

V. N. Thirumangalakudi
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EXCLUSIVE!
See also Pages 3, 6, 7 & 12

NEW YORK: THE FULL STORY

A 15-point programme to usher in the State of Eelam was approved at the first meeting of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Council held at the residence of **Dr. Winston V. Panchacharam** in New York. The meeting held within a week of the Convention—on July 10th—was chaired by **Dr. P. Nedumaran** of Tamil Nadu. It was resolved at this meeting to raise one million U.S. Dollars to activate the programme.

Saturday Review learns authoritatively that one of the objectives aimed at, within the 15-point programme, is the speedy weaning away of the Tamil population from the South to the North and East.

Sources close to the Convention Organization commenting on the "Saturday Review" headline of July 10th which posed the question: "NEW YORK CONFAB OF EELAM A DAMP SQUIB?" stated that while the ostensible outcome of the Convention might have seemed not so tangible and dramatic, the setting up of the Liberation Council was no time-buying exercise. "We mean business" said this source from New York. In fact, they had given themselves the outside limit of 18 months for the setting up of the Government of Tamil Eelam.

Commenting on TULF Leader **Mr. A. Amirthalingam's** denial that the five member Liberation Council had co-opted **Mr. Krishna Vaikunthavasan**, **Dr. S. Navaratnam** and **Mrs. Pathma Perinpanayagam** into the Council, the source stated that **Mr. Amirthalingam** was technically correct in saying so, because for various reasons including reasons of logistics, the Liberation Council will be composed of the five mem-

bers who are all U.S.-based and whose names were proposed by **Mr. Amirthalingam** himself; but that did not mean that the three who are U.K.-based were being kept out of the picture. Their names were publicly mentioned by the Chairman towards the end of the Convention as those who will be assisting the Liberation Council in U.K. Since then, they have been already assigned important functions in connection with the 15 point programme.

"Saturday Review" presents its readers with the following exclusive report based on the record of the proceedings maintained by the Organisers of the Convention themselves.

Five member man-power eight months of work, the budget line-up of U.S. Dollars 25,000 culminated in the Convention consisting of seven delegates from Tamil Nadu, five delegates from Tamil Eelam, representatives of Tamil Organizations from around the world, Press coverage from "India. Abroad", Nanuet local Daily and International

Press Service. 197 members participated.

JULY 2ND: PRE-CONVENTION.

The get-acquainted session, 76 members attending. Closed-door meeting with TULF leaders, representatives of Tamil groups of the Programme Committee. TULF claimed that they were not here on "TRIAL". That was conceded but the group insisted on accountability. The TULF came under fire for lack of commitment to the Liberation Movement and for relegating the Eelam Movement to cold storage. TULF adopted a defensive posture throughout the meeting. They were warned that voter reaction and rejection was possible if the signs are not read properly. Private lobbying continued throughout the night.

JULY 3rd: TAMIL SESSIONS.

Chairman morning sessions: **Dr. V. M. Sethuraman**.

Afternoon Sessions: **Mr. P. Nedumaran**.

Chairman's address: A strong statement on the irreversible condition in which the Tamils have been placed. The Tamils can never be slaves—they have never been.

Mr. Aru Gopalan and **Mr. Nedumaran** were brilliant in their treatment of the Tamil cause.

The delegates from Ceylon were equally articulate. There was a polemical atmosphere in the debate that ensued between the TULF leadership and the TELF whose spokesman was **Mr. Eelaventhan**. The issue generated more heat than light.

Mr. David of Gandhiam pointedly attacked the TULF to the effect that the leadership has been bought over by the "J. R." Government. An apology was demanded by **Mr. Amirthalingam**. **Mr. David** maintained his position in his apology. The Organizing Committee tendered an apology to bring the parties together.

JULY 4TH: ENGLISH SESSIONS.

Five year old **Murali**, son of **Dr. & Mrs. Panchacharam** spoke in fluent Tamil. He said "Thousands of Tamils like myself around the world are like orphans, living in lands of forced exile. We cannot continue to live such lives of wanderers. We want a land of our own. I am today asking you, get me this land, the land of Tamil Eelam".

TULF President **M. Sivasithambaram** with tears in his eyes made an emotional speech: "Today you were helped by your father to raise the flag. Some day soon you will raise it yourself. We pledge this to you".

Mr. Nedumaran and **Mr. Kovai Mahesan**, Editor of **Suthanthiran** also spoke on similar sentiments.

When the Convention commenced at 9 a.m., with the National Anthem of USA and Tamil Eelam Chairman **Edward Benedict** said: "We are charging the Tamil leaders from Tamil Eelam that while we deeply appreciate your devotion

(Continued on page 12)

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**Third World radical
forces could help
transform British
society-says writer**

David Selbourne, academician and journalist from Oxford, and author of books such as "An Eye to India", who was on a 3-day visit to Jaffna, spoke at the University of Jaffna on Monday the 19th of July, on "Crisis in the British State". He said that the popular idea that Britain was one of the earliest democratic states and that it had a highly developed political system, was a myth. He felt that Britain actually possessed "an antiquated political culture".

Britain is a victim of its own imperialism, he said. As a result of its colonial past racism had become almost institutionalised in British society, and the awakening of the complacent working class had been delayed. Britain is today dominated by a "hybrid class" of monarchy-lovers and the compromised bour-

geoisie. Two important symptoms of the "antiquated political culture" of Britain are the recent British military adventure in the Falklands and the suppression of the Irish nationalists. In both these operations the government enjoyed nearly 90% public support, and even the working class failed to utter a voice of protest.

He felt that the British Society was not even democratised, and with the British working class lacking the potential to transform the society, it was the radical forces of the Third World that could provide the impetus to transform even British Society.

His novel leftist perspective on Britain was followed by a discussion. The meeting was presided by Prof. K. Kailasapathy and held under the auspices of the "South East Asian Study Circle".

**SINGAPORE I. A. T. R.
CONFERENCE IN JUNE '83**

A news release issued by Secretaries of the organising committee in Singapore. Various sub-committees too have been elected and have started functioning with enthusiasm to make the Vith conference a grand success.

The Vith International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies scheduled to be held in Singapore in January, 1983 has been postponed to the last week of June, 1983 to take advantage of the University and school holidays in Singapore.

The year June, 1982 to June 1983 has been declared the year of the Vith International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies.

The duration of the conference will be five days. The exact dates will be notified very soon.

Mr S. M. Vasagar has been elected as the Chairman and Mr. T. Sivananthan and Mr. M. S. Veerapan as Joint

The conference theme will be "Tamil studies related to the South East Asian Region"

A team of organisers of the conference from Singapore will be visiting Sri Lanka to meet the officials of the Sri Lanka Unit of the IATR to interchange ideas on the subjects for research.

All those in Sri Lanka who are desirous of submitting research papers or to take part in the conference as observers should write as early as possible to Mr. V. S. Thuraijajah, Secretary, International Association of Tamil Research, Sri Lanka Unit, No. 75, Ward Place, Colombo 7."

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“THAMILNESAN” of Scarborough, Canada reports —

What happened at the New York Convention?

I had the opportunity of attending the world Tamil Eelam convention which was held in New York even though I was living several hundred miles away because of the affluence we the Eelam expatriates enjoy in North America! But, during my return trip I was wondering whether the money spent on the convention and the money spent by the delegates in making the trip to New York could have been utilised in a better way towards achieving the same goal; viz., EELAM.

Before I left Toronto, I thought within myself that I should ask our leaders who were also scheduled to attend the convention about some apparently dangerous evidence which surface in Jaffna from time to time. But as soon as the leaders Mr. Amirthalingam and Mr. Sivasithamparam arrived on the scene they were able to put pressure on the conveners successfully, that all ‘embarassing’ questions directed at them should be avoided, and also won the argument with the conveners of the convention (being brilliant lawyers that they are) that they had come to New York not to be put on trial!

T. U. L. F. THREAT TO QUIT

As an observer of this whole episode I was wondering whether our leaders had a feeling of guilt within themselves or were they trying to cover up some mysteries. Anyway since most of the delegates were of the opinion that the conveners, who had put in a lot of efforts and dollars to make this convention a success should be given a free hand to conduct the affairs smoothly, I decided to be merely an observer throughout the whole proceedings.

The convention started on a note of uneasiness among the lesser known delegates particularly the youths, due to the “ceasefire” forced on them by the conveners regarding the so called “embarassing” questions and remarks. But they never defined what is meant as “embarassing”, how, and to whom. During the first session Gandhiyam David added sparks to the whole proceedings when he broke the ceasefire and said that our leaders have let themselves to be manipulated by the President for his gains. It was obvious that the other delegates restricted themselves to maintain the truce, and hence were not on their feet.

During the lunch hour, Mr. Amirthalingam opened fire at the conveners regarding Mr. David's remarks and demanded an apology or else threatened to quit the convention. To the surpris

of most of the delegates the conveners also demanded of Mr. David that he should make a public apology, without making the proper judgement and forgetting the whole purpose of the convention. Poor Mr. David had to give in because, all what this frail looking man had was determination and a selfless motivation to help his poor brethren back home.

The convention proceeded smoothly as expected by the conveners, with on and off violations of the “ceasefire” by some youthful delegates. But as an observer I could breathe an air of suspicion all over the place. The conveners did not trust the delegates, the leaders did not want to answer questions and were helped by the conveners on this matter when they came out with the excuse that there was not enough time for question period due to the over utilisation of time by the speakers. Amidst all these the conveners, and the invited delegates sat down in a closed session to draft a resolution.

The second days proceedings started, with the hoisting of the American flag and the Eelam flag, and a moving speech by five year old

Murali Panchadcharam the favourite of all the delegates. The conveners could not maintain the ceasefire on the second day. The chairman of the second day's proceedings who was one of the conveners, himself gave signals of the problems that were to crop up later with an opening address that lasted more than one hour instead of the allotted fifteen minutes.

This infuriated many delegates whose questions were turned down the previous day by the conveners with the excuse of lack of time. Because of this ‘HEROIC’ effort by chairman, the questions were not answered even on the second day with the same excuse. I was wondering whether the conveners were also conniving with the leaders to avoid answering these questions.

Then a resolution calling for the formation of a Liberation Council was read by the above mentioned chairman and he announced that it was adopted as soon as it was seconded, without putting it for a vote. At this juncture I could feel that the conveners did not trust the delegates who had taken lot of pains

to attend the convention, and I could not find any reason for it too. But due to the insistence of most of the youthful delegates and a few older delegates, the resolution was put to vote and was passed almost unanimously except for one dissenting vote. I cannot still think of any justification for this attitude of the conveners who formed the Liberation council among themselves.



S. C. Chandrahasan

The bright spots of the whole convention were the standing ovation accorded to the Tamilnadu delegation which they rightly deserved and the emergence of Mr. S. C. Chandrahasan as a major voice in the top

echelon of our leadership.

The word liberation itself carries a varying degree of solemnity and dignity depending on how you interpret it. Hence for the newly formed Liberation Council members let me say something regarding the consensus of most delegates especially the youths.

Please do not repeat any actions like the one you did in classifying the delegates by the amount of contributions donated towards the convention. On the surface this may appear to be a trivial matter but beneath it, we have to agree that this rejects the socialistic ideal of equality which we strive to achieve in the socialist republic of Eelam. I do not deny the fact that many affluent Tamils in North America who donated substantial amounts for the convention have to be given recognition, but certainly not with a special red ribbon.

I also appeal to the Liberation Councillors to take all actions based on a socialistic principle, and also please be alert enough to know the implications of certain incidents taking place in Ceylon due to some external influences. I hope all the Liberation Councillors have sufficient depth of insight to carry on this onerous responsibility.

What happened to this Provisional Government resolution?

(The following resolution was moved by Mr. Krishna Vaikunthavasam and seconded by Mr. Kovai Mahesan, but was not put to the vote)

“WHEREAS since this is the first time that an International Convention comprising leading representatives from several countries of the World including Tamil Eelam, is being held to decide and determine the destiny of the Eelam Tamils.

“WHEREAS, it is in this great country that certain historic STEPS were recently taken to win world sympathy for the understanding of the Tamil cause, starting with the address in the United Nations General Assembly in 1978 on why the U.N. should

recognise the right of self-determination already exercised by the Eelam Tamils for a separate sovereign state.

“WHEREAS, this was followed in 1979 (May 22) by a unique and unprecedented demonstration of support by such an august assembly as that of the Massachusetts State which unanimously passed and adopted a resolution and proclamation amounting to an implied recognition of the sovereignty and freedom of the State of Tamil Eelam.

“WHEREAS another important state much nearer

Tamil Eelam, namely Tamil Nadu, has on more than one occasion demonstrated its support and solidarity for our cause as shown by the State Assembly's unanimous resolution adopted in July 1981.

“WHEREAS as a further step on Pongal Day 1982 (14th January), Tamil representatives assembled in the United Nations solemnly and with historical perspective made and carried out the Declaration of Independence for the three and a half million Eelam Tamils to live as a sovereign separate State.

“WHEREAS, on this same Pongal Day similar independence Declarations and demonstrations in support were made in other countries such as in India (Erode) and Malaysia (Kuala Lumpur) and of course in Tamil Eelam.

“WHEREAS, this momentum is being kept up, as clearly shown by the people backed re-adoption of the Independence Declaration on 26th April, 1982 in Jaffna led by the emerging new

(Continued next page)

Armed forces in the North: Why they do what they do

At five in the evening news spreads like fire that a few minutes before, Security Personnel had been fired at in a remote village. Pandemonium is let loose on the whole of Jaffna Town. Shop-keepers quickly close shutters, surprisingly disregarding the profit they usually make, through late evening sales. Lazy bus drivers grab their chance to leave earlier than scheduled. Crowds gathering around cinema halls suddenly disperse showing an unusual disinterest in their film idols. Within minutes jeeps are heard approaching. The guardians of the law have arrived. People are assaulted the reprisal has begun.

Soon deathly silence descends on the abandoned Town and there ends a good day's work for our Security Personnel. While for the Jaffna public there ends one of the nightmarish 'horror' films they have been able to witness free of charge.

Fighting an unknown enemy

Such occurrences are becoming so frequent that the nature of the 'Security Forces' of Sri Lanka has to be understood and defined anew. It is easy to condemn them as racist off hand, but we have to realise that there are certain causes for which they cannot be easily blamed.

We certainly have to agree that getting little co-operation from the Tamil public in apprehending the 'terrorists' the soldiers and policemen feel thoroughly helpless; this has only intensified their fear and anxiety against the unknown enemy. So it is in firing, assaulting and arresting at random that they get an illusory satisfaction of being in control of situations. It is their frustration in dealing with the invisible enemy that forces them to take revenge over the seen public.

Punishment centre

The forces are also quite unhappy in being posted to the way-out arid North, which they consider is a 'punishment Centre'. They are also quite dissatisfied with the inadequate provisions of food and housing in the North, which is due to the increasing number of personnel stationed now in this region. They also seem to be quite disgruntled with even the nature of their work and pay, that many have been discovered deserting their ranks and leaving to the Middle East to 'mint' petro-dollars. The State has recently announced that such fugitives will be court-martialed in future. It is not strange that their suppressed rage and dissatisfaction finds relief in their treatment of the Tamil public.

Moreover as majority of the lower ranks in the forces come from the Sinhalese villages with a swabasha educational background they are totally unacquainted with the language and culture of the people of the North, and thus alienated from the people they have to live amidst.

The class character of the majority of the personnel is very important in understanding them. Drawn mainly from the Sinhalese oppressed peasant families, it is unfortunate that they have an inferiority complex. Their animosity is sometimes turned against even Sinhalese Doctors and high-ranking officials and sometimes against their own superiors in the Police force. Even the Leader of the Opposition has not been spared this special treatment of the Forces, and terrorising the Tamils is an easy way for the Forces to make their 'importance' felt.

Outlet for stocked violence

We should also remember that the soldiers being trained for violence have been often confined to their boring barracks lacking any international challenge. As Sri Lanka is safely sitting on the fence due to its policy of non-alignment it can find refuge by playing off both power blocs. But our poor soldiers have been forced to find targets and operations within their own country as an outlet to their years of training and stocked 'violence'. The people of the North and East have luckily provided some live action to our bored soldiers and they have not failed to get the maximum out of these opportunities.

Such explanations though enabling us to understand the Armed Forces less one-sidedly, certainly cannot save them from blame of causing a climate in Jaffna that is oppressive. The activities of the Armed Forces have rightly prompted many to fear for democracy in the whole island, and a consideration of the development of Armed Forces in Sri Lanka shows many strands growing which have culminated in the

excessive powers they have today.

When Ceylon won independence from the British and the Defence Forces were formed around 1949 and '50 they had limited significance. Though natives who earlier formed the Ceylon Defence Force were the backbone of the Army, yet it was the British who were the senior officers. In fact it was the Earl of Caithness who was the first Commander of the Army. The presence of the British Officers with their 'gentlemanly' social background, public school education, and Sandhurst training

the Forces who were in the losing end were gradually strengthened by arms rushed from abroad. Emergency being declared and unlimited power granted to the Forces, they massacred youth at random under the guise of saving the country. The sadistic pleasure the Army derived from torturing and killing the Kataragama Beauty Queen in nude was only symptomatic of the particular trend the Forces were to take in later years.

Though the insurrection was suppressed, Sirima exploited the excuse to rule the country under emergency reg-

ship by the Republican Constitution, the Armed Forces were given the much wanted opportunity of continuing their sadistic pleasures. The attack by the Police or the crowds gathered on the final public meeting of the international Tamil Research Conference in January 1974 in which nine people lost their lives, was the initial incident which started a string of tragic episodes between the Armed Forces and the public.

The refusal of the government to appoint a Commission of Inquiry into the incident in January 1974 sadly laid a precedent to the marauding Forces. In August 1977 after a Carnival clash with the public, the Police began a reign of terror in Jaffna sparking off

by

Staff Writer Suresh

influenced the Ceylon troops to be disciplined and conservative. The British had also seen to it that minorities such as Christians, Tamils and Muslims too were well-represented in the Forces and created a good balance, that the Sinhala-Buddhist revivalism of Bandaranaike got little support from the forces.

But from 1956 to 1965 in the reign of the Bandaranaike the Armed Forces were gradually made Sinhala Buddhist in colour. Richard Udugama became the first Sinhala Buddhist Army General, and Sinha Regiment and Gemunu Watch were formed to placate the cultural consciousness of the Sinhalese. The recruitment of the minorities was also limited.

An increase in numbers

It is significant that most of those involved in the attempted coup against the S.L.F.P. were Christians and the officer who gave the tip off, Stanley Senanayake (who later ended up as the I.G.P. under Sirima) and the Crown witness Major W. Rajapakse were both Buddhists. When the troops were ordered to break up the Civil Disobedience campaign of Chelvanayakam in 1961 the cultural identity of the Armed Forces became more distinct.

1971 proved an important year in the expansion of the Forces. After being initially taken by surprise by the daring J.V.P. youth insurrection,

ulations for six more years. With the relaxation of normal laws, the Armed Forces were instrumental in suppressing any protest against the State. In 1977 when she stepped down from office she had increased the Police Force to 14,500 (an increase of 9000 personnel) and the Army to 8,900 whereas the number was only 6,900 in 1970. The budget for Defence had also increased from 40 million rupees in 1970 to 500 million rupees in 1977.

It was during this period that unfortunately the Tamils too invited the repressive arm of the State. Refusing to participate in the constitution making of 1972, and protesting against the conferment of second class citizen-

the second biggest communal riots after 1958. Though the observations of the Sansoni Commission appointed to inquire into the riots lacked depth, his remarks on the stance of the Armed Forces is interesting: "...even though the Police were at the scene of incidents carrying arms they were inactive and merely played the role of passive spectators.... An impression which existed in the minds of some police officers was that their race or religion was a factor to be considered when action has to be taken. These observations wouldn't surprise anyone who has already noted the steps taken in early '60's to enable the Forces to acquire a Sinhala-Buddhist identity.

(To be continued in the next issue)

That provisional government resolution in New York

(Continued from page 3)

mass movement led by the Tamil Eelam Liberation Front (TELF).

"WHEREAS, the number of arrests of militant Tamil youth, particularly last May both in Tamil Nadu and Tamil Eelam, make it imperative that further practical steps be taken to achieve our goal of Tamil Eelam.

"THIS WORLD CONVENTION TAKING INTO FULL CONSIDERATION THE TOTALITY OF ALL RELEVANT DEVELOPMENTS, RESOLVES AND DECIDES TO FORM AN INTERIM PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THAMIL EELAM."



The Punithavathy Tiruchelvam Memorial Lecture

delivered at the Sri Lanka Tamil Women's Union, Kalalayam, Colombo on 18th May '82

(Continued from last issue)

The disfranchisement of about nine lakhs of Tamils of Indian origin and the constant increase of Sinhalese seats in successive elections and other events increased the awareness of the Tamils as a national minority. It is not fortuitous that in 1952 the Tamil Cultural Society was formed in Colombo. Its programme included not only the propagation of the history and culture of the Tamils in Sri Lanka but also in other parts of the world. Some aspects of the cultural consciousness at this period merit attention.

Although South India continued to be looked upon as the 'mainland' or as many Sri Lanka Tamils used to call it, their 'motherland' it was nevertheless gradually receding into the background. The past and present history of the Tamils in Sri Lanka were unavoidably becoming increasingly important and experimentally immediate. Whatever common links and bonds there were, between the Tamils in Sri Lanka and South India, the two peoples were living under different Governments and facing different problems. The dialectical differences too were becoming more evident. Thus for the first time Sri Lankan Tamils began to manifest a keen interest in this land.

No doubt the interest was mostly from the Tamil point of view: Questions such as when and from where did the Tamils come here? Are they autochthonous to the land? What is their relationship vis a vis the Sinhala people? What is their contribution to the culture and civilization of this country? These and other questions protruded to the forefront in ever increasing frequency and intensity. It is true that in the preceding decades Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam (1870-1940), Fr. Gnanapiragasar, A. Muthuthamby, K. Velupillai (1860-1944) and others had shown interest in the history of the Tamils. Their attempts were basically academic and amateurish in character. But in the fifties the historical writings were more than academic. There was an urgency and involvement in the quests. Professor K. Kanapathi Pillai (1903-1968) published his historical play *Sankili* (1956) which he prefaced with a "history of Tamils in Sri Lanka". This was followed by C. S. Navaratnam's *Tamil and Ceylon* (1958) and K. Navaratnam's (1898-1962) *Tamil Element in Ceylon Culture* (1959). Nor was the interest confined to history.

K. Navaratnam who was a devotee of Ananda Coomaraswamy and had popularized some of his books in Tamil, brought out in Tamil *The Development of Arts in Sri Lanka* (1954). This trend continued to grow with the voices becoming more shrill and the tone overtly polemical. Some of the academic writings of this period found an outlet in the journal *Tamil Culture* (1952-1966) which was being edited by a Sri Lankan Xavier S. Thani Nayagam. It was printed and published in Madras. It carried academic articles like A. J. Wilson's "Cultural and Language Rights in the Multinational Society" (1953) Thani Nayagam's "Tamil Culture—its past, its present and its future with special reference to Ceylon" (1955),

Marxism gives New Dimensions to Tamil Consciousness

and also desultory pieces like W. Balendra's "Trincomalee Bronzes" (1953) and S. J. Gunasegaram's "Early Tamil Cultural Influences in South East Asia" (1957). S. Natesapillai's "The Northern Kingdom" (1960) and "Glimpses of the Early History of Jaffna" were likewise meant for the general reader. H. W. Tambiah published his *The Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Ceylon* (1954) probably responding to the subject is *Tamil culture in Ceylon* by M. D. Raghavan.

Generally speaking, the concept of Tamil culture was given a wider significance and interpretation. C. Sivaratham's *The Tamils in Early Ceylon* (1964) reflects this tendency. By the mid Sixties academic interest in the subject had developed sufficiently and a number of doctoral theses were produced. K. Indrapala's doctoral thesis

The Cultural and Linguistic Consciousness of the Tamil Community in Sri Lanka — 5

by Doctor K. Kailasapathy

"Dravidian settlements in Ceylon and the Beginnings of the Kingdom of Jaffna" (1965) was followed by S. Pathmanathan's "The Kingdom of Jaffna" (1969) as a doctoral thesis. Indrapala's Tamil book *Dravidian Architecture in Ceylon* (1970) is another book dealing with the problem of cultural definition and identity. A few Western scholars too have written on these subjects during this period.

While discussing the political aspects of the language, something should be said about the impact of the anti-Hindi agitation that took place in Madras in 1937. The movement was essentially against the introduction of compulsory Hindi in

forcefully during the sixties was a new social phenomenon that had immediate incandescence in the literary field. For the first time the literary and cultural movement touched the traditionally oppressed sections of the Tamil people who had hitherto been beyond the pale.

Both in South India and Sri Lanka, post-Independence problems created the conditions for the emergence of a band of writers who came from the traditionally oppressed sections of Tamil society, that is, the lower castes. Many of them were attracted by Marxism and leftist organisations which provided them with a world view and also the confidence to struggle against exploita-

of social conflict, greatly increasing it. And if the language of the lower classes is spoken by them at a time when they increase in numbers, or when they gain a bigger share in political and economic power in the society, then the language quarrels will be part of a general process of their elevation in the society and of their gradual bid for increasing social power."

With this the linguistic consciousness would appear to have had its full run. Emanating from the upper classes it had touched the entire society in different ways. Although a general consciousness of language and culture was probably

common to the entire community, its significance and importance was relative and felt differently by different social groups and classes. Furthermore, what was at the beginning purely sentimental and symbolic issues evolved into concrete problems vitally affecting the social, economic and political life of the people. The cultural nationalism of the Tamils is today at the cross roads. It is no more a mere question of linguistic and cultural identities. It is the basic question of Nationality.

The present crisis has given a dominant role to the political question. To that extent problems related to Language, Religion, Literature, etc., have become subordinated to the primary issue. To put it another way, the whole thing has become integrated. In that sense the linguistic and cultural consciousness described earlier has reached new heights or reached its logical conclusion. Only a proper solution to the main contradiction can create the appropriate conditions so necessary for the further development of this consciousness in positive and productive manner.

"Where language differences tend to coincide with class distinctions, language conflict is apt to coincide accordingly with the lines

(Concluded)

Beginning from the late fifties and manifesting itself

The SATURDAY REVIEW takes pleasure in publishing the full text of the thought-provoking address made by DR. S. NAVARATNAM at the World Tamil Eelam Convention held in Nanuet, New York on the 3rd and 4th July 1982. Dr. Navaratnam, a U.K. based Sri Lankan Tamil expatriate will be one of three who will be actively representing the U.S. based, 5-member Tamil Liberation Council in the United Kingdom, the other two being MR. KRISHNA VAIKUNTHAVASAN and MRS. PATHMA PERINBANA-YAGAM.

In the northern, eastern and part of the central province of the island that is now known to us as Eelam, political and psychological warfare is having an impact almost as devastating as the army and the police assault of yester-years.

The scarred and bloodied landscape that disfigures so much of this once peaceful and beautiful land is only the visible result of a well calculated and brilliantly organised campaign to undermine the morale of the civilian masses and the freedom fighters alike.

People are bewildered

Our political system is in turmoil. Our people are bewildered. Our youth is confused. The leaders who a few years ago were proclaiming from every available public platform that the Tamil speaking people have given them a mandate to establish a homeland for them are seen today parlying with the President and preaching the virtues of co-operation with a government whose catalogue of betrayals has yet to be erased from our memories. We are told of "Amity Talks" taking place between the leaders but no details to their character and nature is forthcoming.

Eelam is rife with rumours that the Tamil leadership is now slowly sliding away from their commitment to Eelam. These speculations are allowed to pass unchallenged. Consequently, new political groupings are springing up, naturally accusing the existing leaders of gross betrayals. The Tamils at home and abroad are perplexed and disillusioned, their hopes are shattered. Their youth once dedicated to bring peace and freedom to their people are today confused and spilling blood among themselves to the utter dismay and disappointment of the people. To some of us living abroad and committed to help our brethren achieve the same degree to peace and security as we are so fortunate to

EELAM

A Romantic observation

enjoy in these alien lands, it is both sad and distressing to note the lack of purposive leadership offered to those in Eelam.

This is a very brief description of the current political situation that prevails in Eelam. What is clear is our political process is in a dis-

ordered condition. Why is it that they are in such disarray? Is it that our political objectives have not been clearly defined? Or is it the case that even if the objectives are clear that there is not the commitment and dedication required to realize those objectives?

It is not easy to answer these questions in the short period of time available to me. However, I shall attempt to offer a few ideas for your mature consideration so that at least we may go from this convention with a clear perception of our political perspectives and hope in the course of these deliberations the answers to the questions that I just posed may become clearer.

The expressed will of people

Any such system of ideas must include the demand for Eelam as the expressed will of the Tamil speaking people, define who these Tamil people are and clearly mark out the extent of the territory that they wish to inhabit.

Before I address this convention on these fundamental issues let me very briefly take you over the political history of the island since independence in 1948.

For approximately three decades since independence the Tamil speaking people sought to involve themselves in the political affairs of the island within the unitary constitution bequeathed to them by the British. They believed that, within it were provisions which would give a adequ-

ate protection to their life, liberty and property and could transact their affairs in relative tranquility. The view of the Tamil elite was dealt a shattering blow by the Bandaranaike's decisive victory at the general election of 1956 rejecting much of the things that had then come to be accepted as the

normal order of the day. This does not mean that the interests of the Tamils were intact prior to 1956, as is evident in the disenfranchisement of the plantation workers and the active policies pursued and implemented in the form of Sinhala colonisation of traditional Tamil speaking areas. Even though they affected the ordinary Tamil working classes very substantially, the erosion of their interest was at best tolerated and ignored or at worst conveniently accepted by the elitist leadership whose ethos and values were no different to those of Sinhala leaders, both natural off-springs of the colonial masters.

I need not dwell at length of what transpired since then, as no doubt, I am sure you are equally aware of the post 1956 period as I am. But there are important facts that have been established and are instructive.

I shall summarise them as follows:

1. The Tamil plantation workers were disenfranchised by an Act of Parliament. The immediate effect was to distort the electoral balance whereby Kandyan who constitute 26% of the population of the island gained 44% of the seats, thereby consolidating the political ascendancy of the Sinhalese vis-à-vis the rest.

2. By the crude use of the so-called democratic process Tamils were effectively disenfranchised by the dif-

ferent Sinhala governments gripped in Sinhala Buddhist nationalism.

3. Attempts at reconciliation resulting in any kind of agreements negotiated between Sinhala governments and the Tamil parliamentary leaders were abruptly abrog-

ated before they were implemented.

4. Predominantly Tamil speaking areas such as the Plantation areas in the Central Province, Eastern Province and the southern periphery of the Northern Province is subject to State-sponsored colonisation at the behest of Sinhala Buddhist pressure groups.

5. Tamils who live outside their borders are set upon by Sinhala 'goondas' with the connivance of forces of law and order, their lives put in jeopardy and their property appropriated.

6. Armed with special legislation the Army and Police continually harass those Tamils who live in their traditional homeland causing untold damage to life and property.

7. Institutionalised discrimination in the field of employment and educational opportunities.

These facts which I have just enumerated clearly constitute a violation of Article 11 of the Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide as approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations Resolution 260A (iii) of the 9th December, 1948.

These are some of the facts and they raise issues of a fundamental nature. What is a State? What is the nature of the contract between the Citizen and the State? In what circumstances can the State coerce the popu-

lation to loyal submission? What is the nature of the loyalty one owes to the State? What is the nature of the obligation of the State to its citizens? When is a citizen justified in rebelling against the coercive power of the State?

These are questions which I am sure would have agitated the thinking members of our community. We are a community fortunate enough to be richly endowed with a variety of different talents. We crowd the columns of all professions including that of politics. Our political philosophers would have argued over these issues several times over.

A democratic state can only exist and effectively exercise sovereign power so long as it can command the loyalty of all its people. To command this general loyalty it must be capable of representing the general will of the people. This general will is a reflection of the consensus of opinion across the whole of its population, not the private opinion of any groups. But when this general will becomes identified with one of these groups because it is the largest and therefore able to dominate the rest, the result is one of great divisive difference. The characteristics of the general will which unite people together cannot be founded simply on majorities. These are some of the limitations on democratic power. When simple majorities are used to disadvantage the minorities and put them in peril, then I submit that is oppression.

The Tamils have not seriously participated in Government since 1956. Their representatives are elected to Parliament but their voice is not heard. What use is democratic representation when there is no power to be heard? The two major parties among the Sinhalese compete with each other in a 'Dutch auction' to further diminish and curtail the few rights left to the Tamils. As if this was not sufficient, the very forces of law and order ostensibly established to protect the person and property of the people, themselves carry out deliberate acts of violence against the people and their property. These men are not compelled to answer for their misdeeds. They are assured of the righteousness of their course and the justice of their bigotry every time Jayawardene or Mathew open their mouth.

In these circumstances, I submit that the essence of the contract between the Tamil citizen and the State has ceased to exist. We are on our own and virtually

(Continued next page)

Eelam — A Romantic observation

(Continued)

thrown back into the State of nature. Civil society and collective action is brought about when people reach a point where the obstacles to their preservation in a state of nature prove greater than the strength that each has to preserve himself of herself in that State. Beyond this point the primitive condition cannot endure, for the community will perish if it does not change its mode of existence. Since individuals cannot create new forces the only way they can preserve themselves is by uniting their separate powers in a combination strong enough to overcome any resistance. That is why I say to this convention we have a right to join together with similarly placed people and organise within a defined geographical area to resist these acts of violence and genocide perpetrated on our people and adopt policies to increase their welfare. This is the case for Eelam which I commend to this convention.

Voteless plantation workers

Who constitute these people? There appears to be a real confusion on this matter. In the past our leaders were negotiating with Sinhala Governments in order to extract various concessions from them. Judging those negotiations, agreements and pacts, the concessions thus obtained benefitted only a small section of the community who are loosely described as the middle classes and constitute not more than 10% of the population. No tangible benefits would have accrued through these negotiations to the vast majority of the Tamil speaking people, certainly not the plantation workers or the ordinary peasant who is now crowded out of his village in the Vanni and the Eastern Province.

The fact that the bulk of the plantation workers are without a vote places them at a great disadvantage since no one outside the plantation leadership itself are interested in their cause. Even those who have a vote do not have the same access to land on irrigation projects, much less to state owned land in the vicinity to plantations that the Sinhalese have.

The more enterprising of them move out to the Northern Province to work on farms while others have squatted on government land in Vavuniya and Mannar regions. But their position as squatters is not at all secure as was demonstrated in 1973

when emergency legislation was used by the then Minister of Agriculture and lands to evict these squatters from Eastern Province. This was clearly discriminatory since the Eastern Province in recent times has accommodated thousands of Sinhalese squatters whose land holding have been regularised by the State. I am glad to report that our youth today are very conscious of the neglect of the Tamil plantation workers and are determined to bring them into the mainstream body politic of Eelam.

tained the mandate have a positive duty to prepare the people for such action rather than fritter away their limited resources on other activities. This is not my opinion but are the distilled lessons of history.

I know some might say that I am perhaps a wrong romantic and not a right realist. They would argue that it is far better to talk and seek an arrangement with the Sinhalese rather than carrying this conflict into an open confrontation with the state which is both futile and destructive. They may

must also be prepared to withstand considerable suffering and hardship. It appears that my generation and its successors are just beginning to tread this well trodden path of all oppressed people all over the world. Our youth are now on the march. There is dedication to the cause. Their harrowing tales of police persecution and their acts of heroism is already becoming part of our folklore. As is the case with these struggles there is bound to be incidents which perhaps could be avoided by a proper appreciation of history. The recent events in Eelam and India where our gallant youth

being born a Tamil.

The task before us is enormous. The effort required is formidable. It is clear to some at least that all of us are standing in the same deep shadow, a shadow which can only be lifted by human courage and honour. Many still hope to keep their honour and their safety too. No one can blame them for this hope. It is impossible indeed not to share it; but when queried as to the soundness of such a hope, for a people caught in a community in crisis, history fails to give

'The party is over: There is a job to be done'

The state of Eelam will be composed of all these disadvantaged groups, be they Moslems, Christians, Hindus or Buddhists. It is their sufferings that will have to be alleviated. It is their welfare that will have to be promoted if Eelam is to be a reality. It is these people who will have to create it. There is no Eelam unless they are convinced that the new state would usher in a new dawn, a new era where freedom from fear, freedom from basic wants and equal opportunities to all without discrimination is guaranteed.

That is why our founding fathers in their wisdom at their National Convention of the T.U.L.F. declared and I quote "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 without 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".

We must take this message to the people to make this a mass movement. Eelam can only be liberated by mass action. The expression of the desire of a people at an election does not necessarily mean that they are ready for mass action.

The leadership having ob-

also cite the recent events in the Middle East and point to the fate of the Palestinians.

My answer to them is simple. Any agreement they negotiate with the government is of a temporary nature. They are maintained at the pleasure of the government and will be abrogated whenever it suits their convenience. We could petition and petition, march and march and give money until we wore ourselves out; none of this endeavour would reach the core of this matter and it would change nobody's fate. The twenty five thousand dollars raised here would be gone in bailbonds in the morning. It is a dream to suppose that people of any nation had a conscience. Some individuals within the nation might, and the nation always saw to it that these people came to a bad, if not a bloody end. Nothing we could do would prevent an open confrontation. And where then, when the chips are down would we stand?

As for the Palestinians let us not draw the wrong conclusions. The Palestinians have successfully internationalised their problem. Ten years ago the Palestinian's case was not known. Today it is clearly understood. The governments and peoples world over are agreed that they should have a state of their own. But what remains unresolved is where and what form this should take. Camp David accord is ample testimony that even Israel is now prepared to acknowledge it.

No nation can be brought into being without experiencing the pangs of birth. Force is the midwife for an old society pregnant with the new. Therefore if we are resolved to establish Eelam then we

possibly misled were involved in acts of adventurism which seem to have resulted in the destruction of both fill us with sadness. These are temporary setbacks and of not much significance and therefore let us not lose heart. To each one of them there are hundreds of others who are by their dedication and self sacrifice working day and night so that no Tamil speaking person will suffer again for accidentally

any very sanguine answers

And therefore friends for anyone thoughtless enough to be born a Tamil today is also burdened with a heavy responsibility. Now is not the time to be indulging in idle chatter or trivial talk or nourishing food. The party is over. There is a job to be done. Let us stand together and get on with it.

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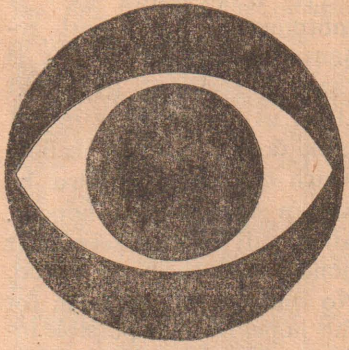
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by Nanditha Krishna

Indian Express

July 11, 1982



Foreign View

According to Pali records, the original inhabitants of Sri Lanka were Yakshas (Yakshas) and Nagas, as the pre-Aryans, Dravidians and tribals were described in early Indian literature. Among them, probably, were the Tamil-speaking Veddas of Sri Lanka and the Izhavas of Kerala.

The Veddas claim kinship with Rishi Valmiki, the author of the Ramayana and are identical to the Vedans (hunters) of Tamil Nadu. Both the Veddas and Vedans are believed to be remnants of the earliest inhabitants of the sub-continent, who worshipped jungle spirits. The Izhavas are no longer found in Sri Lanka and have established themselves as an important community in Kerala, their name alone betraying their origin (Izhavam, Ilam or Eelam is the old name of Sri Lanka, particularly of the northern area, Jaffna).

At the receiving end from India

In the early years of the Christian era the island (Lanka) was taken over by Tamils and Sinhalese from the sub-continent who pushed the Veddas further into the jungles, confined some of the original Tamil-speaking people to the northern and eastern tracts and pushed the remaining (Izhavas) out of the island. According to the *Malawamsa* a Ceylonese chronicle, an Indian Prince named Vijaya and his band of 700 men colonised Sri Lanka around 543 B.C. and from them comes the present Sinhala race. Vijaya was supposed to have been both of the union of a princess and a lion, hence the appellation Sinhala.

The Sinhalese claim an Aryan origin, which is doubtful if one were to believe their own stories of origin which is thought to be either Orissa (Kalinga) or the regions where the Buddha preached his religion. But both have always been traditionally non-Aryan cultures which stood

up against the imposition of Aryan rule, religion and culture.

Politically, Sri Lanka has always been at the receiving end from India. Apart from Prince Vijaya and his Sinhalese adventurers and the Tamils from the mainland, the Pallavas, Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas often took expeditions across the straits and annexed the island at various times. Finally, two separate independent kingdoms were established in Sri Lanka by the 13th century. One was the Tamil kingdom of Eelam in northern and eastern Sri Lanka, consisting of the original Tamil inhabitants, which later included the Tamil colonisers of the island and the southern kingdom ruled by the Sinhalese. There were frequent skirmishes between the two, but when the Portuguese conquered Ceylon in 1621, an independent Tamil kingdom of Eelam

Tamils and Sri Lanka was to grant citizenship to the remaining 40%, but the agreement has only been partially carried out. Most of the Indian Tamils have lost their roots in India and repatriation has been a traumatic experience since many families have broken up and jobs have not come easily.

On August 17, 1981, the Government of Sri Lanka declared a state of emergency to control an outbreak of violence against the minority Tamil community. This was the second stage of emergency within three months and the third major attack against the Tamils since 1948. There have been several flare-ups in the north since 1981, several Tamil youths have been arrested by the security forces under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and prevented access to lawyers or family members according to

the adoption of Buddhism as the state religion and the third was a quota system based on race, referred to as 'standardisation' for entrance to universities. These policies were undoubtedly discriminatory and unconstitutional for they gave the Sinhalese the natural advantage of language, blocked the access of the Tamils to educational institutions and to government jobs. At this time the inclusion of a clause on the usage of Tamil was prevented by Buddhist extremist groups. The threat of a peaceful protest resulted in the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam pact, providing for the use of Tamil in Tamil areas, regional councils on agriculture, education and colonisation schemes and the reconsideration of the disenfranchisement of the Indian Tamils, which ultimately was never acted upon. In 1958 major communal violence broke out resulting in the deaths of hundreds

Of the two parties, the SLFP has been more discriminatory against the Tamils, although discrimination by all Sinhalese governments since 1948 has been unchanging. As a result, the Tamils, beginning in the 1970s, have increasingly supported the concept of a separate state of Eelam as a way out of their miseries. In 1976, the TULF declared itself in favour of a separate state. It received a good majority in the Tamil areas in the 1977 elections, signifying Tamil support for this concept. In the 1981 elections it won every seat.

Communal violence in Sri Lanka has resulted in the deaths of 'hundreds of persons primarily Tamils', according to the ICJ. The Sansoni Commission appointed by the President of Sri Lanka to investigate the 1977 violence, details widespread killings, assaults, rapes and damage to Hindu temples. Amnesty in-

'The ball is in the Sinhalese court'

still existed in the north which the Portuguese administered separately. There were differences in religion also for the Sinhalese were Buddhists and the Tamils practised Hinduism.

The 'Indian' Tamils (as distinguished from the Sri Lanka or Eelam Tamils) were brought by the British in the 19th century and early 20th centuries to work on the tea and rubber plantations. There is no doubt that their hard labour reaped profits and brought prosperity to Sri Lanka.

Sri Lanka's problems began when, at Independence in 1948, the British handed over power to the Sinhalese. Today from Sri Lanka's population of 14 million, 72 per cent are Sinhalese, 20.5 per cent Tamil (Sri Lankan and Indian), seven per cent Moors (Muslims), 0.5 per cent Burghers (descendants of the Dutch and Portuguese married to locals, like our Anglo-Indians) and others. The two Tamil communities have remained more or less separate. The Sri Lankan Tamils are better educated while the Indian Tamils live and work in poor and miserable conditions.

In 1948, the Indian Tamils were deprived of citizenship and disenfranchised. Under the Shastri-Sirimavo Pact of 1964, India agreed to take back 60% of the Indian

a report of the International Commission of Jurists. These arrests followed a bank robbery and the killing of policemen, attributed to an extremist group called the Tamil Liberation Tigers. The police and security forces went on a rampage in the predominantly Tamil city of Jaffna, burning and destroying the market area, the home of a Tamil M.P., the headquarters of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) and the Public Library.

Four of the 27 Tamil youths held by the army were brought to the Court of Appeal in Colombo in July when the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) sent a fact-finding mission to observe the actual situation, the state of human rights in Sri Lanka and to act on the incommunicado detention of the Tamil youths. The ICJ's report forms the background of this article.

The northern Tamil area being more arid, the Sri Lankan Tamils took to education and government services resulting in a high percentage of employment in the civil service at the time of Independence. To combat the advantages thus gained, the Sinhalese majority adopted certain policies which have been the cause of much of the ethnic conflicts in the country. One was a Sinhala only language policy, another was

of Tamils.

A new constitution was voted into force in 1972 by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) of Mrs. Bandaranaike after the severing of legal links with the U.K. The SLFP formally enshrined the "Sinhala only" policy in the Constitution. On coming to power in 1977, the United National Party (UNP) of Mr. J. R. Jayawardene the present President, drafted a new Constitution which is in force today, providing for the status of both Sinhala and Tamil as national languages, but for Sinhala alone as the official language. While it dropped the previous provision for standardisation, the racial quota system continued.

State Sponsored colonisation

Another major cause for concern to the Tamils has been the government policy of colonisation by which large numbers of Sinhalese have been imported to traditionally Tamil areas. The government contends that the citizens of Sri Lanka have a right to settle in any part of the country. The Tamils contend that while they are not opposed to individual migration, large-scale government colonisation schemes undertaken with the aim of changing the ethnic composition of an area cause racial disharmony.

International has protested to President Jayawardene against the Prevention of Terrorism Bill, the arrest and 'disappearance' of young Tamils, two of whose bodies were found under a bridge in Jaffna, and reports of deaths in police custody. Amnesty International prepared a report on Sri Lanka in 1975 and detailed the detention of Tamil youths without charges trials or access to lawyers and families. Amnesty goes on to say that Emergency regulations have enabled the arrest by the Government of Tamil youths who have no connection whatsoever with the original reasons for the Emergency, as during the 1971 insurgency.

The Sri Lankan government and the Sinhalese point to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam as the cause of the political violence in Jaffna. The Liberation Tigers are a group of young Tamils who, disenchanted with the unproductive peaceful methods preferred by the TULF, favour armed resistance. They are urban guerrillas who fight with arms against the police and army excesses, and they are but a historical product of systematic oppression, police victimisation and harassment. In an interview with Professor Virginia A. Leary of the ICJ in August 1981, the Permanent Secretary

(Continued next page)



Foreign View

(Continued)

of the Ministry of Justice of Sri Lanka estimated them to be fewer than 200 persons. The TULF has condemned their espousal of violence and they have yet to gain popular support from the Tamils in the north. In July 1981, some 150 Tamil youths sought asylum in West Berlin due to persecution in Sri Lanka.

The Liberation Tigers have Naxalite links and recently, some have been apprehended in Tamil Nadu. However, while there is little sympathy for their Naxalite links, no government of Tamil Nadu, can afford to hand them over to Sri Lanka, as they still carry the aura of Tamil freedom fighters.

Indian Tamils— the 1981 target

The greatest violence against the Tamils has been caused by the police and army. It started during a session of the International Tamil Research Conference in 1974 when the police barged into a lecture session and nine people were killed. This has been confirmed by the Sri Lankan Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE) which reports of arrests without trials or charges since 1972. The Civil Rights Movement of Sri Lanka (CRM) has said that several persons were taken into police custody during the 1979 riots when they were tortured and killed. The greatest number of killings by the police occurred during the burning of Jaffna by the police and army in June, 1981. This has been confirmed by the government and other human rights groups.

The 1981 riots were aimed at the Indian Tamils also prompting protests for the first time by the Indian government. Thousands of Indian Tamils fled to refugee camps and sought shelter in the Indian High Commission. It prompted protests in Tamil Nadu and in Parliament, and resulted in the cancellation of

the Indian President's trip to Sri Lanka last year, although both governments officially denied this reason.

Even though President Jayawardene has tried to initiate a 'dialogue' with the Tamils, the strong feeling amongst the Tamils is that only a separate nation of Eelam can save them. The Sinhalese had earlier rejected the idea of a Federation or of regional autonomy. The area of Sri Lanka appears too small for two states, so autonomy would probably be the best solution. But the Sinhalese have yet to reassure the Tamils that their position as a minority will not be abused.

In the final analysis, the Sinhalese too suffer from a minority complex, for they feel that, whereas the Tamils are spread over India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Singapore, they are an ethnic minority in Asia. Despite the Sinhalese claim to Indian origin, they cannot identify with any linguistic or cultural group in India. They are thus acting on the belief that attack is the best form of defence.

Indian gov't's attitude

Another casualty in this conflict has been religious ideals. Whereas churches and mosques are left untouched due to possible repercussions from the west and the Arabs, Buddhist extremists, professing a religion of piety and non-violence, have attacked and desecrated innumerable temples. The Hindus have no external force to take up arms for them. The situation is ripe for the development of a local RSS. It is possible that the attacks on Hindu places of worship encouraged the conduct of the World Hindu Conference in Jaffna last year.

The following are some of the steps that could be considered by the government: (1) to provide Tamils equal access to education and employment; (2) to effectively prevent violence by the army and police; (3) to stop the enforced 'colonisation' of Tamil areas by Sinhalese; (4) to make both Sinhala and Tamil national and official languages; and (5) to give a certain amount of autonomy to the Tamil areas by an expanded policy of decentralisation.

The Indian government cannot afford to sit by idly with a 'good' neighbour policy. It will not take either the DMK or AIADMK (the former has already endorsed its commitment to Eelam) long to whip up the issue locally, creating potential problems within India. But for the solution of Sri Lanka's problems, the ball now rests

Development of the North: Echoes from the past

The railway from Point Pedro to Punnalai via Valvetithurai and Jaffna and along the route indicated will pass through the thickly populated parts of the peninsula, and will be about thirty-two miles in length. This line will go right through the middle of the peninsula. Whether we construct a light broad gauge railway or a narrow gauge one, the line can be economically constructed. There are no engineering difficulties to overcome, and there is plenty of labour available. A narrow-gauge line can be constructed, to a large extent on the existing road reservation, but a broad-gauge line may have to be constructed

The estimate included the cost of land acquisition; and further, in those days they depended entirely on Australian sleepers.

But today we depend largely on locally produced sleepers; and the proposed railway, if of narrow-gauge will pass in many places over the existing road reservation. If the price of rails, which is high at present, owing to war conditions falls to its former level in the course of two years, we should be able to construct the thirty-two miles for about Rs. 1,000,000. The passenger traffic alone on this estimate will give us a nett profit of about seven per cent, as the line will pass through many important vil-

temples, such as Vallipuram Sellachannathi, Kandaswamy, Maruthady, and Punnalai, which are situated on and near this route, will use this railway. The goods traffic is also bound to be fairly satisfactory. As to this line also, I should like to have a rough estimate under each head, such as rails, earthwork, sleepers, rolling stock, and so on, so that this Council may be in a position to offer suggestions for reducing the expenditure.

It is just possible that laymen may make suggestions for reducing expenditure which are at least worth considering. My object in asking for the lowest estimate is to know, roughly, how much these lines are going to cost us. If we can work on Mr. Harrington's estimate, there is no reason why we should

Railway from Pt. Pedro to Punnalai

as envisaged by the late Hon. K. Balasingham in 1935

on land to be acquired, and land is dear in this district.

Moreover, a roadside railway will attract far more passengers than a railway far from the road. A light broad-gauge railway is to be preferred, if it can be constructed cheaply. If, however, owing to the high price of land, the cost of such a railway is going to be prohibitive, let us not, for the sake of the fetish of uniformity of gauge, refuse a railway altogether. A narrow gauge roadside railway is a very sound business proposition. I expect eight to ten per cent nett profit if the line is economically constructed as recommended by Mr. Harrington. In Sir West Ridgeway's time a narrow-gauge railway from Kankesanthurai to Elephant Pass, a distance of forty-one miles, was estimated to cost about one and a quarter million rupees.

in the Sinhalese court if it wishes to avoid a potential Northern Ireland, Cyprus or Palestine, to compromise and make some gestures of goodwill. It would be tragic if more lives were to be lost before an attempt was made to integrate the Tamils.

lages in Valigamam East and West.

Besides those who travel on business, large crowds of people who attend the festivals of the several famous

not begin the survey as soon as we can get the Secretary of State's sanction. By the time we begin to lay the rails, the price of rails will have gone down.

The Pooneryn Causeway

(From the HINDU ORGAN of
November 21, 1935)

A resolution was passed at a largely attended meeting of land-owners and cultivators of Pooneryn and the public of Jaffna, urging on the Government the necessity for giving precedence to the construction of the Pooneryn Causeway in view of the need for stimulating food production, cattle improvement and the establishment of colonies for relieving unemployment in the Jaffna Peninsula.

In spite of the inclement weather a large number of people from different parts of Jaffna and Pooneryn had turned up to the meeting. The meeting was held in the Mankayarkarasy Vidyasalai, Nallur, last evening at 5 p.m. Rev. Dr. T. Isaac Tambyah

was voted to the chair. Mr S. Coomarasooriar, Proctor was elected Secretary.

History of the Causeways. A message from Mr. K. Balasingham was then read in the course of which he said.

"The Tamil members of the old Legislative Council from Jaffna agreed that both the Velanai and Pooneryn Causeways should be pressed on Government. As a first step in the Pooneryn Causeway scheme they pressed for the Kerativu road. It was my privilege as a member of the Executive Council to carry this agitation further into the inner Councils of Government to provide funds for the Tanankillapu-Kerativu road. Our idea was that if the

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The Pooneryn Causeway

(Continued from Page 9)

Government had constructed the road up to Kerativu, it would be very easy to make the Government to extend the road further over the shallow parts of the lagoon. Though the vote for the Kerativu road was passed the G.A. then did not allow any portion of it to be spent till the Government decided to construct the Causeway which was estimated to cost about 20 lakhs, if I recollect rightly. The votes lapsed and owing to a falling revenue nothing was done next year.

A suggestion for a bridge of boats over the deepest portion of the lagoon was not considered though it would have reduced the estimated cost by about 75 per cent.

"This is a very important Causeway for providing room for expansion of congested Jaffna and bring into cultivation an area as large as Jaffna, which can be easily rendered

irrigable. The Causeway will also solve the important pasture question."

CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH

The Chairman said:-
We are assembled here for the sole purpose of expressing the wishes not only of the vast and very representative gathering but also of the far greater number of those who are not with us this afternoon, upon the undoubted necessity for the speedy construction of a causeway to Poonakari. That so many of you from all parts of the Jaffna District, even from great distances, are here is evidence that nothing, not excluding this all-day downpour of rain, can damp the ardour of your enthusiasm for what concerns the immediate welfare of Poonakari and the resultant well-being of the Peninsula as a whole. While our attention will be focussed upon Poonakari primarily, we are not unmindful of the needs of our brethren in Pungudutivu and

the other islands. Since Jaffna contributes a large sum of money yearly to the general revenue it is quite feasible for Government to undertake the work of more than one causeway at the same time.

ITS VANISHED SPLENDOUR

Poonakari—the city of flowers; The name is testimony to the vanished splendour of a once prosperous country. History tells us that royal personages and vast armies used to pass through Poonakari on their way to the citadels of Jaffna and Anuradhapura. Instead of dwelling on that past let us come down to present day realities. The name alone remains.

Poonakari is a forgotten part of the North. The inhabitants come to the mainland wading through a fordable stretch of the sea or by a boat-journey of very uncertain duration of time. They are nevertheless very

industrious. My knowledge of the place or the people is not personal as to my law days, there was no courthouse then and now there is no Church!

The undaunted energy of the people is responsible for vast acreages of paddy, coconut and tobacco cultivation. Once a year for 45 days 3000 labourers from Pungudutivu and other islands find work at Poonakaris' paddy harvest tide. It is estimated that about 20,000 bushels of paddy are taken to the mainland annually from Poonakari.

From as far back as 1921 the inhabitants have been clamouring for facilities of communication but their cries have fallen on deaf ears. There is one item of great loss both to the people and to the Public Treasury. Annually the husks of about 1,400,000 coconuts are burnt at Poonakari for want of transport conveniences from there to Jaffna. It is said that

the husks of five coconuts yield one pound of coir: the annual loss thus to the revenue is about five million rupees!

Mr. T. R. Nalliah, Advocate, moved:

"That this meeting representing the landowners, and cultivators of Pooneryn and the public of Jaffna who are interested in the economic and agricultural development of the Pooneryn Division and the adjoining areas is strongly of opinion that the construction of a causeway between the Jaffna Peninsula and Pooneryn division is a matter of urgent necessity in view of the need for stimulating food production, cattle improvements and the establishment of colonies for relieving unemployment in the Jaffna Peninsula and urges the State Council to give precedence to the construction of this causeway in preference to other schemes of a similar nature of restricted local importance."

THE TEACHING OF MATHEMATICS

It is pertinent to compare the distinct place accorded to Mathematics in our school curriculum then and now.

There was a time when a majority of schools taught only Arithmetic, while Mathematics was confined to a few schools. The School Curriculum then consisted of Arithmetic, Commercial Arithmetic, Elementary Mathematics and Pure Mathematics and a pupil was expected to offer only one of these as a compulsory subject at the S.S.C/G.C.E. Examination. Mainly science students were those who offered mathematics and the majority of students offered either Commercial Arithmetic or Arithmetic.

The Students then had a wider choice and were not tied down to a single subject regimented with a science bias that would certainly not suit all pupils.

But with the introduction of a change in the scheme of Education as from 1972, a kind of uniformity or regimentation was introduced requiring all pupils irrespective of their aptitude to offer Mathematics and Mathematics only—comprising Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry and New Mathematics. This is

now a compulsory subject and a pass in it alone constitutes a passport for higher education or for employment.

The present Mathematics syllabus is more comprehensive and wider and students are expected to have a knowledge of Sets, Probabilities, Taxes, Insurance and Statistics—sections unheard of in the past.

A Point of View by P. S. Gnanaseelan

No one would dispute the fact that the present Mathematics syllabus is heavy; it calls for an uphill task on the part of the Teachers of Mathematics to teach to all students of varying abilities.

The present emphasis on a knowledge of Mathematics for all students is too much to expect. In the past a good number of students with only a knowledge of Arithmetic had done well in life.

Hence it is good to give thought to the following aspects in the teaching of Mathematics:-

1. Is it really necessary to expect all pupils to master

Mathematics in its present scope comprising Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry and New Mathematics?

2. Aren't we, by attempting to teach a comprehensive Mathematics syllabus, depriving many pupils even the little opportunity they would otherwise have of learning the

fundamentals of Arithmetic?

3. According to Educational Experts special aptitudes are necessary to master certain subjects and Mathematics is one such with intricacies in Geometry calling for special faculties in a pupil, which every pupil does not possess. Is it not therefore a burden on pupils to study this subject compulsorily?

4. It would be sufficient for a great majority of our pupils to master the four rules of Arithmetic along with a knowledge of Area, Volume and Per-

centages. Knowledge of the fundamentals of Algebra and Geometry may be taught up to Grade Eight. Is it necessary to continue this effort with all up to Grade Ten?

5. Isn't it true for example that the section on Probabilities and Statistics is beyond the mental maturity of pupils in Grade Ten? The Section on Probabilities was at one time part of G.C.E. (A/L) syllabus while Statistics was only taught at Teacher's Colleges and Universities.

6. Isn't it better to switch back to the earlier practice under which a pupil could select either Arithmetic or Commercial Arithmetic, Pure Maths or Elementary Maths, to suit his aptitude?

7. Is it feasible to teach effectively to all, the present comprehensive Mathematics syllabus within the prescribed period of time now in force?

8. Wouldn't the earlier system be a great lever to help all students either to continue their studies or to seek employment?

It is imperative that everyone who has the Educational interest of our pupils at heart give serious thought to the views enumerated above.

Shramadana

appeal

to help

build

Mahadeva

Bridge

The Non-violent Direct Action Group has appealed to Community Centres, Schools, Boy Scout Units, Youth Movements, and other social service groups to send volunteers to participate in the building of the Mahadeva Bridge on the 4th of August from 7 a.m., to 4 p.m.

The completion of this bridge, seven miles from Chavakachcheri has been stalled for a long time due to lack of finances. Even under the budget of the present District Development Councils adequate finances have not been found to continue the construction. So it has been decided by the Non-violent Direct Action Group to complete the work through shramadana campaigns.

Those who are interested in joining the campaign on the 4th of August are requested to send their names and addresses before the 28th of July to the Secretary, Non-Violent Direct Action Group, Vale Cinema Road, Chavakachcheri.

LETTERS

Arokiyamatha
Medical Clinic
Pandateruppu

The Editor
"Saturday Review",
Jaffna

The Tamil leadership

I read with vivid interest (or renewed interest to be exact) your article—"Eelam is a State of Mind" in the June 19th issue of your esteemed journal. When you say, "The shift from Federalism to Separatism as a basic objective did not happen in a hurry", you have a point there. Separatism is one step ahead of Federalism. To achieve Federalism did the leadership stage any major struggle? Why then this shift for a bigger right (calling it as a last resort) without actually fighting for a lesser right? This situation needs pondering over.

The change was made by the leadership and not by the Tamils themselves. The Tamils right from the beginning had an Eelam State in their minds and that is why they voted for "Thamil Arasu Katchi" (Tamil Kingdom Party, literally). The majority of the Tamils from the year 1956 were convinced that realising a separate State was the only lasting solution for the racial problems. But the leadership neither had a conviction for separatism nor did it stage any realistic struggle to achieve federalism. Then when the "frozen evaluation" of the people was about to change due to the passivity of the leadership (or due to its poor performance) a shift from Federalism to Separatism was made.

May I illustrate the present situation? Suppose my neighbour owes me Rs.300!- I request him to return at least Rs. 100/- (Federalism). When he does not show any sign of doing that, I suddenly demand all the Rs. 300/- due to me (Separatism). Then my neighbour (my neighbour changes his name and policy every 5 or 6 years) tells me, "I shall give you an empty box (District Council), which you can show your family members. Sometime later (L-A-T-E-R), I shall put Rs. 25/- inside that box. Now, should I tell the members of my family saying that my neigh-

bour had promised to give back all the money he owes me in instalments of Rs.25/-

The crux of the problem my dear Sir is this. Eelam is a state of the Tamil People's mind but it is not in the mind of the leadership.

It is a pity that I did not read your article when it appeared in the 'Tribune'. It is also a pity that Tamil versions of such thought provoking articles are not published in journals like Eelanadu or Suthanthiran which cater for people who know only the Tamil language well.

Yours faithfully,
Dr. M. D. P. Joseph.

"I find that Mr. S. Sivasegaram of the University of Peradeniya has concluded his letter which appeared in the Saturday Review of 17-7-82 under the heading 'Dr. Ramakrishna's Identity Card! with the following sentence:

The men in the TULF banded themselves together only to safeguard the parliamentary privileges of a handful of MPs."

Well, what about the others in our country The 'father of the Revolution' Mr. Philip Gunawardena, the Marxist 'intellectuals' Dr. N. M. Colvin and Co., Marx's 'true followers', Mr. Keuneman, Dr. Wickremasinghe and Co., all banded themselves like the TULF, UNP, SLFP and others. For what Not to safeguard the parliamentary privileges of the MPs handful or otherwise So, why hurl abuse and accusation only at the TULF

If all politicians are ugly, why call only a particular person, ugly If all are rogues, why crucify only one

Arul
Colombo 13

The 3 orphaned children of the Nigerian tragedy are now in Sri Lanka

The three surviving children of Mr. M. N. Arulrajah and his wife, both of whom along with their three other children were killed in a motor accident in Nigeria (report in "Saturday Review" April 17, 1982), have been brought back to Sri Lanka.

Sajinee (16), Arvinthan (12) and Kalagon (7) will now live with Mr. Arulrajah's father-in-law, Mr. John Joseph, a retired public servant, at 44/1, Kongaspitiya, Ampitiya.

They were chaperoned by Mr. Leo James, former Principal of Mahaweli Maha Vidyalaya, Katugastota, and his wife.

According to Mr. James, 48-year Mr. Arulrajah was one of the most popular Sri Lankans in Sokoto, capital of Sokoto State, where he worked as a teacher. He never believed in ethnic, caste or religious differences and helped any compatriot arriving in the state.

"Father was so busy helping others that he had no time to write home; mummy had to do that", Miss Sajinee Arulrajah, the eldest child,

told the "Saturday Review". She said, "Sometimes, people used to stay three or four days in our house until they found work or a house."

Mr. Arulrajah, who hailed from Batticaloa, was a bachelor of science of Kerala University with special qualifications in physical education

He first went to the Maldives in 1970 and served for ten years before going to Nigeria with his family.

The Sri Lankan community had organised a "Sri Lanka Day" celebration for 6th March, with Mr. Arulrajah as co-secretary. It finally became the date of burial of the five victims of the motor tragedy on 28th February.

Mr. James who is also teaching in Nigeria, said the Sri Lankan community rallied round to organise a Roman Catholic burial which, because of the very high living costs in Nigeria, cost nearly Rs. 100,000.

The cost of air passage, via Lagos, Paris and Amsterdam (where the children enjoyed a short holiday) came

to about Rs. 30,000 and the entire sum was met by the Sokoto Ministry of Education.

Mr. James said the Sri Lanka community set up the Arulrajah Children's Welfare Committee and launched a trust fund. Sri Lankans, expatriates as well as Nigerians have already contributed 6,000 niara (approximately Rs. 175,000) but much more money would be required to ensure that the children are properly cared for and educated.

Inaugural lecture by Professor of Geography

Dr. P. Balasundarampillai, Professor of Geography in the University of Jaffna, will be delivering his Inaugural Lecture entitled "Central Places and Spatial Development" on 29th July 1982 at 4 p.m. in the Ramanathan Hall of the University.

Dr. Balasundarampillai graduated from the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, in 1965 and obtained his Ph. D. from the University of Durham in 1972. After teaching for nearly fifteen years at Peradeniya, he joined the University of Jaffna in 1980, succeeding the late Prof. A. Selvanayagam as Professor of Geography.

Jaffna striker-teachers not re-instated yet

Though most members of the trade unions who were dismissed after their strike in July 1980 have by now been reinstated in their former positions, members of the Teachers' Union have been overlooked. While even the clerical servants and minor employees under the Jaffna District Education Ministry who struck work in July 1980 have been asked to report to work, not a single teacher of this district has been reinstated

The Northern Province Teachers' Association in an appeal to President Jayewardene says: "We feel that this step-motherly treatment

in respect of teacher strikers of the Jaffna District by the Education Ministry is regrettable and incomprehensible."

Meanwhile the Ceylon Teachers' Union has also resolved:-

"This gathering demands that all workers, including teachers, who have not yet been reinstated as a result of their participation in the strike of July '80, be immediately called back to work. The CTU salutes all those comrades who are confronting various difficulties because of the loss of their jobs."

Library week at Chava

The Chavakachcheri Lions Club and the Non-violent Direct Action Group of Vale Cinema Road, Chavakachcheri, have declared August 1st to the 7th as the "Jaffna Public Library Week".

Colombo Undergrads deplore Arab complacency too

A Press release issued by the Students' Assembly of the University of Colombo has denounced both 'aggression' by Israel and 'complacencies' on the part of the Arab States over the issue of the Palestinians. Saluting the heroism of the Palestinians in defending themselves with their relatively "outdated weapons", the Colombo students have protested against the Israelites for not

only killing the Palestinians but for violating the territorial integrity of Lebanon.

The undergraduates say, "The Students Assembly denounces with disgust the fake radical Arab States who aimlessly raised their voices against the American Imperialists and the Israeli Zionists sometime ago, who now remain silent in front of the Israeli aggressor and who stab the back of the Pales-

tinians and the P.L.O."

Offering its fraternal greetings to all American, European and Asian organizations who opposed the Israeli aggression, the Student Assembly expresses a special greeting to all University students and Left Movements within Israel who stood against the oppression by their own country. The statement concludes:

"Whilst demanding the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli Forces from Lebanon this Students Assembly cordially appeals to all Students Movements, Working Class Movements, Progressive and National Liberation Movements of the world and especially to the Blocs of Workers State led by the Soviet Union to extend their highest Military Support to defend the Palestinian People."

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

At New York:

T.U.L.F. warned of voter rejection

(Continued from page 1)

and dedication for the last 30 years in the field of active politics (and I hope that I am not being disrespectful) it appears to us that the Tamil movement is off the track. It has been tilted. It has lost its momentum, it has lost its fire. Indeed there is hesitancy, reluctance, almost a temptation to abandon the Eelam mandate. If this assessment is true—I stand corrected—let us jointly put the movement back on its track. This is no time for ceremonies or for a less than honest discussion on this subject. For us truly it is a question of freedom

against slavery. The Tamil movement is larger than ourselves. Many lives have already been lost, many more will have to be sacrificed. Human life is an unrepeatable gift from the Creator, and therefore let us not squander precious lives without purpose. The leadership must lead the people. It looks as though the leadership has gone astray from the careful path we charted for us from the days of the Vaddukkodai Resolution.

Revolution is not a dinner party. It is essential for us to move away from conventional forms of dealing with our concerns within

the parliamentary system of government. We have to move onwards to extra parliamentary forms of strategy. We have been subject to the treatment of "carrot and stick" and Sinhalese Governments have successfully dodged dealing with us in conclusive terms.

The D.D.C. is a gift horse. It is a deceptive device to buy time. Every time they buy time we are at the losing end. Those who give up essential liberty to purchase temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety. Is life so dear and peace

so sweet as to be purchased at the price of slavery, submission and silence?

Mr. Sriskandarajah said that if the Tamil movement is to succeed they must stop scoring debating points. He lifted the mood of the Convention with poetry.

Attorney-at-Law from Tamil Nadu, Mr. Radhakrishnan briefed the Convention in respect of the militancy in Tamil Nadu. "We will take care of them" he said.

Mr. S. C. Chandrasenan was clearly the most

valuable speaker at both days of the Convention. Son of a great father—Thanthai Chelva, he was lucid, forceful and eloquent in both Tamil and English. The future for Tamils in Ceylon clearly looks very bright with him in the field. He demonstrated very responsible leadership qualities.

Mr. Amirthalingam winding the day was his brilliant self. He covered every aspect of the issues. He indicated that freedom is for the people and we must not sacrifice them without a clear cut programme. We must be reasonable in our actions. Tamil Eelam cannot be won easily but it is inevitable.

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 1 No 19 June 5, 1982

Rs. 2

Amity talks to end?

Amir undress

We said it long before!

Blowing one's trumpet is a pardonable offence—especially if events prove one correct.

At a press conference held on 10 July after his return from New York—where he had participated in the World Tamil Eelam Convention—Mr. Amirthalingam, the Secretary-General of the TULF, was asked a pointed question whether the "amity talks" between the TULF and the Government would continue; the questioner had pointed out that the talks appeared to have been postponed indefinitely.

Amirthalingam's reply

ran along the following lines: There are absolutely no obstacles to the talks continuing, but as most of the problems had already been settled, there was no need at present for the talks to continue.

"THE ISLAND" (18 July) under a two deck headline ("They have outlived their usefulness" End of the road for high-level Govt. TULF talks?) ran a front page story which suggested that the talks were off.

The "Saturday Review" of 5 June (see above) was several jumps ahead when it predicted the end of the amity talks!

Police show of force at Hindu festival

Police chose the famed Maviddapuram Temple for a deliberate show of force on Monday, 19 July.

That morning at 7.25 the traditional procession of five chariots began.

By 10.30 devotees had pulled the first three chariots to the starting point.

The fourth one—the biggest—and the fifth were yet to arrive. The PERIYA CHAPPARAM was already there.

Neighbouring O. I. C. the villain of the piece?

Three weeks have passed since four Policemen were shot dead at Nelliady, but Nelliady junction continues to be in the grip of fear. Armed thuggery under cover of search and checking goes on. On Tuesday evening transit passengers, school children, shoppers and passers-by were assaulted by an armed party. The same night the town Security Guards were set upon and mercilessly beaten up.

It is learnt that an attempted act of Police arson on some shops in the area

About 4000 devotees had gathered by that time in the eastern veethi right in front of the temple. Just then two vehicles were sighted driving along the southern veethi. One was a police jeep crammed with armed men. The other was a Police mini bus full of men in mufti.

The two vehicles did a leisurely round of the Thermutti in the eastern veethi and then drove off.

The triumphal drive took about five minutes in all.

The appearance of these Police vehicles in a prohibited area naturally led to apprehension among the devotees.

It is noteworthy that even CTB buses and private vehicles didn't ply along the western veethi (Jaffna KKS Road) when the chariots were there.

T. C. MEETING ABANDONED: NO QUORUM

The meeting of the working committee of the All-Ceylon Tamil Congress which was to be held in Jaffna on Sunday the 19th July was cancelled for the lack of a quorum. Out of 54 members in the Working Committee of the Party, only 12 Members presented themselves, while the required quorum was 18. The President, Mr. S. R. Kanaganayagam, thereupon called off the meeting.

It was also reported that the Secretary of the Party Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam had informed that he couldn't attend the meeting as he was sick.