

V. Muthiyar
14/6/82

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Vol. 1 No. 20

June 12, 1982

Rs. 2

Viewpoint

Treat the disease, not the symptom

The most corroding aspect of Violence is the fact that people learn to live with it! When American bombers kept on their seemingly endless destruction on the poor peasant people of Vietnam year after year, they bred a new generation of Vietnamese children whose main hobby was to run for cover when the bombers strike, and emerge gleefully into the open as soon as the planes leave - to hunt for the dead fall-out of the bombs. They learnt to collect shrapnel like other children collecting stamps.

Until twenty years ago, Jaffna's reputation was one of conservatism. Nothing was known to change, easily. Cadjan fences had the same aura of impenetrability as Dutch fortifications. Jaffna was a land of temples, teachers, and learning; pen-pushers, pensioners and pundits. The late Tamilnadu writer, author-journalist Krishnamurti (Kalki) once said jocularly that if ever anyone happened to stumble and fall in Jaffna, the chances were that he would hit against a school-master or Pundit! No Jaffna woman ever stepped into a bus, and if anyone then had the temerity to suggest to an old woman to sit on a bicycle bar (many of them find it a convenient perch now), she would have fainted on the spot! There was even a joke that the Jaffna man opposed the introduction of the Railway, because he thought it would disturb the hens in several backyards. He did of course oppose the raising of the status of the Jaffna Urban Council into a Municipality because that could mean paying higher taxes. Any change anywhere seemed to him an invitation to insecurity. He sought government jobs because that gave him security and a pension in old age. Even if your job means looking after hens, ran a Jaffna saying, let it be a government job. He hankered after a dowry because that meant security in married life. Many a man married his own cousin because that meant safety and security too.

What has happened to the Jaffna man now? Nothing has happened to him, to change his innate nature or his inherent character stic. It is simply that the world in which he finds himself has changed. The external challenges are impinging on his daily life and he is merely going through a process of adjustment. Adjustment to violence is his major pre-occupation now.

It is an irony of Fate perhaps that the very thing that the Jaffna man has hankered after for generations—**SECURITY**—is the very thing he so totally lacks today. He has no sense of security anywhere, neither in the south, nor in his own familiar habitat in the north. Why has he been pushed into this position?

It is easy to blame the man himself; or even better his children. Successive governments in power over the past twenty five years, politicians and organisations in the south, the daily newspapers and Police reports have so effectively turned the spotlight on "youth terrorism" and "Tigers" that many Tamils themselves, particularly in Colombo and the south have come to believe that the cause of violence is the "terrorist". This is like a bad doctor trying to treat the symptom and not the disease. Youth violence is only an external manifestation of the disease that has gripped the entire national fabric and has been simmering within, unchecked. The disease itself is easily diagnosable. It is State oppression acting on behalf of one people against another. The remedy itself is simple. It is perhaps too late in the day for anything other than a surgical operation.

Will the TULF greet J.R. in North? It depends on compensation

Will the Tamil United Liberation Front welcome President J. R. Jayawardene when he pays his first official visit to the North?

This is the question being widely discussed in political circles here now that officials are pressing full steam ahead with the preliminary arrangements for the President's Jaffna visit, either in the latter part of July or early August.

The President is scheduled to ceremonially commission the first phase of the Kankesanthurai Cement Factory's third stage project besides opening the KKS Harbour, the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation's Recording Studio at Jaffna and the expanded direct Jaffna-Colombo tele-links.

The track record of TULF participation in official receptions to Ministers visiting the North and East has been inconsistent, political observers note. Some TULF MPs have actively participated in these receptions while others have conspicuously absented themselves.

Mayor's pointed boycott

Observers recall that when Lands Minister Gamini Dissanayake visited the North in March, the Jaffna District Development Council's

TULF Chairman S. Nadarajah and TULF MP Ananda Sangary (Kilinochchi) were at hand to do the honours when his helicopter landed at Kilinochchi. But the Jaffna TULF Mayor Rajah Visuvanathan's pointed boycott of the visit led to the Minister cancelling an official function where he was scheduled to ceremonially hand over the windmill pump installed by the Northern Division Water Resources Board at the Subramaniam Park, Jaffna, to the Jaffna Municipality.

No guidelines framed

The TULF's Parliamentary Group, these observers point out, was to have met last month to draw up firm guidelines about how the Front should react to Ministers' visits. But the meeting didn't come off.

Sources close to the TULF say that though there is a minority in its ranks which feels the Front should boycott Ministers' visits including the President's, the more powerful and influential section is all for participation, especially where development activities come into the picture.

These sources predict the TULF will decide to welcome President Jayawardene—provided the Government starts paying compensation

to the victims of the 1981 DDC Election violence, before the visit.

Bells heralding the elephant

They add that it is almost certain the Government will start doling out compensation before the President's visit. The sudden release of ten detenus is a pointer to Government thinking: a source described this in colourful local idiom as the tinkling bells heralding an elephant's approach.

While the Government is likely to adopt a strategy designed to ensure TULF participation and a 'pandals all the way' welcome for the President, anti-TULF and anti-Government forces in the North have yet to announce whether and how they will cold-shoulder the President's visit.

Parcel bombs kill 2, injure 18 others

Postmaster Ponnar Rasiah of Karaveddy, a father of five children, and Postal sorter P. R. A. Perera of Kelaniya succumbed to injuries when two brown paper parcels exploded in the Travelling Post Office van attached to the Jaffna-Colombo Mail train on Tuesday night. 18 others were injured.

The first explosion occurred when the train was passing Murukandi and the second near Mankulam station.

Bomb disposal squads of the Army were rushed to Jaffna on Wednesday to investigate a few other parcels landed over at the Jaffna and Colombogam post offices, suspected to contain explosives, and addressed to UNP and SLFP politicians in the North.

T. U. L. F. M. P. asserts himself

A top TULF politico, the *Saturday Review* learns, unsuccessfully tried to pressurise Manipay MP V. Dharmalingam to keep away from the June 9th Memorial Meeting for

P. Iraikumaran and C. Umaikumaran, organised by the TELF (Youth Wing): he was the one TULF representative billed to speak at the meeting. (See report on Page 11)

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Published Weekly
by

KALAINILAYAM LTD.,

303, K. K. S. Road

JAFFNA SRI LANKA

Tel: 7707

Chairman of

Board of Directors

K. C. THANGARAJAH

Editor

S. SIVANAYAGAM

Subscription Rates
inclusive of local
postage and foreign
Air Mail rate

Sri Lanka

Annual Rs. 120/-

Half-year Rs. 60/-

India

Annual Rs. 200/-

(Indian rupees)

All other Countries

Annual U. S. \$ 50

Cheques payable to

Kalai Nilayam Ltd.

Advertising Rates

Contracts — Rs. 10/-

per col. centimetre

Casual — Rs. 15/-

per col. centimetre

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

JAFFNA OFFICE

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

COLOMBO OFFICE

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

LEELA

Jewellery

Palace

Visit our
air-conditioned
showroom

No. 117-119

Sea Street

Colombo 11

Tel: 35639

Jaffna Library: Citizens Committee keeps Fund open

The Citizens Committee for National Harmony which launched a fund to help in rebuilding the Jaffna Public Library last July has collected Rs. 70,000/- for the purpose. At a special handing over ceremony held at the Saraswathy Hall, Bambalapitiya, on 18th May this sum along with over 700 books were presented to the Jaffna Mayor.

In a communication sent to the SATURDAY REVIEW signed by the Joint Secretary of the Committee, Tissa Balasuriya OMI, the Committee states:

"This Fund will be kept open for a further period in order to facilitate those who have not been able to make their contributions to do so. We wish, therefore, to appeal to all concerned individuals, organisation and institutions

to kindly respond to this appeal for financial contribution and for donation of books and journals that would help in re-building this repository of learning and culture.

Financial contributions may be sent in favour of "Citizens Committee for National Harmony Account Number 7273" Bank of Ceylon, Bambalapitiya Branch, C/o Mr. M. M. Mohideen, 61, Isipathana Mawatha, Colombo 5. Donation of books and journals may be sent to Mr. Richard Dias, Citizens Committee for National Harmony, 281, Deans Road, Colombo 5.

EDITOR QUESTIONED

Editor of 'Suthanthiran' Mr. Kovai Mahesan was interrogated at the Army Camp in Gurunagar, Jaffna, for nearly two hours on Tuesday the 8th June.

Light Classical Music Contest at Manipay

A Talent Contest to foster and promote light Classical Music among children was organised by the Y's Men's Club of Manipay recently. The Finals took place at the Uduvil Girls' College under the patronage of Mr. A. R. Kadigamar, Principal, Jaffna College and Mrs. Kadigamar. Mrs. Thavayogam Niles and a select Committee of the Club were in charge of the organisation. Mr. V. Suntherathas, President of the Club welcomed the Chief Guests and those present.

The following won awards: Challenge Shield for Open Quartet — Manipay Hindu Ladies' College; Challenge Cup for Open Duet — Malini Tharmaseelan and Brindini Selvachandran; Challenge Cup for Senior Vocal — Miss Dharshana Emerson of Uduvil Girls' College; Challenge Cup for Intermediate Vocal — Miss Malini Tharmaseelan of Manipay; Challenge Cup for Junior Vocal — Chelvi Patrick of Uduvil Girls' College.



Kugathan who
was killed by hooligans

KUGATHASAN REMEMBERED

A photograph of the late Trade Unionist Mr. N. Kugathan who was killed during the anti-Tamil rioting in Embilipitiya last year was unveiled by TULF Leader Mr. A. Amirthalingam at Mathagal recently. Mr. Amirthalingam gave an assurance that he will continue his efforts to get compensation for Mr. Kugathan's family.

NEWS BRIEFS

JAFFNA BUDDHIST VIHARES TO BE RENOVATED

President J. R. Jayawardene told a Poson gathering at Mihintale that three Buddhist vihares in Jaffna would be renovated. He also disclosed that a Tamil translation of TRIPITAKA was under way.

NEW AGA'S DIVISION?

Vaddukodai MP T. Thirunavukarasu has initiated action to see that Karainagar is declared a separate AGA's division.

JAFFNA MAHAPOLA MAKES BIG PROFIT

The Mahapola started by the Marketing Dept., in Jaffna has made a profit of several lakhs within one year according to Deputy Commissioner of Marketing, Jaffna, Mr. S. Ganesanathan.

FOUNDATION STONE FOR SMALL BAZAAR

Jaffna MP V. Yogeswaran ceremonially laid the foundation stone for the new Small Bazaar Market, Jaffna, on 7 June.

PT. PEDRO TO GET OPEN AIR THEATRE

Pt. Pedro will soon have an Open-Air Theatre, to be named after the Pt. Pedro Urban Council Chairman for over 25 years, the late A. Nadarajah. Pt. Pedro MP K. Thuraiatnam has set apart Rs. 75,000/- from the decentralised budget for the theatre.

COLOMBO UNIVERSITY TAMIL SOCIETY FESTIVAL

The Annual Arts Festival of the Colombo University Tamil Society will be held tomorrow (13 June) at the University's Arts Theatre. Attorney-at-Law N. Satyendra will be the Chief Guest. ILAMTHENDRAL — the Society magazine will be ceremonially released on the occasion.

NORTH CEYLON MUSIC SOCIETY CELEBRATES 50TH ANNIVERSARY

The North Ceylon Music Society celebrated its golden jubilee on 10 June at Veerasingham Hall, Jaffna. Leader of the Opposition A. Amirthalingam and Mrs. Amirthalingam were the Chief Guests.

CHARGE THE '81 CULPRITS, SAYS TC

The Tamil Congress Executive Committee has passed a resolution demanding legal action against the service personnel responsible for the '81 violence, and immediate compensation for the victims.

LIST OF TAMIL DETAIL- NEES HANDED OVER TO PRESIDENT

The CID has handed over a list of the names of Tamil youths detained recently under the Prevention of Terrorism Act to President Jayawardene, along with a dossier on them.

JAFFNA G.A. OFF TO WEST GERMANY

Jaffna G.A. and DDC Secretary Devanesan Nesiah has left for West Germany to take part in a World Christian Conference, as the Sri Lanka representative. Addl. G. A. S. Rajaratnam is acting for him.

FLOODS CAUSE DAMAGE

Several thousands of people have been affected by floods in Ratnapura, Kalutara and Galle areas. 15,000 have been rendered homeless in Ratnapura and nearly a thousand houses had been damaged in Horana.

VAVUNIYA REFUGEES TO GET LOAN FACILITIES

Hill country Tamils who are settled in Vavuniya as refugees will soon be provided with bank loan facilities. This was decided at a meeting at the Vavuniya Kachcheri presided over by Mr. K. C. Logeswaran, Government Agent.

NO EASY MATTER

Running a newspaper is no easy matter. It needs untiring efforts to keep on publishing under various strains and stresses said Mr. A. Amirthalingam the TULF leader at a meeting at Kaduwan, Jaffna, at a releasing ceremony of a Tamil periodical (Ethioli).

M. S. ROUNDS AND ANGLES, G. I. PIPES,
IMPORTED GALVANISED PLAIN AND CORRUGATED SHEETS,
SANITARYWARES, ENGLISH ELECTRIC MOTORS
WHOLESALE AND RETAIL AT VERY
COMPETITIVE PRICES.

CONTACT:

KATHIR HARDWARES

11/1, STANLEY ROAD,
JAFFNA

Tel: JAFFNA 7130

Though a proclamation on elections is yet to come, we are now in the midst of an election campaign. This is evident from the hectic schedules that the leaders of the United National Party and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party have set for themselves. The UNP campaign will finally bring President Jayewardene to Jaffna itself—for the first time since he assumed office five years ago!

Mr. Jayewardene announced at a recent meeting at Grandpass, in Colombo, that the present Parliament would cease to exist in July 1983, at the end of its constitutional six-year period, and that a general election would be held four months thereafter that is, in November next year. He could always change his mind and dissolve Parliament sooner but this appears unlikely.

What is more likely, as I mentioned in this column previously, is that a Presidential election would be held earlier, most probably this year itself. For this purpose, an amendment to the Constitution would be necessary because it stipulates that "the poll for the election of a President shall be taken not less than one month and not more than two months before the expiration of the term of office of the President in office." Mr. Jayewardene's term ends on February 3, 1984, which means that, in the normal course, an election would have to be held between December 3, 1983 and January 3, 1984.

**If elected, he
will be stronger**

Apart from the fact that the holding of two nationwide elections in quick succession would present logistics and other problems, Mr. Jayewardene would be taking an unnecessary risk because the result of the parliamentary election, if adverse to the UNP, is bound to influence the outcome of the presidential election. Similarly, if a presidential election is held earlier, and Mr. Jayewardene wins, it is bound to benefit the UNP at the general election.

The biggest attraction for Mr. Jayewardene to seek an early mandate from the people is that, if elected, he would be in a stronger position to deal with the party that comes to power at the general election, if it be hostile to him.

If it is a presidential election, the votes of the minority communities could have a vital bearing on the outcome. Owing to Sri Lanka's ethnic composition—and political situation—the main contenders are certain

Political Causerie

by

Gamini Navaratne

(C-5)

J. R., Rohana and Colvin as Presidential candidates?



J. R. Jayewardene

to be Sinhalese. Even if the Tamil and Muslim people put up their own candidates in order to express their

communal solidarity, thereby depriving their first preferences to the main candidates, their second and third preferences could still influence the result. More likely, they would be persuaded by their leaders to vote for one or the other of the two leading candidates—on the strength of various understandings and promises.

What role will the Tamil United Liberation Front play in all this? Judging by the recent utterances of Mr. A. Amirthalingam, its Secretary-General, after his talks with the Government, he would prefer to call on the people of the North to support Mr.

Jayewardene. The line-up during the President's vote-seeking mission to Jaffna could provide clues as to how the supporters of the TULF as well as the other Tamil parties, would react.

Unless the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna is banned earlier, its leader Mr. Rohana Wijeweera can be expected to be a presidential candidate. He is on record as saying that he would emerge as the winner—with youth power! This is at best a day dream. His entry would only divide the opposition vote, particularly the radical vote—to the advantage of the UNP.

On present indications, the

Can the
S. L. F. P.
field a
candidate
at all?

odds are that Mr. Jayewardene would poll more votes than any other candidate. With Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike out of the field, there is no one else in the Sri Lanka Freedom Party—even if Mr. Maithripala Senanayake is re-united—or in the other opposition parties who could win nation-wide support.

The name of Trotskyist leader Dr. Colvin R. de Silva has been mentioned as a possible "stop-gap" candidate who, if elected, would make way for Mrs. Bandaranaike once her civic rights are restored. But there are several "ifs", including whether he would be acceptable to the SLFP.

The biggest "if" is whether Mrs. Bandaranaike's party would be able to put up a presidential candidate at all. The Constitution stipulates that it is only recognised political parties which could put up candidates. What if such recognition is denied?

To hold an election with one's main rival virtually behind bars is not democracy according to the book, but quite in order in American-backed banana republics. Sri Lanka, under Mr. Jayewardene's dispensation, is fast proving to be one!

THE QUESTION OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S INCOME

THE NATION (Weekly) published in Colombo has raised in its columns the question of Prime Minister Premadasa's income and his family's life-style. In the issue of 28th May it says:

"The latest addition to the numerous scandals associated with bigwigs in the Government is that of the Prime Minister's income and expenditure.....Many stories concerning the Prime Minister's affluent life style have been in circulation for some time now. An Opposition Member of Parliament drew attention to these stories recently to a public speech and the Sinhala daily, 'Atta,' referred to them last week in its political columns. The sum and substance of these stories is that Prime Minister and his family are living far, far beyond their

legitimate means and that the Prime Minister has not divulged the source of his additional income."

"So far as we are aware, Prime Minister Premadasa's only source of income is his job as Prime Minister and Minister of Local Government, Housing and Construction. The emoluments attached to these posts are shown in public documents. There is, therefore, no dispute about them. According to pages 10 and 634 of the Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure of the Government for the financial year 1981/82, his monthly salary is Rs. 3,500/-. However, this publication does not indicate clearly his entertainment and other allowances which he is entitled to draw as Prime Minister. Even if he is entitled to draw another Rs. 3,500/-

per month by way of allowances, his total monthly income does not exceed Rs. 7,000/-.

"His official residence is maintained and run at public expense. Besides, the cost of maintenance of his official vehicles, fuel and wages of chauffeurs are met by Government. To the best of our knowledge, Mrs. Premadasa is now not in remunerative employment. Even if she is, and is continuing in her original job as cashier (till operator) at the Dematagoda Ice Cream vending stall, her earnings may not make much of a difference to the aggregate joint income of Mr. and Mrs. Premadasa. Therefore, it is reasonable to assess Mr. Premadasa's total disposable monthly income of Rs. 7,000/-.

"Mr. Premadasa has two

children. The daughter has the unique privilege of attending the Colombo Overseas School, which is meant exclusively for the children of foreign nationals resident in Sri Lanka. Her term school fees is said to be Rs. 5250/-. Her teen-aged brother is attending a well known public school in England and the Nation reliably understands that his monthly expenses are in the region of about Rs. 20,000/-. Assuming that Mr. Premadasa too buys his food and other provisions at the prevailing high prices, we would reasonably estimate his monthly domestic expenses at Rs. 6,000/-. Thus, his monthly total expenses amount to Rs. 31,250/-.

Hence it is clear that Mr. Premadasa's monthly expenses exceed his monthly income by the staggering figure of Rs. 24,250/-....."

The following report published in the "Indian Express" of June 3 sets out the position of Tamil Nadu's AIADMK government on the issue of extradition of Tamil youths arrested in Madras recently:-

By Our Staff Reporter

The AIADMK executive has urged the Centre not to extradite the Liberation Tiger extremists to Sri Lanka as sought by the Sri Lanka Government.

The executive which met in Madras on Wednesday, in a resolution that the Tamil Nadu Government was duty-bound to maintain law and order, and take action against those arrested in Madras for offences here, but there should be no extradition under any circumstances.

The resolution noted that Sri Lanka Government had made the plea for extradition under the cover that the extremists were wanted for violent acts in Sri Lanka.

A low-key
Posture

Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran said the Tamil Nadu Government would only take cognisance of offences here and not those claimed to have been committed elsewhere.

Sri Lanka might claim that the arrested men were wanted for several offences in Sri Lanka but "we have no knowledge about the cases".

The AIADMK had been adopting a low-key posture on the Sri Lanka Tigers, despite its known sympathies for the cause of Sri Lanka Tamils for tactical reasons, especially in the absence of a clear-cut stance by the Union Government on the issue.

The participation of AIADMK general secretary P.U. Shanmugam in the all-party meeting convened by TNCC (K) president P. Nedumaran on the Sri Lanka issue, was the first indication of where the party's sympathies really lie.

Mr. Shanmugam, at recent public meetings while claiming that the party was second to none in championing the cause of Sri Lanka Tamils, had been cautioning other political parties against politicising the issue. This would be counter-productive, he said. He had also stated that the arrests of some of the extremists in Madras was not

Extradition: M G R's guarded but firm stand

prompted by the announcement of a massive reward for policemen or to put them behind bars, but in connection with the shooting incident that had taken place in Tamil Nadu.

The AIADMK has had to do some tight-rope walking since the Centre is yet to take a decision on the extradition issue. The Tamil Nadu government could not give the impression that it was shielding Sri Lanka extremists which could lead to possible international repercussions.



Chief Minister M. G. R.

Nor could it allow Tamil Nadu to be turned into a battlefield for rival Sri Lanka Tiger groups.

In a way, political observers say the arrests of the extremists has provided the latter protection against imminent infighting. The trial period could provide more time for the centre to make up its mind on the extradition issue, and might even provide an opportunity for the leaders of rival groups to overcome their mutual hostility.

The dilemma faced by the AIADMK is made acute by the fact that it must support the cause of Sri Lanka Tamils

lest the DMK dub it as having let down the Tamil community.

The AIADMK must appear to support the Lanka Tamils without giving the impression that it encourages subversive forces. This explains why AIADMK leaders have been guarded in their public statements.

The resolution of the all-party meeting held on Tuesday was earlier strongly worded but AIADMK representatives reportedly convinced the others to water it down into an appeal to the Centre rather than a demand on the extradition issue.

What Thomas Abraham said in Madras

The same issue of the INDIAN EXPRESS reported:

India's high commissioner in Sri Lanka Thomas Abraham who arrived in Madras on Wednesday said the question of extradition of five extremists belonging to the Liberation Tiger movement of Sri Lanka had not been raised with the mission by the government of Sri Lanka so far.

Talking to newsmen at Meenambakkam airport on his arrival from Sri Lanka, the High Commissioner said although there was no extradition treaty between the Government of India and Sri Lanka at present, there were legal provisions which made extradition possible.

But in terms of priority, it was his view that "the important thing is to try them under our law as to whether they have committed the offence for which they have been arrested."

Objectively speaking, the position was that four persons were alleged to have violated the laws of India in an incident which occurred in Pondy Bazaar, T. Nagar, on May 19.

The High Commissioner said that reports in Sri Lanka papers that he had come to Madras in connection with the extradition of extremists were incorrect. His visit fixed a month ago, was to attend a meeting of Chief Secretaries of the four southern states regarding repatriates and their employment problems.

Sri Lankan Revolutionary Marxists oppose extradition

The Revolutionary Marxist Party (Sri Lanka Section of the Fourth International) has opposed the extradition of the Tamil youths arrested in Tamil Nadu, India recently:

A Statement signed by Mr. T. N. PERERA on behalf of the Party says:

"With the reported arrest of a number of Sri Lankans by the Tamil Nadu Police, the question of human and political rights of persons said to be in the movement for the creation of a separate state of EELAM has taken a new turn. The people of this country as well as the people of India have now come face to face, for the first time, with the question of defending the human and political rights of persons persecuted for political activities, including their right of

not being subject to extradition.

"The local press has continuously published reports of the moves on the part of the Sri Lanka government to get these persons in custody in India extradited.

"To this day the Sri Lanka government has thought it fit to maintain complete official silence, although very serious questions of human rights arise out of this situation. The Indian government, too, has so far, maintained an equally conspicuous silence on this matter. The people of both countries have a right to know from the Sri Lanka government as well as the Indian government what had actually transpired between the two governments in this regard and also their official stand on the whole issue.

"If these Sri Lankans in custody are handed over by the Indian government to the Sri Lanka government it will mean, apart from being an infringement of the generally recognised right that the persons persecuted for political activities are not subject to extradition, that the extraordinary and reactionary laws such as the Prevention of Terrorism Act passed by the Sri Lanka government will operate against them. They are also liable to be detained, tortured and kept without trial and without the possibility of anybody meeting them—not even their lawyers.

"Although we do not agree with the politics of those in the so-called Tiger Movement, we are of the view that the treatment meted out to them and contemplated against them by the government should be denounced

by all sections of the people of this country. The concentrated attacks on the basic rights of those said to be in the "Tiger" Movement, after having aroused feelings of hatred against them among the people by large-scale propaganda through the mass media is reminiscent of the beginning of the massacre of thousands of young people by the government through the use of armed forces and the police in 1971 and the complete denial of human, political and democratic rights for the entire population of this country in that year and thereafter. Therefore, it becomes a matter of great concern to the entire masses of the people of this country from North to South and West to East, irrespective of any differences whatsoever...."



Prof. Arasaratnam

(Continued from last issue)

In 1921, there were about 25,000 labourers employed in the tobacco farms. Looked at in relative terms, the tobacco-growing areas give an appearance of greater prosperity than many of the areas which continued to struggle along with the traditional growing of paddy.

The Palmyrah Stand-by

The produce of the palmyrah is seen to continue as a stand-by to economic wherewithal in modern times. The export trade in palmyrah timber continued but is restricted by more effective regulations intended to preserve the palmyrah palm. The produce of the palm is a useful supplement to the diet of the people, particularly in areas of low productivity of paddy and incomes insufficient for the purchase of imported rice. In the 1890's the export of palmyrah fibre from Jaffna the Islands and the Vanni districts began to take off. Vavaseur and Co. of Colombo opened up this export trade through an agency in Jaffna. It brought a substantial sum of money into the province and benefited the small holders of palmyrah groves, the poor labourers who collected the fibres and the middlemen.

Export of

Palmyrah fibre

Soon after its initiation large quantities of fibre were exported. In 1891, 9,028 cwt., in 1892, 12,177 cwt., and in 1893, 8,743 cwt. It brought into the province respectively Rs. 122,559, Rs. 156,672 and Rs. 115,665. The owner received 9 cents a pound. Itinerant Muslim traders went into distant villages and bought it at cheaper rates. Everyone wanted to get into the act. Thousands of young trees were killed in an effort to extract the fibre. Robber bands stalked the nights devastating other people's palmyrah groves. The government received innumerable complaints and village headmen impressed on it the necessity to control this destruction for fear of the extinction of palmyrah trees. Controls were imposed on the extraction of palmyrah fibre and the quantities exported were restricted to under 4,000 cwt. The manufacture of sugar from palmyrah

The 1982 Chelvanayakam Memorial Lecture

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

No. 9 in the Series

palm juice was begun in 1916 by the Ceylon Sugar Refineries Company which opened a factory for this purpose near Valvettithurai. This provided employment to a number of people in the neighbourhood and served to increase the price of palm toddy. This in turn benefited the tapper classes. The export of palmyrah produce both to the southern parts of the island and to south India continued into the 19th century, though rising population and therefore greater consumption and the dwindling area under palmyrah led to a decline in this export in the 20th century. In the 1850's for example, about 10,000 cwt. of jaggery was exported annually from Jaffna to the Indian coast. Large quantities of kilangu and odiyal were exported from Point Pedro to Colombo.

with the promise of good returns. In ten years of the opening of the first estate, over 10,000 acres of Government land were purchased and planted. Over fifty estates were under cultivation. The restriction on the availability of land and the fluctuation in climatic conditions prevented the expansion of coconut in the way that it was happening in the south. European investment was phased out toward the end of the century and most of these established estates were bought by the growing Tamil entrepreneurs based in the south. These plantations provided some employment in an economically depressed area and contributed some economic relief to those areas. Again, there was some diversion of land marginally under paddy and dry grains to coconut which

fish markets were considered to be a lucrative tax farm in which a number of wealthy people invested. There was noted an upward movement of prices in those early decades which must have benefited fishermen. By its very nature, fishing industry is not one that could register continuous growth in the years before mechanization and refrigeration. But the continuing growth of population, the wide popularity of fish as an element in people's diet and the short distance to the sea from every part of the peninsula, combined to enable a number of people to be employed in the fishing industry. In the 1921 census, 10,130 men were registered as earning their livelihood by fishing. Though the industry did throw up a few entrepreneurs and capitalists in

them exposed to infectious diseases. The 1880's appear to have been a very bad period. The 1884 cyclone caused extensive damage and was followed by four years of cholera and small pox epidemics. The 1910's were another period of economic hardship. The death rate was heavy and populations declined over a ten year period in many villages, most markedly in the villages of Tenmarachi.

Education: The Largest Industry

Education, it has been remarked, was the largest industry opened by the British in Ceylon. Enough is known of the boom in education in Jaffna under the aegis of Christian missions, Hindu organizations and the state. The purpose here is to treat of education as a factor in contributing to the economy of the Tamils and the contribution is a many-pronged one. There was firstly the employment generated by these many educational institutions in the north. Then there was the employment opportunities opened up for the graduates of these schools in the bureaucracy and the private sector through the island. In 1921, a total of 10,185 Tamils were employed in public administration and the liberal arts. Thirdly there was the opportunity to go abroad to other British colonies, notably British Malaya and the Straits Settlements. Education also had the social effect of alienating people from the land which, in the case of Jaffna where there was a pressure on land, was not a bad thing after all.

A nation of pen-pushers

With hindsight, a major criticism can be made with respect to education in Jaffna which it shared with all education in the British colonies. The education produced a nation of pen-pushers, the adverse effect of which was not immediately seen as there was a great demand for pen-pushers all over the British Empire. The neglect of technical and agricultural education was something the Tamils lived to regret, together with all other subject peoples of the British Empire.

(To be Continued)

Manufacture of Palmyrah Sugar was begun in 1916

These exports, though small in an overall context, were a useful boost to the incomes of poorer groups that engaged in the collection and processing of palmyrah produce. The use of palmyrah produce as food was an index to the state of the province's economy. When the paddy harvest was good, rice was cheap and there was money in circulation, palmyrah produce was not sought after as food. In times of distress, rising price of food and unemployment, large numbers of people would resort to the produce of the palmyrah as their basic diet.

Introduction of Coconut

The commercial cultivation of coconut came late into the Jaffna peninsula, in the 1840's. When it did, it was on the initiative of English entrepreneurs, mainly officers of the English East India Company serving in India. Bengal civil servants, in particular, seem to have invested in clearing land and opening plantations. The districts of Pachilapalai and Thenmarachi were found most suitable. Besides it was here that crown land was offered for sale on favourable terms. The cultivation of coconut caught on

was found to be a more lucrative crop.

Market gardening was another activity that boomed in the 19th and 20th centuries, the rising population creating a demand within the peninsula. Tennent compared the neatly laid out market gardens of the Jaffna peasant to those of Fulham and Chelsea of his days. Much of the produce, even in his time, seems to have been exported southwards, particularly non-perishable things such as onions, and chillies. The export of this produce had made Point Pedro an important port and we see a revival of this port which had once been active but had seen a decline under the Dutch who tried to channel everything through Jaffna.

Fishing and sea Products

Fishing and the sale of sea products had always played a major role in the economy of the Tamils from the earliest times. Unfortunately there is no way of measuring its exact extent in the absence of evidence on the movement of prices of fish and other sea produce. In the early 19th century,

certain regions, it was nowhere as marked as the developments in the south. It remained, like the peasant farming, a series of small scale enterprises with marginal returns. With but a few exceptions, fishing communities remained depressed sections with high density over small land areas.

Community health and welfare continued to be major problems in the 19th century and it was only after the 1930's that the cyclical recurrence of epidemics and the persistent malnutrition was in some measure remedied. It is difficult in the absence of records to say whether the situation worsens in the 19th century, or whether such occurrences were present even earlier and have gone unrecorded. Influenza and dysentery were the common diseases and epidemics of cholera and small pox broke out not infrequently. Climatic conditions, economic recession and poor community health reinforced each other. Widespread damage by cyclone, failure of crops through a season of drought or by excessive flooding would deprive the people of nutritional food. This in turn would leave

ICJ REPORT

Human Rights & State of Emergency

(continued)

(13th weekly instalment)

DEROGATION FROM HUMAN RIGHTS DURING STATES OF EMERGENCY

The government has pointed out that the Terrorism Act is needed to control the outbreak of terrorism, a situation which might be considered as an emergency situation, thus justifying certain derogations from human rights. Article 4 of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights permits derogation from Articles 9, 10 and 14 which concern criminal procedure "in times of public emergency which threatens the life of the nation and the existence of which is officially proclaimed...to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation." The Terrorism Act has been in effect since 1979 and the government has officially proclaimed a state of emergency only for short periods during that time. In addition, although this is a matter of appreciation, its draconian provisions do not seem "strictly required by the exigencies of the situation," particularly in view of the fact they may be counterproductive in dealing with terrorism. Furthermore, Article 4 does not permit any derogations in emergency from the prohibition of torture or inhuman treatment and the prohibition of retroactive criminal legislation.

NO THREAT TO THE LIFE OF THE NATION

There is no doubt that terrorist acts have been and are occurring in Sri Lanka and that they create a serious law enforcement problem. It is doubtful, however, that the Sri Lankan government itself would consider the terrorist acts as a "public emergency which threatens the life of the nation," a requirement for derogation under the Covenant. The Human Rights Committee set up under the Covenant has not yet interpreted this language but the European Court on Human Rights, in interpreting similar language in the European Convention on Human Rights, has held it

to mean "an exceptional situation of crisis or emergency which affects the whole population and constitutes a threat to the organized life of the community of which the state is composed."

NOT IN PROPORTION TO REQUIREMENTS

Attention has been focused recently on the problem of derogations from human rights during periods of emergency. It has been pointed out that the major violations of human rights occurring in the world today take place during periods of "emergency" which has been defined as "the suspension of or departure from legal normality in response to a political, economic or social crisis." The International Commission of Jurists is presently studying the effects of states of emergency on Human Rights and Madame Nicole Ghestiaux has been appointed special Rapporteur of the U.N. Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities for a similar study. In a preliminary progress report to the Sub-Commission the Special Rapporteur has referred to a series of principles which must be maintained even in periods of emergency. One of these is the Principle of Proportionality. This means that the emergency measures taken must be in proportion to the actual requirements, in other words derogations from human rights should be only "to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation." The potential for human rights abuses implicit in the provisions of the Sri Lankan Terrorism Act are such that it is doubtful that they are required by the situation in that country.

EXCEPTIONAL AND TEMPORARY

In referring to derogations from human rights under Article 4 of the Covenant the Human Rights Committee has stated,

"The Committee holds the view that measures taken

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

under Article 4 are of an exceptional and temporary nature and may only last as long as the life of the nation concerned is threatened and, that in times of emergency, the protection of human rights becomes all the more important, particularly those rights from which no derogations can be made. The Committee also considers that it is equally important for States parties in times of public emergency, to inform the other States parties of the nature and extent of derogations they have made and of the reasons therefor and, further, to fulfill their reporting obligations under Article 40 of the Covenant by indicating the nature and extent of each right derogated from together with relevant documentation."

terrorist group. The August declaration of the state of emergency was widely regarded as a necessary step and an effective method of halting the communal violence. This appears to be an appropriate and even necessary use of a state of emergency in contrast to the continuing emergency type legislation embodied in the Terrorism Act. The state of emergency will presumably be terminated as soon as the immediate danger of communal violence has passed.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Both the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights provide that the States Parties will guarantee that the rights enunciated in the Covenant will be exercised without discrimination on the basis of race or language. (Article 2 in both covenants.) The Economic Covenant provides that "Higher education shall be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity." (Article 13 (2) (c).) It appears that legislation in Sri Lanka concerning admission to universities is contrary to Article 13.

The Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of

enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. These measures shall in no case entail as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate rights for different racial groups after the objectives for which they were taken have been claimed."

Affirmative action programs are usually adopted by a majority group to help a backward minority group. It is unusual for a majority group to adopt affirmative action programs to help their own group as is the case of the Sinhalese in Sri Lanka. Nevertheless, it could possibly be justified in unusual circumstances if the extreme backwardness of the majority population was the result of prior political domination by the minority group. The majority Sinhalese community has been in political power in Sri Lanka since independence in 1948 and the difference between the two groups economically and educationally does not seem sufficient to justify the affirmative action measures relating to higher education. The fifteen percent of admission to universities awarded to backward areas may be justified. It seems, however, that in order to conform with international standards, the Government should reconsider its policy as to the 55% of places which are awarded to revenue districts on the implicit basis of race.

The government's commitment to racial justice would be further demonstrated by ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. This Convention has been ratified by over 100 countries, including the majority of developing countries. An explicit international commitment to eradicate racial discrimination should have a positive effect on the current situation in Sri Lanka. The policies adopted by the government with relation to education could then be appraised on the basis of international human rights norms and the problem resolved more satisfactorily.

SELF-DETERMINATION

Article 1 of both the Civil and Political Covenant and the Economic, Social and Cultural Covenant provide that "All peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of the right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their

(Continued next page)

**Aug. '81 Emergency was
declared as a result
of anti-Tamil Violence,
not as a result of
the acts of the small
terrorist group...**

It appears that the situation created by terrorist acts in Sri Lanka is not one threatening the life of the nation and that the provisions of the Act exceed the measures strictly necessary in the circumstances. The violation of human rights resulting from the Act are thus not permissible under the Civil and Political Rights Covenant.

In August 1981 the President of Sri Lanka declared a state of emergency after authorization by Parliament. This emergency was declared as a result of communal violence—looting, arson and murders against the Tamil population—and not as a result of acts of the small

Racial Discrimination (although not ratified by Sri Lanka) can be considered as developing the more general discrimination provisions of the Covenants. It permits affirmative action under certain circumstances in Article 2 (2):

"States Parties shall when circumstances so warrant take, in the social, economic, cultural and other fields, special and concrete measures to ensure the adequate development and protection of certain racial groups or individuals belonging to them, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the full and equal

I. C. J. Report (Contd.)

The Tamils' right of self-determination

economic, social and cultural development." The Tamil United Liberation Front contends that the Tamil population of Sri Lanka has a right to self-determination under international law contained in the U.N. Charter, the Covenants and general international law.

The Tamils could be considered to be a "people." They have a distinct language, culture, a separate religious identity from the majority population, and to an extent, a defined territory. Claims to self-determination under international law, however, must also be balanced against the international law principle of the territorial integrity of states. Moreover minorities have not generally, been considered as a "people" in U.N. application of the principle of self-determination.

The principles of International Law concerning friendly Relations and Cooperation among states, approved by the U.N. General Assembly in 1970, state in relation to self-determination,

"Nothing in the foregoing paragraphs shall be construed as authorizing or encouraging any action which would dismember or impair, totally or in part, the territorial integrity or political unity of sovereign and independent states conducting themselves in compliance with the principle of equal rights and self-determination as described above and thus possessed of a government representing the whole people belonging

to the territory without distinction as to race, creed or colour."

The Principle also states that "The establishment of an independent State, the free association or integration with an independent State or the emergence into any other political status freely determined by a people constitute modes of implementing the right of self-determination by that people."

Although the practice of the United Nations has been to limit the application of the Principle of Self-Determination to colonial situation there is a substantial body of academic opinion which contends that the principle should have wider application, and thus could apply to a situation such as that of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

It is understood that the right of self-determination may be claimed only once by a "people". It could be argued that by participating in the Sri Lankan government since independence, the Tamils no longer have a right to self-determination. The TULF contend, however, that the Tamils did not participate in the adoption of the 1952, 1972 or 1978 Constitutions and thus have never given up sovereignty which reverted to them when the legal ties with British were broken in 1972.

The application of the principle of self-determination in concrete case is difficult. It seems nevertheless, that a credible argument can be made that the Tamil community in Sri Lanka is entitled to self-determination. But, ultimately, it will not be the legal prin-

ciple of self-determination which will solve the problem of Sinhalese-Tamil relations in Sri Lanka but rather a willingness on the part of both groups to work out a political settlement. Self-determination does not necessarily mean "separation," as pointed out in the Principles of Friendly Relations. It may be exercised while remaining in association

or integration with an existing state. A substantial measure of autonomy accorded to the Tamil community through the District Development Councils would seem to satisfy the principle of self-determination. What is essential is that the political status of the "people" should be freely determined by the "people" themselves.

In the absence of substantial

measures of autonomy being accorded to the Tamils by the majority community, the argument that self-determination permits separation becomes more persuasive. Whether separation is feasible or advisable is not within the purview of this study and the undersigned expresses no opinion on this subject.

(Next week: Summary)

A quality
collection deserves
a quality
Showroom

Lalitha

Jewellery Mart LIMITED
JEWELLERS AND GEM MERCHANTS



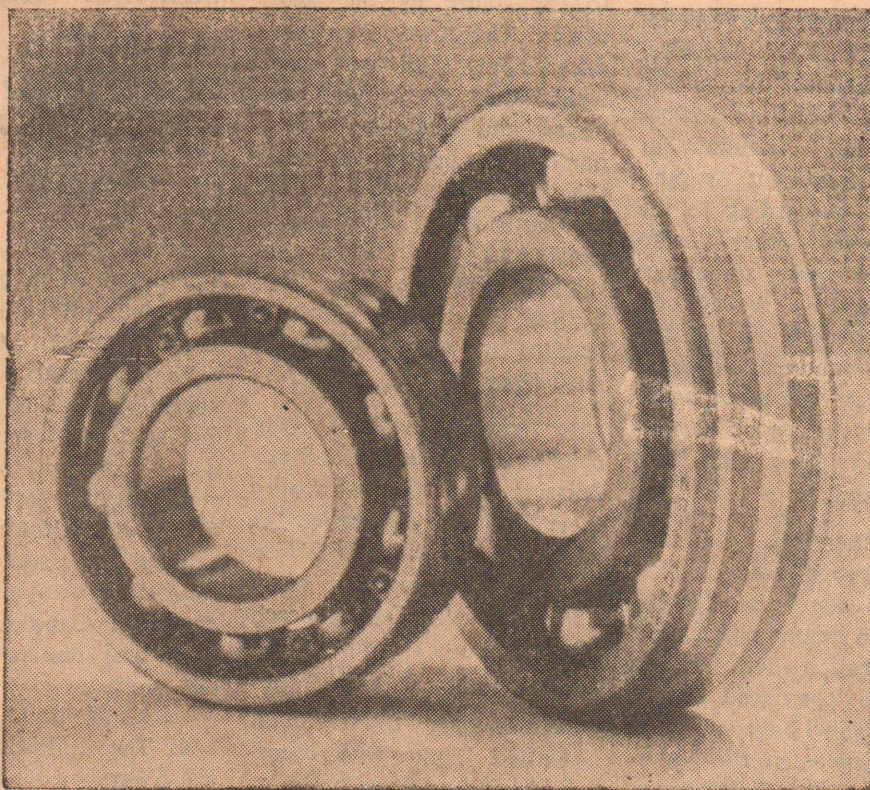
99.101.103.105

SEA STREET, COLOMBO 11, SRI LANKA
TELEPHONE 23691.31993

CABLES: "LALITHAS"

NTN

**BALL AND ROLLER
BEARINGS**



SOLE AGENTS AND DISTRIBUTORS:

**Consolidated Bearings
And Supply Ltd.**

23, Bristol Street, Colombo 1
548165 Cable: JMPOBEAR

PIONEERS

in the manufacture of
Synthetic Textiles
in the North

Specialists in

Nylon & Polyester
fabrics

CEYMA

Silk Industries Ltd.

Thirunelvely
Jaffna

Telephone: 7170

T'grams: "Ceyma Silk"

Tension and Torture

in Vavuniya (3)

(Continued from
last issue)

Meanwhile, two other Police officers went out to the driver, a Sinhalese youth, who had parked the MIRJE vehicle on the road opposite the Station. They abused him in the most obscene language, used even fouler language to describe the MIRJE Delegate who had entered the Station to inquire about the detainee youths. What is most important to note, one of the two Police officers told the MIRJE driver, "Leave the service of Gandhiyam as soon as you can. It is not safe for you to work for Gandhiyam. We shall soon exterminate Gandhiyam and Dr. Rajasunderam." The Police officers were obviously under the impression that the MIRJE driver was an employee of Gandhiyam.

The next morning three members of the Delegation personally reported this incident to the S. P. Vavuniya. He apologized for what he called the unpardonable behaviour of his men and promised to take them to task. We also told him that, so far as we were aware, the youths who had been taken were not terrorists, but the surest way to make them terrorists was to treat them as the Police had treated even ourselves the previous night.

Torture

Article 11 of the Constitution reads thus: "No person shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment." According to the Constitution, other fundamental rights may sometimes be subject to restrictions. But never Article 11. Torture or cruel, inhuman, degrading treatment can never under any circumstances be permitted. This is the Constitution of the land.

It is therefore with the utmost sense of responsibility joined to the utmost commitment to human rights, that the Delegation here reports that it is convinced that State personnel have subjected Tamil refugees in the Vavuniya area to cruel, inhuman, degrading treatment and to torture. A progressive increase in the use of torture and the increasing sophistication of torture since the youth insurgency of 1971 is, in our opinion, one of the most disturbing developments in contemporary Sri Lanka and tends to align this land with other countries where torture is known to be the

order of the day for those who dare to disagree with the government.

If anyone or any organization suspects that the Delegation is overstating the case at least in so far as Vavuniya is concerned, MIRJE is prepared to organize a visit of such a person or organization to the area in order that first hand information may be obtained from persons subjected to the treatment which is proscribed without qualification by the Constitution.

Evidence of Torture

The Delegation can do no better than quote verbatim from certain sworn affidavits that were shown to it in Vavuniya:

1. "Around 7.30 a.m. in the morning (of 7 January 1982), they took me near the poultry shed and assaulted me with bare hands and boxed me in the chest, abdomen and face and wanted me to admit the visit of the persons called Uma Maheswaran and Sundaram. This pattern of assault continued till 2.00 p.m. and I was without any food till 2.00 p.m."

2. "After sometime I saw my wife being brought to the centre by the army men. The army men produced some Christmas cards which they took from my house and demanded the name of the person who gave this. I said one Kugan gave the cards and I said that I can identify him. I was assaulted with the gun butt by one army person and (he) insulted me asking whether I need Tamil Eelam...."

Around 11 a.m. the chief army officer started addressing the settlers who were there from early morning. He addressed in the Sinhalese language and another army officer translated his speech into Tamil. In his speech he mentioned the following:

"We wanted to live in United Lanka with everybody and we have come to wipe out those who demand Eelam. We also wanted to wipe out the Tigers who robbed the Kilinochchi Bank. You are made to suffer this morning because of the Eelam callers. These Eelam callers youth workers are being appointed by Gandhiyam movement and you should denounce Gandhiyam."

Gandhiyam Doctor is the cause for all this trouble. You should denounce Gandhiyam movement."

Gandhiyam Doctor is robbing milk powder, thripsha, and money and you should denounce Gandhiyam Movement."

Finally the speaker asked those who denounce Gandhiyam Movement to raise their hands and due to fear all the settlers raised their hands. Thereafter the army person said that the Gandhiyam shed should be burnt, for which once again the settlers were asked to raise their hands, to which the people complied with. Around 1 p.m. names and addresses of all the settlers were written by the army and they took Miss..... andand left the centre."

MIRJE Mission

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

3. "Around 11 a.m. the chief army officer made a speech to the settlers in Sinhalese (which was) translated by another officer into Tamil against Gandhiyam movement and against the volunteers. They made a few settlers to speak against us. I was made the laughing stock together with my other volunteers in the eyes of the settlers and settlers were asked to raise their hands to denounce Gandhiyam Movement and due to fear they did so."

4. The following affidavit is from a 21-year old girl: "The army people assaulted me and asked me to wait in the hot sun for more than four hours. They brought all the people of the area to our premises and started beating them mercilessly with their belts and gun butts. When they fell on the ground, the army people stamped and kicked them with their boots."

This drama of terror was continuing for nearly four hours. Then at about one p.m. they took oneandin their vehicle. Before they were taken, they were taken into a room, assaulted, hanged to the roof and kicked by the boots and were treated severely.

I also witnessed that another volunteer in the Gandhiyam being thrown into the muddy paddy field after being dealt with and being allowed to sit in the hot sun for four hours.

Thereafter I was forced into a locked room through the window by the army people and.....and.....were also brought over there through the window and thereafter, in front of me,

they were assaulted.

Before they were taken away, the army personnel asked me to give....a sarong and shirt. I did so and they told me that....won't come back alive and they told me that they are taking them to Kurunagar."

5. "Thereafter, they asked me whether any unknown persons stay in the farm. I said that people from Moonrumuripu Village used to stay in the night sometimes and continue their journey the following mornings.

They said that I was not telling the truth and assaulted me with bare hands and boxed me on my face and abdomen. Then they pushed me into the muddy paddy field and allowed me to stay in the hot sun.

By this time, the entire settlers, villagers including children, men and women

were brought by armed army men and were allowed to stay in the hot sun. Female Volunteer Miss....too was questioned and allowed to stay in the hot sun.

Few villagers namely.... andand among the settlers....and... were beaten up by the army men with gun butts and belts.

Around twelve noon.. and I was taken into the room and assaulted, thereafter Miss....was brought in through the window and in front of her, I was assaulted and....was hung upside down and assaulted.

Around 1.00 p.m....and I were taken to Mankulam in an army truck. On the way I was made to carry and balance a seven Gallon water can with water. I was also decorated with about fifteen steel helmets on my head. We were there at the Army Camp till 9 p.m.

Around 9 p.m. it was raining, and I was taken naked in the truck and allowed to soak in the rain and they took me to the Kurunagar Camp. The army person mentioned that the camp where I was taken was the Kurunagar camp.

At Kurunagar camp, I was tied and locked with a chain and beaten up by army men. Thereafter, they pinned me with safety pins on my thigh and in between nails and this pattern of torture went on for nearly two hours.

On the 8th November 81 around 9 a.m. at the camp I was questioned and tortured in the following pattern:

Chillies were inserted into my nose.

I was made to lie on a flat bench facing down and hammered with a S-lon pipe on the sole of my feet for an hour, and I was feeling confused with severe headache. While this torture was going on, they inserted chillies into my nose. I was made to hug a wall through two holes and a 2 feet long log was placed in between the wall and my abdomen. A rope was tied to my waist and was pulled by two army men while one army man kicked at my back with his boot.

(To be Continued)

1982—The International Year of the Ageing

The United Nations has declared this year 1982 as the International Year of the Ageing. Those over 60 years of age are considered an elder and are assumed to have grown old gracefully unless their lives had been chequered by sickness, misfortunes, intemperate living and wrong conduct. After 65, every year is said to be an year of grace, after 75 every quarter is said to be a quarter of grace and after 85 every month, a month of grace.

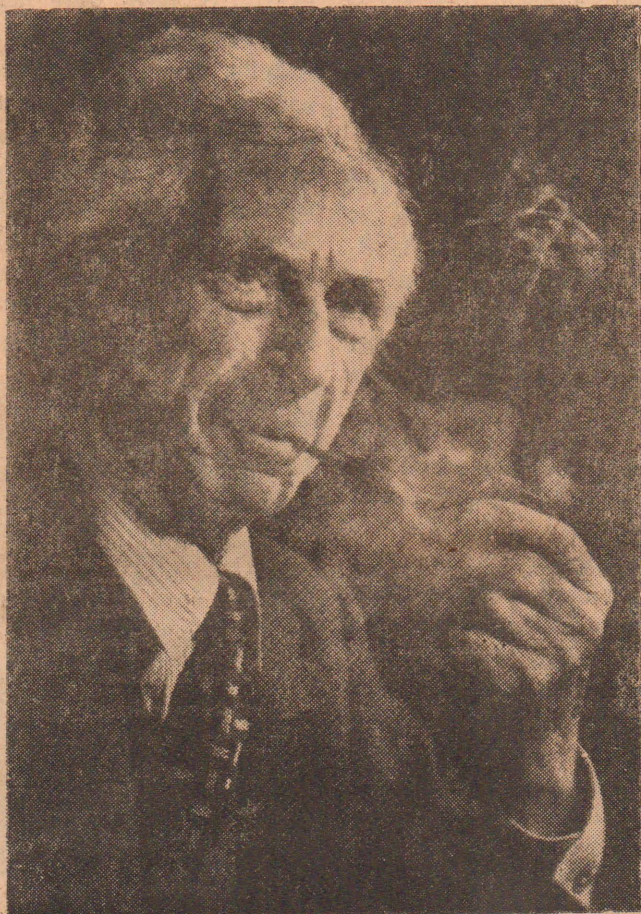
HEALTH IN OLD AGE

Early life has most to do with health in old age. Chronic ailments like polio etc in childhood, teenage mistakes and adulthood excesses bring serious health reactions in old age. Those who are victims to arthritis, rheumatism, asthma, Parkinsons disease and other nervous and gastric disorders cannot expect to be healthy in old age. They have to live with these ailments like Benjamin Franklin who lived with arthritis until the very end. "To enjoy health in old age or to be old and healthy is the greatest of human luck" says Lin Yutang.

"OLD AGE LIBERATES YOU FROM EVERY HATRED AND MALICE" SAID SOMERSET MAUGHAM

Maugham (who died at the age of 91) continues "I have been asked whether I should be willing to live my life again. On the whole it had been a pretty good life, perhaps better than most people. But I can see no point in repeating it. But supposing that there were such things as re-incarnation, belief in which is held by 3/4 of the human race and one could choose whether or not to enter a new life on earth, I would then be willing to try the experiment on the chance that I might enjoy experiences which circumstances prevented me from enjoying. But now I should refuse. I have had enough. I neither believe in immortality nor desire it. I should like to die quietly and painlessly and I am content to be assured that with my last breath, my soul with its aspirations and weaknesses will dissolve into nothingness. To be old and poor is bad, to depend on charity for a roof over one's head and for bread to eat, is not to be borne. I look forward to old age without dismay, for the complete life,

Year of the Ageing



BERTRAND RUSSELL—MATHEMATICIAN PHILOSOPHER WHO DIED AT THE AGE OF 97, WAS ACTIVE TILL THE VERY END.

He defended many causes but most vociferously the cause of peace.

"Three passions have governed my life", he wrote, "A Longing for love, a search for knowledge and unbearable pity for the suffering of mankind".

the perfect pattern includes old age as well as youth and maturity. The beauty of the morning and the radiance of the noon are good but it would be very silly to draw the curtain and turn on the light to shut the tranquility of the evening".

CRUELTY TO THE AGED IN OLDEN DAYS

In a chapter on "The Art of Growing Old" in his book "The Art of Living" the French writer Andre Maurois says:- "The closer they are to nature the more cruel are men to old age. The ageing wolf commands the respect of the pack so long as he can capture his prey and kill it. Kipling has described in his "Jungle Book", the rage of the cubs at being led into battle by an old wolf who is losing his strength. Primitive men were like animals in this respect. A traveller in Africa writes of a

frightened old chieftain who besought him, "Give me some dye for my hair. If they notice that it is turning white, they will kill me". Certain South Sea islanders obliged these old men to climb coconut trees which they then shook. If the old men could avoid falling they won the right to live. If they fell then cases were judged and then sentences executed. These old customs seem brutal, but we too have now our coconut trees."

REGARD AND RESPECT FOR THE AGED

Audre Maurois also says:

"In a country like England and France which sets great store by precedent and is governed by custom, old age triumphs. Clemenceau and Gladstone were Prime Ministers when over eighty and are said to have possessed astonishing vitality. In

PERSONAL NOTE

The Jaffna Public Library was a source of solace to me during the past 18 years of my retirement and on this first anniversary of its destruction, I submit my humble tribute to that Institution through this article, says

Mr. C. Ratnasabapathy
in sending us the article
on June 1, 1982.

palanquin, prostrated at Appar's feet and took him up to the palanquin. Lord Siva came to the rescue of an old woman at Madura and helped her to build a bund. Old Poetess Avvai commanded the respect of the Chera, Chola and Pandian Kings, and settled several of their disputes.

GRAND-PARENTS AND GRAND-CHILDREN

ancient China old men were accorded a chivalrous affection. "Man with grey hair" said the Chinese, "must not be seen carrying a burden on the streets". In India age, learning and experience had sway from time immemorial. The Ramayana, Mahabharata and Periyapuram contain numerous incidents of homage and respect paid to the aged. Young Saint Thirugnanasambandar, is said to have jumped out of his palanquin on hearing that the old Saint Appar (Thirunavukarasar) was also shouldering the

"Grand-parents are frequently more congenial with their grand-children than with their children" says Andre Maurois. He adds that "An old man, having retired from active life, regains the gaiety and irresponsibility of childhood. He is ready to play, tell stories and listen to conferences. Even a child's strength is similar to his own. HE CANNOT RUN WITH HIS SON BUT HE CAN TOTTER WITH HIS GRAND SON. One's first and last steps have the same rhythm; one's first and last walk are similarly limited".

Quotes

"There are so few who can grow old with a good grace —Sir Richard Steele.

"I love everything that is old: old friends, old times, old manners, old books, old wines" —Oliver Goldsmith.

"A man not old but mellow likes good wine" —Stephen Phillips.

"Youth is a blunder; manhood a struggle, old age a regret" —Benjamin Disraeli.

"A man is as old as he is feeling; A woman is old as she looks" —Mortimer Collins.

*"You're old Father William" a young man said
And your hair has become very white
And yet you incessantly stand on your head
Do you think, at your age, it is right?"*

*"In my youth" Father William replied to his son
I feared it might injure the brain
But now that I am perfectly sure I have none
Well, I do it again and again."*

*"You are old," said the youth "and your jaws are weak
For anything tougher than suet;
Yet you finish the goose with bones and beak,
Pray, how do you manage to do it?"*

*"In my youth" said his father, "I took to law
And argued each case with my wife
And the muscular strength, which it gave to my jaw
Has lasted the rest of my life."*

—Lewis Carroll
Alice's Adventures in Wonderland

LETTERS

Tamil United Liberation Front
9, The Parade,
Upper Brookley Road,
London SE 4.
18th May 1982.

The Editor,
Saturday Review,
Jaffna,
Sri Lanka.

Dear Sir,

We are writing this letter, with reference to your report, "Going to Kotte will be Act of Prostration" Amir told in London", appearing in the Saturday Review dated 3rd April, 1982.

We find it has, by and large, been incorrectly reported. In view of the deep concern expressed by the Tamils in Britain, we wish to give you an accurate report of the proceedings of the Meeting.

The major part of your report is full of gross inaccuracies of statements made by Mr. K. Vaikunthavasan.

During question time, Mr. Vaikunthavasan asked two questions from Mr. Amirthalingam. The first question was whether the TULF intended to start an official newspaper in the near future. The answer to this was in the affirmative. The second question was whether the TULF MPs would attend Parliament when it moved to Kotte. At this point Mr. Vaikunthavasan expressed his view that the MPs should not go to Kotte. In reply Mr. Amirthalingam said that he could not make a decision about the MPs attending Parliament in Kotte himself without consultation with the TULF working committee.

We cannot understand how the words, "Going to Kotte will be Act of Prostration", could be adduced to Mr. Vaikunthavasan, when these words were not actually used by anybody.

It is very disappointing to us, Tamils living abroad, that a newspaper of the calibre of S. R. should publish inaccurate reports without proper confirmation.

Further, the rest of the report about Mr. Amirthalingam's attendance of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Seminar, with the approval of the President, seems to reflect the view of Mr. Amirthalingam's critics. A responsible newspaperman, as yourself, we are sure, is aware that Mr. Amirthalingam

attended the seminar on his own right as a Member of Parliament.

In fact, Mr. Amirthalingam during the course of his speech pointed out that he was exerting his right as the Leader of the Opposition in attending the seminar, just as Mr. Jayawardena had done during the life of the previous Parliament.

The Public Meeting was organised by the T. U. L. F. (England Branch), which is the largest organisation of Eelam Tamils in the U. K.

A cassette tape recording of the proceedings of the above meeting is available at the T. U. L. F. Branch Office in London.

Arrangements to listen to the recordings could be made by writing to the Secretary, T. U. L. F. (England Branch), Upper Brookley Road, London S. E. 4.

Yours truly,

Dr. A. C. Thillakan Sebastianpillai,
(Chairman of the T. U. L. F. Meeting held on 21.3.82)

Dr. S. Srinivasan,
Secretary, T.U.L.F. (England Branch).

Note by Editor

In making a sweeping allegation; "The major part of your report is full of gross inaccuracies of statements made by Mr. K. Vaikunthavasan", Doctors Sebastianpillai and Srinivasan should also have the courtesy to spell out what these "gross inaccuracies" were. Their specific complaint of inaccurate reporting is the one relating to the words "Going to Kotte will be an act of prostration" which they say were not used by Mr. Vaikunthavasan.

If our London correspondent had erred about the phraseology used by Mr. Vaikunthavasan we stand contradicted but let that not be used as a red herring to get away from the central fact that Mr. Vaikunthavasan opposed the TULF MPs going to Kotte an opinion which he did express, and which we reported, and now accepted by the two doctors, an opinion that any free Tamil citizen was entitled to make if he so believed.

In also saying that "Mr.

The late Bishop Leo, a champion of the oppressed and true friend of the Tamils

I was grieved to read of the passing away of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Leo Nanayakkara, O.S.B. Bishop of Badulla. As a non-Roman Catholic I was privileged to come within his orbit of influence, and his death has been to me a personal loss. On the last occasion that I met him at his office in Badulla, only three weeks prior to his death, he had a copy of the SATURDAY REVIEW in front of him. Therefore I thought it appropriate that I should write an appreciation in the same journal.

Bishop Leo Nanayakkara started his life as a priest and schoolmaster in Kandy. He was a keen sportsman in his younger days, and continued to play a good game of tennis until recently. At a relatively young age he was chosen to be Bishop of Kandy. He recalled with humour how uncomfortable he felt when he was first called upon to officiate as a bishop. The robes of office sat lightly on him, and he never lost the common touch. When the Catholic Church felt it necessary to start a new diocese in Badulla, Bishop Leo was sent as its first bishop. He was a good bishop—a shepherd of his flock.

He was a liberal thinker with an incisive mind. He challenged my own concepts and notions, and few have influenced my thinking as he has done. He drew a distinction between social action and social service, between piety and true religion. He was a champion of social justice and expressed his opinion fearlessly, yet pleasantly. There was no hatred in his mind.

Bishop Leo was from a Sinhalese Buddhist background, a heritage of which he was justly proud. He had an uncle who was a Buddhist priest. He understood the mind of the Buddhist and chided the Christians for their failure to understand people of other faiths.

Amirthalingam was exercising his right as Leader of the Opposition in attending the seminar—the writers did not in any way deny our report that "Mr. Amirthalingam attended the 1980 Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Seminar as the sole representative of the Sri Lanka Branch and was guest of the CPA for the full duration of the Seminar from 2nd March to 20th March. It is apparent that his choice was with the

As a bishop he mixed freely with people of all shades of thinking, and worked with others for common cause. In 1973—75 there were many destitutes in the streets of Badulla, most of whom were persons displaced from the tea estates. Bishop Leo was the live wire behind the organisation of the Beggar Rehabilitation Camp, with the help of official and private bodies who were willing to help. He was a practical man.



Bishop Leo Nanayakkara

Bishop Leo was a champion of the oppressed. He studied the problem of the Insurgents taken into captivity in 1971 and took practical measures to help them. He consistently expressed the view that the Tamils and the Tamil language should enjoy equal rights in this country. In him the Tamils have lost a true friend.

Finally, Bishop Leo was a true patriot, who loved his country and all its people. His aspirations could best be expressed in the words of Rabindranath Tagore:

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;

Where knowledge is free,

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;

Where words come out from the depth of truth;

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever widening thought and action—

Into that haven of freedom, my father, let my country awake.

P. ARULANANTHAM

Intensive Care Unit, Jaffna: Appeal for funds

The Jaffna General Hospital Development Association has made an appeal to the public, for generous contributions, urgently needed for the completion of the Intensive Care Unit, estimated to cost 4 lakhs of rupees.

Cheques should be drawn in favour of the Jaffna General Hospital Development Association, and sent to the Treasurer, Jaffna General Hospital Development Association, Medical Library, General Hospital, Jaffna. Donors from abroad may remit by Mail Transfer to the Account (No. 12154) of the J. G. H. D. A. at the Commercial Bank of Ceylon Ltd., Hospital Road, Jaffna.

If Tax exemption is desired, cheques should be drawn in favour of National Health Development Fund, with specific covering advice, "For construction of Intensive Care Unit, General Hospital, Jaffna" and sent to Secretary, National Health Development Fund, P.O. Box. 513, Colombo.

approval of Mr. Jayawardene". Or is it the contention of Doctors Sebastianpillai and Srinivasan that Mr. Amirthalingam "exercised his rights as Leader of the Opposition" without the approval of the President?

Colombo-13

Sir,

Tamil youths are in the news and are occupying the headlines in the newspapers.

Let us not forget the Tamil lass who had hit the headlines in the papers in another but healthy field.

"14.9 seconds in 100 m. hurdles.

"Selvagowry Sets New Lanka Mark in England"

— "SUN" 5-6-82

Her achievement deserves praise and encouragement.

—ARUL

Dead youths bring a T.U.L.F. M.P. & T.E.L.F. to the same platform



P. Iraikumaran



C. Umaikumaran

The Memorial meeting held for P. Iraikumaran and C. Umaikumaran former members of TULF (Youth Front) turned critics of that party, and finally shot dead by seven unknown armed youths on the 26th of May—organised by the TELF (Youth front) and held at the Veerasingham Hall on the 9th of June, was an unusual recent political meeting. It brought personalities of diverse political ideologies on the same platform. But, not surprisingly, trying to interpret Iraikumaran's controversial political career according to their own point of view and exploiting the opportunity to advocate their own solution to the National Question, it was ultimately felt that the speakers had distorted the 'real' Iraikumaran.

V. Dharmalingam (TULF MP for Manipay) speaking first, knew that he was standing on a dominantly anti-TULF platform, and addressed a special word to the journalists: his presence in the meeting shouldn't give the impression that he was having any ideological differences with the TULF! Wisely, he touched only on the early involvement of Iraikumaran with TULF and didn't comment on the phase in which Iraikumaran had broken away from the TULF. Condemning the killers of the dead youth he developed the sober age-old theme of "violence breeds violence", and stressed that youth militancy was not the path for a solution—which strain was quite in keeping with the new tune TULF is now playing.

Kovai Mahesan's elegy was of a different tune as he stressed the late period in which Iraikumaran had turned a devastating critic of TULF joining his own group, the TELF. He portrayed Iraikumaran as a 'prophet', being one of the first to break away from the TULF anticipating the opportunistic diversions the party was to take later.

Most speakers from the University, struck a more

high-pitched and glorious note as they sang a hymn of praise for "youth power". Stressing how Iraikumaran strove to create a proper social awareness among the rural masses through his imaginative writings, speeches and play-lets, they exhorted all Tamil youth to follow the footsteps of their dead brothers "even unto death".

The elegy that Thirunavukarasu (of the Nava Sama Samaja Party) and Davidson (of the General Union of Eelam Students) sang was certainly a composition of the Communist bloc. Naming Iraikumaran a "Leftist" in Tamil politics, they went on to magnify the socialist outlook of the dead youth and propagated a "Socialist revolution" as the solution to the Tamil problem.

A common problem all speakers faced was of what attitude they should take towards the armed youth who had killed the two. For Mr. V. Dharmalingam they were down-right "terrorists". The other speakers felt they were "freedom fighters"—but they had to explain the fact that these "freedom fighters" had mercilessly killed Iraikumaran and Umaikumaran who too were "freedom fighters". While some made an "apology" for such internecine conflict within the guerilla movements even in the other countries, the others added a cautionary word that such acts would turn self-destructive.

With their controversial political career and death, the dead youth symbolised the cross-roads the current Tamil politics has reached. Ultimately the image of the dead youth—for whom the meeting was held—was submerged and it was the conflicting points of view of the speakers that dominated the stage confusing the audience as to what path they should take towards the solution of the National Question.

'Don't ask for bail' telegrams

Quite a number of telegrams have gone from Sri Lanka to the Tamilnadu lawyers representing the Tamil Eelam Liberation Tigers now in remand in Tamilnadu urging them not to press for bail, the SATURDAY REVIEW learns.

Earlier the lawyers, the SATURDAY REVIEW

understands, had not planned to ask for bail but had later reportedly changed their minds.

Telegrams advising the lawyers against a change of strategy have, the SATURDAY REVIEW learns, been prompted by a concern for the personal safety of the Liberation Tigers.

State Printing watcher assaults the Chairman

Mr. R. R. Nalliah, identified the assailant said Chairman of the Ceylon State Printing Corporation transfer orders recently. Panaluwa, has complained to the Police that he was assaulted by a watcher employed by the Corporation. Mr. Nalliah who

The Bambalapitiya Police who arrested the watcher later allowed him to be released on personal bail.

CEYLON TEACHERS' UNION SAY "NO" TO EXTRADITION

The Ceylon Teachers' Union (72, Upstairs, Malay Street, Colombo 2) has addressed the following letter to the High Commissioner for India in Sri Lanka:

"The Central Committee of the Ceylon Teachers' Union which has a membership of 47,000, met on 5th June 1982 and unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"We are informed that the Tamil Nadu Police has arrested several Sri Lankan Tamil youths including Uma Maheswaran and Prabhakaran. Though we do not agree with

these youths' politically we appeal to the Indian Government not to hand over these youths to the Sri Lanka Government".

The letter has been signed by Mr. H. N. Fernando, General Secretary of the Union.

The Ceylon Teachers' Union has also passed a resolution urging the Government to reinstate immediately all employees who lost their jobs because of the 1980 July strike; condemning the campaign carried out by the pro-government news media against the Northern youths, the J. V. P.

youths and all the political opponents of this government.

The third resolution states:-

"The enactment of the so called Terrorism Act and the setting up of Village Defence Committees and salary increase of the State Forces are steps to strengthen the military rule. The so called Terrorism Prevention Act which is used today against the joint struggles of the Tamil people will be utilised by the present government very soon against all its political opponents. We call upon all the Trade Unions and other mass organization to unite to fight the government against its anti-democratic actions".

Ask for

LINATEX

Polyester Cotton Sarongs

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

Saturday Review

SRI LANKA

Undergrads notch a
Victory : Vimalarasa
and 9 others released

The Jaffna undergraduates who had despite their oncoming examinations decided to renew their campaign on a larger scale to get fellow Undergrad Vimalarasa released, found themselves in the happy position of achieving more than what they wanted. Nine other youths held in prolonged detention at Panagoda Army camp were released on the President's orders along with Vimalarasa on Tuesday night in Jaffna.



Flashback to the 3-day protest fast by the Jaffna undergrads from 24 - 26 May. In the centre is Vimalarasa's mother.

India to withdraw Visa Concession?

The Indian High Commission in Sri Lanka, the SATURDAY REVIEW understands, was perturbed about the way in which Sri Lanka's top police brass and a journalist had used a concession, meant for bona fide Sri Lankan tourists, to fly across to India following the arrest by Tamilnadu Police of Tamil Eelam Liberation Tigers Velupillai Prabhakaran and Siva Kumar.

The Indian Government, in a bid to stimulate Sri Lankan tourist inflow into India, allows Sri Lankans to fly across to India without a visa if they have a return air ticket.

It was under this concession Inspector General of Police Rudra Rajasingham along with a crack CID team and 'SUN' reporter Ranil Weerasinghe went across to India without visas after the Tamilnadu Police crackdown, 'OPERATION TIGER'. The Sri Lankan Foreign Ministry is reported to have apprised the Indian High Commission here of the IGP's visit.

The Indian High Commission was apparently not very happy about the turn of events and wanted the journalist recalled.

MIGARA—the columnist of the "SUN'S" Sunday sister "WEEKEND"—gripes about this in his column of 30 May.

Referring enviously to the Madras trip of the Tamil United Liberation Front's Legal Secretary S. C. Chandrasekaran—who has been retained in a professional capacity by Prabhakaran's father—Migara said "He flies to Madras and back with ease and comfort to defend these wanted men while Sri Lankan journalists themselves are recalled by request by the Indian High Commissioner in Colombo for reporting the recent events".

The upshot of these recent developments, knowledgeable sources predict, will be the withdrawal of the concession Sri Lankans now enjoy of flying to India without a visa.

Printed at St. Joseph's Catholic Press, 360, Main Street, Jaffna, and published by Kalai Nilayam Ltd., 303, K.K.S. Road, Jaffna, on 12th June, 1982. Registered as a newspaper at the General Post Office, Sri Lanka, under Q J / 101/82.

Vimalarasa's release: Did Govt by-pass Amir?

Camp and would be released in the course of the day.

Political circles wonder what prompted the Government to jump the gun and by-pass the Opposition Leader.

Some interpret it as a calculated snub to the Opposition Leader spurred apparently by the Government's belief that his political stock had taken a nose-dive, especially among the youth.

Others think the dramatic gesture was calculated to woo the people directly before the President pays his first official visit to the North.

Why were undergraduate A. Vimalarasa and nine other youths detained at the Panagoda Army Camp under the Prevention of Terrorism Act released one day before a scheduled meeting between President J. R. Jayewardene and Opposition Leader A. Amirthalingam to discuss their release?

Opposition Leader Amirthalingam was scheduled to meet the President on Wednesday, 9th June to hold

final talks on the future of Vimalarasa and other youths detained at Panagoda. But in a surprise move, the Government had moved ten youths (including Vimalarasa) out of Panagoda on Monday evening (7th June) itself.

Deputy Minister of Defence T. B. Werapitiya is reported to have informed Amirthalingam on Tuesday morning (8 June) that the ten detenus had been sent to the Gurunagar Army

Jaffna M. C. and Jaffna D. D. C.

at loggerheads over the Kakkativu Stadium Site

The Tamil United Liberation Front dominated Jaffna Municipal Council and the one hundred per cent TULF Jaffna District Development Council seem to be at loggerheads over the siting of the proposed International Stadium at Kakkativu, about three miles from Jaffna Town.

Recently the Municipal Council passed a unanimous resolution objecting to the Kakkativu site—on the grounds that it is an archaeological treasure trove—and suggesting that the Stadium be sited at Chemmani, Jaffna, a better site in all respects according to TULF Councillor A. Sothilingam who moved the resolution.

Before the Council passed the resolution, another TULF Councillor, N. T. Sellathurai, raised an objection. He pointed out that as the Development Council and its Chairman had already decided to site the Stadium at Kakkativu, it would not be proper for the Municipal Council to go against that decision. TULF Councillor A. Selvanayagam pointed out that this was a matter above party politics or individual members. When Mayor Rajah Visuvanathan put the resolution to the house, it was passed without a dissenting voice.

Earlier the Development Council had debated the issue, with Chairman S. Nadarajah favouring the Kakkativu site and Kopay MP, M. Alalanderam objecting vehemently on the ground that siting the Stadium at Kakkativu would interfere with archaeological research into the history of the Tamils. Pt. Pedro M. P. Thurairatnam suggested a compromise which was ultimately accepted without dissent. The Chairman announced that a team, including Jaffna University archaeologists, would be appointed to go into the matter: the Stadium would be sited at Kakkativu in line with the guidance given by this team.

Meanwhile P. Ragupathy of the Dept., of History, University of Jaffna, has written to the Secretary of the DDC pointing out that

besides the archaeological importance of the Kakkativu site, the location is also vital for the drainage pattern of the Peninsula: the flood waters of the whole Valikamam region drain into the lagoon through this particular area. He has also stressed that the site between Valukiyaru and Kakkativu is "a resort for the seasonal migrant birds coming from the distant continents: an ideal place for a bird sanctuary and thus an ecological niche which should be preserved". He has urged that the opinion of experts, drawn from various disciplines, be consulted before a firm decision is taken to site the Stadium at Kakkativu—a decision which could mean the destruction of the cultural heritage of Jaffna and "a disturbance of the environmental pattern."

American archaeologists to excavate at Matota

A team of American archaeologists, along with Archaeological Dept. personnel and representatives of Sri Lankan Universities, will begin exploratory digs at Matota, near the Thiruketheeswaram Temple, on 15 June.

Two years ago the same team carried out preliminary archaeological excavations at Matota which revealed a megalithic cultural stratum associated with the Dravidians.

The explorations will go on for about 2 months, the SATURDAY REVIEW understands.