on 27 June and will spend a fortnight in London and America.



A. Amirthalingam

Here are some extracts from the interview:

Q. - There is speculation that the Constitution will be amended and the Presidential Election held before the General Election. The All Ceylon Tamil Congress has already announced that it hopes to put forward a candidate. How about the TULF?

A. (With a smile) Does anyone seriously think that in the present context a Tamil has even the ghost of a chance of being elected President?

The TULF, certainly, has no such illusions and therefore will not put forward a Presidential Candidate.

Q. Well, if the TULF is not going to run a Presidential Candidate, whom will it support?

A. We'll cross that bridge when we get to it. When the time comes, the TULF will decide on which candidate, if any, it should back. That'll depend on how they view our basic demands.

(Continued on page 12)

### Special Eelam Issue

The WORLD THAMIL EELAM CONVENTION organised by the Tamils of U. S. A. and Canada will be held at the "Holiday Inn", Nanuet, New York, on the 3rd and 4th July 1982. This issue of SATURDAY REVIEW, which will be available at the Convention, has been prepared to mark the occasion.

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**JAFFNA CAMPUS NEWS**

Dr. R. Kanagasuntheram, Professor of Anatomy, University of Jaffna, will deliver the Inaugural Lecture on A MAJOR REVOLUTION IN HUMAN EVOLUTION on 23rd June at the Faculty of Medicine, Adiapatham Road, Thirunelvely, at 7 p. m.

Prof. Kanagasuntheram, who is also the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, was formerly Prof. of Anatomy at the University of Singapore.

Prof. Kanagasuntheram's talk is the first of a series of Inaugural Lectures by Professors of the University of Jaffna who assumed duties after 1980.

The next lecture in the series will be delivered by Prof. P. Balasundarampillai of the Dept. of Geography, in July.

Professor J. Weinstein, Associate Professor, School of Social Science, Georgia Institute of Technology and presently Fulbright Researcher, Osmania University, Hyderabad, will give a talk on APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER TO THE THIRD WORLD on 23rd June at 4.30 p. m. at the Jaffna University's Old Library Building Lecture Hall.

The talk is being sponsored by the South Asian Studies Seminar of the University of Jaffna.

**BID TO DERAIL JAFFNA TRAIN**

An attempt to derail the Colombo—Jaffna train was detected between Potuhera and Polgahawela last Friday. It was found that fish plates were removed a little before the train was due. An inquiry has been ordered.

**JAFFNA COLLEGE WANTED A LIBRARIAN**

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**UNIVERSITY EXAMS POSTPONED**

All examinations of the Jaffna University scheduled for the latter part of July have been postponed by two weeks and the term also extended for the same period. The first year examinations in Science will commence on 9th August. The postponement was made following requests made by the student body who had missed lectures as a result of the recent strike.



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**'Swan Lake' in aid of Jaffna Cancer Institute**

Well known danseuse **Vijayambigai Indra Kumar** will present the ballet "Swan Lake" tomorrow, June 20th, at the Kathiresan Hall, Bambalapitiya, in aid of the Jaffna Cancer Hospital Fund. Vijayambigai who will be joined by several of her students in the Academy of Dancing will also present a variety of dances.

Mr. V. Balasubramaniam, Chairman of Cobamil Ltd., sponsors of the programme, will preside while the eminent Surgeon Dr. P. R. Anthonis will be the Chief Guest.

"Swan Lake" is choreographed by Vijayambigai herself in Bharatha Natyam, Kuchipudi, and Kathakali to Tchaikovsky's Russian symphonic music. Vijayambigai Indra Kumar, it will be remembered, was recently honoured by Kalgainar M. Karunanithi with the title "NADANA CHUDAR OLI".

**Municipality**

**Councillor**

**defies**

**Council**

**by—laws?**

A Jaffna Municipal Councillor, the SATURDAY REVIEW learns, has put up an unauthorised building on land belonging to the Municipality.

Several complaints have been made to the Municipality about this breach of the Council's by-laws. So far no action has been taken either to prosecute the offender or demolish the building.

Is it because the Councillor in question is a member of the TULF—the dominant party in the Council—people in the neighbourhood ask?

**WINNER OF CHEMISTRY AWARD**

A second year Physical Science Student, K. Balendran, of the Jaffna University has won the M. Varatharajan Award for Chemistry. A sum of Rs. 1000/- is awarded annually for the best performance in Chemistry at the first year examinations.

**NEWS BRIEFS**

**PEOPLE'S BANK RESUMES PAWNBROKING IN JAFFNA**

People's Bank branches in Jaffna have resumed pawnbroking activities, suspended after the daring robbery at the People's Bank, Kilinochchi, late last year. At the moment pawnbroking activities are restricted to 25 persons a day.

**POLICE SEARCH PRIVATE TUTORIES**

Security forces have searched more than fifty private tutorials in Jaffna, following the recent parcel bomb incidents. They were specially looking out for typewriters on which the addresses found on the parcels could have been typed. Security personnel have also taken a number of youths in for questioning regarding the parcel bombs.

**COMMEMORATION STAMP RELEASED**

Jaffna District Minister U. B. Wijekoon ceremonially released a fifty cent stamp commemorating Sir Waiti-lingam Duraisamy at Jaffna Hindu Ladies' College on 14

June. Minister of Posts and Telecommunications D. B. Wijetunge was originally scheduled to release it.

**YMBA, YMCA, YMMA IN YMHA - OUT**

Young men wanting to join the Home Guard Units have to fill in a form which, *inter alia*, asks whether they have been or are members of the YOUNG MEN'S BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION, Young Men's Christian Association or Young Men's Muslim Association. No mention of the Young Men's Hindu Association!

**KILINOCHCHI MP OFF TO PARIS**

Kilinochchi MP V. Anandasangary left for Paris on 11 June. He has been invited by the Paris Tamil Society to take part in the Bharathi Centenary Celebrations in Paris.

**SPORTS MEET TODAY**

The Vembadi Girls' High School, Jaffna, holds its Sports Meet today, Saturday, 19th June, at Jaffna Central College grounds commencing at 2.15 p. m.

At the General Elections held in July 1977 the UNP came to power with a landslide victory. Within a month anti-Tamil rioting began. Death and destruction suffered by the Tamil people naturally gave a greater sense of urgency to the demand for Tamil Eelam.

Beginning with the issue of September 17, 1977 "Tribune" Editor S. P. Amarasingham wrote a series of one page articles under the title "Is Eelam Viable" and came to the conclusion that it was not.

Meanwhile in the "Tribune" issue of September 24 Fr. Tissa Balasuriya, Director, Centre for Society and Religion made an analysis of the July elections under the title "Tamil mandate for Eelam—fact or fiction? and came to the conclusion that the voting figures did not indicate an overall mandate for Eelam.

The Editor of this paper Mr. S. Sivanayagam who was then Editor/Assistant Director, Ceylon Tourist Board wrote to the "Tribune" contesting the conclusions reached by Mr. Amarasingham and Fr. Balasuriya.

A major portion of that article is reproduced below, from the Tribune of October 15, 1977.

"...Journalists, editors and leaders of opinion have a great responsibility to see that they do not carry with them frozen evaluations of men who are constantly in the public eye. They have to be constantly assessed on performance. That is the only way qualitative changes in leadership styles could be brought about; and that is the only way again, the Fourth Estate in this country could win back its lost credibility.

Credibility Sir, is not a virtue one is born with. It has to be earned. And earned over a period of time. It is no use getting behind an important fact. The FP, now the TULF, has more credibility in the eyes of a sizeable section of the Tamil people than its denigrators in the newspapers. One of the most crowded bandwagons in the political circus of this country is the anti-FP-TULF bandwagon. Government politicians in the past took constant rides on it. When they ran out of speeches, they had only to take a swipe at the Federal Party. When newspaper editors, columnists, cartoonists, Lobby correspondents and even small-time humorists are faced with the problem of filling up space, they simply turn their guns on the FP. It was easy. Easy because they are fully committed against, even before they start thinking. And so safe too. So much so, that a Policeman thought it would

# EELAM Is a State of Mind

cost him nothing to butt the Leader of the Opposition from behind, as it happened recently in Jaffna in the presence of a superior officer!

It is viewed against this background, that your laboured serial exercises on the question: "Is Eelam viable?" do not carry much credibility. Your resting heavily on Fr. Tissa Balasuriya's research does not help either, in gaining any insight into contemporary Tamil thinking. Speaking basically, statistics are a poor substitute for empathy and understanding, especially when the problem is one that involves humans—their feelings their fears, their tensions, their aspirations, even their foibles and antagonism. Moreover, statistics are malleable material. It all depends whether the researcher—statistician is making an honest search for truth or whether he is in search of a determined conclusion. Handled with finesse, even the same set of statistics could be made to yield different results. Or what is worse, one could select only those that are obedient to one's purpose. May I illustrate!

to the "Sinhala Only" Act and therefore a more rational starting point), the UNP and its then election partner, the All Ceylon Tamil Congress which stood for a unitary Ceylon, won 43.72% of the vote in the Northern Province, while in the Eastern Province the UNP by itself won 40.99% of the vote. As against this, the Federal Party won only 22.38% of the vote in the Northern Province, with its late respected leader Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam himself beaten by a UNP nominee at Kankesanthurai. In the Eastern Province, the Federal Party managed a meagre 4.37% of the vote. Now place these against Fr. Balasuriya's figures of the 1977 elections. In the Northern Province, the TULF walks away with 68.5% of the vote, and in the Eastern Province they secure 27.5%, despite the fact that the Sinhalese population in the Eastern Province has now grown to 22.5%.

In other words, the TULF has increased its support three-fold in the Northern Province over a period of 25 years, while in the

gible percentage that has (lost its roots there) had their votes outside these two provinces. If one were to assume that an overwhelming number of this 25% voted for the UNP at the last elections, it was probably because they expected a more equitable deal under a UNP administration headed by Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, than under the SLFP. How does that vote amount to a rejection of Eelam? Isn't it an untested assumption!

Apart from all these, there is a new factor, which makes election statistics a little out of date. As we all know a lot of water has flown down the Kelani within the one month after the elections. Over 100,000 Tamils were directly affected by the anti-Tamil riots. About 25,000 of those who were living outside the North and East are now seeking re-settlement in those areas. Lakhs of others who were fortunate not to be directly affected by the August madness are themselves going through a state of catharsis. Statistics of those who lost their lives and the lives of the bread-winners, and lost their hard-earned wealth and property

Eastern Province it has increased its support six-fold, despite State-aided colonisation disturbing the traditional ethnic composition. How's that Sir, for statistics? And how's that for this so-called decline in "communal politics"?

It is also possible in this matter of fragmented research to slip into easy assumptions. Fr. Tissa Balasuriya for example has come to the facile conclusion that "Tamil-speaking people outside the Northern and Eastern Provinces reject the proposal for Eelam". Now, how did he get that? Did anybody ask them? Nearly 25% of the Tamils by descent, who consider the North and East as their traditional permanent homelands (barring a negli-

do not reflect the true measure of the feelings of bewilderment, disillusionment and the pervasive shattering of the morals of a whole community. There is in fact a new, dramatic switch in thinking among the Tamils throughout the island, which no statistics can reveal.

Let us now leave statistics in the dust-bin where they belong and take a look at the patterns of political behaviour. Isn't it an interesting fact that when the Sinhalese voter has changed his mind with every single election since 1952, the Tamil voter in the North and East has in direct contrast kept on sending the same political party unchanged for the Sixth Consecutive time over a period of 21 years?

Isn't it funny on the other hand that politicians and editors, researchers and statisticians, men who respect the people's verdict otherwise, should keep on making a fine distinction between the Tamil voter and the men whom he votes for? Any African ostrich will marvel at this performance! This in fact holds the key to this knotty "Tamil problem", remaining unsolved over the years. A stubborn refusal to understand the Tamil mind.

## SHOP-SPOILT ARGUMENT

If you ask me Sir, this is not a Tamil problem. The problem is in the South. One should develop the honesty and courage to come to terms with the *raison d'être* of the FP and the TULF, instead of constantly airing the now shop-spoilt argument that the majority of the Tamils think differently from their elected leaders. May be, the pronounced individualistic traits in the Tamil, particularly the Hindu, encourages this illusion. The Hindus have a whole repertory of jokes about the very Gods whom they worship. Differences of opinion with their leaders are therefore not to be taken too literally. I suspect that in a group of 100 card-carrying members of the TULF there must be a 100 opinions on any given matter, if not 101!

## THE CASE OF MR. V. NAVARATNAM

The votes might sometimes get split not on the question of Eelam but as to who is more qualified to campaign for it, it is useful to recall that the Federal Party stalwart who first pressed the case for separation got sacked from the party for his trouble! He is Mr. V. Navaratnam, once the FP MP for Kayts. Contesting the same seat at the recent elections he managed to get 8,673 votes against the TULF winner, which is more than, say, what a senior politician, like Mr. T. B. Subasinghe got in Katugampola, and double the number of votes Mr. Kumarasuriar got in Kilinochchi.

And yet, for all we know, innocent researchers must be bundling these 8,673 votes of an independent but pioneer Eelam man also into the anti-Eelam vote! (Having written this, I made a quick tot-up of the total of the Eelam vote as given by Fr. Balasuriya and found my suspicions justified. Either by oversight or ignorance, Fr. Balasuriya has made it out that Mr. V. Navaratnam is opposed to Eelam). What a fate for a

(Continued overleaf)

by

S. Sivanayagam

# Eelam is a State

## of Mind

(Continued from page 3)

man who was two steps ahead of the F.P. But this incidentally illustrates another aspect of Tamil politics. The shift from Federalism to separatism as a basic objective did not happen in a hurry. But what is more rib-tickling in Fr. Balasuriya's research (Tribune: Oct. 1) is his neat disposal of Mr. Kasi Ananthan's vote in Batticaloa (11,232) as non-Eelam votes. As Eelam propagandist Mr. Kasi Ananthan is several shades fiercer than Mr. Amirthalingam.

### THE FIRST COMMUNAL PARTY

Public memory being short and popular ignorance being colossal in the political life of our country, it would be useful also to recall the pertinent fact that the first communal party that raised its flag was the Sinhala Maha Sabha. That was way back in 1937. The founder of course was the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, later to become the father of the social revolution of 1956. Mr. Bandaranaike nursed his organisation so carefully that he did not disband it even after he was elected Vice-President of the UNP! It was only after he walked out of the UNP in July 1951 that the Sinhala Maha Sabha was formally dissolved, and in its place was born the Sri Lanka Freedom Party.

### FICTION OF A "NATIONAL" PARTY

The present US Ambassador in Sri Lanka, Mr. Howard Wriggins who made a point of this in his admirable book, "Ceylon: Dilemmas of a New Nation" published in 1960 says:- "as late as four years after the formation of the UNP the Sinhala Maha Sabha was holding annual sessions". The change from the Sinhala Maha Sabha to Sri Lanka Freedom Party was a change in nomenclature only to all real intents and purposes but it was a change designed to have far-reaching consequences. From that point onwards, the exclusive aspirations of the Sinhala Buddhist people were given a national frame, and a national perspective. That fiction of a "national" party has been successfully maintained to this day, with practically the whole country believing in it, aided in its time with various props like "Socialism", "The age of the common man", "Social revolution", Minister Kumarasuriyar, Non-alignment, etc., etc.

The fiction was so ably popularised that even the Left movement itself was forced to crumble before it. The Left debacle in Sri Lanka did not begin in 1977 as is popularly believed, but in 1960.

The SLP's sweeping triumph in 1956, followed by the promulgation of the "Sinhala Only" Act, and the subsequent elevation of Buddhism as the "official" religion, have fulfilled the purposes for which the Sinhala Maha Sabha was founded originally. None will question the right of the Sinhala Buddhist people to have their aspirations realised, but to seek that fulfilment at the expense of the racial and religious minorities—because they happen to be smaller in numbers—looks like the act of an eldest brother making a grab for the entire patrimony left by his dead (colonialist) father and arrogating to himself the right to dole what he thinks is reasonable (according to his mood), for the worldly requirements of his younger brothers and sisters.

In other words, Sir, you the Editor of Tribune, Fr. Tissa Balasuriya and this poor writer are all in the same boat. The portions we get in life might differ in quantity among the three of us but we are all on the dole anyway. No individual or ethnic or religious group could ever hope to realise full personality or attain the zenith of one's potential while living on a dole. Isn't that the very basis of the argument against colonialism? If anyone thinks the Tamils had a bigger dole under the British masters, well, there was something to be said for it. The dole was at least in accordance with merit, performance and diligence and hardwork, and not according to parentage, and political pull.

### LIFE'S REWARDS COME EASILY

As individuals, Sir, the Sinhalese are a very generous and hospitable people. As a Tamil, I have no hesitation in owning that. They can afford to be so too, because life's rewards come to them more easily. To the Jaffna peasant and farmer to whom Nature itself is inhospitable,

it calls for an effort even to be generous. During my early schooling in a village school in Jaffna, I remember how some of my less fortunate classmates had to do a daily 2-hour stint in their farm before they wash up, collect their books and have the luxury of a school education.

What is important for the resolving of social tensions, is not what percentage of people voted for Eelam and what percentage did not. It is a pointless exercise. If you consider Eelam a foolish cry, then it remains a foolish cry whether 25% vote for it or 75% vote for it. The only difference is in the percentage of foolishness. What is important is not whether Eelam is an economic proposition in the eyes of Tribune and me. Nothing is a sound economic proposition before it is born, not even an excellent durable journal like the Tribune.

to a squabble whether the husband takes the wardrobe or the wife takes the dressing table, it is again not a pretty sight. But that is subsidiary to the whole question of divorce. Defining territorial limits is the same. It is the final page in a whole chapter of confusion and recrimination..

What is important is not whether Tea earns foreign exchange while onions won't. The flaw in this thinking is in the arguing against a futuristic situation in the terms that are static and contemporary. If Tea and Rubber happen to be earning foreign exchange, it is not because there is something special about Tea and Rubber that chillies don't have. Gearing products for export is merely an act of human design. There was no Tea and Rubber during the glorious days of Parakrama Bahu the Great. Tea and Rubber was part of the colonial patrimony that was left to us. It was the product of British capital and enterprise, and Tamil labour and sweat. But already in the pace of Tea production, we

foreign exchange this year. Until recently India was earning appreciable foreign exchange in exporting monkeys to the US! Little Cyprus which has a bare 8% of its cultivable land in grapes was the third largest supplier of wine to Britain three years ago. According to an FAO report, there is sweet profit to be made from exporting honey. There is a world honey shortage and prices rose from \$.300 a ton in 1969 to \$.1,000 in 1975. Mango, the king of fruits is becoming a big money spinner for India. According to preliminary official estimates made early last year, exports of mango, mango slices, juice, jams, chutneys and pickles was to fetch the country nearly Rs. 10 crores (Rs. 100 million) in 1976. After all, no one expected Jaffna to grow grapes fifteen years ago.

The point I am trying to make Sir, is that Eelam, like happiness and sorrow, hope and despair, conviction and doubt, is primarily a state of mind. One can't argue it away by statistics, polemics and threats, or wish it away by whistling in the dark. The one important thing is to recognise a historical process, a process in which even leaders of nations and leaders of parties become irrelevant.

Prime Minister Mr. J. R. Jayawardene himself, a leader with courage, with all the resources of a State machinery at his command, with all the tanks and guns at his disposal, matched by his genuine anxiety to put down violence and protect the Tamils, could do nothing to prevent the shattering of the lives and nerves, the hopes and wealth of 3 million law-abiding citizens.

After all, what big force was he against? Mere rabbles of probably 3 thousand hoodlums. Hoodlums are also people, with normal desires and hopes and fears and aspirations. They were so mighty because they represented the external manifestation of a much bigger, all powerful force—a historical force. If you say that TULF leaders make stupid speeches, well, what of it? Did it help the Tamils when Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam spoke little or made sensible speeches? The very people who brought Mr. J. R. Jayawardene to power on the tidal wave of an unprecedented electoral victory could do nothing to protect him from an equally unprecedented embarrassment one month later.



S. J. V. Chelvanayakam

Did it help the Tamils when he spoke so little?

Israel in the desert was not a sound economic proposition before it was born, let alone being a military proposition. After all Sir, Sri Lanka after 29 years of freedom on a plate and the generous patrimony of Tea, Rubber and Coconut is still not a sound economic proposition!

What is important is not the defring of territory at this point of time and publishing Eelam maps to scale. Separation of a country, like divorce in a family is not a happy, pleasant affair, and certainly not desirable under normal conditions. But yet divorces occur very often to the relief of both parties. As

are losing to Kenya, North East India and South India. While our crop in the first six months of 1977 recorded an increase of 11.2 kg. as compared with the same period last year, North India recorded an increase of 14.4 kg., Kenya 18.6kg. and South India 18.9 kg! (People's Bank Research Dept., Economic Review July 1977).

In this big wide world where there is always something that one part of it lacks that the other has, there is nothing traditional about export orientation and export ingenuity. Kenya which has been exporting camels to Saudi Arabia for the past few years was planning to earn £.500,000 in

# LETTERS

Chunnakam,  
14-6-82.

The Editor,  
Saturday Review,  
Jaffna.

Sir,

In your issue of June 12, at page 1 under the heading "T. U. L. F. M. P., asserts himself", you say "A TOP T. U. L. F. POLITICO, the Saturday Review, learns unsuccessfully tried to persuade Manipay M. P. V. Dharmalingam to keep away from the June 9th Meeting for P. Iraikumar and C. Umakumaran organized by the T. E. L. F. (Youth Wing)".

This News item is incorrect and mischievous. I had never been persuaded by any one to keep away from the June 9th Meeting. I had no occasion to meet any "Top level T.U.L.F. Politico" in the past fortnight. Even if he had met me I am sure he would not have objected to my participation in the June 9th meeting in view of my long and close association with Iraikumar and Umakumar. Every one knows that I am used to common platforms. Hence there was no question of anybody pressurising me or any assertion by me.

The June 9th meeting was organized by the Tamil Iaignar Peravai (Viduthalai Ani), the group that broke away in 1980 from the Tamil Iaignar Peravai associated with the TULF. Your naming the organisers of the meeting as TELF (Youth Wing) gives your readers a wrong impression that they are a wing of the TELF headed by Dr. S. Dharmalingam, which came into existence recently after the President declared 1982 an Election Year. There is no reason to reject the invitation by the Tamil Iaignar Peravai (Viduthalai Ani) whose difference with the TULF is only ideological, to speak on a common platform with the TELF and six or seven other political and non-political groups on the passing away of Iraikumar and Uma.

V. Dharmalingam, M. P.  
Manipay.

## Note by Editor:

The 'Saturday Review' stands by its story. But if it would save Mr. Dharmalingam any embarrassment, the information on which we based our story certainly did not come from Mr. Dharmalingam himself. The inform-

ation came to us from a source very close to Mr. Dharmalingam, which possibly did not expect it to appear in print. When Mr. Dharmalingam says, "that he had no occasion to meet any top level TULF politico in the past fortnight," he may be right. Our information is that the top TULF politico telephoned Mr. Dharmalingam from Colombo on the morning of the meeting and suggested that he keep away from the commemoration meeting, especially as he was the lone TULFer billed to speak; this would create problems, the top man had said. Mr. Dharmalingam's reply was that though he could understand why the request was made, he could not go against his conscience. His long association with Iraikumar imposed an obligation on him to speak at the commemoration meeting. He had added that as soon as his speech was over he would leave the meeting. (Mr. Dharmalingam was the first speaker and he left after his speech).

The "Saturday Review" is also in a position to know that on the same morning a prominent TULF Youth Front Activist and another TULFer associated with the co-operative movement had also tried to persuade Mr. Dharmalingam to give the meeting a miss. Mr. Dharmalingam, according to the same source, had given the identical reply he had given the Colombo caller.

"Mangalam"  
Kondavil West,  
Kondavil,  
9-6-1982.

The Editor,  
Saturday Review.

### J. V. P. AND TAMILS

Sir,

Lionel Bopage is reported to have announced that J.V.P. would find candidates in Jaffna district at the next general elections. It is therefore, an appropriate time to raise references to the ambiguity of the J. V. P. on the national question.

The J. V. P. upholds the right of Tamil speaking people to self-determination. But, the position it adopted on the question of nationhood nulli-

fies the whole of its pronouncements on self-determination.

According to Bopage's article in "Lanka Guardian" of 1-5-79 the position of J. V. P. on the question of nationhood is that the Sinhala speaking people and Tamil speaking people are a "people who are in a phase of transition from nationality to one Sri Lanka nation". It means these linguistic groups are developing to be a single nation.

"In Marxist literature by the term 'nation' is usually meant a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture". (Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism—Foreign Languages Publishing House—Moscow—P. 151)

What is understood from the above is that there cannot be one nation with two languages. Does the J. V. P. entertain a belief that a "common language" could be achieved through the process of assimilation?

Siva Subramaniam

50/2B, Siripa Road,  
Colombo 5,  
7 June 1982.

The Editor,  
Saturday Review.

### THE UNKINDEST CUT

Sir,

My friend Ketheeswaran Loganathan is entitled to disagree with me politically, but why, oh why, does he traduce me as a "liberal humanist"?

Yours faithfully,  
Reggie Siriwardena

Atchuvely,  
9th June, 1982.

### RAMAKRISHNA'S PROBLEM

Dear Sir,

I was myself puzzled by Ramakrishna's letter and what on earth he was aiming at till S. Sivasegaram's reply put the matter somewhat more clearly. It was enlightening to know that he is an ex-Marxist and as with most such deviants he now finds solace in obscurantist attitudes. Sivasegaram's point about fanatically inverted views on western influence is well taken. It was not unusual for western Marxists till very recently to swing from Marxism to Catholicism. It was perhaps the only way they could make peace with their uneasy conscience. This was so at any rate till the Catholic Church became radicalised under a succession of liberal Popes. Now I do not know what they do. In Sri Lanka no doubt it is still possible for

# THE ABC OF T.U.L.F.

(with apologies to Alex Glasgow)

When I was a tiny little boy  
My Daddy said to me  
'Its time my bonny, bonny boy  
To learn your ABC".

Then my Daddy was a teacher  
In a small village School  
His ABC was different  
From the Ambulimama kind.

AND

He taught me the Socialist ABC  
But now that I am not a little boy  
My Daddy says to me  
"Please try to forget the things I said  
Especially the ABC".

FOR, Daddy is no longer a village school teacher  
And he's had to change his plea,  
His Alphabet is different Now  
Since they made him a TULF, MP.

### NOW HE SINGS:

A is for Appapillai Amirthalingam, he's our King  
B is for the Ballot Box, life pension it will bring;  
C is for Colombo, its Comfort, which is our base  
D is for Democracy UNP's kind is God's given grace.  
E is for EELAM, which has become a pain in the arse  
F is the Freedom, who told you we don't have ours?  
G is for this Government, with whom we can make pacts  
H is for the Hell people go to, when they mess up our act.  
I is of course I, who is of the wiser kind  
J is for JR, man so honest we shall not find.  
K is for Kotte, there, to us they are so gracious  
L is for the Left, things they say about us are fallacious.  
M is for Marx, sorry it was just a slip of the tongue  
N is for Nationhood, a burden on us its hung  
O is for the Oppressed, poor bastards for us they will vote  
P is for Police our protector, opponents take note  
Q is for Questions; don't ask us any  
R is for the Reds, beware there are too many  
S is for Saturday Review and we don't care a damn  
T is for Tamils who are so gullible when we sham  
U is for Unity, God, it's getting undone  
V is for Victory, don't you think we've already won?  
W is for Wheedling, in that we're just great  
X is the mark we want on the ballot sheet  
Y is for You my son, blood is always thicker than water  
Z is for Z.....does it really matter?

Colombo 15

—MANO—

ex-Marxists to end their juvenile flirtation with Marx and take refuge in their old age in traditional religions, but we must be forgiven for not taking such volte faces seriously.

The subject of what really is Tamil identity can be debated ad infinitum but it is not necessary for such a purpose to pour scorn on what we have imbibed from the west. The nostalgia for the past, from the age of Kamban, Arumuga Navalar etc., is an admission of our inability to cope with the problems of the present. Even those who talk about it must surely know that it is an age that will never return. We no longer articulate our aspirations for Tamil Nationhood with the hymns of our saints nor do we do so by invoking the historicity of our claims for separate statehood. Whatever

claims are made have been made on the basis of the present—of an existing objective situation that takes account of all that has happened to date. Lawyers can debate constitutional niceties and academics can present learned papers on history, but our peoples aspirations are compounded of all that has happened to date and this means the influence of western ideas and political systems as well.

Except perhaps in Papua, New Guinea I do not think popular liberation struggles are waged with bows and arrows or by chanting hymns. The influence of the west is irreversible and no just society can be established today except on the basis of the democratic values we have received from our former masters.

Yours faithfully,  
A. Kathiravelu.

# ICJ REPORT

## THE SUMMARY

**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.**

1. Recent events, particularly relating to ethnic conflict between the majority Sinhalese population and the minority Tamil population have created concern about the status of human rights in Sri Lanka. This is unfortunate since Sri Lanka has had one of the better records in Asia in the field of human rights. Democratic elections have been held and democratic parliamentary institutions maintained since independence in 1948. The country recently celebrated 50 years of universal adult suffrage, has had a proud tradition of adherence to the Rule of Law and a distinguished judiciary. The present government has made explicit commitments to human rights. It has adopted a Constitution which includes articles of fundamental rights and has ratified International Human Rights Covenants. Although the government has made efforts to meet certain demands of the minority Tamil community, the basic inter-ethnic conflict remains unresolved, violence is escalating and the government has taken measures with regard to terrorism which are in violation of international human rights norms.

### INTERNATIONAL REPERCUSSIONS

2. Violence resulting from racial conflict between the majority Sinhalese and minority Tamil communities has reached alarming proportions recently. The violence includes communal violence directed against Tamils and violence by security forces primarily against the Tamil community as well as political terrorism by a small group of Tamil youths directed primarily against the police. In June 1981 the police engaged in widespread arson in the Tamil area of Jaffna in the North of Sri Lanka and in August 1981 there was a major outbreak of communal violence again directed against Tamils. The communal violence in August had international repercus-

sions since Indian Tamil passport holders were killed, their residences burned and many were forced to seek refuge. President Jayawardene had admitted that some members of his political party have stimulated racial intolerance and violence and has promised to purge these elements from the party and government.

### THE SINHALESE ARGUMENTS

3. The sources of racial conflict in Sri Lanka are historical, economic, cultural and religious. Separate Sinhalese and Tamil communities existed on the Island from the precolonial era until the administrative unification of the Island by the British in 1833. The early history of Sri Lanka is replete with stories of conflicts between Sinhalese and Tamil kings. During the colonial period the Tamils had a disproportionately high percentage of high governmental posts and admission to prestigious faculties in higher education.

4. Upon independence, the majority Sinhalese population imposed certain policies relating to language, religion, education and government service which were perceived by Tamils as discriminatory but by the Sinhalese as compensating for the prior inferior status of Buddhism and the Sinhalese language as well as the proportionately low percentage of Sinhalese in higher education and government service. The Tamils consider these policies as intended to maintain them in an inferior status in the country.

### TAMIL VOTE CUT DOWN

They point to the fact that Indian Tamils were disenfranchised and rendered stateless at the time of independence, cutting down the Tamil vote to less than one-third in Parliament. The Tamils are thus unable to exercise any effective Parliamentary control over policies

that discriminate against them. The 1964 agreement between India and Sri Lanka to repatriate a certain number of Indian Tamils and grant citizenship to the rest has not been fully carried out and Indian Tamils continue to live and work on plantations in conditions of poverty and misery. Sinhala is the official language required for government service; civil service employees are not required to learn Tamil. Buddhism is the official religion; equal status is not given to Hinduism, the religion of the majority of the Tamils. Repression by the police and army in the Tamil areas has been a constant cause of concern and appears to be growing. Tamils are unable to compete for admission to university faculties on the basis of merit alone; an implicit racial quota limits the Tamils to a certain percentage of places.

### TAMIL SENSE OF INSECURITY

5. The 1958, 1977 and 1981 communal violence against Tamils by the Sinhalese population coupled with the measures relating to language, religion, education, and government service resulted in a pervasive sense of insecurity among Tamils, a demand for greater autonomy in Tamil areas and eventually the adoption by the Tamil United Liberation Front, the main Tamil political party, of a policy of separation of the Tamil area from Sri Lanka and the creation of a separate state of Tamil Eelam.

6. The Sinhalese regard the Tamil demand for a separate state as unrealistic since they believe that such a state would not be viable economically and politically. They cite the unhappy record of divided countries in support of their point of view. They also consider the demand for a separate state as dangerous since it creates antagonism against Tamils among Sinhalese and polarizes the ethnic dispute. It has been claimed that the Sinhalese have a minority

complex since, although a majority within Sri Lanka they are a minority within Asia. There are more than 50 million Tamils in India and other parts of Asia.

7. A small terrorist group known as the Liberation Tigers has developed among Tamil youth in the north of Jaffna. This group has allegedly been responsible for a bank robbery, an attack on a police station, and a number of killings within the last six months. The development of terrorism among Tamil youth has been linked to frustration concerning opportunities for higher education and government service and assaults against Tamils by police. To cope with the terrorist threat the government has adopted the Terrorism Act. This Act violates norms of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ratified by Sri Lanka, as well as other generally accepted international standards of criminal procedure by permitting prolonged detention on administrative order without access to lawyers and the use of evidence possibly obtained under duress. The Court of Appeal has found in three of four cases brought before it concerning detainees under the Act that violence was used against the detainees under the Act during detention. The definition of an offence under the Act is unduly vague.

8. The tension between the ethnic communities creates an extremely dangerous situation in Sri Lanka which may escalate into major violence in the Island and negate all efforts to develop the Island economically. Despite longstanding tension, grievances and insecurities, the leaders of both communities should be prepared to undertake major efforts to resolve the ethnic conflict.

### RULE OF LAW & HUMAN RIGHTS

9. The long-term solution to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka in the interests of the entire population can only be achieved on the basis of respect for the rule of law and relevant human rights standards. It is regrettable that certain government and United National Party actions such as the actions and remarks of certain government and party members, the actions of security forces, the stripping of the civic rights of Mrs. Bandaranaike, the Parliamentary vote of no

confidence in the Leader of the Tamil United Liberation Front as well as the adoption of the Terrorism Act have undermined respect for the rule of law in Sri Lanka.

### 'Prosecute

### Police

### officers

### involved

### in the

### Jaffna

### burnings

### of May -

### June 1981'

### RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are respectfully submitted to the government in view of its international commitment to human rights and its expressed desire to resolve the ethnic conflict and promote economic development in Sri Lanka:

### IMMEDIATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL PARTY ACTION

1. A primary concern of the government should be the physical security of the minority Tamil population and the avoidance of future communal violence so frequently directed against Tamils in the past. The army and police should be strictly controlled and used to ensure the safety of all Sri Lankans. In this regard the government should pursue a vigorous policy of investigation and prosecution of police officers responsible for the burning of many areas in Jaffna in May-June 1981. This serious violation of the duties of security forces deserves severe government condemnation and the enforcement of disciplinary and criminal sanctions. A thorough investigation should also be carried out of the role of organized groups in the communal violence against Tamils in August 1981 and individuals and groups found responsible should be prosecuted.

(To be concluded)

# MIRJE

## Mission

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

(Continued from  
last issue)

I was further assaulted everytime I released my hand. This funny and painful torture continued for an hour.

I was made to kneel down on a cement floor spread with gravel and stay for an hour with my hands raised up.

This torture continued till 5.00 p.m. and I was not given food or water. In desperation I asked for water and they poured down my throat pepper and chillie mixed water. Thereafter they made me drink concentrated salt water, and I started to vomit out. I was assaulted for vomiting.

When the Chief Army Officer came there they stopped torturing and thereafter I was given food and allowed to sleep while chained to the bed.

Thereafter for another ten days this pattern of torture continued.

### TORTURED BY 'MISTAKE'

On 26th of November 81, the army officer told me that I will be released, and wanted me to stay till the wounds in my leg, hand and knee healed.

I stayed for another four days, and during these four days I was assaulted by army men.

I was released on 30th November '81 morning. I was sick and confused and not feeling well. Even now I am not feeling well, having headache all the time."

To these extracts from affidavits must be added two other cases of persons whom the Delegation personally interviewed. One of these persons was arrested in Vavuniya in early March 1982, questioned, taken into a jungle, questioned again about his alleged dealings with "terrorists" and tortured: blindfolded, he was hung up by his feet, beaten and made to inhale fumes of heated chillies. After 4 days of terrible torture, he was released with an apology. He

told us that the Police Officer said: "No, Mr... you do not look like a terrorist. You are a respectable person. Go and continue your usual work. We are sorry for what we have done." The Delegation saw wounds and scars on this person's body and especially noted the rope marks around his wrists.

### AN ACT OF SADISM

The second case regards a youth who was shot dead by the Army at the end of February 1982 very close to Vavuniya airport for alleged leadership of the terrorist group in the Vavuniya District. His body was brought to his home and was cremated on Monday, 1 March 1982. On Wednesday, 3 March a Police officer visited his home and asked the mother whether her son had returned. The Delegation considers this an act of sophisticated and sadistic mental torture of relatives of alleged terrorists.

The above chronicle by no means exhausts all the affidavits and the evidence of torture placed before the Delegation. However, the evidence we have here adduced is representative. The Delegation requests that it be permitted to submit this and all other evidence before a Commission of Inquiry—governmental or independent of whose impartiality and integrity the Delegation has assurance and with the additional proviso of acceptable guarantees that there will be no reprisals against those who are prepared to testify before the Commission to the physical torture, mental agony and humiliation which they have been subjected to.

### RELIGIOUS TENSION

With the evidence that it gathered in the Vavuniya District, the Delegation has the duty of drawing the attention of all persons concerned to a most alarming dimension which racialism is now taking, and in a most brazen manner, in the country.

This is the dimension of the direct, deliberate and planned incitement to religious strife. That such incitement is particularly despicable is less important than the fact that it is also particularly dangerous and therefore has to be resisted by all who have at heart not only the interests of justice but also the good name of religion.

### THE STATUE STILL REMAINS

The secret erecting of a statue of the Buddha at the Kachcheri Junction in Vavuniya, from where main trunk roads lead to Jaffna, Kandy, Colombo, Trincomalee & Mannar has already been raised in Parliament (see Hansard, 2 December 1981). Despite orders from the government authorities that it be removed and similar assurances from even the President of the Republic, the statue still remains in the same place.

After careful inquiries the Delegation is convinced that the erection of this statue is not to recall and give honour to the tolerance, kindness and compassion of the Buddha but is an act deliberately intended to provoke and threaten, is racially motivated and is a positive and constant danger to inter-communal peace in the area. It is also an altogether unworthy use of the Buddhist religion to humiliate the Tamil Hindus and Christians in the area. It is a gross abuse of a religious symbol which does dishonour to the noble person symbolized.

### OLD SITE OF HINDU WORSHIP

The Delegation also visited an old site of Hindu worship at Kurundurmalai, a village in the adjoining district of Mullaitivu. An attempt is being made to convert this into a place of Buddhist worship. The result is tension and anxiety in the Tamil Hindu community.

The first thing which the Delegation noticed upon arrival at Kurundurmalai was that a new building is in the process of being erected on the site of Hindu worship. A government vehicle 29 Sri 3953 was parked there. About 10 persons were at work on the building, 5 of whom were from the Department of Archaeology. There were also officers from the Ceramics Corporation which comes under Cyril Mathew, Minister of Industries and Scientific Research. The Delegation learnt that the officers of the Ceramics Corporation and the Manager of the tile factory—which belongs to the Ceramics Corporation—often visit the site.

## The hand of Police Violence turns on MIRJE itself

Even as we carry the MIRJE report on the Police and Army atrocities on Tamil refugees in Vavuniya, the hand of Police violence has turned on MIRJE itself. The Secretary of the MIRJE movement in Vavuniya **Mr. S. M. Kumarasinghe** was assaulted mercilessly by a gang of Policemen on the night of June 3rd. In a letter addressed to President Jayawardene, Rev. Dr. D. J. Kanagaratnam says:—

Once again with deep regret I inform you that harassment, assault and torture of people in the Vavuniya District continue from time to time in spite of letters sent to you and the I.G.P. regarding these incidents.

I wish to bring to your notice and that of the I.G.P. the latest merciless assault by the Police on Mr. S. M. Kumarasinghe of Madukande who is also the secretary of our movement in Vavuniya. Mr. Kumarasinghe was returning home late in the night of the 3rd of June after being in the company of Dr. Fernando of the Vavuniya Hospital. At the junction of Madukande a gang of Police Officers fell upon Mr. Kumarasinghe, abused and mercilessly assaulted him. The wounds were so severe that he was admitted to the Vavuniya base hospital. There are a number of eye witnesses who are prepared to testify to the assault.

This kind of behaviour by the Police, recurring off and on in spite of several protests is making the ordinary people of Vavuniya to lose all confidence in you and your "DHARMISTA GOVERNMENT".

I once again appeal to you on behalf of our movement which stands for justice, equality and peace among all communities to order the officials in charge of the Police to stop such cruel and merciless assaults on people going about their normal activities. I also earnestly request you to order the release of Mr. Kumarasinghe immediately or frame specific charges if he is guilty of any crime.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,  
**Rev. Dr. D. J. Kanagaratnam**  
President.

So also does the private secretary to Cyril Mathew. The Delegation also learnt that Tamil Hindus from the neighbouring villages are now prohibited entry to their place of worship. Apparently the Department of Archaeology, with the assistance of the Ceramics Corporation (perhaps because of the common raw material involved as a member of the Delegation remarked), is now under instructions to unearth evidence that this was an old place of Buddhist worship. The Delegation learnt that arrangements are under way to settle Sinhalese Buddhist families in the environs.

### AN ACT OF MALA FIDE

The Delegation does not wish in this Report to play the role of archaeologist or historian. Centuries ago the place may well have been a place of Buddhist worship and centuries before Buddhism arrived in the island may well have been a place of worship to a Hindu deity. What is certain is that for ascertainable decades of recent times and until today several generations of pious Hindus have used the place for Hindu worship. To disturb these practices is an act of *mala fides*, obviously unfair and patently unjust. The Delegation therefore unreservedly condemns this attempt to use religion to fan the flames of racial animosity.

(To be concluded)



Prof. Arasaratnam

(Continued from last issue)

The imparting of appropriate knowledge of land use, of effective crops, of some mechanical skills in those years when food production was beginning to lag seriously behind population increase would have done a world of good to the Tamils. The only efforts made in this direction at Jaffna College, by the practical and far-seeing Americans coming from a milieu where an economic miracle was taking shape, were soon overshadowed, largely by a negative response of the people whom they were intended to benefit.

Emigration and the opportunities for employment outside the peninsula opened up at a timely moment for the economic future of the Tamils. Seasonal migration to work in paddy fields south of the peninsula had always been prevalent from as far back as the 17th century. Purchase of paddy fields by Jaffna farmers immediately to the south had also begun at that time. This process extended southwards into the Vanni in the course of the 19th century. It was accelerated with the British policy of repairing and restoring minor and major irrigation works.

#### **NO MAJOR SHIFT OF POPULATION**

But even with these developments there was never any major shift of population from the peninsula to the immediate south until the beginning of the 20th century when the population of Vavuniya district increases at a faster rate than that of the peninsula. But even this is partly caused by the immigration of Indian labour to the colonization schemes. It is even more difficult to estimate the movement of population to Colombo and other urban centres in south and central Ceylon except by noting the growth of significant Tamil populations in those places where none or very few existed before. Then there was the emigration to south-east Asia that also becomes significant in the early decades of the 20th century.

#### **REMITTANCES FROM F. M. S.**

While these numbers were not large enough to make any major impact on the

## **Concluding The 1982 Chelvanayakam Memorial Lecture A Historical foundation of the Economy of the Tamils of North Ceylon**

demography of the Tamils, they are of great economic significance. The remittances from the south and from southeast Asia contributed significantly to the economic well-being of the community. Those who worked in British Malaya and the Straits Settlements were at a decided advantage. Money wages were higher there and when savings were converted into Ceylon Rupees they gave the person a tidy nest-egg. These savings were generally invested in property, housing and land - and there grew an elite class of F.M.S. pensioners in every village. Some statistics are available of these remittances. In 1910, remittances by money order alone from the S.S. and F.M.S. to Jaffna totalled Rs. 602,878. By 1920 this had risen to Rs. 2,120,000.

The depression of 1929 and the restrictions on employment that followed put an end to these remittances but with the revival of economic growth after 1935 they were resumed and continued till the Japanese invasion of Malaya in 1942.

I have tried in these lectures to provide a framework for the understanding of the growth of the economy of the Tamils of north Ceylon. I have presented a picture of continuity in change and change in continuity. The Jaffna economy has grown in these centuries in the context of a traditional society, responding to external stimulus by internal change and yet maintaining the social fabric of that traditional society. In terms of a people to resources ratio, the land occupied by the Tamils must be deemed very unfavourable.

#### **PEOPLE ARE THE PRIME RESOURCE**

The land is admittedly poor in fertility and in its ability to replenish itself. The climate is difficult and the rains un dependable. People have been the prime resource and a difficult environment has produced a hardy, thrifty, resourceful people. The levels at which the land could sustain the population have always been low. The kingdom of Jaffna, in the great days of its power, was never one of

pomp or grandeur. The economy simply did not generate such surpluses as to maintain an ostentatious civilization.

The favourable side to this feature has been that society, unlike in other parts of southern Asia, has not been stratified into extremes of economic condition. The social stratification the Tamils brought with them from south India continued but economic disparities were not as marked.

There were no large and extensive land-holdings. Social groups did not interact with

each other in exploitative relationships. The area developed a money economy sooner than the rest of the island and economic relationships were more governed by the market place in the north than in any other part of the island. This also meant that there was no great opportunity for capital accumulation in any one sector of the community. The capitalist entrepreneur was slower in developing and when he did develop he moved southwards.

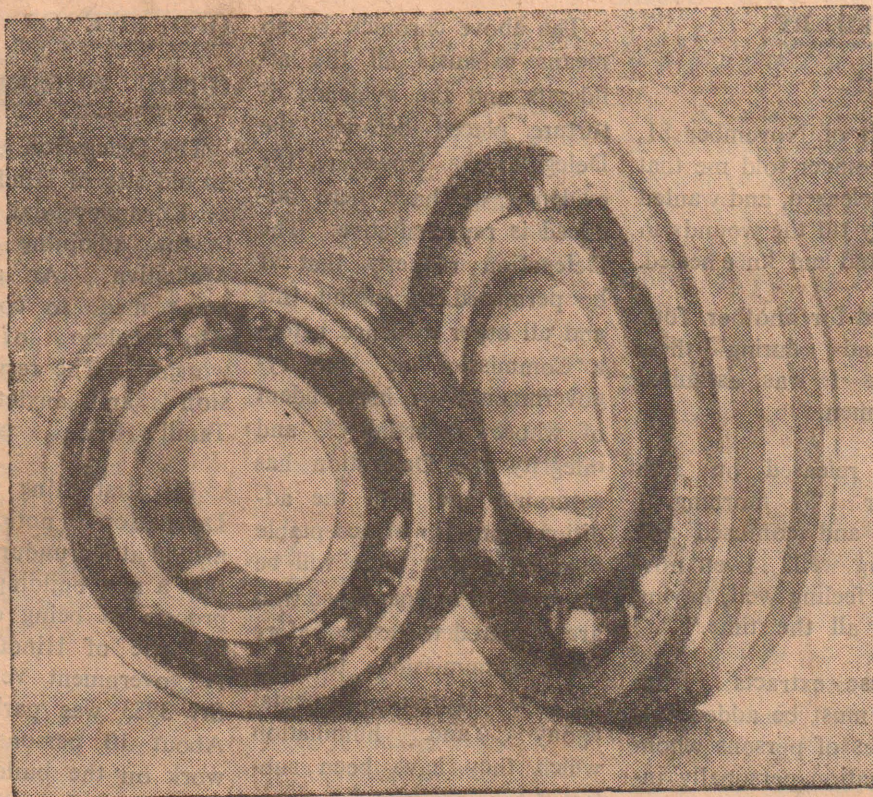
The land could support large parts of the population only at marginal levels

and these parts where productivity was low were even worse off in this respect. Needs were few, luxuries absent. But this meant that the injection of some capital and the quickening of the pace of economic activity made a real difference to living standards and the effects were immediately visible. The impact of the elephant trade, the tobacco trade, overseas remittances and in our own day the onion and chillie trade are examples of prosperity induced by a little injection of cash into the system.

(Concluded)

# NTN

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# The case for Eelam

(Reproduced from a letter to the Editor published in the Ceylon Daily News of June 17, 1977)

"...The birth of every new state ultimately comes to fruition through negotiations. That stage is often reached through armed struggle. But cannot that stage be reached by a steadfast adherence to a relentless campaign of peaceful non-cooperation? Gandhiji, who developed the creed of non-violent non-co-operation never secured 100 percent non-cooperation because India is a vast country. But Eelam being a very small territory, the requisite degree of peaceful non-co-operation is not impossible.

The operative principle is this: no nation can govern another indefinitely without the consent and support of at least a small section of the people governed. That small measure of support and consent up to now available will evaporate after the general elections. Hence negotiations can be successful.

## IMPORTANCE OF WORLD OPINION

"A number of candidates are contesting the forthcoming elections but practically all of them claim to stand for Eelam and offer to work with the TULF after the elections! Mr. V. Ponnambalam, the only Marxist in the North with substantial support and who could have won Kankesanthurai but for the fact that his opponent in the past was Chelvanayakam, has subscribed to the objective of Eelam and refrained from contesting notwithstanding the wishes of the Party headquarters.

"No outside intervention other than moral support from a wide front, is envisaged. Definitely the creation of a favourable opinion both within and outside Sri Lanka is a sine qua non. Can a small country like Sri Lanka depending on external economic aid on such vast scale afford to ignore world opinion and claim that the Sinhalese have a right to govern the Tamils?

## TIED TO THE TEA BUSH, NOT THE SOIL

"Tamils down South are mostly migrants in employment in the public sector; they will naturally be absorbed into the service of Eelam. Others who pursue their own vocation in self-employment will make their own choice; if they wish to return to Eelam they are welcome. If they wish to remain South and are accepted as citizens there they will have the freedom to do so no one will interfere with them from Eelam. The same principle will apply

to Sinhalese in Eelam. Any Sinhalese who wishes to be a citizen of Eelam will be allowed to do so. Of course the number of Tamils wishing to be citizens in the South and Sinhalese wishing to be citizens in Eelam will be very limited and will depend on their peculiar personal circumstances.

"Tamils in the Estates are tied only to the Tea bush and not to the soil. They are welcome to Eelam where they need not be mere coolies; and Tamils of Indian origin have a remarkable knack of prospering in self-employment. Comparison with Pakistan is inappropriate; there the shifting of population involved people who were tied to the soil and who lived there for generations. Further Hindu-Muslim relations in India were coloured by much animosity. That is not the case in Ceylon.

by **A. T. Sivagurunathan**

"The underlying force in the quest for Eelam is the urge to find opportunities for self-expression which is mutually beneficial to both Sinhalese and Tamils and I can visualize, if politicians do not interfere, pleasant farewell parties on the occasion of such shifting of population.

"There are two categories of minorities: the Muslims and the minority Tamils. Let us deal with the minority Tamils first. Caste structure is a phenomenon in every ancient society; it has necessarily to break down in the course of time. The process of the caste structure getting disintegrated has only taken too long a time among the Tamils. This delay is possibly due to the migration to South Ceylon of the educated among the Tamils and it is the educated section among any community that generates dynamic changes in any society. The more conservative elements that remain in the homeland resist change.

"With the return to Eelam of the educated persons now resident outside, the process of disintegration of the caste structure will hasten. This minority element is not a permanent feature. The TULF has provided for self-determination for the Muslims if they so opt, on the principle that he who seeks equality should himself act equitably by the others.

"There is no region in Sri Lanka where Muslims live extensively interspersed with non-Muslims as in the Eastern province. There they have lived for five to six centuries but there have been no racial riots as the Muslims experienced in 1915 and in recent times at Puttalam and the Southern Province notwithstanding the powerful Muslim presence in the Government and Cabinet Secretariat.

"While Hindu-Muslim relations in the Aryan North India became violent, relationship between Hindus and Muslims in the South, particularly in Tamil Nadu remained normal and peaceful. There is something in the national character of the Muslims and Tamils that seems to help them to understand each other.

Economic prosperity depends on-

- (a) calibre and willingness of the work-force.
- (b) technical know-how available.
- (c) capital for investment and entrepreneurial talent available.
- (d) the efficacy of the system of economic organization.
- (e) natural resources available.

"Nobody has ever doubted the calibre and willingness of the Tamils as a community to do hard work.

"The Tamil community is not deficient in technical know-how. Eelam has also a virile maritime community that scoured the seas from Arabian Ports to Rangoon and Akyab in the not distant past but who are now chained down by the closure of the Northern ports.

"Capital is really a function of enterprise and in addition the "push factor" which caused the brain drain provides an additional source of investible funds.

"In regard to the efficacy of the system of economic organization, the co-operative nexus in the North and the East were proverbial for their efficiency. In fact the Royal Commission which drafted the Bill which became the Co-operative Societies Ordinance of 1912 actually used as its model the Rules of a Co-operative Society organized by two Tamils in Dumbara for the benefit of

the Sinhalese mat weavers of the area....

"Economy is a living organism and can easily acquire a vibrant dynamism depending on the people and Tamils are second to none in this respect. French economy developed a wonderful dynamism in the postwar period as a result of the return of Frenchmen from the liquidated French empire. Eelam is not deficient in natural resources in the context of modern science.

"There is a notion among the Sinhalese that they are deprived of their economic prospects and prosperity by the Tamils. There is possibly an element of truth in the

notion. In the matter of employment and trade the Tamils do give stiff competition. In ancient astrological texts two countries, Sinhala and Eelam are mentioned. If today Eelam is conceded, Sinhala can develop according to the national genius of the Sinhalese. Each nation will be free and able to develop according to its own genius and ethos. Each group must have ample scope and opportunity for self-expression and only then a nation can realise the fullness of its collective personality. There will then emerge a spirit of healthy competition and a desire to emulate the best in the other. Let us not be prisoners to our prejudices."

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# Peasants' Congress protests to President

**MR. D. W. APPUHAMY, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE ALL LANKA PEASANTS CONGRESS** of 14/1, New Town, Anuradhapura has written to the President protesting at the harassment by the Army and Police of the Gandhiyam Society and the Tamil settlers in the Vavuniya area.

The letter, with copies to Prime Minister Premadasa, Leader of the Opposition Mr. Amirthalingam, Inspector General of Police Rudra Rajasingham and the Army Commander Tissa Weeratunga states:

We understand that since November last year the Army and Police have from time to time seriously harassed Tamil refugees from the plantations who have settled in the Vavuniya area. We also understand that they have searched the office of Gandhiyam Society Ltd., and the home of their Secretary, Dr. S. Rajasunderam, questioned him, and removed certain files. Further, this harassment has taken a dangerous specifically racialist trend with the recent encroachment of the lands of 8 Tamil families by Sinhala colonists with the help of the Army.

We know that the Government has the responsibility of maintaining law and order and since there have been certain serious breaches of the law by terrorist activity the Government has to take steps to control this. However, we would remind the Government of its duty to do this legally and without

injustice and harassment to innocent people in the process.

We wish to bring to your notice that the Tamil refugees who had been driven away from the plantations were in a desperate condition, and have been trying heroically to start a new life of cultivation in order to survive. They just have no time, energy or inclination to indulge in terrorist activities. Harassing them is both cruel and unjust.

We further wish to bring to your notice that the Gandhiyam Society was founded as a social service

organization committed to following the non-violent principles of Mahatma Gandhi. They were faced with the unexpected problem of refugee settlers and have responded to this situation of dire need, and are doing a great job of service in very difficult conditions with real compassion. It is also both cruel and unjust that they should be obstructed in their work.

We urge you to take immediate steps to inquire into this matter and ensure that justice is done.

## As others see us & Northern politics

"GAMINI" who writes the popular column "LAST PAGE" in the Communist Party Weekly FORWARD published in Colombo, had this to say about TULF and the SATURDAY REVIEW in the issue of 15th June, 1982.

"The TULF leaders, too, have begun to find that the virtual political monopoly they enjoyed so far in the Northern Province has started to crack.

It is not only the "Tigers" and big sections of their own youth movement that now oppose them openly, but dissident wings have begun to appear in their own ranks, the most formidable of which is led by the late Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam's son, Mr. Chandrahasan, whose newspaper SUTHANTHIRAN has grown from a thorn into a dagger in the TULF's side.

In addition, the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress, led by the son of Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, has revived and is trying to steal the TULF's verti while it is parleying with President J. R.

Various other "Eelam Fronts" have also sprung up and are gathering strength. Their views get considerable publicity in the Tamil press, as well as in the SATURDAY REVIEW, the new, lively and informative weekly in English which has a big circulation in Tamil political circles.

On top of this, the arrest of the two top "Tigers" has not brought any comfort to the TULF leaders who want some form of unity with the UNP, as these two "Tigers" are reported to have made up their differences while in custody and issued instructions to their remaining followers outside to do likewise.

The main demand of all the Tamil dissidents is that the TULF should abandon its parleys with the President (a view shared by many TULF MPs) and take the path of direct struggle.

Another demand that is rising among them is that the forthcoming elections should be "boycotted" as "Eelam has been declared" and the "Tamils have no place in a Sinhala Parliament".

All these groups criticise the TULF saying that, in the 1977 general elections, they asked for, and received, a 'mandate' to bring Eelam into existence, but all that they have actually produced is a DDC without powers.

So, things are getting tougher for the TULF leaders all the time."

## Men in mufti assault and rob bus driver

Nallur M.P. M.Sivasithamparam and Jaffna M.P. V. Yogeswaran have telegraphed the President asking for an immediate inquiry into the assault of a CTB Bus driver allegedly by service personnel in mufti, on 12 June. The text of their telegram runs: "ON SATURDAY (12TH JUNE) ROUND ABOUT 2 P.M., R. THANGARASA, DRIVER OF CTB BUS NO. 29 SRI 288 WAS MERCILESSLY ASSAULTED AT THE JAFFNA BUS STAND

BY AN ARMED GROUP, THOUGHT TO BE SERVICEMEN WHO HAD COME IN CAR NO. 9 SRI 7761. HE WAS ALSO ROBBED OF CASH Rs. 450/-. THE UNPROVOKED ASSAULT UNLEASHED ON AN INNOCENT DRIVER HAS CREATED UNREST AMONG CTB EMPLOYEES. WE REQUEST AN IMMEDIATE INQUIRY AND PUNISHMENT OF THOSE INVOLVED IN THE INCIDENT."

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# T.U.L.F.'s Eelam

## Resolution

# 1976

Political Resolution Unanimously Adopted at the 1st National Convention of the Tamil United Liberation Front Held at Pannakam (Vaddukoddai Constituency) on 14-5-76 Presided over by Mr. Chelvanayakam Q.C., M.P. (Translation)

"Whereas throughout the centuries from the dawn of history the Sinhalese and Tamil nations have divided between them the possession of Ceylon, the Sinhalese inhabiting the interior of the country in its Southern and Western parts from the river Walawe to that of Chilaw and the Tamils possessing the Northern and Eastern districts.

And whereas the Tamil Kingdom was overthrown in war and conquered by the Portuguese in 1619 and from them by the Dutch and the British in turn independent of the Sinhalese Kingdoms.

And whereas the British Colonialists who ruled the territories of the Sinhalese and Tamil Kingdoms separately joined under compulsion the territories of the Tamil Kingdom to the territories of the Sinhalese Kingdoms for purposes of administrative convenience on the recommendation of the Colebrooke Commission in 1833.

And whereas Tamil Leaders were in the forefront of the Freedom movement to rid Ceylon of colonial bondage which ultimately led to the grant of independence to Ceylon in 1948.

And whereas the foregoing facts of history were completely overlooked and power was transferred to the Sinhalese nation over the entire country on the basis of a numerical majority thereby reducing the Tamil nation to the position of a subject people.

And whereas successive Sinhalese governments since independence have always encouraged and fostered the aggressive nationalism of the Sinhalese people and have used their political power to the detriment of the Tamils by-

(a) Depriving one half of the Tamil people of their citizenship and franchise rights thereby reducing Tamil representation in Parliament.

(b) Making serious inroads into the territories of the former Tamil Kingdom by a system of planned and state-aided Sinhalese colonisation and large scale regularisation of recently encouraged Sinhalese encroachments calculated to make the Tamils a minority in their own homeland.

(c) Making Sinhala the only official language throughout Ceylon thereby placing the stamp of inferiority on the Tamils and the Tamil Language.

(d) Giving the foremost place to Buddhism under the Republican Constitution thereby reducing the Hindus, Christians, and Muslims to second class status in this Country.

(e) Denying to the Tamils equality of opportunity in the spheres of employment, education, land alienation and economic life in general and starving Tamil areas of large scale industries and development schemes thereby seriously endangering their very existence in Ceylon.

(f) Systematically cutting them off from the mainstream of Tamil cultures in South India while denying them opportunities of developing their language and culture in Ceylon thereby working inexorably towards the cultural genocide of the Tamils.

(g) Permitting and unleashing communal violence and intimidation against the Tamil speaking people as happened in Amparai and Colombo in 1956; all over the country in 1958; army reign of terror in the Northern and Eastern Provinces in 1961; Police violence at the International Tamil Research Conference in 1974 resulting in the death of nine persons in Jaffna; Police and communal violence against Tamil speaking Muslims, at Puttalam and various other parts of Ceylon in 1976, all these calculated to instil terror in the minds of the Tamil speaking people thereby breaking their spirit and the will to resist the injustices heaped on them.

(h) By terrorising, torturing and imprisoning Tamil youths, without trial for long periods on the flimsiest grounds.

(i) Capping it all by imposing on the Tamil Nation a constitution drafted under conditions of emergency without opportunities for free discussion by a constituent assembly elected on the basis of the Soulbury Constitution distorted by the Citizenship laws resulting in weightage in representation to the Sinhalese majority thereby depriving the Tamils of even the remnants of safeguards they had under the earlier constitution.

And whereas all attempts by the various Tamil political parties to win their rights by co-operating with the governments, by parliamentary and extra-parliamentary agitations, by entering into pacts and understandings with successive Prime Ministers in order to achieve the bare minimum of political rights consistent with the self-respect of the Tamil people have proved to be futile.

And whereas the efforts of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress to ensure non-domination of the minorities by the majority by the adoption of a scheme of balanced representation in a Unitary Constitution have failed and even the meagre safeguards provided in article 29 of the Soulbury Constitution against discriminatory legislation have been removed by the Republican Constitution.

And whereas the proposals submitted to the Constituent Assembly by the Ilankai Thamil Arasu Kadchi for maintaining the unity of the country while preserving the integrity of the Tamil people by the establishment of an autonomous Tamil State within the framework of a Federal Republic of Ceylon were summarily and totally rejected without even the courtesy of a consideration of its merits.

And whereas the amendments to the basic resolutions intended to ensure the minimum of safeguards to the Tamil people, moved on the basis of the nine point demands formulated at the conference of all Tamil political parties at Valvettithurai on 7th February, 1971 and by individual parties and Tamil members of Parliament including those now in the government party were re-

jected in toto by the government and Constituent Assembly.

And whereas even amendments to the draft proposals relating to language, religion and fundamental rights including one calculated to ensure that at least the provisions of the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Regulations of 1956 be included in the Constitution were defeated resulting in the boycott of the Constituent Assembly by a large majority of the Tamil members of Parliament.

And whereas the Tamil United Liberation Front, after rejecting the Republican Constitution adopted on the 22nd of May, 1972, presented a six-point demand to the Prime Minister and the Government on 25th June, 1972 and gave three months time within which the Government was called upon to take meaningful steps to amend the Constitution so as to meet the aspirations of the Tamil Nation on the basis of the six points and informed the Government that if it failed to do so the Tamil United Liberation Front would launch non-violent direct action against the Government in order to win the freedom and the rights of the Tamil Nation on the basis of the right of self-determination.

And whereas the last attempt by the Tamil United Liberation Front to win Constitutional recognition of the rights of the Tamil Nation without jeopardising the unity of the country was callously ignored by the Prime Minister and the Government.

And whereas the opportunity provided by the Tamil United Liberation leader to vindicate the Government's contention that their constitution had the backing of the Tamil people, by resigning from his membership of the National State Assembly and creating a by-election was deliberately put off for over two years in utter disregard of the democratic right of the Tamil voters of Kankesanthurai and

Whereas in the by-election held on the 6th February, 1975 the voters of Kankesanthurai by a preponderant majority not only rejected the Republican Constitution imposed on them by the Sinha-

lese Government but also gave a mandate to Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam Q.C., and through him to the Tamil United Liberation Front for the restoration and reconstitution of the Free Sovereign Secular, Socialist State of TAMIL EELAM.

The first National Convention of the Tamil United Liberation Front meeting at Pannakam (Vaddukoddai Constituency) on the 14th day of May, 1976 hereby declares that the Tamils of Ceylon, by virtue of their great language, their religions, their separate culture and heritage, their history of independent existence as a separate state over a distinct territory for several centuries till they were conquered by the armed might of the European invaders and above all by their will to exist as a separate entity ruling themselves in their own territory, are a nation distinct and apart from the Sinhalese and this Convention announces to the world that the Republican Constitution of 1972 has made the Tamils a slave nation ruled by the new colonial masters, the Sinhalese, who are using the power they have wrongly usurped to deprive the Tamil nation of its territory, language, citizenship, economic life, opportunities of employment and education thereby destroying all the attributes of nationhood of the Tamil people.

And therefore, while taking note of the reservations in relation to its commitment to the setting up of a separate state of TAMIL EELAM expressed by the Ceylon Workers Congress as a Trade Union of the Plantation Workers, the majority of whom live and work outside the Northern and Eastern areas.

This Convention resolves that restoration and reconstitution of the Free Sovereign, Secular Socialist State of TAMIL EELAM based on the right of self-determination inherent to every nation has become inevitable in order to safeguard the very existence of the Tamil Nation in the Country.

This Convention further declares—

(a) that the State of TAMIL EELAM shall consist of the people of the Northern and Eastern provinces and shall also ensure full and equal rights of citizenship of the State of TAMIL

(Continued on page 12)

# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

# Payment of Compensation is Certain says Amir

(Continued from page 1)

Q. When leaders like Vasudeva Nanayakkara of the NSSP and trade unionists like H.N Fernando of the Ceylon Teachers' Union have openly come out against the extradition of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Tigers now in remand in Tamilnadu, why does the TULF maintain a studied silence on the subject?

A. We are not inactive. We are doing what needs to be done.

Q. Did you instruct Mr. S. C. Chandrasaran, to fly to Tamilnadu to make arrangements for the defence of the detained Tigers?

A. No, I did not ask him to go nor did he inform me before he left.

Q. Some time back a national daily quoted an unnamed TULF spokesman as having remarked that the TULF would not object to the extradition of the Eelam Tigers if they were to be tried here under the Penal Code instead of the Prevention of Terrorism Act. A WEEK-END columnist sees something sinister in this: he has pointed out that trial under the Penal Code carries a death sentence whereas someone convicted under the Terrorism Act will only have to spend a long stretch in jail. What have you to say to that?

A. I must make it quite clear that the TULF did not authorise anyone to make the remark you refer to. Therefore the columnist's comments and suspicions are unwarranted. But I should like to point out that a proper judicial trial is possible only under the Penal Code whereas the Prevention of Terrorism Act subverts all the norms of a fair trial, as understood in the civilized world.

Q. Now that it's 'Election Year', the air is thick with all kinds of speculation about the possible line-up of TULF candidates. Has the TULF drawn up its slate of candidates?

A. Well, the newspapers have been, as usual, indulging in an orgy of speculation. They have talked of old faces fading away and new faces blossoming. I must tell you that so far no MP has informed the party that he wants to step down nor has the party asked anyone to do so. In fact, we haven't even thought about it. As you know, no proclamation has been issued about the elections so far. Only when an official announcement is made, will the TULF turn its mind to the question and decide on its slate of candidates. The TULF is not responsible for newspapermen's conjectures and fantasies.

Q. I suppose there'll be an emphasis on youth in your line-up?

(Mr. Amirthalingam neither denied nor confirmed this).

Q. A final question. There are stories doing the rounds that some TULF MPs are dissatisfied with the amity talks between the Government and the TULF and would like them broken off?

A. That's not true. No MP has expressed dissatisfaction with the talks.

Q. But do you really think the amity talks are worthwhile? Some cynics refer to them as the 'Shamity talks'.

A. Political opponents and wags can say what they

like. But the people know how fruitful these talks have been. We meet every month so as to expedite the implementation of the decisions taken. I'll mention just a few things which will show how worthwhile these talks have been. The Development Councils have got 'teeth' now. They have power to initiate action in about 15 sectors. I'm meeting the Finance Minister tomorrow (17 June) to discuss the question of providing adequate financial resources for these Coun-

cils. Compensation for the victims of the 1981 violence will definitely be paid—and that very soon. Home Guard Units will start functioning soon. There have been some unavoidable delays because certain administrative and other procedures have to be gone through first. Of course critics pounce on these delays to declare that the talks are futile. Ten detenus have been released. Only a jaundiced eye can fail to see these achievements—the outcome of the amity talks.

## Magistrate remands Army Lieutenant

The Mallakam Magistrate, Mr. C. Vigneswaran, returned a verdict of homicide at the judicial inquest into the death by shooting of Kandiah Navaratnam of Atchuvely and ordered the remand of Army Lieutenant Mandukodi de Saram and Privates K. T. Silva and R. C. Silva till 28 June.

Kandiah Navaratnam, a youth, was shot dead near St. Theresa's Convent, Atchuvely, at 10-30 on the night of 20th February, 1982.

Delivering his verdict on 16 June the Mallakam Magistrate made order that Lieutenant de Saram who ordered the shooting and the two privates who carried out the order be remanded in fiscal custody. Eight other military personnel were allowed bail.

Defence Attorney S. A. Gunasekara submitted that the suspects be remanded in army custody, as fiscal custody might endanger their lives.

The Magistrate ordered that Lieutenant de Saram be remanded in army custody and the two privates be kept in fiscal custody, separated from other remand prisoners.

### FLASH:

State Counsel filed papers yesterday (18 June) in the High Court of Jaffna asking for bail for Lieutenant de Saram and Privates K. J. Silva and R. C. Silva. High Court Judge Mr. J. Asirvatham fixed the hearing for 22 June.

## T. U. L. F's Eelam resolution 1976...

(Continued from page 11)

EELAM to all Tamil Speaking people living in any part of Ceylon and to Tamils of EELAM origin living in any part of the world who may opt for citizenship of TAMIL EELAM.

(b) that the constitution of TAMIL EELAM shall be based on the principle of democratic decentralization so as to ensure the non-domination of any religious or territorial community of TAMIL EELAM by any other section.

(c) that in the state of Tamil Eelam, caste shall be abolished and the observance of the pernicious practice of untouchability

or inequality of any type, based on birth shall be totally eradicated and its observance in any form punished by law.

(d) that TAMIL EELAM shall be a secular state giving equal protection and assistance to all religions to which the people of the state may belong.

(e) that Tamil shall be the language of the State but the rights of Sinhalese speaking minorities in Tamil Eelam to education and transaction of business in their language shall be protected on a reciprocal basis, with the Tamil speaking minorities in the Sinhala State.

(f) that Tamil Eelam shall be a Socialist State wherein the exploitation of man by man shall be forbidden, the dignity of labour shall be recognised, the means of production and distribution shall be subject to public ownership and control while permitting private enterprise in these branches within limits prescribed by law. Economic development shall be on the basis of socialist planning and there shall be a ceiling on the total wealth that any individual or family may acquire.

This Convention directs the Action Committee of the TAMIL UNITED LIBERATION FRONT to formulate a plan of action and launch without undue delay the struggle for winning the sovereignty and freedom of the Tamil Nation.

And this Convention calls upon the Tamil Nation in general and the Tamil youth in particular to come forward to throw themselves fully in the sacred fight for freedom and to flinch not till the goal of a sovereign socialist state of TAMIL EELAM is reached.