

# Saturday Review

## SRI LANKA

Vol. 4

No. 35

16th November 1985

### KLEEN KHUT

FOR

1. LADIES & CHILDREN'S DRESS MAKERS,
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# A BIG NO-TO FOREIGNERS

The circular dated 23rd October 1985 issued under the authority of the General Manager of Railways to all Station Masters and Security Officers is very revealing of the state of things in Sri Lanka in general and the Northern and Eastern Provinces in particular.

My. No. CE/G/II/Misc./1985.

COMMERCIAL SUPERINTENDENT'S OFFICE,  
Sri Lanka Railway Headquarters,  
Colombo - 10.

23rd October 1985.

All Stations.

C.S.O.

D.S. (A).

D.S. (N).

Copies to :- OPS, TRANS (O).

USE OF RAILWAY FACILITIES BY FOREIGNERS  
TO NORTH OF ANURADHAPURA, the DISTRICTS  
OF TRINCOMALEE AND BATTICALOA.

Stop issue of tickets to foreigners intending to travel  
to the above areas until further notice.

All Railway Officers should ensure that foreigners do  
not travel by Rail to any of these areas.

Sgd. G.P.S. Werasooriya  
General Manager Railways

COMMERCIAL SUPERINTENDENT

For clarity, we reproduce the text of the circular appearing in the picture of it published alongside:

"Use of facilities by foreigners to north of Anuradhapura, the districts of Trincomalee and Batticaloa.

"Stop issue of tickets to foreigners intending to travel to the above areas until further notice.

"All Railway Officers should ensure that foreigners do not travel by Rail to any of these areas."

We do not believe that the GMR issued the circular on his own volition.

The order must have come from far above.

We understand the concern of the Government about the safety of foreigners visiting Sri Lanka, especially the trouble spots.

It obviously does not want any more kidnappings or hijackings.

Remember the Allens' affair?

But we suspect that the Government's motive is different.

We suspect, yes, we suspect, that the primary objective of the Government in prohibiting foreigners visiting the Northern and Eastern Provinces is to prevent the outside world from getting to know what is actually happening in those areas.

In other words, to keep foreign correspondents out of the two provinces.

But foreign correspondents are a difficult breed to control. They have a penchant for continuing to visit wherever there is action.

In any case, what is there to hide in a small country like Sri Lanka?

News—sometimes concocted—gets to the outside world faster than the Government's discredited propaganda machinery can get into action.

We say: let foreigners, especially foreign correspondents, go anywhere in Sri Lanka they want.

Not much more damage could be done to Sri Lanka's already tarnished image—because the damage has been done already.

By adopting such an attitude, perhaps it may be possible to refurbish Sri Lanka's image to some extent. We are a poor third world country with an ethnic problem as well.

A foreigner or two may get kidnapped or killed. This happens in other countries, too. But it would not matter much.

(Continued on page 8)

Release ALL Political detenus in Sri Lanka jails



## Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

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EDITOR  
GAMINI NAVARATNE

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# CONFERENCE ON ASIAN SECURITY

An enlarged meeting of the Presidium Committee of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation was held last August for two days at Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon), Socialist Republic of Vietnam. In addition to the delegation from the Solidarity Organisation Headquarters at Cairo, members from the national solidarity movements of Afghanistan, Australia, Bangladesh, Kampuchea, India, Laos, Mongolia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, Soviet Union, Vietnam and Democratic Yemen participated at this conference. Abdul Aziz and this writer attended it as delegates from the Afro-Asian Solidarity Association of Sri Lanka.

The main topic was "Asian Security" and the discussion centred round:-

1. Schemes and acts of imperialism and reaction against the independence, sovereignty and security of Asian nations, thus threatening the peace and security of the region.

2. The struggle of the people of Asian countries to transform Asia

by

T. Duraisingam

into a zone of peace. Their efforts are aimed at expanding friendly cooperation for the socio-economic development of each country.

The Minister of Education of Vietnam, Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, presided at the sessions of the conference. In her key-note address Madame Binh said that "forty years after the victory over Hitler, fascism and Japanese militarism and after the end of World War II, mankind finds itself facing the threat of a new world war—a nuclear war of extermination. The root-cause of this extremely dangerous situation lies in the war-mongering policy of the imperialist forces and international reaction headed by the USA. In an attempt to break the strategic military equilibrium that has taken shape in the world, US imperialism is pursuing an unlimited nuclear arms race on the ground,

(Continued on page 7)

## NOT THE NEWS

### ORACLE SPEAKS

We present an extract from the B. B. C.'s interview with the great leader.

B. B. C.: Would not your policy alienate Tamil opinion?

Leader: I am not concerned with Tamil opinion. My concern is about world opinion.

B. B. C.: How about Sinhalese opinion?

Leader: Now look! Recent historical and sociological research has shown that there is hardly any difference between the Sinhalese and the Tamils in terms of origin. One may say that the Sinhalese are Tamil and the Tamils Sinhalese, though making the distinction helps my party to hold on to power. The two Sinhalese dynasties were founded by revered Tamil figures Thambi Mudaliyar and Nila Perumal. Such beautiful Tamil names as Tennakoon, Wettimuny and Weeramantri have been saved from oblivion and now adorned by eminent Sinhalese. Thus I may say that the answer to your question is contained in my answer to your preceding question.

It has been widely reported following the interview, that after such a revealing and spectacular performance by the great Leader, the reputation of his enemies has been considerably enhanced.

★

### SLAPSTICK

When the Sri Lankan authorities complained about Prabakaran

of the LTTE being interviewed by the Indian T. V. network Doordharsan, the latter agreed to make amends by featuring the nation's cabinet in a slapstick comedy based on its recent history.

The title of the comedy will be *Bulls in a China shop*. The script is very unsophisticated. The players merely rush around breaking things. In any case rehearsals are deemed unnecessary as the players have had ample practice.

★

### FEELING 'J'

The Arts and Science Faculties of the University of Jaffna have complained to the University Council about the unfair press publicity given to the Medical Faculty while their existence is hardly acknowledged. They suggest that the situation can be remedied by getting the team of Contractors, Architects and Administrators now working on the Medical Faculty building to also work on more buildings in the Science and Arts Faculties. That will assure them a place in the news for years to come.

★

### INDRAJALAM

Here's a tip for all those Sri Lankan dons abroad who, for one reason or another, want their sabbatical leave extended but have run up against snags.

A security-conscious senior don, who is now down under, badly wanted an extension of his sabbatical leave. But the snag was

that as a stickler for rules—especially when it comes to applying them to other people—he had strenuously and successfully objected, when in power, to other dons being granted an extension of their sabbatical leave. So now he found himself in the position of the monkey that pulled the wedge. How on earth could he ask for an extension for himself? Perhaps the sound of the knives being gleefully sharpened here reached him down under.

But, as they say, you can't keep a good man down. His native wit came to his aid. He sent the Vice-Chancellor a well-crafted (yes, that's the word: think of its cognates like crafty) letter of resignation, larded with emotive words like regret, sorrow, depression, despair etc. It concluded with a lavish self-testimonial, with references to his having been Foundation this and Foundation that. In between he casually slipped in a statement that he was prepared to reconsider his decision to resign if the Council is of the opinion that he should stay.

Hey presto! The *indrajalam* worked. It transformed a letter of resignation into an instrument of moral blackmail. A senior Councillor declared the don was simply indispensable: the University just couldn't afford to lose a man like him! He has now been given time (precisely what he wanted: he's stalling for time) to reconsider his decision.

One is reminded of the late Prime Minister Sir John Kotelawala's outburst, directed at a senior Cabinet colleague who was always threatening to resign but never got down to it. In his characteristically blunt way, Sir John told him: 'Don't ooze out man, get out!'



# LET NO MAN PUT ASUNDER THOSE WHOM THE SEA HATH JOINED TOGETHER

It was only a few months ago that Messrs. Athulathmudali and Premadasa were falling over each other to make fantastic accusations of perfidy against India.

Now they have fallen silent, the reasons for which amongst others may be that they have become acquainted with the accounts of the Chinese Buddhist scholar and traveller Yuan Chwan (Tsuan Sang), who travelled extensively in India in the 7th century A.D. Mukherjee in his 'Education in Ancient India' recalls Yuan's visit to Kanchipuram in 641-2 A.D. after four years at Nalanda University. Yuan was drawn to Kanchipuram in Tamil Nadu, then a centre of Buddhist learning, as the city where the great teacher Dharmapalan was born. Yuan wished to visit Ceylon in order to copy some Mahayana texts. There were then at Kanchipuram some 8000 monks including a few hundreds from Ceylon. The Ceylonese

monks told Yuan, 'do not go to Ceylon. Ceylon is under a state of EMERGENCY. We, the leading Buddhist scholars in Ceylon, have all taken refuge here with our texts. All that you need is here.'

Thus India, especially Tamil Nadu, has been the refuge of the persecuted and the fugitives in Ceylon from early times, be they Buddhist monks or Royal houses or leftist politicians like Drs. N.M. Perera and Colvin. Amidst the changes and chances of this fleeting world, did thoughts of this kind cross the minds of A and P?

## STURDY MARINERS

The waters around Ceylon and the Southern coast of India have been spanned by sturdy mariners,

perhaps since and before the Etruscans plied the Mediterranean, making these coasts one great maritime bazaar. They have been of many languages, religions and ethnic compositions. Many of them vanished, adsorbed into the ethos of later comers. But the tradition has remained.

by  
**M. Ratnam**

Those who were alive before the war recall that Kayts was a bustling port where merchantmen with sails used to unload rice, pulses, spices and other merchandise from India, with customs revenue second

only to Colombo. Today the by-word 'Eelam Shipping Corporation', to many, conjures up a friendly image, which in troubled times offers the last ray of hope, pointing to the balmy shores of India while the world watches helplessly. *Those whom the sea hath joined together, let no man put asunder.*

Well then, dear friends Athulathmudali and Premadasa, if some day your good fortunes run out, you are in dire straits and you have cause to feel distressed as we and many of your countrymen do today, the waters across the Straits of Palk may serve you well, as they did our scholarly forebears in Yuan's time. We may yet be friendly neighbours in Madras, discussing cricket scores over masala-thosai on the Marina.

## CMU DOWNS TOOLS

The Ceylon Mercantile, Industrial and General Workers' Union (CMU) organised a work stoppage on Thursday afternoon (14th November) to protest the Government's policy of 'privatisation' and to express solidarity with the CMU Branches in the National Milk Board, and British Ceylon Corpor-

ation Ltd. that are now directly faced with 'privatisation' and consequent loss of employment, with no guarantee of adequate compensation for past service.

A General Membership meeting of the Union followed, at the CMU Hall.

## News Briefs

### FLOODS

Continuous heavy rains over the week-end in the North has resulted in floods in many parts of the Peninsula.

It is estimated that in Jaffna 800 families, 600 families in Nallur and about 1600 families in other parts of the peninsula have been affected.

Heavy damage to crops has been reported, many houses have been damaged and the electricity supply had to be cut. Reports of the damage are yet to be estimated fully.

Coming in the wake of refugees numbering over 20,000 from Trincomalee, Batticaloa, Vavuniya, Mannar and other areas taking refuge in Jaffna there is a gigantic problem of refugees on the hands of the authorities.

There is a danger of bowel diseases like dysentery and diarrhoea spreading, with wells in low-lying areas overflowing. The danger should be aggravated by shortage of drugs at the hospital—much needed drugs are reported to be held up at Anuradhapura.

## OH, MY MOTHERLAND

The Pannai Lagoon  
Stretches for miles  
Serene, undisturbed.  
In the distant horizon  
Birds joyfully chant  
The arrival  
Of huge fishing boats.

I sit on the curved edge  
On the Pannai Road  
Facing the fortress  
Holding my guitar close.

At the gentle touch  
The strings do sing  
A sweet song.  
The music  
Sober, vibrant  
Fills the gentle breeze  
Slowly, sweetly.  
I forget the world  
Around me.  
Only long after  
Do I feel  
The moon's cool touch.

Happenings  
In the past.

Some years after.....

The same lagoon  
Silently stretching  
The same horizon,  
Gorgeously enchanting.  
Oh!  
Where are the birds?  
The boats  
Are beached.

The fortress  
Stands  
Like a black monster.  
Along the ramparts  
Outstretched hands  
Clutch their guns tight.

My thoughts  
Gently strum my guitar  
Hugging it close  
Very close to my heart.....

Deep in my heart  
The yearning for the music.....  
The pain  
Wrenches my heart.

Oh! my motherland

— VAIKAI

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If the sin of the academic is that he takes too long to come to the point, Prof. W. H. Morris-Jones made a virtue of it by not coming to it at all, or rather by not mentioning Sri Lanka in his otherwise masterly survey of the politics of separatism in space and time, in the course of his public lecture on "Realities and Dreams: Ebb and Flow in the Politics of Separatism" (For text see SATURDAY REVIEW 7th & 14th September, 1985) delivered in Colombo under the auspices of the Sri Lankan-based International Centre for Ethnic Studies — an appropriate centre in an appropriate country.

One wonders what effect the lecture would have produced on the smug Colombo audience. The lecture would seem to have conferred some degree of respectability on the subject of separatism by underscoring the universality of the politics of separatism. It is not a terrible infliction on the becalmed Sri Lankan Society by the 'tigerish Tamils'. It is not a phenomenon peculiar to the Sinhalese and the Tamils or an extension of the old conflicts which characterised the pre-colonial "agro-literate politics" of South India and Sri Lanka. Separatism in Sri Lanka is a specific manifestation of a modern worldwide problem and for that reason its resolution should not be left in the hands of those who perceive their political role-assignment, ostensible or otherwise, in terms of archaic Sinhala-Buddhist Messianism. It also becomes evident that there is no aetiological link between separatism and Marxism either universally or in the particular context of Sri Lanka, where both the Government and the Tamil militants are seeking to establish such a connection for different reasons.

#### WIDE SPECTRUM

The broad definition given to separatism enables it to cover a wide spectrum of political options relevant to ethnic movements whether they are territorially based or spring from decentralised administration, to devolution of powers, to federalism, to looser confederation, to sovereignty association, to secession and also include various proportional or representational devices.

If the demands of the ethnic minorities may be seen, as Prof. Morris Jones has suggested, to swing from the diminutive (decentralised administration) to the desperate (secession), then in the case of Sri Lanka, the response of the Government can be described as being permanently desperate (nothing more than the President's District Councils incorporating the Prime Minister's Village Republics) and never magnanimous (not even federalism): It would seem that when both sides are desperate, their paths

are not likely to cross—except for the abortive jaw-jaw confrontation in far away Bhutan. Otherwise they have chosen to intersect by proxy, earlier only in Jaffna and now increasingly in Vavuniya, Mannar, Trincomalee and Batticaloa as well, at the terrible cost of many lives, massive depopulation and destruction of resources.

The manifest or mistaken desperation on the part of the Sri Lankan Government and the Tamil groups may have caused the seemingly prevailing view in New Delhi and Washington that the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka could be brought to an end by pulling the reins on the Tamil militants and sending the TULF back to Jaffna with a "viable alternative" within the existing framework. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* of 27th June 1985, reported that the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, had been

let the moderates negotiate and obtain better terms than what the Sri Lankan Government may be inclined to concede at the outset. The final terms will, however, be within the framework of the unitary constitution and will include a rejection of the concept of traditional homelands. To add insult to injury, even such measures as the withdrawal of the army and the lifting of Emergency rule in Tamil areas will be considered to be part of the Government's concession to the Tamilian nationalist demands!

It may be that, as G. K. Reddy writing in *The Hindu* observes, "the Jayewardene Government missed a golden opportunity to utilise India's good offices to the fullest extent... (by) harping on devolution only through the discredited district councils". The mutual fear and suspicion that pervades the ruling

to the view that the bulk of the Tamils are not serious about their basic demands.

Earlier this year Prof. Morris-Jones himself had occasion to observe that the hopes pinned on the Jayewardene Government had been belied. Said he, "As for Sri Lanka, depoliticisation took the seemingly gentler form of a constitutional upheaval towards a Gaullist regime."

One hoped-for result was that a government now shielded from conflicting pressures would move freely towards a sane solution of the Island's major ethnic conflict. Events since mid-1983 have surely demonstrated that this was a sadly and even disastrously false hope."

There are others who are not so forthright. The recent publication edited by James Manor (ed.), *Sri Lanka in Change and Crisis* (1984) would appear to suggest that the Presidential form of government and the liberalisation of the economy had been partly intended to be concessions to the Tamils. Few would have bought this story even before 1983. David Selbourne's shocking revelations of the impressions he formed of the President and two of his Ministers have come to confirm, if confirmation was needed, the utter contempt, cynicism and deceitfulness on the part of the government leaders towards the Tamil people and their spokesmen.

Potty Sriramulu's fast unto death in 1952 was sufficient to shock Jawaharlal Nehru and his government into creating the State of Andhra and starting the process of re-drawing the State boundaries in India on linguistic lines. In Sri Lanka on the other hand, where thousands have perished, J. R. Jayewardene, whom some academics have attempted to describe as Asia's cleverest statesman after Nehru, can only speak in terms of arming the Sinhalese to defend the borders from the Tamils. One recalls the question that Dr. Colvin R. de Silva rhetorically posed not long ago: Whether Mr. Jayewardene is the President of Sri Lanka or only of the Sinhalese!

It is the awareness of the reality of the situation in Sri Lanka—the Government's opportunistic espousal of Sinhala Buddhist Messianism and its patent hostility to the Tamils—that has led to the realisation in foreign circles of the necessity to underwrite any agreement that may be eventually reached between the Government of Sri Lanka and the Tamils.

G. K. Reddy in a recent kite-flying dispatch from Delhi advises the Tamils "to make India a  
(Continued on page 7)

## AUTONOMY— TAMILS' MINIMUM DEMAND

by

Amali

told by his advisers that the average Tamil was not sold on Eelam and panted nothing more than a share in the power structure of Sri Lanka and a reasonable amount of autonomy for his region. According to the same report, this was the prevailing view and New Delhi went on to assure Sri Lanka that India fully supported Sri Lanka's constitutional structure, that it would tighten the screws on the Sri Lankan Tamils in India and that it would persuade the Tamils to give up their concept of traditional homelands comprising the Eastern Province and the Northern Province and accept a solution within the unity format of the Sri Lankan Constitution.

#### TAKEN FOR A RIDE

It would now appear, from their own admissions and from criticisms in the Indian Press, that Delhi's mandarins had been taken for a ride by the Sri Lankan Government. But that does not seem to have been realised is that the mistake was not so much in the failure to take into account the Sri Lankan Government's notorious proclivity for retracting its promises, but in the facile assumption that all that was required to be done was to hold the militants in leash and

caucus in Sri Lanka will forever preclude any unanimity of view being reached within the Government on conceding to the Tamils anything more than the district councils. But on the external front the Government has performed remarkably well in persuading foreign governments, including that of India's, to support a settlement far, far short of Tamilian expectations. In contrast, the Tamil spokesmen in exile and the expatriate Tamil organisations, all the time like horses pulling in different directions and more often than not in the intoxication of their own irrelevant revolutionary rhetoric, have won little effective support abroad despite the sacrifices, the sufferings and the privations of their compatriots without sanctuary in their traditional homelands.

#### NEHRU AND J. R.

The diplomatic success of the Jayewardene Government is in no small measure due to the pervasive notion in foreign circles — New Delhi officials seem to be recent converts — that the ethnic problem would have been solved amicably in the post-1977 period but for the intervention of Sinhala Buddhists and Marxist Tamil militants (sic). The TULF's persistent grovelling for a viable alternative may have given credence



## SRI LANKA TAMILS: LEGITIMATE EXPECTATIONS — 3

# Organic Growth Of Tamil, Sinhala Nationalism In Indian Region

(Continued from last issue)

A Tamil however skilful and able he may be, cannot occupy certain positions of power, "because he was a Tamil", and the arithmetic of power in a "democracy" was against him.

In August 1947, the British quit the Indian subcontinent and handed over power to two independent states, India and Pakistan. And six months later, the British transferred power in Sri Lanka to a Sinhala Prime Minister who appeared on independence day in February 1948 in tropical Sri Lanka, clad in a morning coat with tails and wearing a top hat. Sri Lanka was granted independence as a consequence of the success of the Indian freedom struggle and this again underlined the basic geographical link between the affairs of Sri Lanka and India.

With the departure of the British, the growth of the separate nationalisms of the Indian region gathered momentum. In India, this manifested itself in the demand for linguistic states within the larger Indian federal Union. It was a demand that was initially resisted by the central government in New Delhi, which failed to recognise that the unity of free men cannot be forged in the same way as the unity of those who had sought to escape from jail. Andhra Pradesh, which today has N. T. Rama Rao as its Chief Minister, was the first linguistic state to be established in independent India. Others were soon to follow—Maharashtra, Karnataka, Kerala, Gujarat and Haryana—but not without protracted struggle and agitation.

## TAMIL NADU

And Tamil nationalism in India found expression in the demand for a separate state, outside the Indian Union—a demand of the Dravida Munetra Kalagam which was formed in 1949 and which was led by C. N. Annadurai. It was a demand which was later given up in 1963, but the Dravida Munetra Kalagam itself later won popular support amongst the Tamils of South India, captured power in the Madras State Legislative Assembly, and the linguistic state of Tamil Nadu was created, albeit within the federal Union of India. It was a victory which marked the coming into being of the Tamil nation on the Indian sub-continent.

"...In order to mould the masses into a self conscious people, the leadership of the party (the D. M. K.) has inculcated a sense of pride in the language, literature, the history, heroes, race and culture of the people. The party has moulded the people into a nation..." (Ajit Singh Sarhadi: *Nationalisms in India—The Problem*, Heritage Publishers, Delhi, 1975).

Whilst in India, a rising Tamil nationalism was contained, at least for the time being, within the frame of linguistic state in a federal union, in Sri Lanka, one of the first steps of the Sinhala government, after independence was to utilise the frame afforded by a unitary constitution to introduce legislation which deprived almost one half of the Tamils of Sri Lanka, who worked on plantations, of their citizenship and their right

mental right to the citizenship of one's country for a group of people almost all of whom were born there, who have lived there all their lives, who have never been anywhere else and have no other allegiance, and who have made an immense contribution to that country's wealth while being themselves allotted only a derisory share of it..." (Paul Sieghart: *Sri Lanka, A Mounting Tragedy of Errors—International Commission of Jurists Report 1984*).

## SINHALA WEIGHTAGE

Further, although the plantation Tamils were disenfranchised, their numbers were nevertheless taken into account for the purposes of delimitation. The Sinhala majority was, in effect, given weightage in representation in the legislature, at the expense of the Tamil minority. The demand of the Tamil

by

N. Satyendra

to vote. These laws were enacted despite the fact that a Pan Sinhala Board of Ministers had, in 1943, prior to independence, proposed to the British Government, a Parliament for independent Sri Lanka, of 101 seats of which 14 seats were allocated for plantation Tamils. The safeguards contained in section 29 of the unitary Constitution which prohibited the enactment of any law which would impose disabilities or restrictions on the members of any community or religion, were circumvented by enacting laws which on their face, applied to all persons equally, but which were in fact implemented in a discriminatory manner.

"The real purpose of these Acts was to disenfranchise the plantation workers in the up country Kandyan areas where they might have been in danger of swamping the electorate...In revising the electoral registers for the central Ceylon districts for 1950, Tamil names were quite simply left out, leaving the onus on anyone who wanted his name reinstated to prove his citizenship under the new rules..." (Walter Schawarz: *Tamils of Sri Lanka Minority Rights Group 1983*).

"...The result today is a wholly arbitrary deprivation of the funda-

Congress was given effect to — in reverse.

"...In 1948, at independence, the Tamils had 33% of the voting power in the legislature. Upon the disenfranchisement of the estate Tamils, however, this proportion dropped to 20%. The Sinhalese obtained more than a 2/3 majority in the Parliament, making it impossible for the Tamils to exercise an effective opposition to Sinhalese policies affecting them..." (Virginia Leary: *Ethnic Conflict and Violence in Sri Lanka—Report of a Mission to Sri Lanka on behalf of the International Commission of Jurists, July/August 1981*).

These were naked acts of discrimination and oppression and came in the wake of continued state-sponsored colonisation of the traditional homelands of the Tamils of Sri Lanka. During the period from 1936 onwards, when land alienation and settlement was in the hands of Sinhala Ministers, systematic state-aided colonisation deprived the Tamils of their traditional homelands in eastern parts of the island. In the Trincomalee district, in 1921, a mere 3% of population were Sinhalese: by 1946 their numbers had increased to 20% and in 1971 to almost 29%. Again in Batticaloa and

Amparai, in 1921, 4.5% of the population were Sinhalese: by 1971 their numbers had increased to almost 18%.

"...Tamils have objected to State colonisation schemes which import large numbers of Sinhalese into traditional Tamil areas. The Tamil concern about colonisation is related to insecurity about their physical safety and to fears that Tamils will become a minority in their traditional homelands. The government maintains that since Sri Lanka is a single country citizens may freely move into any part of the country, and that it is necessary to transplant some populations to more productive areas. The Tamils answer that they are not opposed to individual migration but only to large scale government colonisation schemes which change the ethnic composition of an area..." (Virginia Leary: *Ethnic Conflict and Violence in Sri Lanka—Report of a Mission to Sri Lanka on behalf of the International Commission of Jurists, July/August 1981*).

## FEDERAL DEMAND

The discriminatory acts of successive Sinhala governments reinforced the growth of Tamil nationalism in Sri Lanka. And in 1949 a new Tamil political party, the *Thamil Arasu Katchi*, also known as the Federal Party, was formed. It was committed to securing a federal constitution for Sri Lanka and the establishment of one or more linguistic states incorporating all geographically contiguous areas in which the Tamil speaking people are numerically in a majority as federating units enjoying the widest autonomous and residuary powers, (consistent with the unity and external security of Ceylon. Resolution at National Convention of the *Thamil Arasu Katchi*—August 1956).

The Federal Party, led by S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, won massive popular support amongst the Tamils resident in the North and East of Sri Lanka, at the General Elections held in 1956 and continued to do so at every succeeding general election thereafter. In the same way as the victory of the Dravida Munetra Kalagam at the polls in Madras Presidency in 1967 marked the coming into being of the Tamil nation on the Indian sub continent: the victory of the *Thamil Arasu Katchi* in 1956 in Sri Lanka, marked the coming into being of the Tamil nation in Sri Lanka — a nation constituted of the Tamils living in their traditional homelands in the North and East of Sri Lanka.

(To be continued)



# KHAKIED MEN DEMAND 'KAPPAM'

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

At about 1-45 a.m. on 21-10-85 I was relaxing on my verandah when I heard dogs barking outside the gate. Suddenly I saw four men armed with guns, kris knives and manna knives in front of me. Two of them were dressed in army uniform and the other two were dressed in their green 'T' shirts and khaki trousers. They took me forcibly inside my house and kept me at gun point and ordered me not to shout. In the meantime they ransacked the whole place. They demanded from my daughter Rs. 50,000/- and said if that demand was not complied with they would kill me. I told them to kill me as I did not have any money to give them. Immediately the man with the gun assaulted me with the butt-end of the gun on my head and my head was injured. It bled and I fainted.

After about ten minutes I recovered. Then they demanded at least Rs. 10,000/- or jewels, uttering the same threat to kill me. Even then we told them that we did not have any money or jewels.

They left the place after taking two wrist watches, my identity card and a few coins, totalling about Rs. 3000/-. While leaving they said that they would come again in another two days and to keep the money ready or else they would wipe out the entire family and the house. Further they said, "You should not divulge this incident to any one particularly to our superiors. If you do so, we will take revenge as your identity card is with us".

I am a retired government servant who has done thirty six years of honest service in the department and I regret to inform you that I am unable to live in peace at this old age. Therefore, please help us by taking necessary action immediately as the entire village is in panic.

V. Shanmugarajah  
Thondaimannar

**Note by Editor:** This is a copy of a letter sent to Prof K. Sivathamby, a member of the Cease-fire Monitoring Committee.

## UNFAIR

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

The Registrar of Births at the Kandy General Hospital insists on the production of the Father's and Mother's birth certificates, to register the birth of a Tamil or Muslim child. Parents with Sinhalese name are not required to produce Birth Certificates!

The Assistant Elections Commissioner at the Kandy Kachcheri asks questions such as "You are dark and your daughter is fair; why is that?" from Tamils and Muslims to give an extract from the voters' list. He does not seem to know that a child can look very much like the mother too! He should also be aware of the fact that a lot of big people too do not look like their fathers.

I am writing this letter to convey the message that as long as Government Servants discriminate against other communities there can be no end to ethnic problems.

He Excellency the President, the Indian Premier, Diplomats and Politicians can do very little if Government Servants do not co-operate.

A. C. Rasiah  
Kandy

16) issue of your paper, entitled 'Memorial for Allen Abraham' (last page, last column). As the present Editor of our Journal 'Equatorial' and a past President of the Sri Lanka Astronomical Association, I am very keen on obtaining more detailed information about Mr. Allen Abraham and his research on Halley's Comet. This is of great topical interest now that the next appearance of this comet is imminent. My own special field of study is the history of Astronomy. Please address all correspondence to: Institute of Integral Education, Wewala, Piliyandala.

Fr. Mervyn Fernando

Piliyandala

## PUFFS IN BUSES

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

It is warming to note that the 'No smoking' rule is to be enforced

# LETTERS

## WHY THE HURRY?

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

I am an old man and it is most unlikely that I shall survive the Jayewardene regime. I worked under the Senanayakes so I do not like to call it an U.N.P. regime.

Most of your readers and most of the aggrieved Tamils are young so I cannot understand why they are in such a hurry. Many inhabitants of the British Isles have much more cause to be dissatisfied with the Thatcher Government but they are waiting for the next General Election and not seeking partition.

It is also only fair to the Thatcher's and Jayewardene's to remember that the present situation is extraordinarily difficult. We are at the end of three hundred years of godless living and have extraordinarily high human populations and a so-called science and technology made by robots and fit only for robots and multi-nationals.

H.E. Peiris  
Colombo

## HALLEY AND ALLEN

Editor  
SATURDAY REVIEW

I am writing to you with reference to a news item which appeared in the 6th July '85 (Vol. 4, No.

ced strictly in the buses by the Government. It is high time that it is enforced strictly. But still smoking in buses continues endlessly, unchecked and unabated. Even the person who has to execute the rule violates it. The conductor's smoke itself goes up in the air in whirls and columns.

Normally, smoking of course is harmful and deleterious. It is a health hazard especially in a bus which is packed. Inhaling of the smoke by the passenger seated next to the smoker is more dangerous and harmful to him than to the man who smokes.

There are certain anti social elements who throw away the burning butt in the bus itself thinking little of the damage that may ensue. A case in point: there was a burning butt inside the bus. A lady's saree accidentally came in contact with the butt and the saree caught fire. A small portion of the saree got burned. A dangerous situation was luckily avoided by the timely intervention of the fellow-commuters.

To avoid such dangerous situations smoking in buses should be strictly prohibited without any further delay:

S. S. Subramaniam  
Kokuvil

Some readers have drawn our attention to the letter *Passport Woes* which appeared in the S.R. of 9th November.

We deliberately refrained from editing that letter because its very inarticulateness at certain points conveys the writer's plight more forcefully than any grammatical polishing-up could have done.

The letter in question is analogous to the letter by Sacco and Vanzetti cited by basic textbooks on literary composition. Sincerity, after all, is more to be valued than the 'correctness' that comes from crossing the 't's' and dotting the 'i's'.

— Editor

## APPRECIATION

## V. Paranjothy

Mr. Vallipuram Paranjothy, the Grand Old Man of Thunnalai, Karaveddy passed away recently after a brief illness.

Mr. Paranjothy retired as a Government Accountant from the Department of Marketing in 1960 and lived the biblical span of four score and ten.

The late Mr. R. H. Basset, the Marketing Commissioner of the colonial are called Mr. Paranjothy a model public servant. The undersigned has had intimate contacts with the late Mr. Paranjothy for nearly two decades and basked in the sunshine of his hospitality, affability of manners and versatility of conversation.

He reminded me in physical features of the Great Ramana Maharishi, but like him never donned the yellow garb. During his life time, Mr. Paranjothy was a relentless critic of waste and inefficiency in public service, and himself set an example of dedication to work worthy of emulation by fellow public servants.

As in public life, so in private life, he was a lovable husband, a devoted father and a genial neighbour. In the evening of his life, when his health began to decline, his mental alertness and power of memory never received a set back.

May he attain eternal bliss at the feet of Lord Shiva.

— V. Ramachandran



# CONFERENCE ON ASIAN SECURITY

(Continued from page 2)

the sea and even in outer space. The so-called "strategic defence initiative" (SDI) of Reagan is actually bringing mankind a step closer to a nuclear catastrophe. At the same time, the US and their reactionary lackeys are feverishly carrying out aggressions and brutal interventions against various nations. This extremely reactionary policy aims at the grasping of strategic superiority on the world scale in order to achieve their ambitious domination and of imposing their colonialist will upon all peoples."

Madame Binh describing the situation in the various countries of the Asian and Pacific region, said that the "hotbeds of conflicts created by US imperialism and the reactionary forces, together with the US nuclear war preparations, are threatening seriously the peace and security of the region and the cause of independent development of the countries striving to liquidate the sequels of colonialist domination and to build a new life in peace."

Vice President of the AAPSO and Secretary General of the

Sri Lankan Solidarity Association, Abdul Aziz, described in detail the continuing efforts taken by the peoples and states of the Indian Ocean region, to ensure that all states consider and respect the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

This writer in his speech at the Conference, set out how the USSR steadfastly pursues a policy of peace and stands for strengthening of the security of nations and broad international cooperation, so that

it may serve peace and progress and at stopping the arms race and at taking positive steps towards disarmament and detente. He further stated that no other country has in recent years addressed itself to the world with so wide a spectrum of specific and realistic initiatives on the most crucial problems of international relations. No other country has made as many important suggestions for strengthening peace, ending the arms race and for disarmament as has the Soviet Union. No other country has done so much for collective security and world peace as the Soviet Union.

## AUTONOMY — TAMILS' MINIMUM...

(Continued from page 4)

party to (this) accord so that it has responsibility to ensure its smooth implementation." The *Globe and Mail*, Canada's national newspaper, was more specific: "Canada could use its influence (Sri Lanka is the foremost recipient, per capita, of Canadian development aid—a total of Canadian dollars 325 million since 1948) to press for Government acceptance of a more substantial Tamil autonomy than has previously been conceded. Equally important, Canada could try to enlist other major aid donors in an agreement to link their aid to faithful implementation of any settlement."

### FOCUS ON HOMELANDS

The Tamils naturally feel that if foreign governments could realise the need for such underwriting, they should also appreciate the Tamil fear of being coerced into an agreement that does not recognise or ensure the protection of their traditional homelands. The steady escalation of violence in the recent past and

the over-riding concern to bring about its abatement seem to have pushed out of focus the substance of the long standing demands of the Tamil people.

The concept of traditional homelands and the demand for autonomous rule over a single Tamil unit in a federal Ceylon have a much longer history than what most people seem to remember. Thirty six years ago, Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, the founder of the Federal Party and the father of Tamil nationalism in Sri Lanka, introduced the concept of traditional homelands and gave political expression to the Island's demographic reality that had stood intact for over five hundred years with the Tamil-speaking people occupying the Northern and Eastern parts of the Island and the Sinhalese occupying the rest of the Island. His demand for autonomy provided the catalyst for the process of political unification of the Tamil-speaking people—Tamils and Muslims—who had hitherto existed as disparate caste groups in the different villages, districts and regions of the two provinces.

His involvement in the struggle of the Tamil plantation workers of Indian origin for the restoration of their citizenship rights led to their being drawn into the political movement of the indigenous Tamils. As a Christian who took upon himself the task of championing the cause of the Tamil-speaking people, Mr. Chelvanayakam cleared for all time the obstacle of religious differences on the road to political unification.

Above all, he and the party he founded and led gave for the first time to the Tamil people what the TULF subsequently has not been able to sustain and what the militants have so far not been able to recreate: a **Mass Movement**. Mr. Chelvanayakam derived his strength not from his finger on a trigger, but from the live movement of an aroused people in their homeland. The people have stood firm despite their being leaderless today. *One cannot overstate their determination to settle for nothing short of autonomy over their traditional homelands.*

In their Final Communiqué, the participants stated that they were unanimously of the view that the present situation in the world and in the Asian continent is deteriorating to a dangerous point because of the schemes and acts of imperialism.

### TWO-PRONGED ATTACK?

According to an AFP news report, Sri Lanka has ordered 4 US made Bell Helicopters from Singapore for 'anti insurgency operations.' Each 'copter will cost 3 million US dollars. Earlier 12 helicopters were bought. Two landing crafts (LCU) were delivered last month from Singapore to 'ferry troops and vehicles to the coastal areas of Sri Lanka's northern Jaffna Peninsula.'

Informed sources say that nearly 40 modern armoured vehicles have come North. At some points on the way to the Palaly Camp, foot patrols preceded the vehicles, as a precautionary measure against buried landmines.

### VACANCIES

## Jaffna College Technical Institute Vaddukoddai

### ASSISTANT LECTURER

- (i) Electronics and Telecommunication
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### INSTRUCTOR

- (i) Draughtsmanship (Civil)

Applicants should have recognised Degree or Diploma or equivalent qualification and minimum 3 years practical experience.

Salary:- negotiable according to the qualification and experience.

Please apply before 25th November, 1985

Director

## Jaffna College Technical Institute

New Admissions for 1986/87

### TECHNICIAN CERTIFICATE COURSE

Applications for admission to the following courses commencing in January 1986 will be accepted till 10th December 1985.

1. Air Conditioning & Refrigeration Technology - 3 Semesters
2. Automobile Technology - 3 Semesters  
(January 86 to April 87)
3. Draughtsmanship (Civil) 2 Semesters  
(January to December 86)

Candidates under 20 years of age, having six G.C.E. (O.L.) passes including Maths, Science, and English can apply.

Course Fee - Rs. 600/- per Semester. Apply on forms obtainable from the office on payment of Rs.5/-.

Director, Jaffna College Technical Institute, Vaddukoddai.



# Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

## HARTAL IN NORTH AND EAST

The North and East observed a Hartal and a Day of Mourning yesterday (15th November) to mark the enactment of discriminatory laws on 15th November 1947 which disenfranchised the plantation Tamils of recent Indian origin.

All Public transport was at a standstill. Shops were closed and Government and private offices deserted.

The hartal was called by the Eelam Revolutionary Organisations (EROS).

## NOW—FLOOD REFUGEES IN JAFFNA

First, there were the refugees after the July 1983 Holocaust.

Second, there were the refugees fleeing from the Eastern Province after only God knows what happened there.

Now we have flood refugees in Jaffna as well.

The incessant rains in the past two weeks have wrought havoc in the North.

Floods not seen in over a decade have rendered thousands of people homeless.

They are taking temporary refuge in school and church buildings.

Theirs is only a temporary problem but theirs could also be a long-term problem if more rains come.

Already there has been big damage to crops, especially paddy fields.

The militant groups have been prompt in organising relief measures particularly by supplying food parcels to the affected.

We wish the State machinery was equally geared to helping the flood refugees.

Footnote 1: The Maternity Ward of the Jaffna General Hospital was one of the spots flooded out. The implications of this situation can be easily imagined.

Footnote 2: Drugs intended for the Jaffna Hospital have been held up at Anuradhapura for nearly one month. Can't someone do something about it?

Footnote 3: The SATURDAY REVIEW continues to get appeals for assistance from various areas in the North. But what can we do with our very limited resources?

Footnote 4: Where the hell is the District Minister of Jaffna? We would like to see him at the SR office, that is, if he comes to Jaffna and finds the time to spare. We sincerely think that it is time he gave up an untenable position and retired to Dambadeniya.

## IRAN'S REBUFF

The proposed visit of a Sri Lankan delegation to Teheran has been cancelled by Iran in protest against the Sri Lankan Government's ties with Israel. Earlier, there was a top level meeting between Sri Lankan and Zionist officials. While the Iranian embassy confirmed the cancellation of the visit the spokesman at our Foreign Ministry said 'no comment.'

## A BIG NO...

(Continued from page 1)

One relevant question: How are the Railway officials going to distinguish 'foreigners'? By the colour of their skin? Foreigners come in all colours besides white: brown, black, yellow. Not green or red, yet.

Let them come and see the Island Paradise. Or Hell? No, No, it is still Paradise, compared to some other parts of the world.

We say to the Railway authorities: Rescind the Apartheid circular.

We say to the Government: Let the foreign correspondents especially come—because they will come in any case.

How easily a person calling himself Nedumaran from Tamilnadu—probably his 'double', as the state media tried to make out—slipped in and out of Sri Lanka!

## SRI LANKA GOING RED

There is a fear in certain quarters that the Tamil Marxists (*a la* Uma Maheswaran of PLOTE fame) will join hands with the Sinhalese Marxists to topple the 'legally constituted' Government of Sri Lanka.

This is a far-fetched dream as one Indian newspaper, the HINDUSTAN TIMES, commented recently.

We at the SATURDAY REVIEW have been going around looking for these Marxists. For we want to support those mindful—or is it mindless?—people who want to go fast to Socialism.

Socialism, Marxism, Communism of the variety proposed by the Buddha, Plato and Aristotle, centuries before Marx, Engels, Stalin and Mao were born—could be a good thing for Sri Lanka.

We don't know for sure. But we know for sure that Sri Lanka will go Red if our rulers go on in the way that they have been going and are going.

Our authority is no less than a former RED, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, now Minister of Finance in President Jayewardene's United National Party Government.

He was quoted in a Government-owned daily recently as saying that the current revenue of the Government is not sufficient to meet the recurrent expenditure; let alone development.

But then we have enough money to play war games.

Parliament, in its wisdom—we have to suppose that wisdom is reposed there—recently approved Rs. 835 millions for defence expenditure!

Next year, according to the same Government-owned daily, whose name we are somewhat ashamed to mention, we are going to spend Rs. 5.7 billion—12% of the total budget expenditure—on defence.

Bloody hell. Don't we have better things to do with this money than

fatten the purses of war-mongers who want people in far-off places to fight their battles—for their own bread and butter, not for ours?

Make no mistake; the armaments industry is the worst enemy of mankind.

Who is thriving on it? Please sit down and think about it.

Even Rajiv Gandhi's India, which is talking so much of peace, especially in relation to Sri Lanka—after all India has been described as an 'honest broker' in our ethnic conflict—is at the same time giving sustenance to Sri Lanka's war effort by supplying vehicles to the Armed Forces.

Ask Tata-Benz, Ashok-Leyland for details.

Sri Lanka will be going RED—Sri Lanka is going Red—not because of any machinations by local or foreign Marxists but because of the folly of our rulers.

But this is nothing compared to the problem we will inherit if we go on depending on foreign aid—normally a euphemism for loans—to balance our Budget.

We will all end up by having AIDS.

## DEEPAVALI MASSACRE

At an inquest held by Acting Magistrate, R. Chandrapala at Trincomalee into the deaths of Mylvaganam Kanthini (21) and Mylvaganam Rajeswari, the brother of the deceased testified that they were his sisters.

Mylvaganam Tharmalingam stated at the inquest that he had come to his mother's house to celebrate Deepavali with his sisters at Kovil Street, Kantalai. 'Suddenly around midnight while I was resting, some security men entered our house and dragged away my two sisters, while they were shouting themselves hoarse. Later, their bullet-riddled bodies were found at Usgirigama, Kantalai'. Nalliah Thiruchelvam (24) testified that among the six bodies was that of his elder brother, Retnasingam (33).