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## MILITARY BUILD-UP IN THE NORTH

### — PRELUDE TO ARMY ADMINISTRATION

The massive military build-up in the northern Tamil city of Jaffna in Sri Lanka has given rise to the strong belief that the civil administration might be replaced with an administration under military control immediately following the local government elections and some by-elections to Parliament in some southern constituencies scheduled for 18th May.

The increase in military presence in the North began following the recent shooting of three candidates belonging to the ruling United National Party, allegedly by youths connected with the Liberation Tamil tigers, and the government's decision to go ahead with the elections in spite of the withdrawal from the contest of several other UNP candidates. The shooting has been condemned by the chief opposition Tamil party, the Tamil United Liberation Front. According to a news report filed by George Arney for the BBC on May 4th, security in the north was being tightened up by the government in the run up to the local elections, and special protection was also being given to candidates contesting parliamentary by-elections in the south. His report adds:

"The extra security in the north is clearly necessary to

protect participants in the political process from those who stand outside it and especially the Tamils who associate themselves with the Government who are prime targets of extremists such as the Liberation Tigers. But it is unlikely to help to ease the bitterness of many Tamils which is expressed in its most extreme form by the "terrorists". The security forces are already seen by some in Jaffna as more an army of occupation than the custodians of law and order, especially with the powers vested in them under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. There is also a danger that the politicians and the political system which the army is called upon to protect in the north appear increasingly irrelevant to many people there.

"If that is the case, the blame must partly lie with President Jayawardene. Despite liberal pronouncements on the Tamil question, the President has done little to strengthen the hand of the moderate Tamil politicians. He has a huge inbuilt majority in the national Parliament, which leaves him relatively free from political pressures which might otherwise push him into giving more serious consideration to Tamil demands. The Tamil

## ARMY SETS ABLAZE HOUSES AND SHOPS IN JAFFNA

Many houses, shops and vehicles were set ablaze in the northern city of Jaffna in Sri Lanka by sections of the army following the local elections held on 18th May. This act of arson is alleged to be in retaliation to the shooting of an army corporal and setting fire to a polling booth by an unknown group of youths. The people whose houses have been destroyed by the security forces and others fearing further violence by the army are reported to have taken refuge in the Jaffna University campus. A state of emergency was declared throughout the country immediately after polling ended on 18th May following post-election violence.

In the bye-elections for 18 vacant constituencies in the south of the country which were also characterised by violence and thuggery

United Liberation Front, on the other hand, while opposing the President's constitutional innovations, has remained within the political system. It acts, at present, as the Chief Opposition party, and despite major reservations, has agreed to work the system of District Development Councils designed in part to wean Tamils away from the more extreme demands for

### LATE NEWS

against opposition supporters, the ruling United National Party won 14 seats, Sri Lanka Freedom Party 3 seats, and the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna one seat. Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara who contested under the NSSP ticket lost by only 800 votes and Mr. Vijaya Kumaratunga, the film actor son-in-law of Mrs. Bandaranaike lost by a mere 48 votes in his Mahara constituency where one of his supporters was shot dead. Although the leadership of the Tamil United Liberation Front refused to accede to the demand by the militant Tamil youth to boycott the local election in the north, almost all the TULF candidates eventually withdrew from the contest just two days prior to the polling day. The counting at the end of the poll in the Jaffna District showed that almost 90 per cent of the people responded to the boycott call and only a few hundred had voted.

In the other Tamil districts of Vavuniya, Trincomalee and Batticaloa, the TULF had a comfortable win over its rivals.

political autonomy. But government officials themselves admit that the process of devolving even limited power to the District Development Councils has been a slow one. Nor are the economic inputs sufficient to make much of an impression on what TULF politicians describe with some justification as Jaffna's underdeveloped state.

CONTD ON P.17

## TAMIL TIMES

## GANDHIYAM VILIFIED

The Sri Lankan government is using its servile news media to mount a hostile and scurrilous propaganda campaign against the Gandhiyam Society in an attempt to justify the arrest and detention of its leaders, Mr. S.A. David and Dr. S. Rajasunderam under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The Sri Lankan newspapers are full of wild accusations against Gandhiyam and its leaders.

The deliberate plan to attack and disrupt the work of Gandhiyam was masterminded by the Internal Security Division (ISD) as early as 1979. This plan of the ISD to dismantle the Gandhiyam settlements and farms included the setting-up of "integral communities of both Sinhalese and Tamils" in historically Tamil areas like Vavuniya, Trincomalee and Batticaloa districts. These "integral communities" were to act as "buffer zones resulting in the ultimate loss of any singular identify"; that means Tamil identify. In other words, the plan envisaged that most of the areas which have historically been considered as "Tamil areas" would cease to be so once the full plan was implemented.

A decision having been made progressively to implement the ISD plan, a sustained campaign of vilification against a "social service organisation" was mounted in the Sri Lankan newspapers, particularly in the Davasa and Sun Group of newspapers. Mr. Ranil Weerasinghe, who writes and sounds more like an ISD officer than a journalist, wrote several articles in the "Weekend Sun" (presumably translated and published in the Sinhala newspapers as well) about the "terrorist connections" of this "social service organisation", which was an euphemism he used for Gandhiyam.

Not that Gandhiyam was in any way part of the resistance movement of the Tamil speaking people against the imposition of the hegemony of the majority Sinhalese on a racist basis even in the traditional homelands of the Tamil people. Its only role during the last few years has been to

provide relief and rehabilitation to those Upcountry Tamils who had to flee from the plantations having lost all their worldly possessions as a direct result of the racial violence to which they were subjected by Sinhala racist gangs aided and abetted by the country's security forces. Of course the extreme chauvinist sections would have preferred to see these displaced plantation workers driven to destitution and even to death. But Gandhiyam came to their rescue. That is the real "crime" Gandhiyam and its leaders had committed.

If the ISD plan was to be implemented, the settlements and farms set up by Gandhiyam had to be disrupted and eventually destroyed. Gandhiyam has to be torn down, its leaders maligned and vilified before they are put behind bars permanently on the basis of their own "confessions" obtained under torture.

Now the Sri Lankan newspapers are replete with wild and malicious reports attributed to "authoritative official sources" to the effect that Gandhiyam had "terrorist links"; that it obtained money for its "clandestine activities... through a diplomat attached to a foreign embassy in Sri Lanka"; that the "Society had been used as a cover for illegal activity to undermine the government"; that "Gandhiyam farms have been used as training camps for terrorists, providing refuge to men wanted for murder, robbery and other acts of violence"; that it arranged "with people abroad for training certain groups in military combat"; that "meetings between the 'terrorists' and certain foreigners have been arranged at some Gandhiyam farms", etc.

It will surprise no one that when "confessions" of Mr. David and Dr. Rajasunderam which have been extracted under torture are ultimately produced, they will probably contain "admissions" to all the above-mentioned accusations and more.

## BOOK REVIEW

## THE SINHALESE OF CEYLON AND THE ARYAN THEORY

BY SAMUEL LIVINGSTONE

Research into history, culture and language is undoubtedly protracted and difficult. However, it is essential to continually review and evaluate existing theories in the light of new evidence if history is to remain a useful and dynamic discipline. Many theories about the early civilisations in South Asia were conceived by Western and Western oriented historians who started with the presumption that Aryans migrating from central Eurasia were responsible for all civilisations and that

before the arrival of the Aryans in North India around 2500 BC, the Indian subcontinent was inhabited by primitive aboriginals.

The relatively recent discoveries in various parts of the Indian subcontinent of remains of indigenous advanced civilisations that flourished 7000 BC or earlier make it imperative that the earlier theories be revised. One such early theory still propagated in text books used in Sri Lankan schools declares that the people who now speak the Sinhala language are Aryans by descent of a group of 700 men who migrated to Sri Lanka from North India and that Sinhala is an Aryan language brought to the island by these migrants. The need for such a belief arises from the assumption

that the pre-Aryan inhabitants of the Indian subcontinent including the islands nearby were underdeveloped inferior beings. Samuel Livingstone (pseudonym) in his book 'The Sinhalese of Ceylon and the Aryan theory' rejects the "superior Aryan" theory with erudite and cogent arguments and paradoxically drawing evidence from Sinhala scripts such as Mahavansa and other relevant sources suggests an alternative interpretation of the available evidence about the early history of Sri Lanka.

The Sinhalese and the Sri Lanka Tamils are both indigenous to the land, both having descended from the Dravidian tribes the Yakkas (Tamil: lyakkunar = engineering class) and the

Nagas (of nagaram and nagarikam; the ruling class) who inhabited the island in ancient times. Those, of these two tribes, who embraced Buddhism were exposed to a language that was a mixture of the original Dravidian Sri Lankan dialect 'Elu' and Pali of the Buddhist clergy. Sinhala as a language started developing only after the arrival of Buddhism to the island. The land of the Elu speakers became known as Eelam and gradually modified to Sri Eelam, Sihalam, Sinhalam and Ceylon. The violent clashes between the Dravidian Hindus and the Dravidian Buddhists in the fifth century AD induced the Buddhist clergy to create the Vijaya legend to give the Buddhists of the island a

CONTD ON P.4

# NORTH SOUTH FOCUS

## PARLIAMENTARY AND EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY

An island lead story states that President Jayewardene will shortly appoint a committee of three senior Ministers to inquire into and report on "the problem of terrorism in the north in all its aspects" in order to find possible solutions to what is plainly a major burden on the government rather than a dramatic diversion for the people of the untroubled south as it was in the mid-70's.

Right now, politics in the South, it is true, is largely confined to the forthcoming by-elections. Certainly, the SLFP and the other opposition parties, though still demanding a general election in August, are happy to find that the parliamentary door which was shut tight for 6 years by the December 22nd referendum, is now slightly ajar. If the SLFP and its partners can win a dozen seats, the SLFP, still the UNP's main opponent, will be able to emerge as the main opposition group and claim the post of Opposition leader, an office which should have been theirs but for the quirks of the British electoral system.

The TULF, now the main Opposition group, found its leader, all MP's, and local government members hold a ten-hour fast on April 22, Chelvanayakam Day. What it signifies is that the TULF, for all its parliamentarism and for the conservatism of some section of the leadership, is (unlike the SLFP) thrown into extra-parliamentary action, however "token" the gesture. Caught by the dynamics of politics in the north, the TULF oscillates between its parliamentary position and conduct and other non-parliamentary courses of action. The crunch will come in August when the TULF will have to measure itself by its principle stand that MP's elected in July 1977 have no mandate from the

people after August 1983. What will the scope of the Ministerial committee be? Since it is composed of politicians looking presumably for political solutions as well as military options, one presumes that it will, in fact, cover the problem comprehensively. The need for such a broad approach is determined by the nature of the problem, the phenomenon itself. What is "terrorism" from one point of view is "liberation struggle" from the contrary standpoint. Unless that is borne in mind steadily, the inquiry will be narrowed to the merely security aspects — in short, how to fight the Tigers, not how to deal with the Tamil Problem. If there were no Tamil problem, there would be no Tigers.

BY MERVYN DE SILVA

On this all are agreed, including these clandestine organisations which circulate propaganda material from time to time from capitals in the U.S., Europe and Asia. This literature makes it abundantly clear that if there was any crisis-point it was the 1972 Constitution promulgated by the U.F. and other policy measures such as standardisation, quotas, jobs, projects, allocation of funds, etc.

These are the roots of the problem. Any serious, dispassionate inquiry must begin there.

Meanwhile, the dimensions of the problem are changing, physically and qualitatively.

(a) In the last few months Tamils arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act include Christian clergy (Catholic and Methodist), several doctors, university dons, the best known Tamil authoress, an architect, teachers, etc. Some of them have been educated in the

U.S. and U.K.

The point to be noted here is not just that they are members of the educated Tamil elite but that in the past it was a firm assumption that the Tamil resistance was confined to a group of alienated and rebellious Tamil youth on the fringes of what was believed to be the most docile and conservative community in this country.

(b) The new wave of arrests has been outside the northern province — Trinco, Vavuniya, Batticaloa, Potuvil, etc. And none of them has been detained for any overt act of violence or identified with any such armed action.

What could be guilt by alleged association, the sociologist and serious observer should note, is

Tamilnadu constituency for separatist groups here.

The conference some months ago in Madras was attended by the representatives of these repatriates and address by TULF leaders, the DMK, ADMK, Kamaraj Congress delegates. It is known by Sri Lankan diplomats in India that Uma Maheswaran, one of the most wanted men, was present at this meeting. (4) The crack-down on the social service organisation "Gandhiyam" on whose history at least there is common ground between Home Affairs Minister Mr. K. W. Devanayagam and Mr. Shirley Candappa, an admirer of the movement who has circulated a letter to the newspapers.

Mr. Devanayagam now suspects that the movement had "ulterior motives" and "links" with "terrorism". He categorically states, reports the ISLAND, "that there is nothing wrong in settling displaced upcountry Tamils in the north and east." Mr. Devanayagam's comments also establish the fact that the refugee resettlement program is a by-product of the racial attacks on plantation workers dating back to SLFP times. That is why Mr. Devanayagam had no hesitation in supporting the Gandhiyam movement and has no hesitation today in acknowledging its "yeoman service".

(5) Finally, foreign aid agencies have been dragged into this. Mr. Devanayagam mentions "Redd Barna" (Swedish) but his objection is that some members of that organisation were engaged in "anti-government work". Three West German youths were taken in during the raid on Gandhiyam and released after a few hours. Various non-governmental aid agencies, including OXFAM,

spawned a new "idiom" in the media which is suspiciously neo-McCarthyite in style, "Pro-Eelam literature" is taken for an "offence" when "Eelam" is the single slogan on which the TULF fought and won the 1977 election, which the main Opposition party still advocated, and which the Sri Lanka's Opposition leader espouses in every capital he visits!

Every youth arrested for distributing a leaflet, shouting a pro-Eelam slogan or pasting some posters becomes in the mainstream media "a Tiger suspect", and certain types of literature earn the blanket description "subversive".

(3) While the physical geography of the problem is changing a new factor has been introduced into the "Tamil problem"—

(a) the introduction of Tamil plantation worker as refugee settlers in the north, Vavuniya, Trinco, etc and

(b) by recent Indian Tamil repatriates providing a new

CONTD ON P.14

## NIRMALA & PRIESTS TORTURED

TRIAL ON JUNE 6

The trial against Fr. Singarayar, Fr. Sinnarasa, Rev. Jeyatilakarajah, Dr. Jeyakularajah, Mr. Nithianandan and his wife Nirmala Nithianandan is scheduled to commence on June 6, 1983. They have been charged under the South African style Prevention of Terrorism Act for allegedly not disclosing information to the police about the whereabouts of some "terrorists". Some of them are charged for allegedly harbouring "terrorists".

The Movement for Inter Racial Justice and Equality of Sri Lanka (MIRJE) has commenced a campaign for the release of Nirmala and others detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and for the Act's repeal. In a leaflet published in support of the campaign, MIRJE states:

"Soon after they were detained, they were not allowed to see either their lawyers or friends or relations. It would appear that 'confessions' were recorded before any persons were allowed to see the detenus and in some cases lawyers or relatives were able to see the detenus only after a Court Order and Habeas Corpus applications. After the lawyers had seen them, it has come to light that the detenus were tortured or harassed and were subjected to inhuman and degrading treatment and they were compelled to make "confessions". In the case of Fr. Singarayar, it is reported that a police officer (who can be identified) stripped him and kept him in the nude and assaulted him, also on his private parts so as to cause him great pain, and compelled him to make a "confession". He was also threatened with a revolver by the police officer. There were similar allegations of torture, inhuman and degrading treatment by Fr Sinnarasa, Rev. Jayatilakarajah, Dr. Jayakularajah and Mr. Nithianandan. In the case of Nirmala, she was beaten up soon after she was arrested and various

means were adopted to extract a "confession". There was no subsequent physical assault. But torture continued in other forms, and the common method which was used against all was to deny them sleep by either disturbing them continuously or focusing bright lamps on them. They were also denied facilities to wash or bathe; in a hot climate preventing a person from bathing for several days can in itself be a means of breaking the person's resistance.

"When they were arrested, it was alleged by the Government and the police and sometimes even by the army that Fr Singarayar and Fr Sinnarasa had been parties to help some persons who took part in a bank robbery on 25 March 1981. It should be noted that six persons were tried for this robbery under the PTA and all of them sentenced to life imprisonment. Neither Fr. Singarayar nor Fr. Sinnarasa was charged at the time or called to give evidence nor were they in any way stated to be connected with the said robbery. However, wide publicity was given to the allegation, that they had received and retained large sums of stolen money, by the government, the police and even the army sources, including the Army Commander who gave press interviews. This would appear to be a deliberate campaign to cause the utmost hostility against the priests under detention. It should be noted that no charges have been framed against the detenus relating to retention of stolen money. "Nirmala is the first woman to be arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism law. She is a graduate in political science and she has been in the forefront of cultural and



*Nirmala*

literary activities together with her husband who is also a writer besides being a University lecturer.

"Nirmala suffers from asthma and this has been a constant source of worry to her while in detention. The medical attention available is practically nil and she is

virtually held incommunicado. She is permitted one visit per day for 15 minutes. Otherwise the only person with whom she has contact is the prison warden. It is feared that the conditions under which Nirmala is being detained are affecting her health.

"We are campaigning for the release of Nirmala and others detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and for the repeal of the PTA itself.

"As is well known Sri Lanka is a member of the United Nations and also a signatory to the International Covenants on Social & Cultural Rights and Civil & Political Rights. Section 11 of the Constitution of Sri Lanka specifically states that—

'No person shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment'.

"We appeal to everyone to join us in this struggle against the violation of Human Rights, to join us in this campaign and

(a) write to Mr. J.R. Jayewardene, President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, Colombo, requesting him to repeal the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

(b) make representations to World Human Rights Organisations and your Government to prevail upon the Government of Sri Lanka to repeal the Prevention of Terrorism Act."

CONTD FROM P.2

separate and distinctive identity.

Written in the format of a collection of letters from a father to his son, the book is reminiscent of a similar book by an illustrious father. The style, however, makes it easy reading. Once the initial prejudices are overcome it is compelling reading and develops like a detective novel. An attempt to unravel the early history of Sri Lanka cannot ignore the state of civilisation in the Indian subcontinent and indeed of world civilisations at that time. The theories

propounded should be of interest to historians dealing with ancient India and students of ancient world civilisations.

This book must be read by all educated Sri Lankans. Sadly however, an emotional block will prevent the existence of this book and theory being known to many Sinhalese. It is compulsory reading for all Tamils of Sri Lanka if at least to balance the one sided interpretations expounded in the text books currently used in the Schools and colleges of Sri Lanka.

**K. R. MANIKKAN**

# GANDHIYAM LEADERS STRIPPED & TORTURED

## FORCED CONFESSIONS OBTAINED

Gandhiyam leaders, Mr. S.A. David and Dr. S. Rajasundaram have been forced to make "confessions" under torture. Since their arrests last month, Mr. David has been held in detention under the Prevention of Terrorism Act at the Panagoda Army Camp in Colombo and Dr. Rajasundaram at the Gurunagar Army Camp in Jaffna. Both had been stripped naked, and subjected to various forms of torture. Defying the orders from the Supreme Court, the Sri Lankan security forces did not permit any friends or lawyers to visit either Mr. David or Dr. Rajasundaram until they had extracted "confessions" from them. Attorney-at-Law, Mr. G. Kumaralingam, who made attempts to see Mr. David at the Panagoda Army Camp before the CID forced him to sign his "confessions", sent the following telegram to President Jayawardene on April 23rd:

**"Visited detainees at army cantonment, Panagoda today (stop) Detainees complained of severe assault by army personnel on tenth, eleventh and twelfth instant and inhuman treatment, handcuffing at night manacled to cell door during the day, food reduced etc. (stop) Detainee Rajendram passing blood and suffering from frequency of micturition due to assault (stop) Fifty seven years old architect David stripped naked and tortured at CID Office, thereafter subjected to cruel treatment at army cantonment to force sign confession before A.S.P. and badly beaten by army officers last night (stop) Lawyers not permitted access to David until confession was signed through court made order permitting access on Tuesday.**

**Move detainees to Fiscal custody to prevent this inhumanity and cause all violations of human rights to be inquired by independent inquirer = Kumara-lingam, Attorney-At-Law.**

Mr. Kumaralingam, in a letter dated 23rd March addressed to the Sri Lankan Army Commander, stated: The whole of the 21st I spent my time at telephone trying to confirm the receipt by your office of the Court's Order in respect of lawyers' access to Mr. Arulanandam David and the conveyance of orders from your office to the Commandant of the Detention Barracks. By afternoon on the 21st, Army Services

acknowledged that the order of Court had been received and Headquarters had sent the "Signal" to the barracks. Barracks Commandant, however, while confirming receipt of the "Signal" said that he could not act on the "Signal" alone, but had to await written orders. Written orders reached the Barracks 21st evening or 22nd morning. I again gave due notice and called over at the Army Cantonment in the afternoon of the 22nd, again with a certified copy of the court's order. I was made to wait for over 1½ hours at the Military Police Charge Room near the entrance to the Cantonment and then, at about 4 p.m., told over the telephone by Sgt. Mjr. Dodangoda that I could not be allowed to see the detainee concerned that day as

right then the Police were questioning him and would not finish until after the 5 p.m. time limit given me in the court's order.

I strongly protest against this action of the said Sergeant Major as it amounts to direct defiance of the Court of Appeal. While I shall pursue the available remedies through the Court, I shall also request you to inquire into this matter and take appropriate action. I was finally able to interview Mr. David on 23rd April 1983 and I learnt that while I was kept waiting with the copy of the Court of Appeal's Order the previous day, Police Officers had been assaulting and intimidating Mr. David into making a false confession to an Assistant Superintendent of Police Mr. Punya de Silva and into signing it.

## AGAINST GANDHIYAM REPRESSION

### — INHUMAN, CRUEL ACTS CONDEMNED

"Because of the repression unleashed on the Gandhiyam Society by the Government, about 30,000 refugees who were being rehabilitated by this society have once again become helpless. Please note that these refugees from various regions were the displaced victims of racial riots from 1977 to 1981", says the MOVEMENT FOR THE DEFENCE OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS (Castle Street, Colombo 8) in a letter addressed to president Jayawardene dated 22nd April, and signed by S.G. Punchihewa, Joint Secretary:—  
Your Excellency,

This is to confirm the telegram sent to you today.

"Hon. President, We are gravely concerned about the arrest of Dr. Rajasundaram, the secretary and Mr. S.A. David, the president of the Gandhiyam society. We are also sorry that rehabilitation work for the refugees and victims of racial riots from 1977-81, is obstructed by the arrest of these two persons as well as other volunteer workers of the Gandhiyam Society. We request that

these members of the Gandhiyam Society who were arrested, be produced before a Magistrate forthwith, that they, if they had violated the existing laws, be tried under the normal laws of the land and also they be freed as soon as possible if they are innocent. Movement for the Defence of Democratic Rights"

The Secretary of the Gandhiyam Society, Dr. Rajasundaram has been arrested and held in custody, innocently from 6th April. Bright lights have been shone on his eyes denying him sleep. The health of this diabetic patient has begun to deteriorate. His repeated requests for medical treatment have been refused. He is being kept in a room 3 feet wide, handcuffed. We strongly deplore these inhumane cruel acts.

The president of the Gandhiyam Society, Mr. S.A. David, has been arrested and kept at Panagoda Army Camp from 8.4.1983. Volunteers of the Gandhi-

yam Society from several regions have also been arrested and kept in custody. Because of the arrests of these people and the repression unleashed on this society by the Government, about 30,000 refugees who were being rehabilitated by this society have once again become helpless. Please note that these refugees from various regions were the displaced victims of racial riots from 1977 till 1981.

Hence we request that, (1) the democratic and human rights of these refugees be respected and their lives safeguarded by lifting all restrictions placed on the working of Gandhiyam officers.

(2) the President, the Secretary and others of the Gandhiyam society who are held in custody be treated humanely."

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## GANDHIYAM WOMAN WORKER FORCED TO WRITE FALSE ACCOUNTS CID COOKS-UP EVIDENCE AGAINST GANDHIYAM

**Mrs. Kanagarani Vivekanandan (29), a mother of two children, and now in the fourth month of pregnancy has petitioned the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka for violation of her fundamental rights by the Sri Lankan security forces. She states in her petition that the CID and army officers forced her to write false and distorted statements of accounts concerning Gandhiyam.**

Kanagarani has been working with Gandhiyam as a Book-keeper and clerk in the Vavuniya office of Gandhiyam.

In her petition to the Supreme Court, Kanagarani states:

- On 6th April 1983, a team of army and police officers headed by Brigadier Balthazaar and including Major Saliya Kulatunga went to the Vavuniya office of Gandhiyam and arrested and took into custody its Organising Secretary, Dr. S. Rjasundaram, searched the office and removed several files, books of accounts and documents belonging to Gandhiyam.

- Kanagarani later learnt that the Gandhiyam President Mr. S. A. David had also been arrested and kept in detention at the Panagoda Army Camp. Also she learnt that Dr. Rajasundaram was being detained at the Gurunagar Army Camp in Jaffna.

- On 16th April 1983, officers of the Vavuniya Police headed by Mr. Herath, Superintendent of Police, and including Inspector of Police Mr. Krishnarajah went to the Gandhiyam Office. Mr. Krishnarajah questioned Kanagarani extensively about the work done by Gandhiyam and recorded her replies.

- On 21st April 1983, at about 11 a.m., several army and police officers, at least three of whom had been in the party that arrested Dr. Rajasundaram previously, went to the Gandhiyam office with a letter addressed to Kanagarani from Dr. Rajasundaram. The letter said that accounts had to be

written and asked Kanagarani to go to the Gurunagar Army Camp with the calculator. The letter was in English. Dr. Rajasundaram was aware that Kanagarani was not sufficiently conversant in English and would not have ordinarily written to her in English unless he was forced to do so. Although the officers insisted that she should accompany them to the Gurunagar Army Camp immediately, she could not do so and agreed to go the next day.

- On 22nd April, 1983, Kanagarani reported at the Gurunagar Army Camp at about 10.30 a.m. as instructed. Major Kulatunga was with Dr. Rajasundaram, Dr. Rajasundaram appeared to have thinned much since his arrest, very weak and eyes sunken; his speech was hardly audible. Major Kulatunga required Dr. Rajasundaram to ask Kanagarani to rewrite certain particulars of Gandhiyam accounts distorting the audited statement of accounts. An officer referred to as "SP" asked Major Kulatunga whether he had instructed Dr. Rajasundaram and Kanagarani to prepare the accounts in the manner in which the authorities had wanted, and the Major replied in the affirmative. Kanagarani was asked to prepare the falsified accounts.

- The accounts of Gandhiyam for the years 1977 to 1980 had been duly prepared and audited by qualified accountants and had been submitted to the Social Services Department. The copies of these statements were taken over by

the police and army officers when they raided the Gandhiyam office previously. The 1981 accounts books were with the auditors. The 1982 books had also been taken over by the army and police officers.

- The true and detailed particulars of payments made to volunteers who had worked for Gandhiyam were recorded in the relevant books. Yet the Police and Army officers were attempting to cause Kanagarani to prepare false accounts to show that Dr. Rajasundaram had paid money to "terrorists". Startled by this request, Kanagarani asked Dr. Rajasundaram, "Sir, these people are asking us to prepare such statements of accounts; we do not know whether they are terrorists. Why should we make out such statements?" Dr. Rajasundaram replied in a forlorn tone, "Since they are asking, do it". Kanagarani then asked him, "Are they tormenting you sir?" to which the Dr. replied "yes". This conversation was in Tamil, but at this point the Major sensing that the conversation had deviated from what he had expected, ordered another officer to sit besides Kanagarani and Dr. Rajasundaram.

- Kanagarani then wrote out the statement of accounts as instructed until 5 p.m. on 22nd April. Major Kulatunga then asked Kanagarani to go and return the next day. She replied that it would be 10 p.m. by the time she reached her

home in Vavuniya and that she could not return the following day. Major Kulatunga told Kanagarani that she could go and return on Monday 25th April having prepared and completed the (false) accounts and if possible also translated into English.

- When Kanagarani was about to leave, Major Kulatunga told her that she must not tell anyone that she was asked to prepare those statements of (distorted) accounts, and if they came to know that any other person had been told about it, they would arrest her and bring her to the Gurunagar Army Camp without any further questions.

Kanagarani further states in her petition to the Supreme Court that the books of accounts of Gandhiyam reflecting the true and accurate accounts of all its income and expenditure and the names of all persons who worked for it at every period, properly audited up to 1980 and the Audited statement of accounts were already in the hands of the officers.

Kanagarani further adds that she fears that the army and police officers required the distorted accounts to be made up with a view to creating false evidence against Gandhiyam and Dr. Rajasundaram as having aided "terrorists", and perhaps they intend to force him to sign and authenticate the false accounts as prepared under their instructions.

### CLASSIFIED

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## TORTURE

Sadly the practice of torture is as old as history. As long as one man had the desire of domination over another, so long has torture been in existence. There is little doubt that the use of torture all over the world is increasing. Countries of South Asia have not been exempt.

Torture is sometimes a revenge but more often it is used as a means of manipulation. The express purpose is to inflict hideous and often unbearable pain; to cause as much physical and mental pain as is thought desirable, possible or permissible so that the resoluteness of the victim is ultimately broken. The fundamental standards of human behaviour are not observed. Next to murder torture is the most shocking violation of personal rights one human being can inflict on another.

Many are the methods that have been used and are still in use. Every instrument and agent that is likely to cause pain has been used and every part of the body that is sensitive has been tampered with. As much as some scientists dissipate the usefulness of their knowledge in the production of more and more powerful means of destruction, some warped minds use their knowledge of human anatomy, physiology and psychology to produce more and more effective means of torture. The ultimate aim is to produce means that produce rapid results, that is the destruction of the prisoner's will in a matter of hours, but leave no visible signs or marks of brutality. Mental and psychological damage is hard to prove in courts of law.

During the middle ages suspected heretics in Europe were racked, scourged and burned. Nowadays along with similar gruesome methods more refined methods are also used. 'Wall standing', sleep deprivation, hooding to

induce a sense of isolation, reduced diet, continuous bombardment with noise are unlikely to leave physical scars. Drugs may be used and after many hours or days traces may not be detectable. Normally

BY R.T. PARAN

present physiological, biochemical substances may be administered to induce abnormal physiological states and it would be difficult to prove whether any excessive amounts found in body tissues were internally produced or extraneously administered. Allergic reactions in the body can produce histamine and induce asthma; administered histamine also can induce asthma and arouse the fear of suffocation in the detainee. Chilli (hot pepper) powder on sensitive parts of the body can be devastating at the time of application. After many days where is the hot powder?

## TAMIL WOMEN'S LEAGUE

The T.W.L. staged a very successful concert at the Hampstead Town Hall on 23rd April. Among those taking part were Sornaratnam Nesaratnam, Varathaluxmi Karthigeyan, Gopal Ramani, Punitham Perinparaja, Jo Chalmers, Gnana Kathirgamathamby, Radhika Sothisrihari and a North Indian Dance Group. The main attraction of the evening was an accomplished Bharata Natya recital by Maria Vanitha Joachim, the first Roman Catholic from Sri Lanka to reach the top flight of performers of this intricate and demanding dance routine. She has adopted the Vazhuvoor Ramiah Pillai's style of dancing and has created a niche for herself, as an exceptionally talented performer and teacher, both in Sri Lanka and in England. Till recently she resided in Bolton (Lan-

Whether the methods used are crude and produce obvious physical damage or are more subtle someone has to say "...enough. This person will die if you continue". This implies participation by medical practitioners even in a remote way. Members of the medical profession have been alleged to be directly involved in torture or cruel and degrading treatment in many countries. Some detainees have claimed that the doctors in the torture centres were not there to reduce the effects of torture but to see that it is applied effectively. One of the functions of the doctors involved in such practices is to see that torture was applied in such a way that no scars were left as evidence of what happened.

The World Medical Association in 1975 adopted guide lines forbidding involvement of doctors in torture and other degrading treatments. According to the Declaration of Tokyo (1975), 'doctors shall not countenance, condone or participate

in the practice of torture or other forms of cruel, inhuman or degrading procedures whatever the offence of which the victim of such procedures is suspected, accused or guilty and whatever the victim's beliefs or motives and in all situations including armed conflict and civil strife'.

The aim of torture is virtually the same everywhere — to gain information about opposition groups and to intimidate would-be dissidents. Labelling such groups as subversives, insurgents or terrorists makes the guilt lie less heavily on the conscience of the perpetrator. A show of brutality is thought to be devastatingly effective in keeping people in line. Torture is becoming very much part of life in many countries.

Not even the right to life is absolutely guaranteed in international human rights law as freedom from torture. A government that tramples on the rights of its citizens denies the purpose of its existence.



cashire) but now that she is living in London many more will be able to enjoy and benefit from watching her exquisite footwork and most expressive eye and hand movements.

The concert was organized

by Rajeswari Bala-Subramaniam (Chairwoman) Sharmini Mohan (Secretary) and other members of this fast-growing League, and presented by Anandi Suriapragasam (B.B.C. Tamil Osai).

# A military mind cannot understand Gandhiam!

By Vanninesan

Anyone who knows Vavuniya from the inside will observe two realities — the wealth of the Oppressor and the tears of the oppressed. One will meet the first reality in the town and streets, where the big and small Mudalalies with their lorries, vans and tractors, jostle with each other in making easy money out of the grains and produce, brought by the poor farmers from their fields. The rich land-owner, the rich mudalali and the middleman make hay in the scorching sun of the months of March, April and May by exploiting the poor farmers and workers.

The second reality one will see in the tears of the oppressed in the villages. It does not require much time to reflect and analyze the situation. The interests of the first are protected by government police and army, who in their turn benefit from the rich mudalalies and their bribes. Who is there to empathize with the second in the face of all odds and opposition, attacks and harassments, to bring a ray of hope to the poor and suffering in the Vanni villages? Thiruvalluvar reflecting on such a situation has expressed:

The tears that swell  
With pain unbearable  
From the eyes of the  
oppressed  
Will be the might army  
To destroy a nation's  
wealth.

## DEDICATED SERVICE

The Gandhiam Society was inaugurated in Vavuniya in 1976, and the admirable yeoman service it rendered in rehabilitating the thousands of displaced Tamil refugees, after the racial riots of 1977 will never be forgotten in the Vanni. The Government at that time hardly did anything positive where this section

of the people was concerned.

The dynamic self-sacrificing leadership and dedicated service of men like Dr. Rajasundaram, Mr. David and Fr. Emmanuel at that time, can never be forgotten. It was their dedicated concern and service that inspired many foreign institutions and charitable organisations to help them with financial aid. All this money has gone to help the refugees in many ways.

It was Gandhiam and Gandhiam alone, that dared to venture into these distant Vanni settlements and care for the poorest of the poor. It was Gandhiam that helped them to build huts, dig wells, teach them new methods of cultivation suited to the dry zone, provide health and school facilities and organise cultural programmes. Anyone who has the time should visit Kallar, Palmoddai, Maniarkulam, and other places and see for oneself the extent to which these displaced families from the hill country are now living with some hope and contributing towards food production. There is still much to be done and much errors to be rectified but a right start has been given. The soul and heart beats of Vavuniya are seen in the emerging new leadership, in the new movements such as Gandhiam and MIRJE. When harassments of these movements and their leaders take place, the very soul of the Vanni seems to be trampled and crushed. Why are Gandhiam leaders humiliated, harassed and taken into custody? The State-sponsored newspapers as usual are carrying on a campaign of vilification and defamation which in no way helps in solving problems. These vilifications only leave behind

deep wounds and grievances which cannot easily be healed.

## MASS EXODUS THROUGH RIOTS

Surely Gandhiam is not the cause for the mass exodus of displaced Tamils from Sinhala areas and the encroachments of Government lands. Political events, government policies, racial riots, ill thought land reforms, harassments, threats and all kinds of intimidation and discrimination were the cause for the exodus as any intelligent citizen would know. Some knowledge of human behaviour, leave along psychology, is enough to understand why poor Tamils when attacked flee to their homelands for shelter, security and protection. When such exoduses take place some organization or other should move in to rehabilitate the displaced. Gandhiam only attempted to do this in a dedicated way. Gandhiam only dealt with a small segment of this vast problem. Many thousands have come on their own and settled in these districts and are untouched by Gandhiam. This trend will continue until and when the political, social, economic and cultural conditions become secure in the south for Tamils to live in security, dignity and self-respect. It is high time, that the government puts aside some resources and personnel to make a thorough in-depth study of this complex social problem, to help those in authority in the government and security forces. It will never help to solve social problems by wielding the big stick, the bullets and treating educated people in a most humiliating manner as common criminals. Instead of humiliating and

harassing the leaders, workers of Gandhiam the Government ought to reward them for their yeoman service in such trying, demanding and difficult situations and also help them with resources at its command.

There seems to be a great suspicion for long, lurking in the minds of the security forces, backed by a fertile imagination and helped by the local government sponsored press that Dr. Rajasundaram and Gandhiam are involved in Tamil Eelam terrorist activities in the North. There is no doubt that there is a terrible mix-up of Tamil nationalism, aspirations of Tamil Eelam and terrorism in the Police, Army and C.I.D. You cannot blame them for their lack of intelligence, sensitivity and sensibility in this matter due to the fact that they live and work in the dream-world of terrorism apart from human, social and political realities and developments. The security forces in some countries behave with much greater intelligence and sensitivity in similar situations. As Dr. Wilson had analysed, Tamil nationalism has come to stay since the 50's and has become deepened and assumed a complex dynamism due to historical, political and social reasons.

## IGNORING AT OWN PERIL

All those who know Dr. Rajasundaram will know that he is a very ardent Tamil Nationalist and activist. Historical circumstances and political realities have made him what he is. You need a sharp sensitivity to understand the different nuances and shades of Tamil nationalism and aspirations. In a milieu of army occupation and terrorism and in a situation of potential holocaust, militant and arrogant attitudes towards Tamil nationalism will only worsen the situation. If the Government continues to

CONTD FROM P.21



## FOCUS ON THE PLIGHT OF PLANTATION WORKERS IN SRI LANKA INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN LONDON

The plight of the plantation workers of Sri Lanka was the focus of attention and discussion at the International Conference held in London on 23 and 24 April, 1983.

This Conference was sponsored by the Agricultural and Allied Workers National Trades Group of the Transport and General Workers Union, WAR ON WANT, Christian Aid, Catholic Fund for Overseas Development, Methodist Church — Division of Social Responsibility, Commission on Inter-Church Aid (Holland) and many other organisations. Delegates and observers from the above organisations as well as the World Development Movement, Association of Technical, Supervisory and Managerial Staffs, Association of Cinematographic, Television Technicians, National Union of Teachers, Labour Party, International Voluntary Service, Catholic Institute of International Relations, Journal of Contemporary Asia, Archway Development Centre, Quakers Peace Service, and most of the Sri Lankan organisations in London.

There were participants from Sweden, Germany, Holland, Norway, and Singapore. Many other organisations who were not able to send delegates such as the Entraide et Fraternite (Belgium), OXFAM, I.C.C.O. (Holland), National Union of Journalists, Third World First, sent messages of support.

The colonial rulers who presided over the British Empire shifted and displaced tens of thousands indigenous people from their native lands in order to supply slaves or indentured labourers to their Cotton, Coffee, Tea and other plantations. The enslaved African people were transported to America and the Carribeans. Indentured

workers from India were taken to Guyana, Fiji, South Africa, Malaya, Sri Lanka etc. The violence inflicted on them and the misery and degradation these people suffered at the hands of the 'White Civilisers' have been narrated many times.

The effects of uprooting and displacing continues to cause untold human suffering to countless Asian and African people despite the fact that the Sun has set on the British Empire. The tragic effect of the British colonial policies is no where else more evident than in the case of the Tea plantation workers of Sri Lanka. It is to discuss their problems that the SRI LANKA RESEARCH AND INFORMATION GROUP in association with the Sri Lanka Information Group (Santpoort, Holland) organised a two day Conference on the 23rd and 24th April, in London. The Conference helped to highlight the extreme poverty, oppression and the denial of basic human rights to the Sri Lankan plantation workers and their families 15 decades after their forefathers had been brought to Sri Lanka from the villages of South India, by the British rulers.

The Conference was declared open by the Mayor of Camden on Saturday 23rd morning after which almost the whole day was devoted to a discussion on the present conditions of plantation workers (Father Paul Caspersz and Dr. David Selbourne), Repatriation and Citizenship (T. Alphonus), specific oppression of women workers (Rachel Kurien) and Health in the plantations (Drs. Vera Kamp-schoer, Muck Leyen, Margo de Jonge and Elsie van Brekel). The film on repatriation made by School and World in Holland was also shown along with Slides on the living and working



conditions in the plantations.

On the 24th, Sunday, the Conference began with a speech by Mr. Guy Barnett M.P., the shadow spokesman for Overseas development, who pledged his support for the aims of the Conference. Thereafter Upali Cooray made a brief address putting forward a number of proposals for positive action in relation to the problems of the plantation workers. Thereafter the Conference divided itself up into four workshops — Citizenship, Health & Education, Womens Rights and Multinationals & Trade Unions. After the lunch recess, the Conference heard various proposals

from the different workshops and adopted a number of proposals that should be put into effect.

The Conference also resolved that an organisation should be formed to implement these recommendations and to carry out an ongoing campaign on the problems affecting the Plantation workers. A steering Committee was elected to work out the Constitution of the new organisation and to do all the necessary preliminary work.

Further information from SRI LANKA RESEARCH AND INFORMATION GROUP, 9, Grays Inn Buildings, Rosebury Avenue, London EC1.

### CONFERENCE DECISIONS FOR FUTURE ACTION

**On the second day of the recently held Conference in London on the Sri Lankan Plantation workers, those who attended formed themselves into four separate workshops, namely, Workshop on Citizenship and Repatriation, Workshop on Multinationals and Trade Unions, Women's Workshop and Workshop of Health and Education.**

Within the framework of the general aims of the Conference, the different workshops made several recommendations for future action.

#### GENERAL AIMS

a) to highlight the privation,

racial oppression and the denial of human rights to the plantation workers of Sri Lanka.

b) to emphasise the responsibility of the British Government and the British and European multinationals for the continuing oppression and exploitation of these workers.

c) to work out a programme of affirmative action which should be taken to end the inequalities and injustices suffered by these workers.

#### CITIZENSHIP & REPATRIATION

1. To prepare a petition to be presented to the British

CONTD ON P.13

## CALL FOR BOYCOTT OF ELECTIONS

The 'Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam', a group of Tamil youths, have called for the boycott of the forthcoming local elections by all political parties. In a leaflet entitled "State Terrorism Cannot be Vanquished Through Elections", which was recently distributed widely in the north of Sri Lanka, the Tigers state:

"We have been undergoing increasing oppression under racist Sinhala regimes for a long period. It has now reached its zenith under the Prevention of Terrorism Act with our youth being jailed, tortured and even killed and our intelligentsia like lecturers and doctors along with Priests students and women languishing in prison. At a time when events like these have become a daily occurrence the Sri Lankan government has thrust on our people an election to elect local Government authorities.

If we participate in this then we shall accept the position that we are part of Sri Lanka. Certain evil forces have been using Tamil Eelam Liberation as a slogan to achieve victory in elections. The Development Council victories and the Chairman posts created have given the Tamil people neither security nor development. Now they have again put forward the election-time Eelam slogan as if victory in the local authority elections will pave the way to Tamil Eelam. They are only interested in office and will prop up the Sri Lankan regime.

Therefore we request the Tamil people not to get caught in the "Instant Tamil Eelam Net" in future and reject the election.

"At the same time we have to take note of the fact that the "blood dripping from the mouth of the State terrorist wolf" has not yet dried. In this context we cannot condone the acts of certain

traitors who are functioning in favour of a Sinhala racist regime and will legitimise state terrorism to the world.

It is because of this that we took military action on K.V. Ratnasingam, S.S. Muttiah and V. Rajaratnam who participated in the present local government election on behalf of this oppressive regime.

We wish to convey to the Quislings of our race the following "In future let no one function in support of the racist regime". We earnestly request this from you. Do not let your wives who are our sisters suffer; Do not let your children our future generation be orphans."

"If you do not heed this request and continue to be against our national liberation struggle then our activities too will be severe. Do not think of enlisting the mercenaries of the State to face our actions.

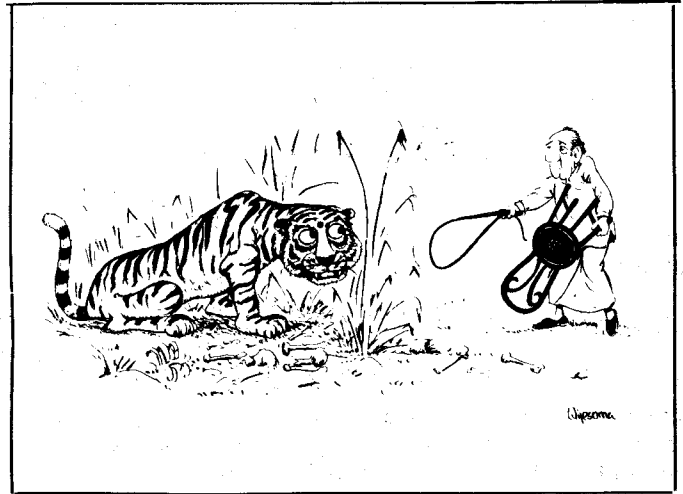
Renounce all positions in favour of the State; unite with our people struggling for liberation.

At least refrain from functioning on behalf of the Sri Lankan State.

Let us free ourselves from Sri Lankan election illusions. Let us reject all administrations of Sri Lanka. Let us join a mass armed struggle."

### TAMIL CONGRESS WITHDRAWS FROM ELECTIONS

The All Ceylon Tamil Congress has withdrawn from the forthcoming elections in Jaffna and four other northern towns. Announcing the decision, the party President, Mr. Kumar Ponnambalam said that this step was taken in deference to "the very emotional appeal of the Tamil Eelam guerilla freedom fighters". This was a reference to the appeal made by the Liberation Tigers to boycott the elections.



— By kind courtesy of 'The Island' (8.5.83)

### "GUNS WON'T FRIGHTEN US"

— TULF LEADER

Reacting to the call by the Liberation Tigers to boycott the forthcoming local elections Mr. A. Amirthalingam, General Secretary, of the Tamil United Liberation Front said that "guns cannot frighten us into acting against our conscience". Mr. Amirthalingam added: "The Tamil United Liberation Front has not veered in the slightest from its objective of Tamil Eelam. We are using the election as an instrument to achieve this. Our strategy was adopted on the collective experience, knowledge and wisdom we have gained in the last 30 years.

"We believe that the election should be used as an instrument by any liberation movement. Divisions and disunity among the Tamils

will be detrimental to our people and benefit only the governing race.

"We respect the valour and sacrifice of our youth. Such qualities are pre-requisites for all who toil for liberation. All of us must bear that in mind. We must settle our differences by discussion.

Those who want us to boycott the elections should place that request before the public. We are ready to accept the verdict of the people. We must act according to the wishes of the people.

"Guns cannot frighten us to act against our conscience. "The support the Tamil people give the TULF will show the world the correctness or otherwise of our policies. The TULF welcomes the election: it bestows some legal rights and we hope to achieve our final goal by using this election as an instrument."

### TULF LEADER'S CAR HIJACKED

While the leader of the Tamil United Liberation Front, M.A. Amirthalingam was addressing an election rally in Jaffna on the evening of May 9, a group of six youth armed with sub-machine guns and revolvers burst into the meeting firing shots in the air and demanding that the meeting be abandoned. No one was hurt. In the confusion that followed, Mr. Amirthalingam's official car was hijacked. The driver had

been dispossessed of the car at gun point. The bullet-riddled car was later found abandoned in a cemetery some miles away in Manipay with its wind-screen smashed and tyres deflated.

### SECURITY FORCES SUSPECTED OF PLANTING BOMBS

"Who planted the incendiary devices in the compounds of the "Saturday Review" and "Suthanthiran", two weeklies

CONTD ON P.11

CONTD. ON PAGE 10  
printed in the northern Tamil city of Jaffna?" is the question that is being raised by political observers.

The "Liberation Tigers" who are normally accused of carrying out such operations would be unlikely to have made these two weeklies their targets.

These two papers have been vigorous and forthright in their exposure and condemnation of the excesses by the security forces. In this context, there is strong speculation that some men belonging to the Lankan security forces might have planted the bombs to frighten the editors of these weeklies.

### NO EXTRADITION OF TAMIL YOUTHS

There was no extradition treaty between India and Sri Lanka, and therefore there is no question of returning the Lankan Tamil youths who had sought refuge in Tamil Nadu in India, said the Indian External Affairs Minister, Mr. P.P. Narasimha Rao, at a Press Conference held on 28.4.83 at the Hotel Oberoi in Colombo before his departure.

The above answer was given by the Indian Minister in reply to a pointed question by a Sri Lankan newspaper reporter as to whether the Indian government would accede to a request from the Sri Lankan government, if made, for the return of wanted Tamil youths.

### POLICE OFFER RS.1 MILLION

The Sri Lankan police has announced a "reward" of Rs.1 million for hard information leading to the arrest of "northern terrorists". This amount is in addition to the sums already paid out and the Rs.100,000 "reward" put on the heads of Prabakaran and Uma Maheswaran.

But what is interesting is that the so-called reward-money has been paid only to policemen and service

personnel and not to any members of the public. Rs.600,000 has already been paid to police and service men for arresting "terrorists". This payment includes Rs.100,000 paid to the Naval Patrol who arrested Kuttimani.

### PRABAKARAN MISSING

V. Prabakaran and Siva Kumar, alleged to be members of the Tamil youth organisation, Liberation Tigers of Eelem, arrested in Madras last year in connection with a shooting incident at Pandy Bazaar and released on conditional bail are reported to have gone missing. The two, who were expected to report to a local police station as a condition of bail, have failed to do so for the last four weeks.

The disappearance of Prabakaran with his associate has given cause for concern to the Sri Lankan security forces who suspect that they might have slipped into Sri Lanka.

Following their disappearance, the bail bonds upon which Uma Maheswaran and Jothiswaran were released have been cancelled by a court order in South India and are said to be presently in remand jail. These two youths were also involved in the same shooting incident.

### 3 UNP MEN SHOT DEAD

Three supporters of the ruling United National Party — two of them heading the party's list of candidates for month's local polls, the other a bodyguard of the UNP's Jaffna Organiser — were shot dead on Friday (29th April) at Pt. Pedro, Valvettiturai and Chavakachcheri. This brings the tally of UNP supporters in the North shot dead within the last five months to five. K. V. Ratnasingham — the UNP's No. 1 candidate at Pt. Pedro — was shot dead at noon on Friday almost opposite the Magistrate's Bungalow at Beach Road, Pt. Pedro while he was

cycling home. A card bearing the insignia of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Tigers was found beside his body. One side of the card bore the inscription: "This is the death sentence for being the mercenary of a State that has unleashed terrorism." It was signed by the Central Committee of the Liberation Tigers.

Ratnasingham (43) was the Chief Clerk of the Pt. Pedro MPCS, the branch President of the UNP's trade union organisation, Jatika Sevaka Sangamaya, and its Northern Organiser.

Murugesu Pararajasingham (31) who was injured during the shooting was admitted to the General Hospital, Jaffna, where an emergency operation was performed on him.

S. S. Rajaratnam, a long time UNP supporter and bodyguard of the UNP's Jaffna Organiser, K. Ganeshalingam, was shot dead at Valvettiturai on Friday afternoon. The van in which he was travelling was stopped by unidentified youths on cycles; they pulled him out of the van and shot him dead on the spot.

At Chavakachcheri, the UNP's leading candidate Samuel Seevaratnam Muttiah (65) was shot dead round about 4.45 p.m. on Friday. He had dropped in for a chat at his next-door neighbour's house, a pastor, when 3 youths cycled up, pulled out revolvers and pumped a few bullets into him. They left behind a letter before cycling away.

### Rs. 8 BILLION FROM M.E.

Remittances from Lankans working in West Asia are expected to grow by over 30 per cent this year and may overtake tea as the country's biggest foreign exchange earner, according to Labour Ministry sources.

Lankans working abroad had sent home Rs. 6 billion in 1982. This is expected to rise to about Rs. 8 billion this year.

The labour department's

projections do not indicate a decline in remittance income despite the OPEC price cut. Many economists expected this to lead to a cut-back in the West Asian employment opportunities which in recent years have provided substantial balance of payments support to South Asian countries like India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.

Official records obtained through the returns submitted by licensed job agencies show that 56,179 Lankans have been working in the Middle East from 1979 to 1982 but unofficial estimates put the figure at around 80,000 to 100,000.

### Nigeria turns to Lanka

Nigeria has once again turned to Sri Lanka for teachers and University lecturers.

One of the leading Employment Agencies recruiting for Government Agencies in Nigeria is learnt to have been asked to recruit a further 1,000 highly qualified personnel for posts in Nigeria Universities and Schools.

The upper age limit for the new recruits has been raised to 50 years in the case of teachers and 58 for University Professors and lecturers. The monthly salaries are in the range of Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 48,000. The terms include residence facilities for the entire family and free passage to and from Sri Lanka.

A recruitment panel from Nigeria will be arriving in Sri Lanka by the end of this month to select the new recruits.

### RS.28 MILLION AID FROM SWEDEN

The Swedish parliament recently approved a 900 million dollar budget for aid to poor countries, including 28 million dollars to Sri Lanka.

The increased aid to Sri Lanka amounts to about a 14 per cent rise over the 1982/83 sum.

CONTD ON P.19

# PROBLEMS OF THE PLANTATION OF SRI LANKA WORKERS

BY UPALI COORAY

**It is a sad irony of history that statesmen, newsmen and even religious leaders of the West, who often rush to condemn terrorism and terrorist actions by oppressed people, take little or no interest in the problems of oppressed social and ethnic groups who endure their oppression and misery in silence and do not resort to violent responses, despite the fact that such oppression is often caused by the very socio-economic system Western nations have imposed on the world. This callous disregard for untold human suffering caused by their 'civilization' is nowhere more evident than in the case of the Tamil plantation workers of Sri Lanka.**

For fifteen decades these workers and their forefathers have been condemned to a life of extreme poverty, inhuman living conditions and subjected to racial discrimination and violence; they have been denied basic human rights. Their efforts to obtain justice through peaceful means have been thwarted by draconian legislation that has deprived them of their civic and citizenship rights overnight. Those statesmen and journalists who endlessly preach the virtues of seeking peaceful solutions to social problems have scarcely noticed their misery and privation. While they proclaim 'the year of the human rights' and the 'year of the child' their pious declarations remain dead letters in the plantations of Sri Lanka.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The British who ruled Sri Lanka from 1802 to 1947 confiscated communal lands of the peasants (Waste Land Ordinance 1840) and facilitated the opening of coffee and tea plantations by selling the land at knockdown prices. Thereafter they brought thousands of dispossessed peasants from South India to work in these plantations. The sad and cruel story of how ill fed and ill clothed men and women were made to walk hundreds of miles from South India to the highlands of Sri Lanka as well as the appalling con-

ditions in which they were forced to live and work, is well documented. They had no medical facilities in the plantations and when they fell ill they were chased out of the plantations and often died on the way back to India.

A recent visitor to Sri Lanka described the present day conditions of these workers in following terms 'At nightfall and in heavy rain, in the "line rooms" — labour barracks, usually set deep in the plantation, isolated from other habitation without electricity or running water (and guarded in the old times) they stare, in the same way, out of darkness, stalled or penned like cattle. On hillsides fresh with rain and verdant, these are blackened sheds or hutches — seventy percent of them one roomed like lines of loose boxes each with bisected door of a stable.' (...) 'If you look inside, you will see a bed, a chair, a table; perhaps a wooden bench, and a faded photograph or two on the dampstained plaster, mementoes of lives unregarded. The inner 'room' as black as an underground pit will be crowded with bodies even the whites of eyes are extinguished with a red hearth glow in the corner.' (...) 'There is anaemia here in these sallow faces; serious undernourishment in stick legs and swollen bellies; pigeon chests and coughing. Even the young men are drawn and tired, their eyes in the

fitful light of the hurricane lamps, dark circled.'

(...) 'Moreover, despite their creation of Sri Lanka's wealth, the workers themselves are close to destitution. At Drayton Estate, Kotegala, young Muthuraman, married with two children, and a pruner — with the top joint of his left index finger missing — is sitting in a black hovel. It is Line No 11, Room 10. He is at a rickety wooden table, covered with orange plastic, which takes up much of the tiny space; a bed fills the remainder. There is a small hand-mirror and a calendar nailed to the faded green whitewash; the inner room is stygian.' (...) 'But it's women's life and work on the plantations which is the cruellest. "They work from the time they wake till the time they go to sleep"; they "go without" first; and are often bullied and beaten by their menfolk into the bargain. Their deficiency diseases and their physical suffering is therefore the most serious.' (...) 'Over half of them are said to be clinically malnourished. There are high stillbirth and infant mortality rates (perhaps over 150 per 1000 births), but in the last years no official figures have been published. They earn around sixty percent of the mens' wages even for exactly the same work and the same output.' (These passages have been taken from an article published in the *New Society* by Dr. David Selbourne of Ruskin College, Oxford.) While the above account does not deal exhaustively with all the problems of the plantation workers it sufficiently indicates the plight of these workers.

## FAT PROFITS

While malnourished and ill clad plantation workers have been slaving away for a pittance. European and

particularly the British multinationals have earned fat profits. *Table 1* gives some indication of the huge profits they have reaped over a very short period of time. And if we add the benefits of unequal exchange the Western nations have gained it is not difficult to understand the inequity caused by this economic arrangement.

These multinationals — Unilever, Brooke Bond Leibig, Lyons, Typhoo, CWS — still control the marketing and distribution of tea. Largest of them is Brooke Bond Leibig with an estimated 65% of its profits coming from tea. The second largest is the Dutch multinational Unilever, with five-hundred odd companies operating in more than seventy different countries.

The neo-colonial regimes that have ruled Sri Lanka since 'independence', have had neither the will nor the desire to break the economic stranglehold imposed by Western multinationals and Credit agencies; in the face of growing economic difficulties they have sought to maintain their political grip by inflicting further attacks on these workers including repatriation of some workers without even consulting them.

Furthermore, every government since independence has practised a policy of racial discrimination against these workers. For instance the present government refused to grant the plantation workers all the pay increases which have been awarded by the government to workers in the other sectors even though the plantation workers are the lowest paid employees in the country. In the last five years members of the ruling party have directly taken part in racial attacks against these undefended workers and often the security forces have turned a blind eye.

CONTD ON P.13

**Table 1**  
**Sri Lanka and the United Kingdom capital transfers, profits and dividends (Rupees millions)**

Year	Private capital transf.		Profits & Dividends	
	into Sri Lanka	out of Sri Lanka	Inwards	Outwards
1952	6.7	22.0	0.1	33.8
1953	6.3	27.4	0.3	34.8
1954	12.6	25.9	—	47.7
1955	3.4	33.7	1.1	73.7
1956	2.8	49.2	1.6	75.5
1957	3.9	38.6	—	67.4
1958	4.2	18.3	—	58.8
1959	3.4	11.9	0.3	48.7
1960	3.4	7.1	0.1	49.3
1961	2.2	10.0	0.3	40.7
1962	6.4	7.5	—	38.7
1963	3.3	3.1	—	36.8
1964	2.8	3.1	—	21.9
1965	2.3	1.9	—	3.2
1966	4.8	16.6	—	25.0
1967	8.4	11.7	—	26.3
1968	6.1	15.6	1.4	28.3
1969	4.2	12.1	1.6	30.5
Total	87.2	315.7	6.8	741.1

(Source: TEA AND POVERTY Nawaz Dawood page 105)

### WHY A CONFERENCE IN LONDON?

We have already shown that the main beneficiaries of the continuing oppression of the plantation workers of Sri Lanka are the European multinationals. This is one good reason why the European political trade union and Community activists should be made sufficiently aware of the plight of these workers and causes of their oppression. Secondly, there is a re-evaluation and reconsideration of hitherto accepted premises about the efficacy as well as the desirability of the present international economic system and it is important to emphasise, here and now, that any restructuring of the Economic order must take into account the need to eliminate the injustice caused by the present system to workers in the Third World such as the plantation workers of Sri Lanka.

Thirdly, the emergence of the Women's movement and the increasing concern of these women activists to fight for the needs and concerns of Third World

women in a determined and co-ordinated struggle to eliminate the four-fold oppression — as women, as workers, as low castes and as Tamils — of women workers in the plantations.

Finally the increasing dependence of Sri Lankan regime on the Western governments and Credit Institutions makes it much more amenable to pressure from political, trade union, religious and community activists. Moreover it is essential to organise an ongoing and a well co-ordinated campaign in the West in order to bring maximum pressure to bear on European governments as well as the EEC and demand that any economic aid or loans to the Sri Lanka government be made conditional on the elimination of discriminatory measures against the plantation workers and the guarantee of human rights.

Such co-ordinated effort cannot be initiated without at least bringing together activists in the trade union and labour movement as well as religious and com-

CONTD FROM P.9  
and Sri Lankan government-ments on the question of citizenship and statelessness. A Sub-committee was appointed to draw up the petition.

2. To raise the issue of statelessness in all political parties and in Trades Unions in Britain and to raise it in the European Court of Human Rights.

3. To obtain as much media coverage as possible on the question of statelessness in the plantations.

4. To inform the Parliamentary Rights Group (Stan Newens) and invite their support for the plantation workers.

5. To ask the Sri Lankan government to ensure that women's rights to citizenship should be independent of the rights of their husbands.

### MULTINATIONALS & TRADE UNIONS

1. To assist groups of people seeking to reform existing unions or to create new democratic unions, since the creation of effective unions on the plantations is seen to be of vital importance.

2. To put pressure on multinationals, through unions active in those multinationals, to trade with suppliers who defend and uphold union rights.

3. To campaign in international trade union forums on demands affecting the plantation trade union workers.

4. To undertake educational work, including work on the plantations, through such media as the W.D.M., War on Want, Third World First, etc. using such methods as Alternative Tea Marketing, to explain what the conditions of the workers on the plantations actually are.

### WOMEN'S RIGHTS

1. To disseminate information on estate women, in

Britain and Europe, through Womens' magazines and other media.

2. To impress upon all agencies funding and working in Sri Lanka the effect on women of their work.

3. To make women's groups aware of the problems of women plantation workers.

4. To assist women in the plantations to organise separately in separate meetings to discuss issues specific to women, while continuing to discuss general questions affecting the working class in the mass organisation.

### HEALTH AND EDUCATION

1. To assist groups seeking to develop preventive medicine, training people from the estates for the purpose, and to encourage the use of barefoot doctors.

2. To call upon the Sri Lankan government to take responsibility for the health care of the estate workers rather than leaving it in the hands of the superintendents of the estates.

3. To impress upon UNICEF and WHO that funds they allocate for the welfare of the plantation workers do not always reach these workers.

4. To call upon UNFPA to stop the payment of discriminatory benefits to families in the plantations undergoing sterilisation, and to encourage the use of other methods of contraception as well, on the plantations.

5. To call upon the Sri Lankan government to recruit teachers of estate origin.

6. To assist in the setting up of educational institutions to raise the educational and cultural level on the plantations.

munity organisations in Europe and particularly Britain to discuss how such a campaign should be launched. That is why the Sri Lanka Research and Information Group in Britain,

in conjunction with the Sri Lanka Information Group in Santpoort, Holland, have decided to call an international conference on the 23rd and 24th April, in London.

## YOUTH WITH 35 INJURIES DIES IN ARMY CUSTODY

"There were twenty five external injuries and ten internal injuries in the deceased Navaratnarajah's body. The contusions in his lungs could have been caused by blows. I am of the opinion that death was due to cardio-respiratory failure, due to multiple muscle injuries and contusions of the lungs. In my opinion adequate treatment from an Institution could have saved his life." So said Dr. N. Saravanabavanathan, AJMO, submitting his medical report in the inquest held into the death of 28-year old Navaratnarajah of Trincomalee who died in the custody of the Sri Lankan army at the Gurunagar Army Camp Jaffna on the 10th of April. Navaratnarajah was arrested two weeks previously on suspicion under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

The inquest was held before Magistrate S. Nagarajah in Jaffna Magistrate's Court on the 27th afternoon.

Dr. Saravanabavanathan further said:—

"I held a Postmortem examination on the body of Kathirgamathambay Navaratnarajah on 10.4.83 at 2.30 p.m., at the General Hospital Mortuary, Jaffna.

The body was that of a young man dressed in a sarong with red horizontal stripes. A white shirt with blue stripes was found on the body. A blue striped bed sheet was also found on the body. The clothing was stained with faecal matter. The deceased was dehydrated. He had in all 25 external injuries. There were 10 internal injuries.

I am of the opinion that death was due to cardio-respiratory failure due to multiple muscle cutaneous injuries and contusions of the lungs.

External injury No.14 corresponded with internal

injury No. 5. Internal injuries 1, 2 and 3 corresponded with external injuries Nos. 1, 12, 13, 15, 16 and 17.

None of these injuries is of recent origin; they have been caused in stages 7 or 12 days before death; and this is a rough estimate within my range

These are injuries caused by a blunt elongated weapon; it can be a club or a baton or some round object. Of the lung injuries at least one on the left side which had a corresponding overlying external injury, could have been caused either by a blow or could be due to an explosion of some kind.

Injury No. 21 is 20 hours old, which is not due to a blow, but could have been caused by knocking against some-

thing or falling.

Injury on the hip could have been caused roughly about a week earlier. All contusions have been caused by a blunt weapon. Injuries Nos. 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 7 and 8 have been caused by an elongated blunt weapon with a diameter of about ½ an inch. Some of these injuries probably might have been caused on the 27th and 28th of march. Blows could have caused contusions on the lungs. One contusion on the lung had a corresponding external injury.

Difficulty in breathing described by Dr. Abraham could have been caused by the contusion on the lungs. He had lost roughly 2 pints of blood as a result of internal bleeding. That loss of blood also could have caused internal bleeding, especially in the arm.

Manacles could have caused the injury on the arms. I have carried out a

microscopic examination of the liver and there was no evidence to suggest that he had taken food for 72 hours, and this might have been due to his illness. He could have refused as he was sick. In my opinion adequate treatment from an Institution could have saved his life.

I have sent certain internal organs to the Government Analyst for examination and report, for the purpose of detecting poison.

The report of the Govt. Analyst has not come yet, normally it takes 3 to 4 months for the report to come."

Dr. Saravanabavanathan in reply to a question from the Magistrate said that he had done 5000 postmortems in the course of his career. He had qualified abroad in Forensic Medicine and also published a book on the subject. Dr Saravanabavanathan is also Professor of Forensic Medicine at the University of Jaffna.

### CONTD FROM P.3

have been associated in the inquiries.

The three West German youths were members of the FRG branch of Amnesty International which has been severe on the Prevention of Terrorism Act, now an object of attack by opposition parties, major trade unions and civil rights bodies in the South. (See: 'TU's mobilise at workplace').

Reader Shirley Candappa gives this brief account of "Gandhiyam":

"The Gandhiam Society Ltd. was founded in 1976 and its aims are:

- eradication of poverty
- eradication of ignorance
- eradication of disease

At its inception the organisation catered to the needs of Vanni people (inhabitants of the Vavuniya area) irrespective of race, creed or caste. In 1977 however a new situation arose. Large scale attacks on the Tamil population broke out in the Southern and Central parts

of the country leaving thousands of Tamil families including plantation Tamils homeless. These people also lost all their possessions and in many cases at least one or two people in each family had either been brutally beaten up and in a number of instances even lost their lives. These people were soon herded into refugee camps all over the country. When the press started spotlighting the conditions in the camps, it was the government itself which transported these people under armed escort by road into the Vavuniya and Killnochi districts.

As government did not provide sufficient material to run the refugee camps in these areas, a number of organisations from the Northern and Eastern areas under the umbrella of the Tamil Refugee Rehabilitation Organisation (TRRO) came together to help these unfortunate people.

The Gandhiam Society was one of these organisations. As time went by however,

the task of caring for these people devolved almost totally on to the Gandhiam Society.

The Gandhiam Society therefore never brought the hillcountry Tamils or any other Tamils to the Northern and Eastern Provinces. The people in fact were brought to these areas by the government itself.

Since 1977 the regular attacks on the Tamil population led to more and more of these people leaving their homes in other parts of the country and fleeing to these areas where they felt more secure. The ferocity of the attacks on the Tamils, police attitude toward this section of the population and certain remarks from even "responsible ministers" of state continue to drive more and more people to this part of the country.

Therefore, far from bringing or luring people from down south or the plantations, the Gandhiam Society has only helped in rehabilitating these unfortunate people."

(By kind courtesy of "LANKA GUARDIAN")

## ABOUT PEOPLE

### CHELLIAH — AHAMPARAM

The marriage took place on Monday, 21st March, at the Hindu Hall, Lusaka, Zambia of Thillainath (son of Mr & Mrs N. Chelliah, P.O. Box 20368, Kitwe) and Shantini (eldest daughter of Mr P. Ahamparam, P.O. Box 125, Butterworth, Transeki).

### HECTOR ASIRWATHAM

The death occurred suddenly on May 15th of Mr Hector Asirwatham, at his residence in 45 Initium Road, Dehiwala. Formerly a draughtsman in the Irrigation Department, he came over to England 15 years ago with his wife Rane (née Sivapragasam) and their four children Rabini, Yohan, Joanna and Andrew. Recently he returned to Sri Lanka on health grounds.

### MR. S.R. ARULAMBALAM

The death occurred suddenly, in the Colombo General hospital, on 1st March of Mr S.R. Arulambalam, till very recently a resident of Wimbledon.

Mr Arulambalam retired in 1968 from the Ceylon Government Railways where his last appointment was Deputy Chief Engineer. In 1969 he came to London and joined British Rail Engineering Department. He relinquished his duties last year on reaching his 65th birthday and proceeded to Sri Lanka for a brief reunion with his beloved ones there. Unfortunately, as a result of a surgical misadventure, he met with an untimely end when he was really looking forward to a long period of retirement and of service to the community.

He leaves behind his wife Bhuvanawary (daughter of the late 'Balangoda' Candiah), two daughters Priadarshini (wife of Chelliah Lohendran) and Sudarshini (wife of Thillaiampalam Sri Pathe), and one son, Mano-

haran, who is an air pilot. Mrs Arulambalam who recently returned to London is now staying with her daughter Priadarshini at 68 Confield Avenue, New Malden, Surrey.

### DR. C. SINGARAJAH

The sudden death occurred on April 19th at 70 Beeches Avenue, Carshalton Beeches, Surrey of Dr. C. Singarajah.



He was the Engineer in Charge of the Power Station in Chunnakam in 1961 when he resigned to become a lecturer in the University of Malaya. In 1964 he joined the Ahmedu Bello University in Nigeria as a Senior Lecturer. In 1971 he obtained the Ph.D from Queen Mary's College. He later went to Sierra Leone and Libya as an Associate Professor in Electrical Engineering. For the last nine years, he was a Senior Lecturer in Electrical Engineering in the Richmond-upon-Thames College.

A quiet and deep thinking man, who shunned the limelight, Dr. Singarajah identified himself with the Ceylon Tamils' aspirations for a meaningful degree of autonomy, from the early sixties when the cause of Tamil autonomy had not yet become fashionable among the Tamil intelligentsia.

His most endearing qualities were his warmth and friendliness to all who came in contact with him and his dedication to the oriental customs of hospitality.

Dr. Singarajah had an abiding sympathy for the struggles of the Tamil

students of today. He would often confide to his closest friends that the young men of today were far superior in resourcefulness and self-reliance to those of his own generation.

Dr. Singarajah's constant wish was to spend his days of retirement in his beloved home land near the Senthankulam beach where he had lived as a small boy. Though he was not destined to return to his land alive, his wife, who was his childhood sweetheart, ensured that she and the children took his body to his boyhood haunts, including Senthankulam, before laying it to rest in the soil that he loved so much.

He leaves behind his wife Grace, a daughter and two sons.

### DR. D.R. SIVAPRAKASAM

Dr. D.R. Sivaprasam, passed away in Sydney, Australia, on January 26 of this year, leaving behind his wife Swarnam, daughter Shamista, and her husband,

Suvan de Soysa. Dr. Sivaprasam was the eldest son of the late Mr. S.S. Sivaprasam, Vice-Principal of St John's College, Jaffna, brother of Paul, Karunamani Niles, Rani Asirwatham and Chandra. Dr. Sivaprasam was well known and respected for his quiet dignified manner, unostentatious and selfless to the end. It was with the greatest courage that he decided to give up, in middle age, a very successful General Practice in Colombo, to start anew in an unknown place. He was known in Sydney for his devotion to his patients and competence in his profession. A few weeks before his death, from inoperable cancer, at a time when he had given up work because of the pain and suffering that he was experiencing, he left his bed and went into hospital in order to ensure that one of his patients received the best and most appropriate treatment. This merely illustrates the kind of man he was.

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## FOCUS ON THE TAMIL-SPEAKING MUSLIMS OF SRI LANKA

by Sachi Sri Kantha  
(University of Illinois,  
Urbana-Champaign,  
USA)

I read with much interest the two-part article written by T. Somasekeram on the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka in the Feb. and March '83 issues of TAMIL TIMES. Though he is entitled to his personal views, I should take strong exception to his over-simplification of the problems concerned, and projecting an image of pseudo-security for the Tamil-speaking Muslims. Since some of his "broad sweep of arguments" seems to be based not on recorded facts, I would like to take this opportunity to share with the readers of TAMIL TIMES, the problems faced by Muslims, as a minority group in Sri Lanka. Even though Somasekeram says that he has no access to any reference source to check his facts and figures, I humbly feel that one should be very cautious in making generalised statements such as, "Muslims have played their hand brilliantly", "...economically they are better off than the others," and "the three-member Colombo Central constituency, which had generally returned one Sinhala and two Muslim MPs in earlier elections" (emphasis mine) is also not based on facts. In the seven General Elections prior to 1977, only in 1952 and July 1960, two Muslim MPs had been elected to the multi-member Colombo Central constituency.

How can we accept an over-simplification of this historical fact? We should not also neglect the fact that since 1947 till 1977, Pieter Keuneman (the sole representative of another minority group — Burghers of Sri Lanka) had successively

been elected on the Communist Party ticket. I also pity Somasekeram for admiring the Muslim political chameleons, Sir Razik Fareed and M.M. Mustapha. If only the Olympics could have considered political long jumping and high jumping as a competitive sport, certainly Sri Lanka would have won a few gold medals in 1960, 1964 and 1976 Olympics (without stiff competition) for the splendid performances of Razik Fareed and Mustapha. Their long distance relay performance of changing the party batons could only be matched by W. Dahanayake and Thondaman in Sri Lanka. (Of course, these Sri Lanka 'sportsmen' in the political arena may face tough competition from Indian colleagues like Jag Jivan Ram and Hemvathi Bahuguna — but that's a different story!). The pattern adopted by the Muslim leaders in the post-independent era of Sri Lanka had been succinctly described by academic Michael Roberts, as follows:—

"The Moor elites initially leaned towards an alliance with the Tamils and other minorities so as to extract political concessions from the British, but from the 1940's they have tended to ally with the Sinhalese against the Tamils; with wings in both the SLFP and UNP, they have revealed the buoyancy of a cork and a talleyrand — an ability to stay vigorously afloat at every political overturn; and they are entrenched in the commercial sector."

(*Modern Asian Studies*, 12(3), 1978, 353-376).

Somasekeram is correct in assessing this show-case politics of the Muslim leaders. However, what he had forgotten to mention had been focused by Michael Roberts, as follows: "There must be underlying anxieties, which intermittent ethnic friction in the bazaars and the recent (1975 and 1976) outbreak of Sinhalese-

CONTD ON P.17

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CONTD FROM P.16

Moor clashes must have emphasized."

It is my opinion that the reasons for the political alliance of Muslims with Sinhalese rather than Tamils, can be listed as follows:

**(1) "Minority within the minority complex":** Muslims, being the second largest minority group, feel that there is nothing to gain by standing with the Tamils politically, since they fear that this would result in their community ending up as a minority within a minority, in especially the Tamil speaking areas.

**(2) Urban-based political leadership:** Although the Muslims form approximately 35% of the population in the Batticaloa district and more than 25% in the districts of Mannar, Trincomalee and Puttalam (all of which are traditionally Tamil-speaking areas), their political leadership had emerged mainly from those residing in the Sinhalese areas. For example, the political leaders of yester generation, T.B. Jayah, Razik Fareed, A.C.M. Kaleel, and Badiuddin Mahmud also belonged to this category, though he was a native of rural Sinhalese area. Even the present political leadership of Muslims exhibit this trend. Hence, these leaders do not identify themselves with the ideals and emotions of the Muslim peasants, who reside in the traditional Tamil areas.

**(3) Economic rivalry:** Generally Muslims engage themselves in minor commercial pursuits, though a significant proportion of those living on the East Coast are cultivators, herdsman and fisherman. Hence there had developed a measure of economic rivalry between the Muslims and the Ceylon Tamils, who also possess 'business brain'. This rivalry is somewhat inevitable.

Though the Muslim politicians of the ruling UNP party present a brighter picture of the Sinhala-

Muslim relationships, the events occurring in the country do not provide a clear scene of this amity. This has been so whoever was in power, the SLFP or the UNP.

For example, during the SLFP regime, on 2nd of Feb. 1976, police personnel ran amok inside the Mo-heeideen Jumma Mosque in Puttalam, and as a result of the shooting, eight Muslims were killed. The following reference which appeared in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica Year Book 1977* is of interest with regard to this incident.

"Communal riots between Muslims and Sinhalese in Puttalam district of North Western Province triggered a demand for autonomy in the Eastern districts where Muslims were in a majority." (pp.629-630) Even under the present UNP regime, "intermittent ethnic friction in the bazaars", as mentioned by Michael Roberts, is not very uncommon. A quote from *Lanka Guardian*, illustrates this point.

"In the land of gems, a young Buddhist monk is in hospital. According to his friends, he was dragged out of his temple, assaulted and marched down the road. His books were strewn about.

"The day before this incident a meeting was held to protest, among other things, against separatism. But what were the motive of the ostensible sponsors and their patrons? Was it really against Tamil separatism or against the Moslem gem boys? Two radical groups distributed leaflets and newsheets condemning the racialism of the self-styled Sinhala patriots. One newspaper 'Desha Vimkuti' was lucky. The entire stock of papers was bought up by a couple of mudalalis but not because they appreciated the Sinhala prose! A bonfire followed."

(Sept.1, 1979, p.1)

And as recent as last year, in July 1982, ethnic friction between Sinhalese and Muslims again flared up in

the Galle district. Even other towns, such as Kalutara, Alutgama and Panadura, had witnessed this sort of Sinhalese-Muslim clashes during the last few years. I fear that Somasekaram has been ignorant of these facts. It is also noteworthy to cite at this juncture, one folly of the so-called "undisputed leader of the Muslim community" (who had never been elected to Parliament), Badiuddin Mahmud, who was the Minister of Education between 1960-64 and 1970-77. Though he was successful moderately in uplifting Muslim interests, he could not succeed completely. The master tactician Badiuddin was, he requested the Muslim youth to study in the Sinhala medium, raising hopes that by switching to the language of the majority community they would be better positioned to have their share of government teaching posts. However, the effort of Badiuddin backfired in the 1970s, when the Muslims, educated in Sinhala medium, entered the schools in Sinhala districts. They were greeted by the racist slogan "Thambila Apita Eppa". Then only, Badiuddin wisely

learnt the folly of courting the Sinhala language.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize that the generalisation on Muslims of Sri Lanka, provided by Somasekaram, is erroneous. Only the Colombo-based Muslim politicians, as well as representatives of Beruwela and Puttalam, have played their hand to advantage. However, the capital-based Muslim political leadership has not brought sunshine to the thousands of Muslim peasants living in the Eastern Province, who earn their living by fishing and farming. The Muslim politicians who have held cabinet positions since independence have managed to safeguard only the interests of the Jabir Cadets (entrepreneurs) and the Macan Markers (gem-merchants). Unfortunately, the Tamil-speaking Muslim peasants still toil in the land and on sea, trying to earn a living for their daily existence. We should not forget that it is these Muslim folks, the less-sophisticated gentlemen and ladies, who have enriched the Tamil culture with their folk melodies and arts.

CONTD FROM P.1

Many Tamils therefore feel that the TULF has precious little to show, either politically or materially, for the willingness it has shown to continue to participate in Sri Lanka's political life.

"This appears to be a belief held not only by the younger generation of Tamils, who provide the gunmen for such groups as the Liberation Tigers, but also by some older politicians. The formation last year of the breakaway radical party, the Tamil Eelam Liberation Front, underlines the danger that the more moderate TULF may lose support if it cannot show any achievement. The longer that the Government postpones strengthening the hands of the Tamil moderates by entering into

serious discussions with them, the more support they are likely to lose. In that case, even if the Tamil public at large deplores acts of violence such as those committed on Friday, the stage could be dominated increasingly by the battle between the armed forces and the "terrorists". And with relations between the armed forces and the Tamil public at such a low ebb already, that could only harden attitudes and make Sri Lanka's Tamil problem even more intractable."

CONTD FROM P.20

Singapore, to wholesale merchants like Eng Hong Pte Ltd. How it reaches the price of sixty to one hundred dollars per Kattee (one and one-third of a Pound equals a Kattee) is another story!

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Tamil Language Not for Tamils?

Dear Sir,

Mr. T. Thampu's letter published in Tamil Times of April 1983 has 'inspired' me to express my own opinion on certain subjects which have been published in your journal since January 1983. First part of Mr. Thampu's letter goes in line with the present trend of the political situation, but the second part of his letter, commenting on Mr. Somasekaram's suggestion that Tamil parents abroad impart to their children Tamil Culture and Language, is absolutely ridiculous.

Mr. Thampu's children may not go back to their mother country, since, I believe, he has no country as such! I do not know how long Mr. Thampu has been in the U.K. Is it for generations? If he thinks that Tamil children abroad need not study Tamil Language and Culture, because they are living in a comfortable environment and not going back where their roots are, I think he is doing a great injustice to his children and to the Tamil Community as a whole. How can the future generation, who live outside, have links with their mother country, unless they have the common relationship — "Language and Culture." Yes — because of lack of facilities our children, living abroad, are unable to study their language. But it does not mean that we, as parents, should not make an effort to give as much help as possible to our children within our reach, at least by speaking to them in Tamil at home. If we talk with them in Tamil, this approach would not only give our children self respect and self determination but also provide them a link with Tamils all over the world.

According to Mr. Thampu, only Tamils who live abroad should not or cannot study their language! If you visit Southall or Balham in the

U.K. or anywhere Indian or Pakistani communities live abroad you will certainly feel that you are in the homeland of India or Pakistan. They maintain their culture and language. Only Urdu or Indian films are shown in some of the Theatres in these areas in the U.K.! You are also aware that members of the British Police Force study Urdu and other South Asian languages in order to enhance their effectiveness! I need not elaborate on this issue any more. If there is a will there is a way.

Therefore, my humble request to the Tamil Times, which is doing an invaluable service to the Tamil nation, is that in addition to keeping the outside world informed about the sufferings of the Tamils a systematic programme be drawn up whereby Tamils abroad could contribute to the struggle of the Tamils.

As stated by Mr. Thampu, Tamils living abroad are comfortably placed and have a positive contribution to make. I suggest that the Tamil Times should start a scheme where subscribers contribute additional funds, which could be used as a Banking Service for small development projects for Tamils in the Tamil areas. This additional contribution to the Tamil Times could be accounted and audited separately. We could only give of our time and money to help our suffering compatriots.

I am glad to read that some space would be provided in the Tamil Times for matters of special interest to Junior readers. While welcoming this proposal, may I suggest that things of general interest to Tamils also be published so that the children too would benefit.

At the same time I request you to write at least one column in Tamil, for example, the Editorial, so that the Tamils who live

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The 900-million dollar aid package amounts to one per cent of Sweden's gross national product, the second biggest after Holland among aid-giving rich countries.

Fifty-six per cent (507 million dollars) of the total will go in Bilateral aid to 18 countries, headed by Tanzania (61 million) 23 per cent (210 million) to international programs and United Nations' bodies, and nine per cent (79 million) for guarantees for preferential credits for various countries.

### UNP CANDIDATES WITHDRAW FROM CONTESTS

Following the shooting of three candidates belonging to the United National Party who had entered for the forthcoming local government elections, the entire contingent of 14 UNP candidates who had submitted nominations in the Chavakachcheri Town Council elections has withdrawn their nominations.

Five more UNP candidates who had submitted their nominations for the Jaffna

Municipal Council also have withdrawn.

Reports indicate that UNP candidates in other parts of the Jaffna District are day by day withdrawing.

### LANKAN P.M. ENCOUNTERS PROTESTS IN WASHINGTON & PARIS

Washington — Several spirited demonstrators chanting "Smash Anti-Tamil Terror" and "Stop US/JR Arms Deal" picketed outside the National Press Building on April 13 where Sri Lankan Prime Minister R. Premadasa was addressing a VIP luncheon at the National Press Club.

Jointly organised by the Tamil Association of America and the Spartacist League (US), the demonstration focused public attention on the vicious state repression of the Tamil speaking people under the regime of President J.R. Jayawardene.

Paris — "Hands off Gandhiam" was one of the placards carried by demon-

strators in Paris on the Lankan Prime Minister's visit to France recently. The Eelam Tamil Association of France and the Spartacist League joined in the demonstration which was held in front of the Sri Lankan Embassy in Paris.

The demonstrators attempted to present a protest memorandum to the Lankan Ambassador in Paris, but on his refusal to accept it was sent to President Jayawardene by registered post.

### WESTERN AUSTRALIA

The following were recently elected to serve on the Committee of the Tamil Cultural Association of Western Australia:— *President* Dr R. Rajagopalan, *Vice-President* Dr V. Kulaendra, *Secretary* Mr K. Jegathesan, *Treasurer* Dr S. Sivacolundhu *Immediate Past President* Mr M. Sinnathamby, *Committee Members* Mr N. Narayanan, Mr A.R. Krishnan, Mr E. John, Mr M. Nadaraj and Mr C. Ponnuthurai.

(Address: P.O. Box 53, Willetton 6155, Western Australia).

### THE TAMIL ASSOCIATION OF BRENT

The Tamil Association of Brent celebrated the Hindu New Year for the fourth consecutive year, on the 16th of April. At the Annual General Meeting of members the following office bearers were elected for the year 1983/84.

*President:* V. Kathirgamathan

*Vice-President:* Janani Selvarajah

*Secretary:* S. Santha Kumar  
*Treasurer:* S. Sundaralingam

*Cultural Secretary:* T. Balasundaran

*Sports Secretary:* K. Keerthi Kumaran

### WEST LONDON TAMIL SCHOOL

The Annual Prize Giving will take place at 6.30 p.m. on Saturday, 16th July at the Greenford High School. The chief guest on this occasion will be the Rt. Hon. Dr Rhodes Boyson, M.P., Minister of Education. All friends and wellwishers are cordially invited.

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On the west coast of East Malaysia lies a small town called Kuching, capital of Sarawak, very popular with ancient Indian traders. Kuching's population is about 250,000, mainly Chinese businessmen (timber tycoons) and their families and local Malays. Although there are some Indian Tamils, they are not counted for statistical purposes, says Munusamy, renowned book seller at the Holiday Inn. Kuching's major income is from timber, rubber and tin. I arrived in Kuching at 9.35 p.m. and my business associates received me at the airport and took me to the only hotel of international repute. When we arrived at the hotel it was almost midnight; Mr. Cheng Wah Peng shook hands and said it was too late to have any social conversation but would be pleased if I could kindly join him for a business lunch the following day. I agreed and he departed. At half past eight a Mer-

## KADAL ADDAI TO 'HI-SUM' OR 'HI-LAI' FROM NAVANTHURAI COAST TO KUCHING COUNTRY CLUB

By R. Sarvananther

cedes rolled into the front porch of the Holiday Inn and took me to the conference room. After the usual arm-twisting discussion and sweet talk of future orders and a repetition of the time-honoured code of practice and of contractual obligations, the Chairman closed the meeting and said "well, it's enough for the morning and we will reconvene at the Sarawak Club for lunch". Everybody shook his head in agreement, saying it was the best proposal for the day. The Sarawak Club is the most famous in Sarawak. It is of colonial origin and serves exotic food; South-East Asian and European, with a good bar service and well-known for Sarawak fish. It is situated opposite

the popular Golf Club.

Mr Chua handled the choice of food with the traditional courtesy of the Chinese. He let me relax with a pot of Chinese tea while he had serious negotiations with Madam Lee, a very pretty and elegant waitress. "Excuse me Sir! Usually, ah, we like to entertain our guest, ah, in the Chinese way, especially, ah, since it is your first visit". "Ah, Miss Lee, ah, would like to serve you the best Chinese food, so what do you say?" I said "Of course, I like to taste typical Sarawakian Chinese food". So he ordered the food without any further consultation with me and explained to the waitress what he wanted. All the other six Chinese gentlemen at the table gave their orders in Chinese which I did not understand.

The food was laid on the table by Madam Lee one dish followed by another. Amongst the delicacies were dried chicken chop, King Prawn, sliced omelette, Sarawak river fish, 'Hi-Sum', crisp fried Ikan Billies, chopped chillies, etc. "Excuse me, Sir! Would you like another beer?" Quite happily I said yes. "Have you tasted this food before?" I said some of it, but that I had not seen or tasted two of the dishes before. "Is that so? They are very special food ordered and highly recommended by Miss Lee. We Chinese must have these two dishes on all special occasions. We always have them on Chinese New Year Day, at wedding meals and when business guests come home for dinner".

"Hi-Sum' is very expensive, so we cook it with chicken, bamboo shoot, black Chinese mushroom, green pepper and sea cucumber,

all cooked in pepper, garlic and Soya sauce". When I heard the words "sea cucumber" my eyes rolled and my tongue twisted, but I could not refuse the dish already served on my plate by the waitress. It was specially chosen for me as the guest of honour.

They told me sea cucumber was extremely expensive, its price ranging from 45 dollars per lb. to 100 dollars at the peak of the festival season. It has to be soaked in water for a long time for it to hydrate itself and become jelly-like. Sand and the other skin should be removed because the sea cucumber grows on the sea bed, eating seaweed and mineral sand. The Japanese believe that they must eat seaweed to gain strength. The Chinese eat sea cucumber which eats seaweed and believe that it will give them added strength.

After biting a piece of 'Hi-Sum' I just could not swallow it, I had to flush it down with frequent sips of beer. My goodness! This was the 'delicacy' I had seen at the Pannai and Navanthurai beaches where our local seamen catch them using a shallow water fishing method. Navanthurai seamen told me that when they catch the Kadal Addai it usually weights about a kilogram.

It is brought to the shore and put in a big 'Thacchi' and boiled for some hours. The water is drained and it is covered by a 'Chaku' and buried in the sand overnight, for sweating and softening. The next morning they bring it to the surface and remove the skin by stepping on it and applying sufficient pressure to squeeze out the flesh. It is dried under the sun for a day and sold to an agent for about six rupees per piece of grade one quality.

The agent then dried it further for a few more days for more hardening and then sells it to the local Co-Operative store for ten rupees. It is then exported to

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CONTD FROM P.18

abroad could have an opportunity to read Tamil and not lose contact altogether with their mother-tongue.

In this regard I would like to draw your attention to the tri-language editorial in the weekly Ceylon News, published particularly for outside circulation.

Yours faithfully,

**S. AMIRTHALINGAM  
MIDUGIRI, NIGERIA**

## STATELESS IN SRI LANKA

"The President told us that he is going to solve this problem... it was a problem the President had decided to solve. How he proposed to do, I did not ask", said the Indian Foreign Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao at a press conference shortly before his departure to New Delhi from Colombo. One assumes that Indian diplomacy has not plunged into such low depths of ineptitude that a minister comes all the way from Delhi just to hear those

words from the President of Sri Lanka. It has to be assumed that much more details were discussed but are not being disclosed. But why should not the details be disclosed? Why should not the people concerned know the decisions about their future?

It is said that according to Sri Lankan estimates the numbers involved are between 175,000 and 200,000. Also the President is reported to have said that the current stateless persons were needed in Sri Lanka and could not be kept without civic rights and brought into the mainstream of economic and social life.

These noble sentiments should not remain confined to the Presidential palace but should permeate down to all the minor minions of the state machinery. As a first step the ongoing harassment of the settlers from the estate regions in the Mannar, Vavuniya and Trincomalee districts should stop. If all citizens of Sri

Lanka, whether by descent or by registration, are to be equal, then they are not doing anything illegal by settling in any part of the island they choose.

**K.R. MANIKKAN**

## TAMIL LANGUAGE IN VIDEO CASSETTES

The Tamil University of Tanjavur in Tamil Nadu has planned to bring about video cassettes for the benefit of Tamils living abroad and who are desirous of learning the language. The project is expected to be completed shortly, according to an announcement made by Dr. V.I. Subramaniam, the Vice-Chancellor.

The move is inspired by the necessity to teach the Tamil Language to the younger generation in countries like Mauritius and Fiji where, due to lack of facilities, the language is found to be languishing. Many believe that this project will even

help the young generation of Tamils who live in western countries.

CONTD FROM P.8

ignore social realities. It will ignore them at their own peril. The Nationalism and national aspirations of a people cannot be destroyed by the gun, and the bullet and the big stick. They will rise through their crucifixion to a glorious resurrection. Let me conclude with the lines of a poet:

"Yes, my body is imprisoned, but the darting mind the throbbing heart will never be made captive by steel or gun"

My soul that knows no weariness will go on, till my country gains its own promised land

And though they crack my skill and even kill me

On my skull engraved in raw blood, they will read

"This is a Tamil who would never surrender to the brutish enemies of freedom"

(By kind courtesy of "Saturday Review")

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### REVIEW

## SUPREME BEAUTY IN BRONZES

**MASTERPIECES OF  
EARLY SOUTH INDIAN  
BRONZES:** By R.  
Nagaswamy, Published  
by the Department of  
Culture, National  
Museum, New Delhi.

As part of the recent conference of Non-aligned countries in New Delhi, the National Museum had organised an exhibition of South Indian bronzes to enable the participants and other foreigners to have a glimpse of the glorious cultural heritage of India which resides in the deep impact of the spirit. The beautifully produced and well-laid out pages of the book carry pictures of the bronzes kept on display with all relevant data relating to which they belong — Pallava or Chola — and a short write-up about the artistic excellence of each piece. The dissemination of the fundamentals of Indian artistic expression, particularly of temple deities, got a fillip with Anand Coomaraswamy's exposition of the cosmic dance of Nataraja. The exhibition on "Manifestations of Shiva", as a tribute to India in the United States, inspired by Stella Kramrisch, provided an occasion to the American people to get an insight into the inner refinement of Indian culture. Of equal importance was the Delhi exhibition to coincide with the Non-aligned conference.

The bronzes, collected from temples of Tamil Nadu, Thanjavur Art Gallery and Madras Museum, are frozen images of beauty revealed to the artists in their inspired depths of their creative impulses, and hence their timeless appeal. It is a

characteristic feature of the artistic endeavour of the shilpis that they never estranged art from religion and promoted its relevance to life only through religion. The bronzes had taken shape illumined by agamas and shilpasastra and sustained by firm faith. The task of the craftsmen and their patrons — the Pallavas and Cholas — was to link the human with the divine. In sound it became music, in rhythm it became dance and in metal it became bronzes. The sublimity of their creation results from a vision of beauty — almost identical with Sat. Chit. Ananda — with a profound power of intuition coupled with a limitless capacity for aesthetic expression in metal casting. The inspiration of such sensitive souls stemmed from an urge to establish rapport with the Creator. A glance through all the pictures published in the book provides a panorama of a few centuries in art history that set store by inner refinement and not superficial polish. It would be difficult to compare the excellences of the Vishnu, Siva and Parvathi Icons. After going through page after page, one finds the Icon of Kalyanasundara and Devi of Vadakalattur lingering lovingly in the mind's eye. This piece exemplifies a blended fragrance of dedication, creative purpose, perfection in concept and a consummation of intimations of beauty and Spirituality. The bronzes have been shown from many angles — front, back and side views and close-ups — and whichever way they are looked at they strike the eye with their classical simplicity, directness of expression without much ornamentation. The

CONTD. ON PAGE 23

## S. INDIAN LANGUAGES FOR BIHAR VARSITIES

The Bihar Chief Minister, Dr. Jagannath Mishra has announced that his Government would take a series of steps to promote national integration.

On the one hand the State Government would encourage the learning of Persian and Arabic and on the other introduce facilities for the teaching of Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam.

The Bihar Government would set up academies for teaching South Indian languages, as well as Bengali and Punjabi. The academies would look for people with talent to write their literary works in these languages.

Steps were being taken to teach Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam as additional languages in the Universities of Patna, Ranchi and Bihar to promote national integration. If any Hindi speaking student at the post-matriculation stage took up any of these languages for study, he would be eligible for a scholarship of Rs. 50 a month, Dr. Mishra said.

## SRI LANKAN WORK-FORCE FOR SINGAPORE

Books that have been collected in Tamil Nad for the Jaffna Public Library will, we learn, be handed over ceremoniously to the Mayor of Jaffna. Arrangements are being made by Mr. Nedumaran of Tamil Nad for this ceremonial occasion.

A large number of books have been collected both by individuals as well as by organisations. According to news reports Mr. M. G. Ramachandran has already handed over to the Sri Lankan representative books to the value of five lakhs of rupees in Indian currency.

## JUNIOR TIMES

64 letters of the English alphabet are given below. Using each letter only once try to spell out as many place names in Sri Lanka as possible. Send your list to 'Junior Times', P.O. Box 304, London W13 9QN before the end of June '83. The person with the largest number of place names will get a voucher to the value of five pounds.

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(The results of last month's (April) Logic Problem will be published in the next issue).

CONTD ON P.22

Parithiyur Rama, Lakshmana and Sita figures are austere aesthetic, the dancing Nataraja sublime in sweep and strength and the Parvathi Icons a marvel of feminine grace and sweetness.

The introduction by R. Nagaswamy gives in brief the distinguishing features of the Pallava and Chola schools of bronze styles in historical perspective. He speaks of three distinctive periods in the Chla art — the Aditya school, Sembiam Mahadevi school and Rajaraja school after the names of the three great Chola patrons. Pallava influence was significant till almost the 10th century AD with the Pandyas as their contemporaries. The book is a treasure house from cover to cover and would kindle in the reader a sense of pride about a refined culture we are all heir to.

S.V.K.  
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