

TAMIL TIMES

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WHO ENCOURAGED VIOLENCE & RAPE?

"I speak more in sorrow than in anger. Recent events throughout the Island, North, Centre and South show that the religions we profess do not seem to influence for the good of some of our people. I regret that some members of my party have spoken in Parliament and outside words that encouraged violence and the murders, rapes and arson that have been committed.

-President of Sri Lanka, Mr. J.R. Jayawardene addressing the United National Party Executive Committee on Sept. 4, 1981.

HAS THE GOVT. LOST CONTROL?

Despite the declaration and the continuance of a state of emergency, disturbing reports of continuing acts of violence directed at the minority Tamil community in Sri Lanka are reaching us almost daily. Although these acts of violence and molestation are not as widespread as was the case during May-June and August-September this year, they are so numerous and serious enough for us to pose the question: What is the government doing in the face of this widespread lawlessness and have they lost control of the situation?

While there was a relative lull and period of apparent calm during the recent visit of the Queen, reports are coming in indicating serious outbreak of sporadic violence in various parts of the country. What is more disturbing and indeed reprehensible is that sections of Sri Lanka's security forces, true to their record in the recent past, are contributing to the growing and escalating violence directed at innocent people whose only fault appears to be that they happen to be Tamils.

CAMPAIGN OF TERROR

The security forces in the northern part of the country, particularly in Jaffna, have and are engaged in a campaign of terror and indiscriminate violence against the local population and their property. Despite the several assurances given by the government and the President that there would

be no repetition, the excesses by the security forces continue unabated. The whole atmosphere is saturated with a deep sense of fear and desperation.

Those groups of Tamil youth who, by any optimistic estimate cannot be more than a few hundred, engage in occasional violence against the police and army and daring bank raids are providing the much needed excuse for the excesses indulged in by the security forces. While one does not question the dedication of these groups of youth to their 'political cause', one wonders to what extent their obsessional preoccupation with frequent and indiscriminate shooting of police and army personnel and raiding banks helps the Tamil people in their struggle for the restoration of their lost rights. On the other hand, these actions are said to 'provoke' the so-called forces of law and order to subject ordinary, innocent and defenceless people to cowardly and senseless acts of violence.

TWO KINDS OF VIOLENCE

The violence to which the Tamils living in other parts of the country are subjected to is of two kinds. Firstly, organised gangs, presumably directed, controlled and financed by a centralised organisation go about instigating and initiating violence against Tamils living in predominantly sinhalese areas. Although the president of Sri Lanka has

condemned the role of some sections of his own partly in encouraging 'violence, murders, rapes and arson that have been committed' during August-September, these sections are continuing their vicious and vile campaign of inciting racial violence. The Sinhala Sanvidhanaya is identified as one of the organisations behind this campaign and some highly placed members of the government are said to be closely associated with the bestial activities of this organisation. The motive behind these attacks are thought to be to drive away those Tamils living in and carrying on business in mainly sinhala areas so that their properties and businesses could be taken over.

PLANTATION WORKERS

The second kind of violence is directed against plantation workers of Indian Tamil origin living in the central highland parts of the country. In this campaign of violence, sections of the security forces are said to be actively collaborating with organised gangs of racist thugs. It is believed that the motive behind the attacks against the plantation workers are more political. Recently the government enacted a law in parliament to enable the expeditious registration as citizens of some sections of the plantation workers who have remained voteless and stateless since 1948. If a sizable number of these plantation workers become regis-

tered and thereby obtain voting rights before the next general elections in 1983, it is feared that some of the present Members of Parliament representing Kandyan areas are likely to lose their seats. Therefore, the present campaign of violence against the plantation workers are aimed at driving them out of the Kandyan areas and eventually make them to emigrate to India. It would appear that this campaign has already had a measure of success in that even some of those who are already citizens have decided go to India (see article on page).

DUTY TO PROTECT

While the government has the right to take measures to apprehend all law-breakers, whether they be killers of police or army personnel or bank raiders, they have also the duty and responsibility for protecting ordinary law abiding Tamil speaking people, whether they be in Jaffna in the North or in other parts of the country from the so-called forces of law and order and the organised gangs engaged in racist violence.

The government would appear to have concluded the negotiations with the leadership of the Tamil United Liberation Front in an attempt at arriving a political settlement of inter-racial issues. In the meantime, the situation in the country is fast deteriora-

(Contd. on last page)

SRI LANKA

The Continuing Catalogue Of Violence

The Tamil speaking people of Sri Lanka are continuing to be subjected to violence both in their traditional homelands in the North and East and in other parts of the country. The perpetrators of these acts of violence include sections of the 'security forces' and organised gangs apparently instigated by racist Members of Parliament and other organisations.

Following are extracts from reports by our correspondents in Sri Lanka:

* On 15.10.81, two unidentified youths went cycling in the Jaffna Town and shot at two soldiers who later died. Some other soldiers who arrived at the scene a while later opened fire and seriously wounded a Police Department Officer - a Tamil - who was in the company of an investigating team of police officers.

* On 16.10.81, the Jaffna District Secretary of the Nava Sama Samaja Party, Mr. Annamalai was attacked on his head with an iron rod by army personnel in the Jaffna town. Attacks continued in several places such as Elephant Pass, Chankanai, Chunnakam etc. At Elephant Pass, a Tamil Police constable was assaulted by army personnel. On October 18th night, in Jaffna town a bookshop was set on fire, a couple of petrol filling stations were attacked and Ceylon Transport Board workers were assaulted by the army. This sparked off a one day strike by the transport workers on 19th October.

* In the train going from Colombo to Jaffna on October 20th night, army personnel bound to Anuradhapura on special duty severely beat up the Tamil passengers having previously segregated them into separate compartments.

* Innocent members of the public are gripped with intense fear of attacks by army personnel at any time during the day or night.

* The Principal of a leading Jaffna Christian School witnessed a soldier hitting a student on the head with an iron rod in front of the School and had to watch helplessly. The student has suffered serious skull injury. Soldiers take swipes at members of the public with whips or throw stones, while passing in jeeps. Many school children have been assaulted and suffer from injuries.

* On 29th October morning, six soldiers got down from their jeep at the Marthanamadam bazar (five miles from Jaffna). They made no attempt at violence. But those who were in the bazaar took fright and ran away.

* Today (30.10.81) the news papers say that reports of violence will in future be severely censored. Within the last three days there have been several acts of violence and looting in Panadura, Jaela and Negambo. Some incidents in Maharagama as well. Most Tamil

teachers and other employees had gone away from Maharagama.

* At Veyangoda, three days ago, the Jaffna bound train was stopped and approximately 25 thugs had got into the Sleeperette compartment and beaten up the Tamil passengers. A retired Land Development Officer - a Tamil - had escaped by giving falsely a muslim name. The sleeperette compartment should normally remain locked and no one from outside can enter without the help of the Railway attendant who should have the key. On this occasion the door to the compartment would appear to have been deliberately left unlocked.

* "There is generally tension in the country. I want to go to Jaffna to visit my cousin. But people advise me not to travel now. Jaffna is like an occupied territory. Terror reigns. To add to the troubles, there is rivalry between two battalions of the army; so they fight each other. There is a strong suspicion that some of the incidents in Jaffna are engineered by thugs from the south sent there by some government Members of Parliament."

* Mr. Uma Maheswaran is said to be one of the "terrorists" who is wanted and-searched for by the security forces. So far they have failed to apprehend him. But a few days ago a batch of army personnel went to his parents' home and set fire to their house which was reduced to ashes.

TULF Ends Boycott Of Parliament

Consequent to the conclusion of talks with the Sri Lanka Government, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) has decided to call off the boycott of parliament by their Members of parliament which they commenced following the May-June police rampage in Jaffna.

The final round of talks between the government and the TULF leadership took place on November 2. Mr. A. Amirthalingam, the Leader of the Opposition and General

Secretary of the TULF said that the government had agreed to most of their demands except for one for an independent impartial inquiry by the International Commission of Jurists or the Amnesty International into the May-June police violence in the north of the country in the course of which, among others, the Jaffna Public Library, Jaffna MP's house, Eela Nadu Press and a number of other shops and bazaars were set ablaze.

A spokesman for the TULF

said that they gave in on the demand for an international inquiry because the government had already accepted that the police were responsible for the violence and damage and that the President had agreed to consider the extension of the Inquiry, which is already under way, by the Compensation Committee to cover the whole of the Northern Province.

As far as the other demands of the TULF are concerned, the Prime Minister has been

requested by President J.R. Jayawardene to study the question of extending the powers of the newly created District Development Councils, especially their revenue gathering powers. Home Guard Units are being formed, and some have been set up already in the plantation areas. The government also had agreed to increase the percentage of Tamil speaking police officers stationed in the Northern Province and some action has already been taken in this respect.

CURRENT TOPICS

By Shanthi

A Racist Nationality Act

The recently enacted Nationality Act is the most racist piece of legislation to find a place in the statute books of the United Kingdom. When an Act creates three separate categories of citizenship, one need not be a constitutional expert to understand that it is primarily intended to create three classes of citizens, each class enjoying different rights, status and obligations of citizenship.

While this Act seeks to remove many of the rights already enjoyed by blacks, it does not affect in the slightest way the rights of entry and abode in the UK of whites. All whites from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Zimbabwe and South Africa, despite their numbers can come and live here whenever they like. The automatic right of all those born in the UK, whatever their racial or ethnic origin, to citizenship has been removed.

The Nationality Act has been universally condemned by all parties and individuals in the UK except the Tories, the National Front and Enoch Powell. The Social Democratic Party and the Liberal Party voted against it in Parliament. The Labour Party has given a categorical undertaking to repeal the Act on their returning to power. The Archbishop of Canterbury the Rt. Rev. Robert Runcie has said that the Act was questionable when judged by moral principles and the effects of which would be to sow doubts in an area where reassurance is desperately needed.

SINGAPORE - THE FIRST CRACK

For the last 13 years, the Peoples Action Party (PAP) of Singapore Prime Minister Mr. Lew Kuan Lee has held the monopoly of political power. No other party was represented in Parliament. The PAP held all 75 seats.

For the first time, the opposition party Workers Party, has won a parliamentary seat in a recent by-election. Mr. J.B. Jayaratnam, a lawyer by profession, won the Anson constituency for the Workers Party by a majority of 650 votes over his PAP rival candidate.

Mr. Lew Kuan Lee has ruled Singapore with a stern hand more like a 'benevolent' dictator and less like a Prime Minister in a Parliamentary democracy. Although Mr. Jayaratnam has repeatedly challenged the PAP electorally over the years, he could not dent the party's almost total hold on all 75 seats. After the victory, which sent shock waves within PAP, Mr. Jayaratnam who campaigned against what he described as the uncaring monopoly of government by the PAP said that it was a happy dawn for Singapore.

LSSP Comes Out Of Hybernation

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) was a considerable force in Sri Lanka to reckon with until it decided to commit political suicide when it abandoned its programme and began playing second fiddle to Mrs. Bandaranayake's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP).

Thrown out of the coalition government in 1975 by the ever scheming Mrs. B ably assisted by Mr. Felix D. Bandaranayake, the LSSP went into the July 1977 general elections with their pawns down - exposed and discredited. The LSSP, which did creditably well even during the heydays of the Late Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake's Sinhala only, standing steadfastly to 'parity of status' for Sinhala and Tamil languages - electorally a very unpopular position to have taken -, was completely routed at the hustings when, for the first time since 1936, it failed to obtain even a single seat in Parliament.

Ever since the 1977 electoral catastrophe, the only occasion the LSSP attracted public attention to any substantial degree was when its popular leader Dr. N.M. Perera died in 1979. Since then the party did not play any significant role in the political arena of Sri Lanka and was compelled to sit on the sidelines.

After a period of political hybernation, the LSSP has recently produced a document entitled "The Essential Basis of a Programme for the Next Govern-

ment". Critically dealing with the post 1977 developments and changes effected by the present government, the document makes several charges against the government: the creation of an executive presidency with almost dictatorial powers and weakening of parliamentary system; fanning communalism and engaging in racist politics; giving a dominant role to the multi-national companies; plunging the country into enormous foreign debt and seriously depressing and undermining the living standards of the people.

On the positive side, the document proposes the introduction of self-management; the return of ration books; provision of essential consumer commodities like rice, sugar, flour, infant foods and kerosene oil at reasonable prices; provision of income support for the unemployed and the reinstatement of all strikers who were dismissed by the present government in July 1980.

Political observers believe that this document has been drafted in such broad terms so as to enable a replay of a coalition among the erstwhile partners, the SLFP, LSSP and Communist Party.

Cyril Mathew & 20,000

Copies Of Hansard

The no-confidence motion moved and passed against the Sri Lanka's Leader of the Opposition, Mr. A. Amirthalingam in July this year was a carefully planned affair. It was to be the prelude to the

widespread communal violence that followed in August against the Tamil speaking people. The speeches made by some of the government MPs during the one sided 'debate' (all the opposition parties had walked out) were aptly described by David Dodwell in the Financial Times as "perhaps the most racially poisonous" in Sri Lanka's history. MPs read out their speeches from prepared texts apparently written by others for the occasion and compelled the Speaker to annex translations as appendices to the Hansard.

It now transpires that someone in authority ordered the government press to print an additional 20,000 copies of Hansard containing the no-confidence

(Contd. on page 11)

THE STORY OF AN MP WHO ESCAPED MURDER

(Extracts from the speech made by Mr. V. Jogeswaran, M.P. for Jaffna, Sri Lanka, in Parliament on June 9, 1981)

(Mr. V. Jogeswaran - Jaffna)

Mr. Deputy Speaker, from 1977 onwards I participated in a number of debates on the Floor of this House. Today my voice is my own but my clothes are all borrowed. The verti I am wearing is a gift from the Member for Trincomalee, the national banian is borrowed, the banian I am wearing under it is my father's. So, as I told you at the outset only my voice is my own.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, for the last few days I have had plenty of time to think to myself on the events and the incidents that had taken place. I thought to myself that the Tamil community, the Tamil nation must learn certain lessons from the events of the 1st to the 8th, and the Sinhala nation must learn certain lessons from the incidents from the 1st to the 8th. I learned some lessons from the incidents from the 1st to the 8th.

As regards the Sinhala nation, after listening to the reactions of the House to the speech of the hon. Leader of the Opposition, I think they have learned nothing, they have forgotten nothing.

As regards the Tamil nation, I assure you, Deputy Speaker, and everyone in front of me that the Tamil nation has learned the lesson correctly. They have drawn the correct conclusions and the correct inferences from these actions. I assure you of that.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, today I am left with nothing. I have no worldly possessions of my own except my heart which is beating within me. It is working quite correctly, quite firmly. And I am more than ever convinced, more than ever determined, more than ever resolved to free my people of this tyranny, this tyrannical rule. I am more than ever determined about that.

I told you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, the lessons the two nations must learn, which one nation, bitterly, has not learned and the other has bitterly learned. As for me, before I could recount the incidents which happened at my residence, they have been detailed graphically by the hon. Leader of the Opposition. As far as I am concerned, the lesson I have learned is this.

You have let loose - the Government, one half of the Government has let loose - on an unarmed people violence unparalleled in any civilized country during peace time. My personal view is, God wanted me to live, and miraculously I escaped. Even that day as I was running I told my wife, "This is the end of the story". But God has willed that this should not be the end of the story. Perhaps, He has burned all my clothes, He has burned my house. I have no worldly possessions, nothing of my own. Perhaps, He has told me. "You speak eloquently of freedom for your people but sometimes you dress too flamboyantly; do not do that. You live to a certain extent luxuriously; do not do that." I have learnt those lessons. These two nations must learn. I have learnt the lesson.

As I told you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, on the fateful 31st night I never expected to survive. I never expected my poor wife to survive. Standing here today I sometimes wonder whether I am taking part in my own obituary reference. I force myself to say, "No I am addressing this House on a very important debate."

The hon. Leader of the Opposition has described graphically the events that took place. I will only tell

you about the dastardly attack on my house. This must be a unique instance of a parliamentary representative living in the electorate with his people, living among the people whom he loved and perhaps loved by them in return, having had to hide, to hide from house to house. From whom? The custodians of law and order!

I was telling this House about the incidents of the 31st. I had gone to three or four meetings, the last meeting at a place called Tellipallai to support the TULF candidate, and I was returning home. I went to one of the meetings in the Jaffna Electorate, and the meeting was over by a quarter to nine. I questioned one or two persons standing there. Nobody else was there. They told me that the police had come and disturbed the meeting. I came home and wanted to attend another meeting. My wife told me there had been some trouble and asked me not to go as most likely the other meeting had also been abandoned at that stage. From my house I could see the flicker of flames from the bazaar area. Immediately my wife told me, "I think they will attack our house". Of course, being a parliamentarian, I thought they might come and shout but would not enter the house as I was a Member of Parliament who was elected by the people and lived with them. I tried to contact the District Minister. He was not there. I telephoned his Private Secretary and told him, "the police are burning some portions of the town" — (Laughter) Mr. Deputy Speaker, while they are laughing the whole world is laughing at them! You have burnt a part of a great city and you show nothing but your derisive laughter! Those who read this Hansard will look down upon you. Do not do that. Do not laugh. This is a serious matter.

So, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I tried to contact the G.A., Jaffna, also but I could not get at him. I booked a few calls, one to the Deputy Minister of Defence with whom I had talked over this matter even earlier. I even wanted to talk to the Hon. Prime Minister. I booked a call to Trincomalee where my leader was. I was waiting for those calls.

Just opposite my house there is a fairly important junction - the Point Pedro-Hospital Road Junction. From the junction I could hear loud noises. My wife told me that they would definitely attack our house. I said, "No. They might shout and go away. Let me get through to the Hon. Prime Minister and the Deputy Minister of Defence and tell them what is happening." She was adamant that we should go away, but I did not go. I opened my office door. Through the office window I could see my front gate. I saw 50 to 100 people, some in khaki uniforms, some in white banians and khaki shorts, some in sarongs, some armed with rods, some with swords and some with rifles, standing near the gate. I really could not comprehend what the situation was. They tried to open the gate forcibly. The gate was locked at that time. Those people were terribly intoxicated. Before they came to my house they had looted foreign liquor shops and consumed "White Horse" whisky and "Hennessy" brandy. This was liquor that was alien to them and it has gone to their heads. They could not open the gate. They pushed the gate. It did not open. I saw an officer shoot at the lock. Then I told my wife that it was not safe to wait there any more, and we both ran. We jumped over two or three walls and got to safety. Then they opened the gate. They poured something on all the doors and set fire to them. I

climbed over the wall and escaped. My wife also climbed over the wall. After that I missed her.

Forty five minutes after I had hidden in my neighbour's house I scaled the walls and wanted to look where my wife was. There was one police officer in banian and khaki shorts. He got hold of me by the hand, but as he was intoxicated - I told you earlier that most of them were intoxicated - I was able to wrench myself away and again scale over the wall and escape. Till about 3 or 4 o'clock nobody knew where my wife was. Then we went and searched in the neighbourhood and found her.

In my premises the jeep was securely parked in the garage, and the garage was locked. They pushed the jeep out of the garage, hammered the jeep with iron rods, pushed it on to the road, poured petrol on it and set it on fire. The jeep was reduced to cinders. There was a Peugeot 404 car which a friend of mine had parked there. They set fire to that car too. I presume they must have looted some jewellery, but all the jewellery was burnt or missing; I have not seen a single item yet. The typewriters and all the office equipment I had were completely burnt. I am an attorney-at-law and a notary public. All the deeds, protocols and originals or hundreds of deeds were also burnt. About 12 or 13 young boys had given me their passports to alter them from "Middle East" to "All Countries". I told them that I would attend to it when I came to Colombo on the 8th or 9th to attend Parliament. I had told them that they did not need to come. All those passports were burnt. Really, my wife was left with the gown she was wearing and I was left with the yellow sarong I was wearing at that time. That is all I have in my possession now. Mr. Deputy Speaker, that is the protection some hon. Members spoke about.

That morning I went to my father's house. He is a doctor. He lives about 300 yards away from my house. My father and mother live there. I have had to live incognito in my own electorate and among my own people. I went and stayed elsewhere. That day at 5 p.m. some army men had gone to my father's house and wanted to know where I was. He had told them: "I do not know where he is. You have to give me one or two day's time. I can contact him". They said: "No need. If we want we will come tomorrow morning." At 2 a.m. about 7 or 8 officers had come and scaled the walls of my father's house. Both my father and mother are very old. These policemen had scaled the walls, banged at the door and shouted, "Open up; we are police officers." They opened the door and the policemen asked, "Where is your son?" They had said, "We do not know where he is. He is staying with some of his friends." Then they asked, "Can we search the house?" They searched every room and under every bed on the first night they had come to offer protection. What did they want? They were searching under the beds. They wanted to give protection, not at my house, but at my father's house. They harassed these poor people. I feel sorry that I entered politics and gave room for my parents to be harassed at this age. But there are certain duties and rights that we have. We also do our duty by our people. So that is that. Mr. Deputy Speaker, they went and harassed my father. My father had said, "I do not know where he is." They searched every inch of the house and they went off.

(Contd. on page 5)

The Mathew Connection

The remarkable efficiency with which sections of the Sri Lanka Security Forces brought about the havoc and destruction during the May-June 1981 rampage in Jaffna and specially the choice of targets for such destruction made it demonstrably clear that there was premeditation, preparation and a directing mind.

Readers will be in a position to come to their own conclusion from the following exchanges that took place in the Sri Lanka Parliament on June 9, 1981:-

Mr. Cyril Mathew : Just prior to the Kurumbachetty double murder and robbery of half a million rupees worth of jewellery from the pawn-shop and the Neerveli double murder of two constables and the bank robbery of Rs. 8 million on 8th January, all the terrorists met and discussed what their attitude should be to the DDC elections and the visit of the Prime Minister. The meeting was in the house of the M.P. for Jaffna (Mr. V.Jogeswaran) - (Interruption).

Mr. V.Jogeswaran: I live in the heart of the town, Mr. Minister. I am not such a fool. It is just few yards from the police station. I am not such a fool. I live 50 yards away from the police station.

Mr. V.Dharmalingam -Manipay: It was on the information given by the Minister that his house was burned. He seems to have given such information to the police and the police burned down his house.

Mr. V.Jogeswaran: Now we find what it is. Now we know. You are the man responsible.

Mr. R.Sampanthan: You got it done. You are responsible.

Mr. V.Jogeswaran: Now we know that you got it done. You are responsible. Now we know who was responsible.

Mr. M. Sivasithamparam: In fact, the police who were burning the house of the hon. Member for Jaffna said he was harbouring terrorists. Now we know who gave that information. That is the important thing. The people who burned the house said, "We are burning your house because you harbour terrorists." We now know who gave the information.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Allow him to continue.

Mr. V. Jogeswaran: I reiterate that I live 50 yards away from the police station. I am not such a fool to have meetings there. I completely deny I had a meeting there. Let him withdraw that.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: You must accept his explanation.

THE STORY OF AN MP.....

(Contd. from page 4)

So, Sir, this whole question of offering protection is all eye-wash. As I told you earlier, it was really a miracle that I escaped. They had gone to my father and harassed him.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, there is another small matter which I want to refer to since the Hon. Minister of State is here. During this period my father in law died of a heart attack. This incident also contributed to his heart attack. The newspapers did not publish his death notice. My father in law's relatives thought they would make a radio announcement about his death. In that announcement they had said, "So-and-so, father of so-and-so and father-in-law of so-and-so. M.P. for Jaffna." But what did the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation do? They cut "M.P. for Jaffna". The people are electing a Member of Parliament for Jaffna, but the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation deletes the words "M.P. for Jaffna". They did not like it. But I think they would have charged for the total number of words - I do not know.

So, Sir, one arm of this Government had unleashed terror on unarmed, innocent people - violent, unprecedented terror. -[Interruption.] They will teach you -[Interruption.] You laugh now. But they will teach you.

I ask the Hon. Minister of Lands to see what trials and tribulations the British soldiers are subjected to in Ireland. But do they go and burn the houses of Members of Parliament or of the ordinary people? [Interruption.] Your duty is to restrain them. They must be a disciplined force. Let the police force be disciplined.

I have my own idea of the reasons why these persons were sent to Jaffna that day. I will deal with that later. There are a large number of speakers to follow me. I only related the incidents concerning the attack on my house. There are a number of incidents which have to be placed on record. Perhaps, other speakers will do so.

The Hon Minister of Lands and Land Development said, though belatedly, that he was extremely sorry for what happened in Jaffna. I accept that. Speaking for myself, as I told you earlier, one arm of your Government has tried to do untold damage to property and to myself, but it has failed. What future plans that arm of your Government has in store for me I do not know. Whatever plans they have, I think somebody above will foil such plans. I have full confidence in that. In spite of all the trials and tribulations we undergo we have a commitment to God which we will pursue with determination and resoluteness.

Mr. Cyril Mathew: I accept it, but I have always said in this House and I say it today that there is no difference between the Tamil United Liberation Front and the 'Tiger' terrorist movement.

Are You For.....

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behind their support for the concept of Eelam is the need for a protest; they are provoked to protest by what has been and is going on in Sri Lanka especially to the Tamils. It is a moot point whether support for Eelam from this group would continue if there were to be a resolution of the basic issues.

Those prepared to look further ahead in time spread along the political spectrum in three major groups as in any other country. On either side of the 'social democrats' in the centre are the 'capitalists' and the 'leftists'. True to the traditions of the region the centre-grounders hope that somehow or other everything will eventually turn out all right. From the 'capitalist camp' apart from the fascination for the so-called free-market economy and citation of a few at present apparently successful countries, a serious study of the application of those principles to the new state is yet to be seen. In the absence of such a programme, the cynical view that such groups only wish to retain or regain the privileges enjoyed, would prevail.

The refreshingly stimulating ideas have come only from what the established political authorities prefer to describe as the 'leftists'. This group does not contemplate the state of Eelam in any other form other than as a full blown socialist society firmly entrenched in the socialist camp. They consider political education and awakening of the masses as the only appropriate strategy. The creation of a new state is seen as a necessary pre-requisite for the conversion of the whole of the island to socialism. A parallel is drawn between North Vietnam and its influence over the whole of Vietnam and a socialist Eelam and the possible influence it could have on the rest of the island.

With such widely different ideas and expectations anyone who asks a simple question "Are you for Eelam?" and expects a simple single word answer without any room for clarification of the question or qualification of the response is only exhibiting his own lack of depth of thinking.

—RAMU

CHOICE
QUOTES

FROM SRI LANKA PARLIAMENT

Extracts from the speeches made by United National Party members of parliament during the debate on the no confidence motion on the leader of the Opposition, Mr. A Amirthalingam on 23 and 24 July 1981.

UK M.P. WITH LOW I.Q.

"The hon. Leader of the Opposition, the hon. member for Nallur and the hon. member for Chavakachcheri have gone out of this country and slandered this country. In this process they have got hold of some gullible people or some people with a low I.Q. to make various proclamations and to hold a brief for them outside this country.....Sir, there is another man with a very low I.Q. who happens to be a Member of Parliament for a constituency in Wales, a man called Dafydd Wigley.....The have got hold of this Member of Parliament, Mr. Dafydd Wigley. As his Excellency the President said the Members of Parliament from U.K. were talking through their hat. But here is now a man who is trying to talk through something else This man Dafydd Wigley must be a person with a very low I.Q., a gullible individual!"

- **Dr. Neville Fernando,**
MP for Panadura.

GO BACK TO INDIA

"If there is discrimination in this land which is not their (Tamils) homeland, then why try to stay here. Why not go back home (India) there would be no discrimination. There are your kovils and Gods. There you have your culture, education, universities etc. There you are masters of your own fate."

TAMIL KING SANKILI A
USURPER

"The TULF (Tamil United Liberation Front) speaks of a king by the name of Sankili who ruled in Jaffna. In reality Sankili was a usurper and a self appointed king whose reign of terror lasted only for a few months. If such persons are acknowledged as kings, then in every unpoliced area and backwoods of Sri Lanka there are enough kings. In 1971 certain teenage boys had gained 'independence' for a few days in some remote villages."

DO NOT DISTURB SLEEPING
LION

"If the sleeping Sinhalese wake up to see the Tamils trying to establish a Tamil Eelam in Sri Lanka, then things may not be quite calm. It would be advisable for the Tamils not to disturb the sleeping Sinhala brother. Everybody knows that lions when disturbed are not peaceful."

- **Mr. W.J.M. Lokubandara,**
MP for Haputale.

LET US RULE

"If we are governing, we must govern. If we are rulong, we must rule. Do not give into the minorities. We are born as Sinhalese and as Buddhists in this country. Though we are in a majority, we have been surrendering to the minority community for four years. Let us rule as a majority community"

- **Mrs. Wimala Kannangara, MP;**
Minister of Rural Development.

ALL CAME FROM INDIA

"Mr. Speaker, we have been listening to a lot of history yesterday and today. I am not a historian and therefore I do not propose to get into a debate on the matter except to say to the extent of what I know, that every one of us, whether Sinhalese or Tamils had at one time or other come from India".

- **Mr. S. Thondaman, Minister of Rural Industrial Development and MP for Nuwara Eliya.**

EELAM A TULF HOAX

"The Eelam cry is a hoax on the people of Jaffna for the TULF to come to Parliament, but it is canker in the body politic of this country because it is seeping into the grassroots".

BAN EELAM

"Therefore I say you must ban Eelam because it is a thing that you cannot achieve. So many people have banned movements like that.... In Congo not only did they ban that movement, they even used the army to destroy the fellow. This was done even in Nigeria and Pakistan. In Teheran they bombed those people who wanted an independent state. So, in all those countries they did not succeed".

POLICE ARE HUMAN

"I like to tell you about the incidents in Jaffna.... The people in the police force are also human beings. Their men were killed and their feelings got worked up. Finally what happened was that they went out of hand. It was like a mutiny and those people went absolutely mad. Can you hold the government responsible for it? Can you hold anyone of this country responsible for it?We are sorry that such a lot of damage has been caused. But this was not due to any act of the government or even of the policemen. They are also human beings."

- **Mr. K.W. Devanayagam, MP; Minister of Home Affairs.**

WHIP & THROW OPP. LEADER
TO THE SEA

"Now, Sir if you take it in that stride, what should we do to this so-called leader of the Tamils? If I were given the power, I would tie him to the nearest concrete post in this building and horsewhip him till I raise him to his wits. Thereafter let anybody do anything he likes - throw him to the Beire (a Lake) or to the sea, because he will be so mutilated that I do not think there will be life in him. That is war."

- **Mr. D.M. Chandrapala, MP for Kundasale.**

PUNISHMENTS FOR TAMIL
LEADERS

"Since yesterday morning, we have heard in this honourable House about the various types of punishments that should be meted out to them (Tamil leaders). The MP for Panadura (Dr. Neville Fernando) said: there was a punishment during the time of the Sinhalese kings, namely, two arecanut posts are erected, the two posts are then drawn towards each other with a rope, then tie each of the feet of the offender to each post and then cut the

rope which will result in the tearing apart the body. These people also should be punished in the same way.....some members suggested that they should be put to death on this take; some other members said that their passports should be confiscated; still other members said that they should be stood at the Galle Face Green and shot. The people of this country want and the government is prepared to inflict these punishments on these people."

- **Mr. G.V. Punchinilame, MP for Ratnapura.**

EXPULSION OF OPP. LEADER FROM
PARLIAMENT

"This parliament is calling for the expulsion of this man (Leader of the Opposition). Not only from the post of Leader of the Opposition, this man also should be stripped of his right to enter this Parliament....."

We all should get together and this Appapillai Amirthalingam should be taken to the Galle Face Green and shot. That is what should be done. If it is during the times of Sinhala kings, this man would have been put to death on the stake.

As Leader of the Opposition, he has been given a residence. That residence should be withdrawn. He has been given a car. That also should be withdrawn tomorrow itself. He has been given a red coloured passport (diplomatic, and that too should be withdrawn tomorrow itself. Having withdrawn everything, he should be reduced to a simple Appapillai Amirthalingam. If it is not done, it would be a curse on our race.

- **Mr. G.M. Premachandra, MP; Acting Minister of Highways.**

I'LL SHOOT AMIRTHALINGAM

"If I am President, I will take Amirthalingam to the Galle Face Green and shoot him They come from the Northcome to Parliament and talk big. When they go out here, they go like dogs."

- **Mr. S. Ranjan Jayakody, MP for Polgahawela.**

Queen And
The Missing Cadillac

Is it true that a Cadillac was specially imported by the Sri Lanka government for use by the Queen during her recent visit at an estimated cost of Rs. 6 million [150,000]; that the Cadillac had not only protective windows but also tinted glass; that nobody could have seen her inside it as she drove past; that the people who would have lined up along the Royal route would have seen only a hearse-like vehicle without having a sight of the Queen and her entourage; and that was why the Queen was driven around in a Daimler borrowed from the British High Commission.

What is going to happen to the Cadillac? The Sri Lanka's President does not possess one and he may use it in complete safety protected by bullet proof windows, but unseen by the masses when he drives past!

One-Way Trip Of Tea Workers To A 'Home' They've Never Seen

Last Tuesday an ageing Clydebuilt steamer sailed for the last time this year from Sri Lanka to India. On board the Ramanujam were her usual quota of passengers: a few hippies' and tourists on the upper deck; nearly 400 tea plantation labourers and their families on the lower. The plantation workers were leaving Sri Lanka for good. They are Tamils, going "home" to a country that most of them have never seen.

Their ancestors were recruited in southern India by the British to work the plantations of Ceylon during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Since 1964 the Ramanujam has carried 355,000 Tamils back to India under an agreement signed with India by the Sri Lanka government, which is dominated by the island's other race, the Sinhalese.

Until now only the monsoon season, which begins in October, has interrupted the passage of the Ramanujam, six times a week across the 27-mile strait to India. But the present pact between Colombo and Delhi expired last week. Although 155,000 Tamils have been granted Sri Lankan citizenship, nearly 600,000 remain stateless in the plantations to await a new agreement on quotas between the two governments.

The Tamils are a people totally without influence over their future: voteless, poorly schooled, housed one family to a 12ft-square room in hillside barracks far from the centres of power, and paid 30 pence a day to plant and pick the tea that earns Sri Lanka nearly half its foreign exchange. Their dwindling numbers have damaged tea exports - particularly of the lighter-high-grown tea favoured in Europe-but the Sri Lanka government has insisted since independence that the plantation Tamils do not belong.

Last summer their life became even more unpleasant when Sinhalese mobs, stirred up by politicians and newspapers, attacked the plantation settlements. The Sinhalese attacks were ostensibly in reaction to the demands of other Tamils, far away in northern Sri Lanka, for local autonomy. The plantation Tamils neither know nor care for the higher-caste Tamils of the north, and the idea of separatism perplexes them. But the plantation people make easy targets.

There is evidence to suggest that some attacks were orchestrated by senior

BY IAN JACK, COLOMBO

members of President Jayewardene's ruling party.

From the Sinhalese chauvinist point of view, the murders, the rapes and the burnings worked. Plantation Tamils grew suddenly more anxious to quit. Last Tuesday the Ramanujam was forced to make two trips to cater for the crush. "I would rather die a beggar in India," said a man on the lower deck, "than see my daughter raped in Sri Lanka."

The Ramanujam's siren sounded. The chief engineer ordered his junior, speechlessly drunk, to his bunk, the junior knelt on the deck, pawed his chief's knee and begged for one more glass of arak. From the lower deck, hands and cries reached out to the quay, to relatives who will never be seen again.

Three-and-a-half hours later at the little Indian port of Rameswaram barges ferried the passengers ashore, tourists and hippies first. The Tamil families spent their first 12 hours in their new homeland penned inside the customs shed, their documents checked and rechecked, their hand baggage (mainly old Sunlight Soap cartons) vigilantly searched for smuggled goods - because smugglers, the customs men say, pay the Tamils to bring in tape decks and pocket calculators.

Eventually they were taken under police guard to their first Indian home. Irony is too soft a word here: their first Indian home, 20 miles north, is Mandapam camp, built by the British as a quarantine centre for Tamil workers on their way to the Ceylon plantations.

They are meant to stay at Mandapam for a week until jobs are found or loans dispensed. Often their stay stretches to nine or ten months. Plantation jobs are scarce in India, and few from Sri Lanka achieve them. The loans, 3,000 rupees or about £180, are meant to encourage self-employment, but they disappear quickly into naive ventures and the hands of cheats or avaricious new-found relatives, drawn to the gates of Mandapam Camp by this sudden flow of wealth. Many of the newcomers are soon destitute. It is the price of a British taste for cheap tea and a Sri Lanka taste for racial chauvinism.

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SEPARATE STATE 'UNACCEPTABLE'

The Sri Lankan Minister of Lands and Land Development, Mr. Gamini Dissanayake who recently visited Australia said that the creation of a Separate Tamil State in Sri Lanka was unacceptable, according to Canberra Times.

Mr. Dissanayake said that he was hopeful that a government offer of a development council system to give Tamil communities near-autonomy on a district basis would offer a lasting solution to the violence which had occurred this year between the majority Sinhalese and the minority Tamils.

He said that the Tamil leadership had agreed to work for the system, but a minority extremist group, which the leadership had so far been unable to contain, had been using violence to oppose any settlement. The basic causes of the dissension were both economic and racial, and aggravated by the attitude of extremist minorities, both Sinhalese and Tamils.

BOMB THREAT AGAINST LSSP LEADER

Dr. Colvin R. De Silva, the well known Sri Lankan criminal Attorney-at-Law and leader of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party made a complaint to the Court of Appeal that he had received telephone calls threatening bomb attacks.

Dr. De Silva was appearing in a Habeas Corpus application on behalf of four suspects in the Neerveli Peoples Bank robbery case. He said that he had received telephone calls on two previous days at his residence purporting to be from the Sinhala Sanwidhanaya threatening to throw bombs at his and his residence if he were to go to court and appear on behalf of the suspects. Dr. De Silva told the court that he would not be intimidated or prevented from appearing on behalf of the suspects by such threats. But he felt it was his duty in the interests of the profession and indeed the whole community of whatever race to bring this matter to the notice of the court so that the court might take such action as it thought proper.

POINT OF VIEW

I have been asked by a good friend for many years to write a piece for THE TAMIL TIMES. My first impulse was to rehash a piece I had done earlier. But on second thoughts I realised that I should prepare something original for a special friend and for a newspaper which I am confident augurs well for the Tamil-speaking peoples living abroad.

★ If two ethnic groups live adjacent to each other in a single sovereign state, each other in a single sovereign state, ous area, then separation and secession is a less difficult task. Insignificant numbers of the two groups may be living in each other's territories. But handling the problems of repatriating people to their own territories is not insurmountable. However even in such conducive circumstances, secession is not easily attainable. And despite such an available recourse, other methods of peaceful coexistence have been devised. The French in Quebec seek a separate sovereign state but the goal has eluded their nationalists to date. And Quebec is not exactly a Third World country; it has resources to support itself. On the other hand the Germans, French and Italians in Switzerland live in areas adjacent to each other in a federal set up. There has been no evidence of each sector wanting to secede and (a) establish a sovereign state or (b) seek union or enosis with the adjoining sovereign state—the Italians could join up with Italy or the French with France. Besides enosis is possible only if the neighbouring state wishes it. Most sovereign states respect the territorial integrity of each other. They all have their internal problems.

PYRRHIC VICTORY

★ If the two ethnic groups live in large numbers in each other's territories, the problem becomes complicated. Substantial numbers of the minority ethnic group might live and earn their daily bread in the majority ethnic group's territory. A demand to separate and secede may result in large losses to life and property in the internecine warfare that will ensue. A question that must be answered is: can the minority group afford to suffer such losses? Even if it were to win, it could be a Pyrrhic victory. But a desperate leadership never calculates the cost. This is often referred to as "the better to reign in hell than serve in heaven syndrome." But the argument against this solution is that it is more comfortable to "dwell in

the midst of alarms than reign in this horrible place." There is of course a considerable in-between ground.

Pogroms are not uncommon in many situations, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh being the classic examples. Yet after the mutual slaughter, there are more Muslims living today in India than in Pakistan. And inspite of all the troubles, over three million Irish live not uncomfortably in Britain. If however a determined minority ethnic group keeps at it, the majority leadership will suffer fatigue at some point in time.

By A. Jeyaratnam Wilson, Ph.D., D.Sc. [Econ.]
Professor and Chairman; Department of Political Science
University of New Brunswick, Canada.

It becomes a trial of strength. Who will get fatigued sooner -- the majority or the minority? Somewhere along this line, the rival leaderships will have to make a decision. Will it be UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence), enosis (only if the adjoining state is willing to entertain the possibility), federalism or various forms of devolution within the unitary structure. Only UDI is unilateral. The others require negotiation between the contending parties.

POLITICS OF SECESSION

★ The politics of secession has much to do with the economic question. It is also an elitist problem. Economics has to do with the limited pie syndrome, especially in a Third World situation. There is less and less of a constant or stagnant quantity to go around. Those interested in the pie are mainly the middle classes or those who have educated themselves and aspire for upward social mobility. In frustration they look for solutions. Solutions are proffered by political leaders and political elites. These elites themselves have been frustrated in their upward thrust. In a democratic situation, the majority elites are allowed to put their fingers into the pie first (democracy in its crudest form implies pleasing the majority). The minority elite then becomes a counter-elite. This counter-elite nurtures similar hopes and ambitions as members of the majority elite. There is then a convergence of minority middle class frustration and minority

elite despair. The latter must provide leadership. Their solutions can range from the utopian to the pragmatic. Much will depend on the resources, the circumstances and the attitudes of the feuding ethnic groups.

... A majority or its leaders are never too hasty in accommodating. It took 31 years (from the year of the birth of the Tamil Federal Party) for District Development Councils (DDCs) with their limited autonomy to enter the statute book (August 1980). There was in this instance the possibility of a common meeting ground between the majority

elitist leadership and the minority counter-elitist leadership. Some might argue that more could have been achieved. Others will insist on all or nothing.

DDC FRAMEWORK

The DDC framework is elastic enough to accommodate minority middle class and elitist aspirations to a limited degree. Much will depend on the building up of confidence between the two leaderships. There are serious obstacles. The Sinhala mind must continue to change. Tamil suspicions remain unabated. Interested parties keep fishing in troubled waters. There are the infiltrators. And the all or nothing group is determined to win first the political kingdom in the hope that the rest will be added unto them later.

Within the DDC framework however, solutions to the problems that beset the Tamil-speaking people are available. To argue that the B-C Pact of 1957 (which was really a pact to fail into a pact, and there is no certainty as to what the resulting pact would have been) or that federalism would have been more appropriate is to dabble in conjecture. Confederalism, federalism, devolution, home rule are related concepts. As Montesquieu stated it is not the letter of the law but the spirit of the constitution that matters. Nor are DDCs the end of the road for Tamil nationalist aspirations. In a better atmosphere, DDCs could evolve into an instrument that parallels these aspirations. No majority

(Contd on page 9)

Options For...

(Contd. from page 8)

will accommodate if a pistol is held to its forehead. The Americans fought a Civil War to maintain their union. Biafra slid down the Gadarene slope. The success of the doctrine of self-determination, which also includes the federalist solution, relates almost exclusively to colonial (the dismantling of empires) and neo-colonial (for example South Africa and Namibia) situations. Its application to the nationalities question in Eastern Europe ended with President Woodrow Wilson and World War I.

FOUR GROUPS

★ States and their constitutional frameworks are ultimately based on economics. The old adage, he who pays the piper calls the tune still applies. Units in a federal set-up have to depend on the central government for assistance. Federalism therefore gravitates increasingly towards centralisation. It is the same in the world of sovereign states. Financial dependence makes sovereign states satellites of one or other of the super powers. Or else they are manipulated by middle powers.

The competition for leadership roles among rivals in the Tamil political elite will in the end be self-destructive. There are four identifiable groups -- the expatriates, the TULF, the collaborationists and the all or nothing militants with several subdivisions among them. There are, as well, cross-cutting relationships. The TULF covers a vast ground but is under pressure from the other competing groups and is opposed by the collaborationists. There is a similar spectrum in the Sinhala political leadership.

ALTERNATIVES

★ If for whatever reason the Tamil-speaking peoples fail to obtain satisfaction from the DDCs, then there are other alternatives: (a) The view that small states are beautiful and that we live in a world of mini states. A cost-benefit analysis in the Tamil case would include the problem of supporting over a million Tamil refugees (all Tamils and Tamil plantation workers living in the Sinhala areas) and a calculation of the extent of loss of Tamil lives, property and commerce in the Sinhala areas. Would the resulting Bangladesh-style 'broken-backed state (if at all) be worth it? (b) Sovereignty-Association as suggested by Rene Levesque and the Parti Quebecois which broadly seeks political

separation and a limited economic relationship. But the other side must be willing. (c) A confederal solution on the lines offered by the British Cabinet Mission headed by Sir Stafford Cripps to Jinnah and the Muslim League under which only defence, foreign affairs and communications would be vested in the central government. Will the Sinhala leadership accept such an arrangement? (d) The C.R. formula devised by C. Rajagopalachari which provided for plebiscites to be held in the Muslim majority areas on the question of whether such areas were willing to enter an Indian federation or whether each such area wished to opt for independence. Jinnah rejected what he called a "maimed, moth-eaten and truncated Pakistan." This may not be quite applicable to the Tamil question. (e) The federalist solution but it takes two to tangle. (f) Various forms of autonomy within a unitary structure.

FLEXIBLE FRAMEWORK

The DDC framework is flexible enough to achieve the substance of an

autonomous set up. The machinery for negotiation has been provided for in the high level committee comprising the President of Sri Lanka, the Prime Minister, other key cabinet ministers and the leaders of the Tamil United Liberation Front instituted under the Sinhala-Tamil Accord of 31 August 1981. Basically under the DDC framework, the District Minister is the counterpart of the President, the Chairman of the DDC is the equivalent of the Prime Minister, the Executive Committee is like the Cabinet and the Council itself is a mini-Parliament. The Executive Committee under the DDC Act is collectively responsible to the Council. There is room for manoeuvre within this framework. DDCs can establish economic relationships with foreign countries with the permission of the central government. The DDC Act could be entrenched in the constitution. The question that needs to be answered is whether Tamil nationalism has already outpaced the outer limits of what the DDCs could permit. And the decision to work the DDC Act does not close the options. It provides a breather and a time for reflection. It will be a testing time.

ARE YOU FOR EELAM?

"He is a man". Such a statement might look simple enough but to anyone who looks at it critically it does not say anything. Or perhaps the statement says everything in that it permits the listener to arrive at whatever conclusion he wishes to reach. A few of the conclusions one could derive are that the person referred to looks like a man; dresses like a man; has the anatomical configurations of a man; has the genetic composition of a male but not the anatomy (or vice versa); or the statement may refer to the quality of the behaviour of the person in a chauvinistic way ie: that the person is strong, aggressive and virile. Viewed this way a simple statement does not always contribute to meaningful communication. However, in the contemporary world where time and space are at a premium, catchy phrases and one word descriptions are the vogue.

"Are you for Eelam?" is a question Tamils from Sri Lanka are nowadays often asked in casual social chit chat and during serious political discussions.

First of all scrutiny reveals that the terms Eelam and Tamil Eelam are not used as inter-changeable terms. The groups which use each term stick to that terminology consistently. It would appear

that the implication behind the use of each of these terms transcend the pure derivations of the terminology.

But what would Eelam mean? There seem to be many variations in the theme. A state within the island of Ceylon distinct from the already existing state, would appear to be the highest common factor. Beyond that divergence of views occur.

The varying opinions could be considered on two different levels -- (1) the external affairs and defence arrangements of the new state (2) the internal social structure of the new state. On the level of the external affairs and defence arrangements, some see those responsibilities as continuing to rest with the administration in Colombo; some see those responsibilities resting with New Delhi and some see the new state capable of discharging those responsibilities itself.

On the question of the internal social structure of the new state, some envisage that life would go on in much the same way. They have not given any thought to the state of events after attainment of statehood. The non-vocalised motivation

(Contd. on page 5)

TULF CONDEMNS ATTACK ON ARMY

OUTRAGE

"The two incidents of violence in the Jaffna (Sri Lanka) district as a result of which three army men lost their lives call for the strongest condemnation from all peace loving people", the Tamil United Liberation Front said in a joint statement made by its General Secretary and Leader of the Opposition, Mr. A Amirthalingam and its President, Mr. M. Sivasithamparam.

The TULF leaders made their statements following the killing recently of a soldier during a bank robbery at Kilinochchi and few days later the shooting of another two soldiers in Jaffna by two unidentified youths. The assailants in both cases are supposed to be connected with the so-called 'Tiger' movement.

In regard to the Kilinochchi incident, the TULF leaders in their statement said, "we unreservedly condemn this act of criminality. The Tamil people do not condone these incidents. Such acts of violence do not in any way advance their political objectives, but as a result, innocent members of the public are subject to harassment and physical assault."

In respect of the subsequent shooting in Jaffna, the TULF leaders said, "we are deeply shocked and grieved at the incidents of violence on October 15, 1981 during the course of which a member of the armed forces was fatally wounded, and some civilians and other army personnel were injured. We wish to take the earliest opportunity of expressing our outrage at the senseless loss of life and injury to person. We convey our most sincere condolences to the families of the army officers concerned."

The Sri Lanka President, Mr. J.R. Jayawardene met the Opposition Leader Mr. A. Amirthalingam on 27th October to discuss the situation in the wake of the killings of army officers. Afterwards, the TULF leader, Mr. Amirthalingam and Mr. Sivasithamparam issued the following statement:

"Acts of reprisals against innocent Tamil people is also reprehensible. These cannot bring credit to a disciplined force.

"We met the President and brought to his notice the way the incidents that have taken place in the country. The President and the Army Commander have assured

us that strict instructions had been given that no innocent people should be harmed or their property damaged in any way.

"They have also been assured that all action will be taken to safeguard the life and property of the Tamil people all over the island from criminal elements.

"We have assured the Government that neither the TULF nor the Tamil people condone these criminal attacks on officers engaged in the discharge of lawful duty. We appeal to the people and armed forces to act with understanding and restraint.

"We are positive these acts of violence will not help to advance the cause of the Tamil people in any way. On the contrary they will only help to destroy the sympathy for the suffering of the Tamil people.

"The two incidents of violence in the Jaffna district as a result of which three Army men lost their lives call for the strongest condemnation from all peace loving people.

"There is absolutely no excuse for these murders.

JVP MEMBERS HARASSED

"Since your government declared an island-wide state of emergency, it is clear that several police stations in the country have launched a campaign of concerted harassment of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (Peoples Liberation Front -JVP) and intimidation of the public" said Mr. Lionel Bopage, Acting General Secretary of the JVP in a protest memorandum address to the Sri Lankan President, Mr. J.R. Jayawardene.

In its memorandum, the JVP has detailed several instances in which members were subjected to harassment. These include the police raid of the JVP

offices in Gampaha; police raids of homes of JVP members; indiscriminate arrests and torturing of members taken into custody; police disruption of JVP meetings; and aiding and abetting thugs to attack and disrupt JVP meetings.

The memorandum further stated that the police did not intervene to prevent damage to life and property during the recent racial attacks particularly in the Ratnapura area. On the contrary, their members who were engaged in exposing those who actually carried out looting and arson were arrested at the instigation of Mr. Punchinilame, the MP for ratnapura.

DONATION TO JAFFNA LIBRARY

Mr. A.T. Ariyaratne, president of the Ceylon Sarvodaya Movement donated Rs. 10000 to the Jaffna Public Library Building Fund at a ceremony presided over by the Mayor of Jaffna, Mr. Raja Viswanathan.

The library with all its valuable books was burnt in June this year when sections of the Sri Lanka Police went berserk setting fire to private and public property.

Letters....

(Contd. from page 12)

at the expense of the anti-apartheid cause which is backed largely by the black totalitarian regimes of Africa.

It is true that insurgency occasionally is not terrorism to US imperialism. But the Soviet ones are no different. However, no one can even match the speed with which the Soviet Union transformed Eritreans from freedom fighters into terrorists. I am sure RPT has a less pathetic defence of Soviet repression in Afghanistan.

The issue at stake in Kampuchea is one concerning the right of a country to settle its internal matters without foreign interference. Heng Samrin is a Soviet puppet as much as Lon Nol was a US puppet. If Heng Samrin's regime is really a genuine Kampuchean regime why can't they win the recognition they demand by asking the Vietnamese troops to return home.

I would love to hear RPT's random thoughts on the boat people.

Siva, Mechanical Eng. Dept., Imperial College, SW7.

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SRI LANKA NEWS IN BRIEF

TERRORIST LEGAL UNIT....

A separate unit has been set up in the Attorney General's Department to deal with cases pertaining to terrorist activities; two senior state counsel and another state attorney have already been assigned to the branch; clerical staff including stenographers are being recruited—

ANOTHER LOAN

The World Bank has announced a US dollars 30 million credit from the International Development Association, its soft loan affiliate, for small and medium scale industrial development in Sri Lanka—

QUEEN'S AMNESTY

Thirty two prisoners in death row will have their sentences commuted to one of life imprisonment in terms of an amnesty the Government will grant to mark the visit of Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip to Sri Lanka;

RESTRICTIONS ON GARMENTS EXPORT

Sri Lanka's garment exports trade faces fresh challenges following threatened quota impositions by the USA and the EEC countries on new categories of readymade wear; Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg (Benelux Group) have announced quotas on Sri Lanka-made ladies' and gents' jackets for 1982 and 1983; also the US wants restrictions imposed on export garments at present free of quota.

FREE FOR FOREIGN STUDENTS

The University Grants Commission has decided not to take fees from Foreign Students studying in our Universities; the commission has asked all heads of universities to stop charging fees from foreign students in their Universities—ATH.

POLICE TO LEARN TAMIL

About 15,000 Sinhala Police officers, below the rank of ASP will begin learning Tamil from 15th October; IGP Ana Seneviratne has sent instructions to Superintendents of Police in charge of the 24 Police divisions in the country to

COMPENSATION COMPLETED

Compensation payable to sterling companies whose plantations and other assets were nationalised in October 1975, under stage 2 of the land reforms have been

virtually completed; a payment of Rs. 25 million, representing the tenth and last instalment of Rs. 270 million settlement has just been remitted to the companies eligible for payment.

MORE ADMISSIONS TO MEDICAL COLLEGE

The Ministry of Health has decided to take an additional 150 students to the Medical Colleges as there is a shortage of doctors at present. At present only 250 students are taken to the Medical College; but from next year 700 will be taken; doctors who have gone abroad are now coming back it is stated.

CONVERSION TO COMPANIES

Several government trading organisations are likely to be converted into joint stock companies; a memorandum and articles of association on the lines on which these companies will function will be placed for Cabinet approval shortly by Trade and Shipping Minister Lalith Athulathmudali.

FLIGHT OF DOCTORS

Government doctors are said to be leaving the country and getting employment abroad; due to this the hospitals are getting from bad to worse; out of 2,220 doctors now 1437 have gone abroad while 20 to 24 doctors leave every month; only 3 or 4 come back from abroad; the cause of this is inadequate salaries being paid to them. make immediate arrangements in every headquarters station to conduct Tamil classes.

Military

Training For

Sri Lanka Police

The Sri Lanka Government has embarked on a programme of fully equipping the country's police with modern weaponry and to give military training to the police.

It is understood that the first batch of policemen of several hundreds, are already undergoing be given specialised training in counter-revolutionary warfare and tactics. After the training they are expected to be able to tackle any situation of mob violence, terrorism etc at short notice.

High ranking police personnel including Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents of Police are said to be undergoing training in the first batch.

Similar batches of Policemen are expected to be trained as a continuing exercise. Those trained will constitute a special para-military unit within the police force.

This para-military police unit will in the first instance, be based at Colombo. However as and when more and more batches complete their training, they are expected to be attached to the various provincial divisions.

* * * * *

CYRIL MATHEW AND 20,000.....

(Contd. from page 3)

'debate' and they were subsequently distributed widely. The question is: who ordered the printing of the additional copies? Who organised their distribution? Were they the people who put up racist posters like 'SINHALA PEOPLE, RISE UP AGAINST THE DRAVIDIANS' which appeared all over the country prior to and after the no-confidence motion?

Mr. Cyril Mathew, the Minister of Industries, who is known to have masterminded the no-confidence motion has been away from the country for several weeks. When he was in London recently he is believed to have addressed

secret meetings and distributed several copies of the Hansard containing the no-confidence 'debate'. The Sri Lanka Communist Party's journal, "FORWARD" states: 'The continued absence of Minister Cyril Mathew from the Island at a time when communal relations are at a low ebb and when an ongoing investigation into the August violence is afoot, has given rise to much speculation ... And the story going round is that no less a person than the President was responsible for the Minister's hurried and almost secret departure to the UN. This has effectively prevented any statement by the Minister being recorded by the Police investigating team....'

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LETTERS

PLEASURE TO READ

I would like to congratulate you on the first issue of the Tamil Times, given to me by a friend.

The horrifying persecution of the Tamil people it portrayed was a revelation. I had previously been completely unaware that it was happening. The impact was intensified by the dignified and even restrained treatment it received in your paper, using neither emotional rhetoric nor sensationalism which indeed would have been superfluous. The facts spoke for themselves. Underlying it all shone the courage of a truly indomitable people.

The high literary quality and excellent presentation and production made the paper a pleasure to read. I wish the Tamil Times every success for the future.

*Miss. Elizabeth Thornton, Flat 5, St.
Voncent St., London W1*

WRONG IMMEDIATE REACTION

When I saw the Tamil Times for the first time, my immediate reaction was that it was a paper dealing exclusively with the Tamils. But as I read through the pages, it became apparent that I was wrong. It dealt with the issues affecting Sri Lanka today with objectivity and clarity. The details concerning the violence unleashed against our minorities in Sri Lanka are rarely known to even to those living in our country because of the distorted way our newspapers deal with such matters. The pages of your journal reveal the enormity of the problems facing our Tamil brethren. People should realise that this is a national problem.

I am a bit asamed at the reaction of our own Sinhala friends in the UK whenever they read in the press about the happenings in Sri Lanka. They react angrily that the image of Sri Lanka is being damaged and this leads to a certain degree of hostility towards the Tamils and their problems. But they will not do anything to resolve the problem we have in our country in an amicable way acceptable to all our peoples. If they have the opportunity of reading your paper, I am sure their attitude will change. But it is a pity that because the name under which your journal appears will make them, wrongly of course, to entertain the idea that it is a partisan paper.

Please accept my congratulations for

the quality, standard and excellent presentation of your journal. Hope and wish you will maintain it.

Luxman Perera,

Clanendon House, WC1.

PRESIDENT, LOFUG,

May I congratulate you for bringing out a very informative and long needed newspaper. I hope that the Tamils living outside the two Tamil Nadus will welcome it and support it.

I personally want to wish you good luck and sincerely hope that you will continue to have the energy and resources to sustain publication of this excellent newspaper.

May I, through your columns, take this opportunity to say something about the League of Friends of the University of Jaffna (LOFUJ).

Jaffna now has a fully fledged university. It also has a medical school. It is our intention to play a role in making it into a place of study of excellence. Wouldn't we all feel a lot better if we can do this!

The responsibility of providing the Jaffna University with all its requirements, of course, rests with the Sri Lankan National Government. In no way should we interfere with that. We can only see ourselves playing a supplementary role here.

At a recent visit to Jaffna we met the University staff. A liaison officer was appointed. He is in direct communication with us and resources viz books (at the present time) are being channelled properly with no worry of duplication or waste.

We would like to hear from your readers whenever they plan to visit Jaffna. We would very much like them to impart some of their foreign acquired knowledge to the University students, either by giving a talk or engaging in discussion with them. We think that it is very vital that the Jaffna students should widen their outlook in life.

Finally, membership of LOFUJ is open to all those who have an interest in Jaffna. It is only £2.00 a year and just enough to cover postage etc. Donations in any form and of books are welcome.

DR. T. RAJ CHANDRAN,

*The Croft, Sutton in Ashfield
Notts, NG 1EX.*

RANDOM THOUGHTS AND BIASED ERRORS

Random Thoughts (Tamil Times No.1) do not appear entirely random and I happened to notice several systematic and biased errors. The comments on conversion followed by the snipe at Morarji Desai, who is by no stretch of imagination, a progressive, and is nowhere near being the most tolerant politician in India, accuses him of being a totalitarian and even draws some analogy with Ayotallah K. The few years of Morarji as Prime Minister have not demonstrated his totalitarian traits as much as the earlier years revealed those of Mrs G. Or, it may after all be true that she is loyal to Western democratic values, especially since she saved the cricket tour

(Contd on page 10)

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OBITUARY

DR. SUBRAMANIAM

PONNAMPALAM, F.F.A.R.C.S.

Dr. Subramaniam Ponnampalam, retired Chief Anaesthetist, General Hospital, Colombo, died suddenly at his residence in Rosmead Place, Colombo on October 24 at the age of 65.

He graduated from the Ceylon Medical College in 1940. After working as a Medical Officer for some years, he came to the U.K. to obtain his Post-graduate degree in Anaesthetics in the early 50's. He worked at the General Hospital, Colombo until he retired five years ago and had been in private practice since then.

Many generations of medical students will remember him with affection for his kind, caring, friendly and helpful nature.

He had recently been on holiday in the U.K. and in the U.S.A. and the news of his death, occurring on the day of his return home to Sri Lanka, came as a shock to all who knew him.

He was the eldest son of the late Dr. and Mrs. J.P. Subramaniam, and leaves

behind his wife Pathma, nee Crossette-Thambiah, daughters Premila and Nirmala (California), Shyamala (Colombo), Romilla (Norwich, U.K.) and six grand-children.

He also leaves behind three brothers, James and Joseph (Colombo), Isaac (London) and four sisters, Mrs Rani Ponniah (Colombo), Mrs. Isabel Coomarasamy (Trinidad), Mrs. Mabel Vanniasingham (Singapore) and Mrs. Sakuntala Vanniasingham (Penang, Malaysia).

DR. S VELUMYLUM

The death occurred, after a brief illness, at Orsett Hospital, Gray's, Essex, on Sunday 1st November of Dr. S. Velumylum. The cremation took place on 5th November at the Upminster Crematorium.

Dr. Velumylum retired at the age of 55 from the Ceylon Medical Service in 1976 having served as Judicial Medical Officer in Jaffna, Kandy and Colombo South. That same year he took up an appointment as Senior House Officer at the South Ockendon Hospital which post he held till his untimely death. His wife Dr. Vethanayakie Velumylum, died two years ago also when serving at the same hospital.

Nothing is ever settled until it is settled right .

Rudyard Kipling.

He is survived by a host of relatives including his son Nirmalan (Iowa University) and his daughter Nandini Fernandopulle of 11 Nimal Road, Bambalapitiya.

Dr. Velumylum belonged to a very distinguished family. He had three elder brothers - Messrs S Karthigesu (Retired Surveyor General), S Coomarasamy (Sambamurthy & Co, Chartered Accountants) and S Kandasamy (Proctor, Kaddudai) and three elder sisters - Mesdames S Tharmalingam (wife of Dr S A Tharmalingam), A Visvalingam (wife of Dr T. Visvalingam Superintendent, Anti Malaria Campaign, retired) and V Ranganathan (wife of Mr. C Ranganathan, Q C).

In the five years Dr Velumylum has been in the UK he had identified himself whole-heartedly in the affairs of the local Tamil community serving as a member of the S C O T Executive Committee and of the Tamil Sangam of Essex.

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EVENTS

CULTURAL PAGEANT

The Tamil Rights Group has decided to hold a Tamil Cultural Pageant and Exhibition next summer in London. This will depict the origins and history of the Tamils in Sri Lanka, their rich cultural heritage and their social, political and economic development from the earliest times to the present day. The pageant will, it is hoped, direct international attention to the problems of the Tamils.

As this is a massive undertaking, the Tamil Rights Group looks forward to the co-operation and active participation of all groups of Tamils in this country as well as those in other countries to help make the event a great success.

The TRG invites all those interested to get in touch with them.

Address: 87 Gower Street, London, WC1
Telephone 380 0654

meeting has been arranged for 28th Nov. at 6.00 p.m. in Little Hall, London SW19 to finalise the arrangements for the exhibition. The organisers request all those interested to attend this meeting.

In March, the TYA is planning to perform a musical play called "Bridging the Gap" by Vigna Emmanuel. We are looking for young actors, musicians and singers (both Eastern and Western), between the ages of 10 and 20 who could make regular rehearsals in the London area. If interested in participating could you please contact either,

Vigna Emmanuel
13 Nightingale Lane
Bickley
Kent BR1 2QH
TEL: 01-460 3959

Or

Mohan Yogendran
1 Florence Road
South Croydon
Surrey CR2 0PQ
TEL: 01-660 1625

TAMIL YOUTH ASSOCIATION

The Tamil Youth association, formed in January 1981 with the aim of promoting a closer, more active London Tamil youth community, held their second function on October 10th at the Harrow Leisure Centre. The evening was entitled

'Come Together' and was attended by over 200 youngsters and adults. The different items represented a unique combination of Eastern and Western cultures and the event was a thoroughly enjoyable occasion for all concerned. The money raised for the Jaffna Hospital Fund was about £200.

LONDON TAMIL CONGREGATION

The annual Christmas Service will be held at 3.45 p.m. on 20th December at the Putney Methodist Church, Gwendolen Avenue, London, SW15. The service will be conducted by our new minister, the Rev. Kingsley Muthiah, and the preacher will be the Rev. David Smith of Surbiton Methodist Church.

There will also be the usual Watch Night Service on New Year's Eve (31.12.81) at 10.30 p.m., again conducted by the Rev. Kingsley Muthiah.

Everyone is cordially invited to both these services and also to our normal services held on the fourth Sunday of every month at 4.00 p.m.

R.A. Samuel
Secretary.

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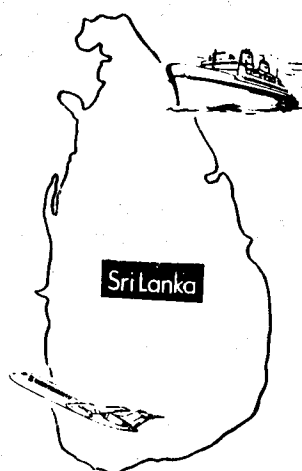
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The Last Chance

The protracted negotiations between the government of Sri Lanka and the leadership of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) is believed to have been concluded. The TULF Members of Parliament commenced a boycott of the Parliament soon after the May-June police rampage in Jaffna laying down five conditions for their return to Parliament.

Agreement would appear to have been reached on all points. Because the government had already accepted that the police were responsible for the wanton damage in Jaffna and agreed to pay compensation to all those affected, the TULF leadership is believed to have given in on the question of the appointment of an impartial international commission to inquire into the May-June incidents.

We do not wish to question the judgement of the TULF leadership in having come to this agreement with the government. The TULF continues to remain the elected political leadership of the Tamil speaking people of Sri Lanka. One presumes that they, in their judgement, acted in the best interests of the people who elected them. They have to account to the people who elected them as their accredited representatives. The Tamil people will ultimately decide and give their judgement on the course of action the leadership of the TULF has taken and it is not within the province of any group, however dedicated they may think they are to the cause of the Tamils, to indulge in any form of political or other blackmail.

The agreement that has emerged presently is the latest of many pacts that Tamil political leaderships made with parties in power in Sri Lanka. The Tamil speaking people have bitter memories of having been the victims of a series of betrayals of solemn agreements, pacts, undertakings and promises in the past.

When negotiations with the British were taking place after the second world war for the independence of Ceylon, the Board of Ministers of the State Council [which included D.S. Senanayake, F.R. Senanayake, S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake, Dudley Senanayake etc.], in the Memorandum submitted to Whitehall provided for a scheme of representation under which they conceived the Sinhalese to have 58 seats, the Ceylon Tamils 15 seats and the Tamils of Indian origin 14 seats thereby making provision for adequate representation for the minorities in the new Parliament. But immediately after independence, the UNP government enacted laws rendering 1.2 million Tamil plantation workers stateless and voteless. Not only a section of the people were reduced to the level of slaves, the political representation of the minorities was drastically reduced in Parliament.

The United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) initially stood for the replacement of English with Sinhalese and Tamil as the official languages of Sri Lanka. But in spite of the unanimous opposition of the Tamil speaking people, both parties committed themselves to Sinhala only and in 1956 the SLFP with support of the UNP enacted the Official Language Act making Sinhala the sole official language.

The late Mr. Bandaranayake, when he was Prime Minister, entered into a pact in 1958 with the leader of the Tamils, the late Mr. S.J.V. Chelvanayagam providing for the use of Tamil and the creation of regional councils in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka. This pact was unilaterally abrogated and dishonoured by Mr. Bandaranayake. Similarly the agreements between the Tamil leaders and Mr. Dudley Senanayake and Mrs. Sirima Bandaranayake, the then Prime Ministers were dishonoured.

We can catalogue several other acts of breach of faith and betrayal by the leaders of the UNP and the SLFP. In the context of the ease with which successive governments of Sri Lanka abrogated the pacts and agreements solemnly entered, it is not surprising that substantial sections of the Tamil speaking people are sceptical about the chances of the successful implementation of the agreement between the present

Has The Govt. Lost

(contd. from page 1)

ting and drifting into near-anarchy in which the victims happen to be Tamils.

FLUSH OUT RACIST GANGS

The government, if it has any claim to be a government of the whole people, without confining itself to empty and meaningless platitudes should immediately carry out a thoroughgoing and ruthless weeding out operation in the security forces, identify and punish those sections which are behaving like thugs and hooligans in uniform thereby undermining the authority and credibility of the government itself. Secondly, the government should embark immediately on a thorough investigation to flush out, expose and

punish those individuals, however highly placed they may be, who are behind the organised gangs which go about wreaking havoc against innocent people and their property. If this is not done, the very existence of Sri Lanka as single democratic entity is in peril. The objective conditions for the emergence of a fascist state are already there - a divided and defenceless working class with their traditional political parties discredited and disorganised; popular resentment due to high cost of living and unemployment; the ugly feature of majority racist intolerance of minorities and the military reigning supreme under conditions of emergency rule.

**If you are not part of the solution,
you are part of the problem.**

-Stokely Carmichael.

Government and the TULF and the prospect of a lasting and genuine solution to the problems facing the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

In the context of the determination of the Tamil speaking people of Sri Lanka to struggle for the restoration of their just rights, we should like to tell the Sri Lankan government with all the earnestness at our command: this is the last chance to seek a genuine and durable solution; do not miss it; if it is missed, history will not absolve those responsible.

Who Are The Traitors?

We are pleased that our first issue [Vol. 1 No. 1], which was released in October 1981, had been received well and are gratified by the excellent response we have had. We have received several congratulatory messages and donations, some large and some small, from a number of our well-wishers living in various parts of the world. We extend our sincere and heartfelt thanks to all our readers and well-wishers and hope that they will continue to give us their support and assist us in extending and widening our readership and support among their friends which will contribute and guarantee our regular and continued appearance.

We learn that, while our appearance has been welcomed by many, it has irked some of those in authority in Sri Lanka. We understand that intensive investigations are taking place to identify those persons who are responsible for our appearance. We will not be cajoled or presurised by anyone from carrying out the task we have set ourselves.

'TRAITOR' is a word that is being given currency by the racist lobby in Sri Lanka to slander those who give publicity to the true situation. The real traitors to the nation are those who besmear and besmirch the name and image of Sri Lanka by encouraging, inciting and engaging in racist violence against the minorities; not those who struggle for the restoration of their just rights.