

# **TAMIL**

## **Information**

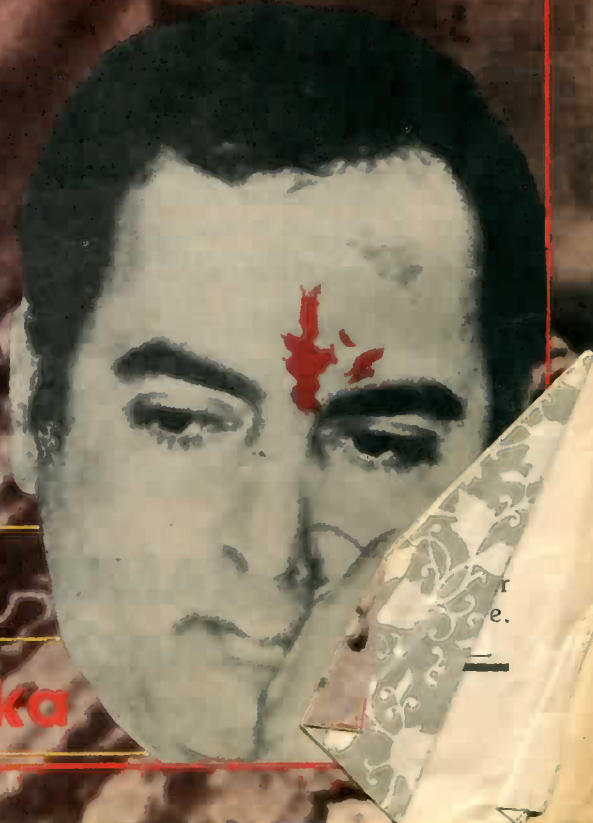
**The  
Prime Minister  
is dead:  
Long Live  
the  
Prime Minister:**

The letter  
that went from  
Jaffna  
to Mrs. Gandhi

**The plight of Tamil Refugees**

**Testimony in Washington**

**An ominous feeling in Sri Lanka**







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## TAMIL INFORMATION CENTRE London, Madras & Madurai

# TAMIL

## Information

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For Private Circulation

Vol. 1 No. 7

15 November 1984

Published in Madras at E-114, 16th Cross St., Besant Nagar, Madras 600 090, on behalf of the Tamil Information Centre, 3rd Floor, 24-28, Clapham High Street, London SW47UR, United Kingdom

## Genocide or Liberation ?

It does not require much discernment to know that the gentleman occupying the box seat in Sri Lankan affairs today is not President Jayawardene, but the Minister of National Security and de facto commander-in-chief of the armed forces – Lalith Athulathmudali. Ordinarily, it would not have mattered two cents to the Tamils who are groaning under the heel of an oppressive government, whether Jayawardene rules or Athulathmudali reigns. But it matters now. Athulathmudali is the man whose finger is on the trigger. A desperate Jayawardene government is fast approaching a stage when it would be forced to shed all pretence, drop the mockery of the negotiation process (and round table talks with which it had been fooling the world and a few naive Tamils) and consciously adopt GENOCIDE as the only means available to solve what it has hitherto airily paraded as a solvable “terrorist problem”. And then what ?

There comes a period in the lives of peoples and nations when they are too close to history to see it being made. November 1984 could well figure in the future historian's annals as a month that marked a turning point in the life of the Tamils living in Sri Lanka. The scenario that is now building up is a direct sequel to the November happenings, the full knowledge and significance of which has been effectively shut out from the world and the Sinhala people. It was bad enough that the flag-bearer of army terrorism in Jaffna, Col. Ariyaperuma, met his end by a land mine. Equally bad was the tumbling down of the well-secured Chavakachcheri Police Station in a lightning Lebanon-type bombardment, which left about 60 dead, including a specially trained Commando Unit. The fact that Tamil militants became beneficiaries of an arms bonanza – 2 American-made M 16s, 30 SLRs and 6 SMGs, all “gifted” by the dead Commandos, made it altogether sad. What was even worse was the massive loss of a 60-70 strong army convoy in three armoured cars and three trucks that same evening at Kaithady, a fact that the Sinhala people and the world have yet to be told. The “tactical withdrawal” of an Anuradhapura-based detachment which came careering towards Chavakachcheri and was turned back at Eluthu-

mattuval the very next morning was another loss of face. But what is far more significant in our view, was the fact that for several hours the Sri Lanka armed forces could not even reach Chavakachcheri. Looked at from another angle, what it meant was – there was a period of time, temporary though it was, when some little territory in the future state of Tamil Eelam, was LIBERATED !

There were other morals to be learnt. Army mobility was reduced elsewhere in the peninsula too. During the all-island curfew that followed, there were members of the Jaffna public who were brazenly moving about. Just showed that not only civil authority but even military authority in Tamil areas could be made to collapse under pressure. The army was getting nervous of not only land mines in unsuspected places, but open confrontation with Tamil militants, a development that gives a new dimension to the Tamil liberation struggle.

The significance of all these should not be lost on all liberation forces, to whatever groups they belong. This is the time they have to stand by the common pledge they have taken to liberate their people who today are facing possible genocide in the hands of a common enemy. This is not the time to sit in arm-chairs abroad and argue and question and prevaricate. This is not the time to debate the pros and cons of guerrilla techniques, People's wars of liberation or the theories of revolution. This is testing time. A time to act. A time to close ranks. A time to pool resources. A time to prove to an unconvinced world that Tamil youths have enough zeal, enough dedication, enough courage, enough magnanimity in times of danger, enough mettle, enough spirit of co-operation to liberate their people and build a new nation where they don't have to live as refugees and vagrants and run away like hunted animals and live under the variable mercies of foreign governments.

Those who fail to rise to the occasion, they would not only be failing the cause, and abandoning their people in a time of crisis as earlier leaders had done, but they would also miss their place in History!

## Army terrorises another Jaffna school

Schools in Tamil areas in Sri Lanka, particularly Jaffna, today function in a state of fear. Some schools like Hartley College, Point Pedro, and Methodist Girls School, Point Pedro, did not even function for a long time following the burning of the Hartley College library and part of the buildings by Police Commandos and indiscriminate attacks on students by armed forces.

Another school which became the victim of terrorism by government armed forces recently is St. Henry's College, Illavalai. On the morning of 17th October the army was stationed near the school, checking the national identity cards of all going along the road including the students and staff while they were on their way to school.

Suddenly at about 11.20 a.m. a barrage of gun shots pierced the school walls and blackboards. The hail of bullets traced a path through the rows of students and passed by the head of the teacher and struck the blackboard. It was a miracle that none of the students or the teachers was hit. The trail of bullets struck the blackboard as on a bulls eye on a practice target. The blackboard which forms part of the wall was found to be pierced for a depth of 8-12 inches at several places. It

was a narrow escape for both the students and the teachers. A Rev. Sister who was conducting a class upstairs which is close to the main road also narrowly escaped. The bullet from which the Rev. Sister escaped can be seen on the wall. The firing continued for more than forty five minutes. Shots were fired round the premises. On hearing the gun shots the students and teachers ran for their lives. As a result of the stampede some injured themselves, breaking their legs and hands.

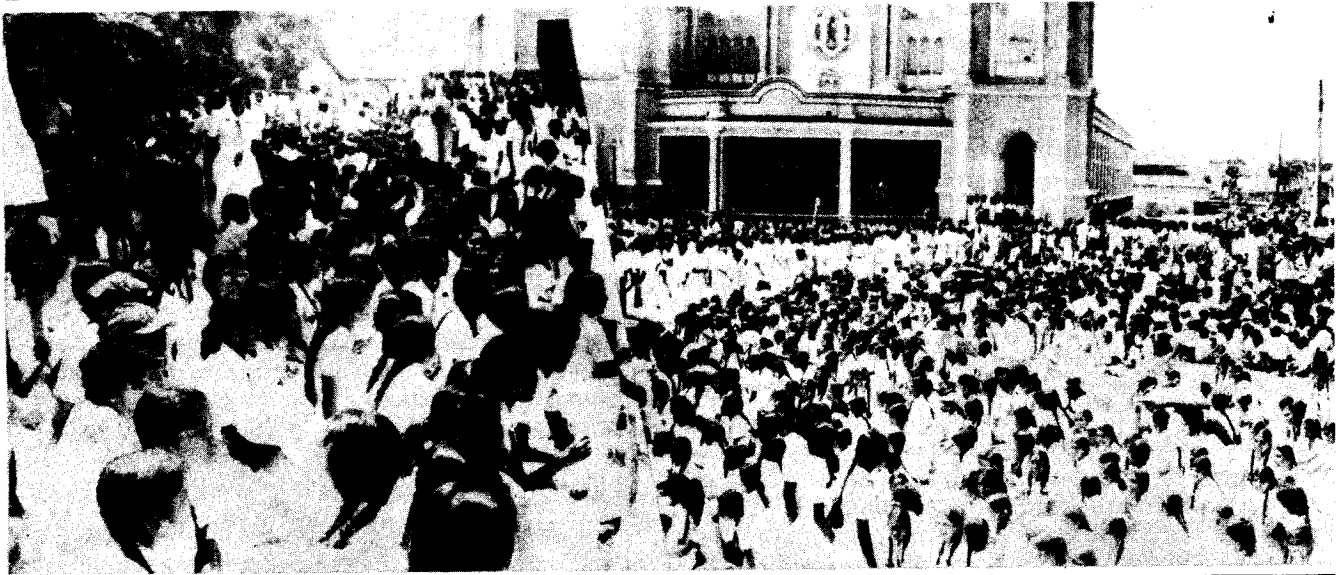
Armed soldiers thereafter broke open the School gate and the Rector walked up to the soldiers and told them that the school was in session and not to create any disturbances. Thereupon the Rector was ordered into a armoured car at gun point. The armoured car with the Rector inside was taken inside the school area passing several class rooms. While approaching the Science laboratory some teachers and students inside the lab raised their voices and told the Fr. Rector of their presence inside. The soldiers thereupon pushed open the door and asked the teachers and students to march out raising their hands. One soldier suggested that they should all be taken to the army camp. But Rev. Fr. Rector pleaded with them and as a result they were asked to remain in the staff room until further notice.

Another group of soldiers who came in another armoured car rushed into the staff room. The teachers and students were ordered to stand still in a row and raise the hands. "Shall we shoot them all" asked one soldier. The teachers stood petrified and some of them started mumbling their last prayers. Another soldier wanted to know whether anybody among them knew Sinhala. He asked one teacher who said he knew a little Sinhala whether any one had run out of the room. The teacher said no. Thereupon the soldier manhandled him saying that he was telling a lie. Simultaneously, four students were assaulted with the butt end of a gun below the knee.

Another set of teachers including women teachers were with the students in the middle school, about a hundred yards away from the main block. On hearing the repeated gun shots they ran upstairs for shelter. Some soldiers rushed in there, harassed and terrorised them also.

The staff and students ultimately left in fear by 2.30 p.m. None of the students including hostellers had gone back to school for nearly ten days after the incident.

The Teachers Guild of St. Henry's College has sent a formal protest to the Director of Education, Colombo.



**Student protest sit-in at Jaffna over Army atrocities**

# AN OMINOUS FEELING IN

There is an ominous feeling in Sri Lanka now — is the country heading fast for a big blow-up within the next two or three months? It is felt that a scenario is building up which could engulf not only the Tamils who are already facing slow genocide but the entire Island including the majority Sinhala population.

The possibility of a military coup d'etat which had been discussed in hushed tones ever since July 1983 has now assumed a greater sense of urgency. A November 16th report from Colombo says:

*"Sri Lanka has ordered a high level inquiry into a letter warning of a possible coup d'etat and containing death threats against an opposition leader and a top Government official, the 'Island' newspaper reported on Friday.*

*The report said the warning and threats were sent in a letter to opposition leader Anura Bandaranaike who, it said, immediately conveyed the contents to the unidentified official.*

*Mr. Bandaranaike was not available for comment. His father, Solomon Bandaranaike, was assassinated in September 1959 by a Buddhist monk when he was Prime Minister.*

*A group identifying itself as 20 people from the security forces signed the letter, the newspaper said.*

*They threatened to stage a military coup against the democratic form of Government, which they said had failed to solve the country's ethnic problems, apparently referring to the Tamil-Sinhala question.*

The Sri Lanka government has now abandoned its earlier boastful posture of being able to smash up "Tamil Terrorism" for good. The "terrorism" which the government once said was confined only to the Tamil areas in the North and East has now spread to Colombo in the South as well as to the plantation areas, on the government's own admission. The government radio recently asserted that the time bombs that went off at the Lanka Oberoi Hotel and at the building housing the offices of the Minister for National Security were planted by an Eelam revolutionary group called EROS.

The **Daily Telegraph**, London in its issue of November 12th published a report from

## SRI LANKA!

their correspondent David Graves in Colombo which said —

*"Tamil Separatists in Sri Lanka attempted to blow up the island's main television transmitter yesterday, killing one soldier and wounding five more.*

*Other troops guarding the transmitter at the top of Mt. Piduratalagala, 8,200 ft., South of Kandy, drove off the 25 strong armed gang before explosives they had planted could be detonated.*

*The gang placed gelignite and dynamite around three of the four pillars supporting the transmitter, but the bombs were later defused by the Sri Lankan Army.*

*The government said the soldier was killed when the terrorists threw hand grenades into a guardhouse housing off duty troops.*

*Other soldiers opened fire and the extremists suffered heavy casualties before being driven off.*

*Troops pursuing the gang in the Central Hills region, 63 miles east of Colombo, later found a trail of blood in the jungle where the Tamils had fled and helicopters were brought in to aid the search.*

*The two State-run television channels were both broadcasting normally last night despite the attack, the latest in a series of bombing raids in Colombo and the Tamil dominated north and east of the country".*

TAMIL INFORMATION however understands that in the course of the attempted attack two soldiers were killed, four injured and two others fled from the scene. The attacking party consisted not of 25, but only 8. The references to "extremists suffering heavy casualties" and "pursuing the gang" and finding "a trail of blood" were obviously some embroidery supplied by the government Ministry of National Security!

Following this, there were reprisals by armed forces in plantation areas where innocent Tamils were attacked. A hotel

owned by a Tamil of Indian origin was set on fire the night after the attack on the TV tower. It was reported that Ceylon Workers Congress leader and Cabinet Minister Thondaman met President Jayawardene and protested over these incidents.

Police said they had found two parcel bombs on November 12 near the President's Cottage in the holiday town of Nuwara Eliya, which contained 57 sticks of dynamite, 10 electrical detonators and six torch batteries with timing devices.. all pointing to a growing militancy in the plantation areas, and where the Indian Tamils are concentrated.

Both the Sinhala army and the Sinhala public are getting restive over the obvious failure of the government to live up to its boast of putting down the so-called Tamil terrorism. Recently some family members of Army personnel congregated at Colombo's Galle Face Green and demanded that their husbands, sons and brothers who were getting slaughtered in the North be sent back to them, instead of being made sacrificial goats by a government that was unable to deliver the goods.

What is frightening the government even more is the emergence of a resistance movement in the Sinhala areas as well. Unable to style it "Sinhala terrorism", because the government had always identified Tamils with terrorism, it has now begun to bamboozle the Sinhala public with a new bogey — a Marxist conspiracy. Chairman of the newly set up outfit — the National Media Committee to fight Terrorism, Wickreme Weerasooriya, said in Colombo on November 16 that Tamil separatist guerrillas have established "formidable links" with radical Sinhala groups in a bid to create a Marxist state in the country. He also added for good measure that there were more than 30 terrorist groups now active in the north and east in Sri Lanka!

While the Tamils in the North and East have been reduced to a state of absolute helplessness in which they have learnt to carry their lives in their hands all twenty four hours of the day, Tamils compelled to live in Colombo for the sake of their living or because they have no other choice, live through endless tension. Will the events of July — August 1983 repeat themselves? Even though they know that the government cannot afford a repeat, what guarantee is there that the government will be able to control a similar situation? Or the more plausible question this time: What if the violence takes on an anti-government complexion, in which case government forces would be easily tempted to side-track it into a communal frenzy!

Whatever the possibilities are, there is no doubt that they all look grim.



# GOVERNMENT TERRORISM AND LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN TAMIL EELAM

## NOVEMBER DIARY

### NOVEMBER 1 :

Spontaneous and widespread mourning for Mrs. Gandhi in all Tamil areas. 10 to 12 Sri Lanka soldiers killed at Iddaikkadu in Jaffna between Valalai and Manpachan when armoured car got stuck in 5 feet deep 3 feet wide crater caused by land mine which exploded earlier. Tamil Liberation fighters open fire. Army reprisals in surrounding areas. At Urumpirai, Urelu, and Punnalaikkadduvan three Tamil youths killed by army men in civvies. Several houses and fences set on fire at Atchuveli and Urumpirai.

Kachcheri rail gate Rasiah (65) shot dead. Sivagnanam (33) of Manduvil and Kumaraswamy (64) of Meesali north shot at by army personnel from the Yal Devi.

At Urelu four members of the same family shot dead by army men — University employee Thampapillai Kandasamy (56) his son, University student Thavakumar (23), another son Sooriya Kumar (18) and domestic employee Perumal. Several houses at Urelu also set on fire. Roadside plantain groves destroyed. Murugesu Shanthakumar (20) who was shot at by army personnel travelling in the Yal Devi near the Nedungkulam railway gate succumbs to injuries.

In the heart of Jaffna city near the bus terminus two Tamil youths shot dead. At Atchuveli, Koneswaran (21) and near the

### NOVEMBER 2 :

Army men go berserk at Iddaikkadu. Atchuveli and set fire to about 30 houses. One burnt corpse discovered. Body of victim of bomb attack at Point Pedro brought to Jaffna hospital mortuary. Victim

of bomb attack in Velanai who lost an arm brought to Jaffna hospital. Northern fisherman who have lost their means of livelihood after the government's ban on fishing in the northern naval surveillance area stage protest fast.

### NOVEMBER 3 :

Complaints made to Government Agent, Jaffna that army personnel in civvies had not only burnt houses and killed people but also robbed valuables like TV and

Radio sets, jewellery, from various homes in Urumpirai and Atchuveli. They had also destroyed onion seeds, water pumps and set fire even to household cattle.

### NOVEMBER 4 :

Reports of army terrorism at Killinochchi with the promulgation of the area as a security zone and appointment of Major G. PKulathunga as Military Co-ordinating Officer for the area. Kandasamy Surenthi-

raraja (25) killed by army men in civvies. Intensive search by army personnel at Ampalkulam leading to arrests of several Tamil youths and burning of houses.

### NOVEMBER 6 :

Two young men on a motor bicycle shot dead by army men in civvies between Urumpirai and Punnalaikkadduvan. Army men surround a house between Narchimar Kovil and Kokuvil on suspicion and kill one youth and set fire to house. Government claims capture of three militant leaders. Intensive search at Kokuvil and Nandavil Ammankovilady.

resulting in assaults on civilians and arrests of several youths, including the son of a senior Grama Sevaka. Vice Chancellor of Jaffna University, Prof. S. Vidhyananthan was taken into custody along with his car by army, later released. At Ilavalai, Anjelo Mary Joseph hearing that her younger brother was assaulted by army men at Kokuvil, dies of heart failure.

### NOVEMBER 7 :

Army men surround a house on Kachcheri-Nallur road close to Bharathi road and fire several rounds into the house. It was discovered eventually that there was no one in occupation at that time. But due to wild firing by army men Thevaraja (56) and a seven year old girl Dharshini Shanmugaraja injured and admitted to hospital. Following this,

residents of the area abandon homes and seek refuge elsewhere. More army searches in Karaveddi, Thunnalai areas.

12 female children born in Jaffna between the first and the fifth of the month had been named "Indira" in memory of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Parents of male child born in Avarangal are reported to have named the child "Indiran".

### NOVEMBER 8 :

At Ariyalai in Jaffna skirmish between army men and Tamil youths following combing operation in the area by armed forces. No injuries reported on either side. 16 more Tamil youths detained at Boosa

army camp released. 14 of them arrive in Jaffna. 22-year old Jeyan of Eravur who was in hand-cuffs at Batticalao Police Station escapes from custody.

### NOVEMBER 9 :

Following bomb burst in the heart of the Bazaar area in Jaffna, at mid-day, army men who were on spot begin firing on members of public and kill five of them

including 12 year old boy. It is suspected that the army men who were in civvies had themselves caused the bomb explosion. 41 others including a woman

Medical student, Malathi Nageswaran, admitted to hospital with injuries. The sudden firing caused instant panic in the busy area with people running desperately for shelter. Some of them who ran and got into parked buses were themselves shot at. Shops put up shutters and buses stopped plying. Large number of school children stranded in schools because bus services were paralysed.

About 300 Tamil youths showed rare courage and heroism in not only looking

after injured people, admitting them to hospital but also using all buses and private vehicles available to go round to all schools, collecting the children and leaving them safely at their homes. One act of heroism stood out where 42-year old bus driver Selvaraja of Kokuvil who was already injured by army bullets in his hand, managed to take the busload of people who had sought shelter in his bus, past five junctions before he lost consciousness.

NOVEMBER 9 :

Attempt to blow up TV Tower on top of Pedurutalagala by suspected Tamil militant group. One army man killed on

the spot, another succumbs to injuries later. Other injured army men flown by helicopter to Nuwara Eliya hospital. None of the attackers apprehended.

NOVEMBER 10 :

Over 500 men of the armed forces encircle Kilinochchi area during pouring rain and carry on intensive search between 9-30 a.m. and 1-30 p.m. Several arrests. On complaint made by Principal of Vembadi Girls' School, Mrs. Rasaratnam, to G.A. Jaffna and conveyed to Brigadier Nalin Seniveratna, Colonel Wimalaratna meets the Principal and apologises for incident that happened

earlier in the day. According to complaint made, two teachers of the school, Mrs. Rajadurai and Mrs. Maruthalingam along with a Grade II student Thayalini Nadaraja were walking towards the School when some army men going past in an armoured car, had thrown water on them. Jaffna Lawyers boycott Courts in protest against army terrorism and harassment on Jaffna roads.

NOVEMBER 13 :

Bomb thrown at the Pannai Police Quarters at 5-30 a.m. Causes stir at Police Station. Another unexploded bomb later detonated by army bomb experts. Election

Commissioner announces nominations would be received for by-elections to the Vavuniya and Manipay Parliamentary Constituencies before November 30th.

NOVEMBER 14 :

Telephone wires leading to residences of TULF leaders M. Sivasithamparam and A. Amirthalingam at Karaveddi and Moolai cut by unknown people. Lorry belonging to Jaffna Municipality going to K.K.S. Cement factory to load cement commandeered by army men and taken to army camp. Two school boys from Trincomalee, Thurairasa Raveendren (14), Rasanayagam Juliet (15) picked up on the road by army men in civvies, taken into an armoured car and deposited at Mankulam. The army men are reported to have accosted the boys and told them in Sinhala "what studies for you" before pulling them into armoured car. The helpless boys were taken by people of the area and sent to a relation's house at Sudumalai Jaffna, and subsequently sent safely to Trincomalee.

Police Station but never occupied, has now been taken over by the army.

Private bus belonging to Jaffna owner was subject to heavy stoning at Marawila on its way from Colombo to Jaffna. Although mob had gathered to attack the passengers, an ugly incident was averted and bus taken into custody by Marawila Police. Passengers sent to Jaffna through other buses but baggage was held along with the bus. Stoning of Colombo-Jaffna buses had been occurring at various places like Rambava, Negombo, Ja-Ela Kochchikade and Marawila over the past few weeks.

NOVEMBER 15 :

A building near the 4th mile post at Poonakarai which was meant for the

A young Sinhalese S. Karunaratna (22) and his wife Sashikala (22) admitted to Jaffna hospital with burns and torture injuries after being detained in army camp. The couple resident at Gurunagar was suspected of having contacts with Tamil Militant youths.

At Irupalai in Kopay area, army men in civils fire on van on suspicion and kill 7 people including a student of Vembadi Girls School, Rani (18) of Irupalai who

was cycling to School after tuition. The same evening army men disturb Indira Gandhi commemoration meeting at Nallur (see report elsewhere)

NOVEMBER 18 :

Chief of the Sri Lankan Army, Northern Command, Colonel A. Ariyaperuma killed in Jaffna, when the jeep in which he was travelling, ran over a landmine placed by

Tamil Liberation forces. Colonel A. Ariyaperuma had gone to inspect a bridge blown up by militants the previous day. Three other army men also injured.

NOVEMBER 19 :

## GOVERNMENT TERRORISM AND LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN TAMIL EELAM

# The letter that went from Jaffna to Mrs. Indira Gandhi in August last year



*Never since the death of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru were the Tamils of Sri Lanka sunk in such genuine grief as when Mrs. Indira Gandhi was so cruelly taken away on the morning of Wednesday, October 31. But on that fateful day in Jaffna and the days thereafter, there was more than grief, there was an all-pervasive gloom. It was as if Fate had dealt another blow at them. It looked to them that this was a more crushing blow than what they had come to expect from the oppressive Jayawardene Government.*

*Here is a letter from the past, a letter sent to the late Mrs. Gandhi in August last year, smuggled from Jaffna to Colombo and sent in the diplomatic bag of a friendly embassy in Colombo. The letter is being made public for the first time now:*

Jaffna  
Sri Lanka  
23rd August 1983

Shrimathi Indira Gandhi  
Prime Minister of India  
New Delhi

Dear Shrimathi Gandhi,

Forgive us, if in addressing you, we do not abide by the formalities of protocol. We write from Jaffna, a land whose people had traditionally held Bharat as their motherland. We address you not merely as Prime Minister of that great country, but also with a genuinely-felt right of kinship.

We have been nourished by Indian culture and bred on Indian thought. Four hundred and fifty years of western colonialism did nothing to shake us from that sense of belonging to India. The Himalayas and the Ganges and the Mahabharata and Ramayana are very real to us.

During the days of the British Empire, our sense of identity with India was near-complete, the narrow strip of ocean notwithstanding. The Indian Freedom movement was one in which we felt we were direct participants.

The honour of inviting Mahatma Gandhi to Ceylon for the first time in 1927 belonged to the Students Congress of Jaffna. Our affection for the Nehru family was so close that it was not an unusual sight in the thirties and the forties to see

portraits of Jawaharlal Nehru, Kamaia Nehru and Motilal Nehru in village homes in Jaffna.

When Gandhiji died, we grieved in a way as only Indians would. When India became free, we rejoiced in it as if it was our own freedom. The other day when India came home with the World Cricket trophy, many of us found it difficult to hide our excitement and pride.

Do we need to say more, why, despite the traumatic experience that we Tamils have gone through in recent weeks, we yet rejoice in the good fortune that we have YOU as the Prime Minister of India at this critical phase in our history?

A united, secular, strong India is our wish — an India that will also reach her full potential as a major world power before the turn of the century; and it is our unshakeable faith that you alone, a Nehru, who could ensure that.

Please permit us at this point, the liberty of congratulating you on your expert handling of President Jayawardene! Just as he was getting ready for a major military crackdown in Jaffna (knowing the man and the severity of the laws with which he had armed himself, it could have resulted in a near-genocide in the north), your Foreign Office summoned the Sri Lanka High Commissioner and expressed India's concern over the developments in Jaffna. It took us by surprise too, very pleasantly so. Caught with his finger on the trigger, His Excellency thought better

of it, and we in Jaffna were spared the holocaust that he had planned for us at that stage!

Your expression of concern had indeed come in the nick of time, 24 hours before the All-Party Conference on how to combat terrorism in the north, a conference that was clearly meant to be a curtain-raiser before the crack-down.

As to what his intentions in Jaffna were, His Excellency himself had made clear, in a cocksure moment, when in the course of an interview to Ian Ward of DAILY TELEGRAPH, London, he said: "I am not worried about the opinion of the Jaffna people now... Now we can't think of them. Not about their lives, nor their opinion about us" (July 10)

Mr. Bajpai's summoning of High Commissioner Tillekeratne took place on Tuesday July 19, the all-party conference turned into a fiasco on the 20th, and on the 21st, Colombo caught the anti-India fever. The Sinhala Colombo Press went into violent hysterics. The government had already imposed Press censorship the previous day, obviously with a view to cover up the atrocities that were planned for Jaffna.

President Jayawardene might deny many things, but he cannot surely deny that it was while there was Press censorship on, that the Sri Lanka Press filled its columns with anti-India poison.

It was not surprising therefore that the



riots that followed took a two-pronged offensive — anti-Tamil and anti-Indian.

An anti-Indian animus, it must be stated, is not something new in the Sinhala character. It is in-built in the Sinhala psyche. It only happened that this time it was expressed in open violence.

During the Bangladesh war of liberation, Mrs. Srima Bandaranaike's government did not only offer fuelling facilities to Pakistani war planes, but the government-controlled Radio blacked out news of the Bangladesh war on the plea of neutrality. But to what extent did it sustain this pose of neutrality? On the night of Friday December 24, 1971, the Ceylon Broadcasting Corporation in its 9.15 p.m. news bulletin broke all ethics of broadcasting and neutrality. It gave great play to a communique issued by the Pakistan Embassy in Colombo that contradicted a report from All India Radio which stated that about 200 Bengali intellectuals were killed by Pakistani armed forces before they decided to surrender Dacca. The Pakistani communique said it was an act done by the Bengali guerillas!

The traditional anti-India animus has now surfaced into open hate, not only among the Sinhala populace, but in the seats of power in the Sri Lanka government. Happening as it does to a volatile people and a panic-prone government, this in our opinion, portends danger in two ways: While President Richard and brother Harry may not have the clout or skill to achieve their objective of isolating India in the Asian comity of nations, they can nevertheless bring about an unsettling effect in the Indian Ocean region, which could eventually threaten India's security.

Secondly, if President Jayawardene buys any more time he may set in motion a pogrom by armed forces in Tamil areas (as against riots, because riots attract too much attention) and succeed in decimating the Tamil population before the

world wakes up to the fact. For the past two weeks, Jaffna and other Tamil areas have had their telecommunication links with the outside world severed. In Colombo itself all Tamil telecommunication officials have been stripped of their duties. Save for a few militant youths with a handful of guns and plenty of dexterity and guts, an otherwise unarmed population remain as helpless fodder in the face of a racist, indiscipline armed force. How many more thousands of us have to get killed before we see liberation?

First by State-aided Sinhala colonisation, recently by State terrorism, the Tamils are being deprived of their traditional homelands in all areas outside Jaffna. Trincomalee and its suburbs are being cleared of Tamils, ruthlessly and systematically. Even before the present riots, Trincomalee went through a month-long punishment in June. Imported goondas with the help of Navy and Police personnel in Trincomalee murdered, terrorised and brutalised the Tamils, particularly those estate Tamils of recent Indian origin who were settled in the region after the 1977 riots.

They were attacked again in the course of the present riots and their huts and dwelling places and possessions were set on fire. Between the 25th and 27th July over a thousand of them who were refugees in camps were forcibly bundled into trucks and taken away to the Nuwara eliya estate areas, and dumped there to become vagrants and destitutes. Ceylon Workers Congress President Thondaman has already lodged a protest in this connection.

Speaking nearly two years ago, the M.P. for Jaffna, V. Yogeswaran said in Parliament:

"The present government now has indirectly surrendered Trincomalee to America, a fact which cannot be denied by any amount of quibbling, twisting and

prevarication or bluffing. Such a facility when granted will certainly be a source of danger to Indian security, weakening the Southern and Eastern flanks of the Indian sub-continent. India is our neighbour and any policy that presents a threat to India will be detrimental to us and the TULF will never contribute to such a policy..."

May we submit the following in all earnest. We do not think a political solution is any longer possible. President Jayawardene has never believed in it himself; he had always had in mind a military solution. We, the signatories to this memorandum, sensitive to the popular thinking in the north and east of this country, share President Jayawardene's view now, with one difference — the key to that military solution lies in your hands, Madam, not in his. We mean it, and we will say it again and again.

To think that the Sinhala people will agree to any kind of devolution of power is a foolish hope. Even if it is hammered out at a conference table, it just cannot be implemented. Fifty Buddhist monks in saffron robes can torpedo it in half an hour.

We end this with an appeal. We cannot allow President Jayawardene to buy any more time. The more desperate he gets the more vulnerable we Tamils become. The Tamils are not equipped for a prolonged struggle; that is a sad fact and we accept it. But on the other hand, two and a half million Tamils in this country will accept India's direct intervention willingly, with both arms. The logistics of the intervention is for India to decide. The legality is important only until the time something is accomplished. What matters thereafter is morality. Morality is on your side. We implore you — please help us to liberate our people.

Yours very sincerely,  
EELAM TAMILS



## ..and now there is no freedom in Jaffna, even to mourn for her!

A remembrance meeting held in memory of the late Mrs. Indira Gandhi at the Kalyana Mandapam in Nallur, Jaffna, on November 18 was disturbed by the Sri Lankan armed forces. Among the participants at the meeting were Bishop Deogupillai of Jaffna and TULF leaders Amirthalingam and Sivasithamparam. Army men who had gone in armoured cars had pointed the guns at the people who had started running.

Armed forces in Jaffna, ever since the death of Mrs. Gandhi, had been not only

going about with open jubilation, but had also attacked Tamils in various places who were involved in acts of mourning. In one incident, on November 1, the day after Mrs. Gandhi's assassination, army men were heard going about singing and dancing a mock "baila" (a joyous group dance of Portuguese origin common on party occasions in Sri Lanka) shouting out "Amma Enge?" (Where is the Ammah) which led to Tamil youths throwing bombs at the army men, causing injuries to several of them.

# RAJIV GANDHI

looked  
the  
future P.M.  
even  
one year ago !



Rajiv, the devoted husband, with Sonia.

Indian politics has been reduced to. Of sycophancy and duplicity. Of nepotism and corruption. Until his brother's death, which set into motion perhaps the most carefully orchestrated promotional campaign in this subcontinent.

Here are brief extracts from that article which provide insights into the birth of the Rajiv phenomenon even one year before he became Prime Minister:—

Scene 1. Place : Lok Sabha.  
Date: August 5, 1983.

The second day of a special debate on the genocide in Sri Lanka. Highly-strung members from both sides of the floor are letting off steam. For a change, the Prime Minister is in her seat, intently revising the statement she is going to make. Looks so fresh she could well have come straight from a session with her beautician. Some benches away to her right, at 45 degrees or so sits the M.P. from Amethi, Rajiv Gandhi! He is all attention to a dissident M.P. from Bihar. Some minutes later, the member moves away and his place is taken by a lady M.P. — another dissident from Bihar. One by one, they take their turns. The lobbying for and against Jagannath Mishra is on. Keeping a sharp eye on the supplicants going up to his master, is the baby-faced Arun Nehru. Rajiv's 'watchdog', some call him. The speeches on Sri Lanka continue. Nobody misses the significance of the scene — an open display of where the focus of power has shifted...

It is a reflection on the poor powers of assessment of many India-watchers and many Indians themselves — that they were not mentally prepared for the easy transition from Indira Gandhi to Rajiv Gandhi.

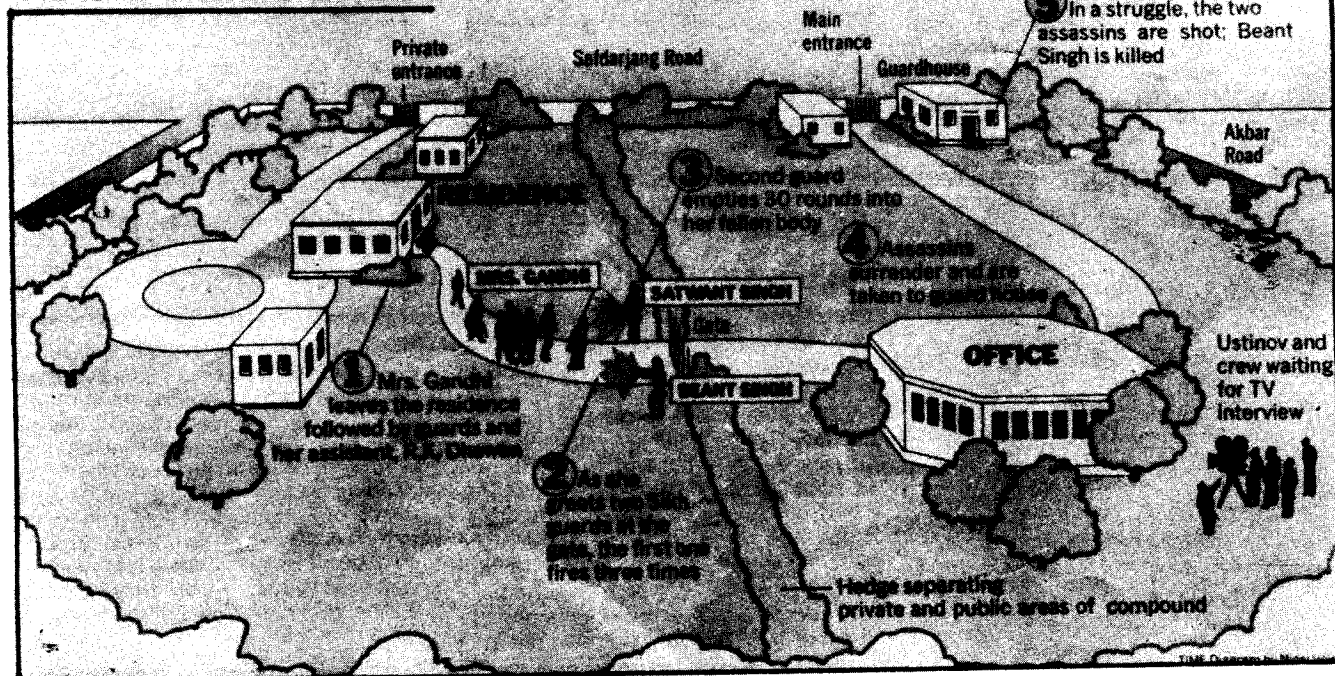
Over an year ago, the Illustrated Weekly of India in its issue of October 9, 1983, carried on article titled "The selling of Rajiv Gandhi".

The Weekly said: "The journey of Rajiv Gandhi from the periphery of politics to one step away from the country's political centre-stage, has few parallels anywhere. Especially considering the fact that he strongly disdained the murky world that

"Today, contrary to earlier notions, Rajiv has gradually emerged as a politician with a mind of his own. A man who keeps a number of aides and advisers steeped in modern management methods but takes his OWN decisions in the end.

The Illustrated Weekly of India, October 23rd 1983.

## INDIRA'S LAST WALK



"I want Rajiv to come into politics", said the then Union Home Minister, Giani Zail Singh. "He is the fittest person — intelligent, polite". Even the industrialists and businessmen were scrambling on the band wagon to woo the "reluctant bridegroom", and they succeeded in drawing him out to his first public function, at the Taj Mahal Hotel in Bombay...

To assess Rajiv's position, the Indian Institute of Public Opinion juxtaposed him against Atal Behari Vajpayee, who had emerged as the highest scorer in a Gallup Poll of the opposition leaders. The result — Rajiv Gandhi emerged with a higher score than Vajpayee, 67 against 58....

That was in 1983. The Bombay journal, GENTLEMAN ran a cover story on Rajiv Gandhi in its May issue this year under the title — TAKING CHARGE. The editor's

note introducing the feature said — "Over the past few months Rajiv Gandhi's imprimatur on national politics has been increasingly visible. He is, in theory one of the four all India Congress Committee (AICC) General Secretaries. In practice he is the P.M.'s direct second-in-command and oversees the Ministries of External affairs, Civil Aviation and tourism and of course Information.

A former Indian Airlines pilot, Rajiv's style of functioning is starkly different from his late brother Sanjay's. While the latter was brusque, abrasive and autocratic, Rajiv is soft-spoken, polite and modest. But the velvet glove hides a fist of steel. Rajiv's mild exterior masks a toughness most people are only now beginning to discern....

Here is an extract from the cover story —

There is a palpable feeling now in New Delhi that Rajiv Gandhi — the reluctant political debutante, the nice guy who everyone thought was too soft and too honest to succeed in the hurly-burly of Indian politics — could actually prove his critics wrong. For in the past few months he has shown an ability to learn the ropes of an alien craft — politics — quickly and an aptitude for American-style management savvy. The combination has made him both a more respected and a more effective political leader than brother Sanjay ever was. Those who now speak of him as a future Prime Minister (perhaps as early as 1987 when Mrs. Gandhi, who will then be 70, is expected to "abdicate" in his favour) do so with sober realism. (!)

## 5 NOVEMBER 20.

Sri Lanka government security forces suffer unprecedented casualties in Jaffna. About 60 Policemen killed in Chavakachcheri and an estimated 60-70 Army men killed a few hours later, a few miles away, at Kaithady. (The news of the second incident was completely suppressed by the government).

Both "operations" were claimed by the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO).

The international Reuter news agency quoted a government report which described the attack on the Chavakachcheri Police Station as the biggest raid ever staged by the separatists.

According to the statement, the raid began with a 14-year-old boy telling the sentry at the locked entrance to the police station compound that he wanted to report the loss of his identity card.

When the sentry opened the gate, about 35 rebels dressed in military-style uniforms rushed across the road into the compound from their hiding places in a nearby market.

They opened fire on the station, giving another band of about 100 rebels time to sprint into the compound, it said.

The two groups hurled hand grenades and fired machine guns and shotguns at the 40 policemen inside the building.

Simultaneously, a stolen Sri Lanka Electricity Board truck loaded with sandbags around explosives was driven into the compound. Three militants jumped down from the truck and threw several sticks of the explosive gellignite at the station, adding to the uproar. Having done that, they laid out wire from the truck to a van parked outside the walls of the com-

pound and connected the wires to a detonator in the vehicle. As the militants withdrew from the scene, seconds later the truck exploded bringing down the 2-storeyed police station.

According to the Reuter report, a Tamil Inspector by the name of Subramaniam, who had obviously rushed to Colombo, soon after the incident had said that one hour later a group of about 60 school children aged from 13-16 and dressed in blue shorts and white shirts, had stormed into the compound. (Why army re-inforcements could not reach the spot within that one hour was not mentioned). According to this Inspector, this young band of school boys took weapons from police trapped under the rubble and opened fire on them. They also ransacked the compound. Reuters sourced this information to the government itself and one Indian news paper "Indian Express" head lined this news item — IT WAS CHILD S PLAY FOR THEM!

While the attack on the Chavakachcheri Police Station took place at 2.10 p.m., all attempts by army detachments to reach Chavakachcheri that day had ended in failure. One such attempt between five and six in the evening ended in a complete disaster for one army convoy. Three armoured cars and three trucks consisting of a contingent of 70 men ran into a area which was heavily mined. Caught up on a stretch of road between Navatkuli and Kaithady where land mines exploded at nearly 15 different points, causing huge craters on the road, the entire convoy was ambushed and destroyed. While army casualties could range from 60-70, all six army vehicles were immobilised (Residents of Palali and Vasavilan had on the following day seen three damaged armoured cars being towed towards the Palali army camp).

## NOVEMBER 21.

An army detachment which rushed from Anuradhapura in the direction of Chavakachcheri, runs into another ambush by Tamil militants in a place called Eluthumadduval, makes a quick tactical withdrawal after suffering a few casualties. The detachment was later reported to have driven back (nearly 100 miles) to Anuradhapura and on the rebound killed two innocent Tamil public officers, an electrical Engineer and foreman, Yoganathan and Ponnambalam, who were employed under the government in the predominant Sinhala majority area.

With reports of the Jaffna incident trickling into the Southern areas and Colombo, various isolated incidents reported: of burning of Tamil shops in Colombo, Matale and Wellawatte. One Muslim-owned shop Thumbirigasaya in Colombo was completely gutted apparently on the mistaken belief that the previous Tamil owner had still an interest in the business. One Tamil who came out of the People's Bank at Darley Road near Gamini Theatre after encashing a cheque was shot dead by the bank's security guard without any provocation.

Government, fearful of a violent backlash in the south and Colombo imposes a 36 hour all-Island curfew until morning of Friday.

## NOVEMBER 22.

Whole-day curfew in force throughout the island. Schools, businesses and offices closed. No buses, or trains. Government takes measures to seal off the northern Tamil region from rest of the island. In Jaffna, army remains immobilized. Despite curfew, and in absence of curfew-enforcing machinery some public activity reported.



# The Eelam Economy – II

continued from the previous issue

**Satchi Ponnambalam**

*Author of SRI LANKA: THE NATIONAL QUESTION AND THE TAMIL LIBERATION STRUGGLE (Tamil Information Centre) and DEPENDENT CAPITALISM IN CRISIS: THE SRI LANKAN ECONOMY 1948-50 (Zed Press, 1981)*

## Capacity, Prospects and Constraints



*Eelam landscape, Atchuvvely area, in the Jaffna peninsula*

The Eastern part of Eelam consists of an undulating plain and the soil is generally fertile and at places sandy. In the Trincomalee lowlands, the annual rainfall averages 64 inches, which is relatively a large amount of rainfall. The presence of some of the best soil in Batticaloa attracted enterprising agriculturists and land speculators from Jaffna at the turn of this century. Batticaloa was indeed traditionally known as a rice-surplus area, so much so the Portuguese historian De Barros argued that the name itself meant "rice kingdom". The Government Agent of Batticaloa, in his Administration Report of 1915 stated that "this is one of the few districts which can support itself on its crops and also export rice".

The soil and the agro-climatic conditions of the lands around Mannar and Batticaloa are ideal for another drought resistant export crop — jojoba (pronounced ho-ho-ba), called the "miracle bean". Hence we shall consider its potential in some detail. The jojoba is native to the Sonora desert and arid sands of Arizona and California, where annual rainfall is limited to 5 inches an year. Jojoba bean is the source of an oil that is sought for its unique properties in industry, cosmetics, special waxes, proteins and the lubrication of delicate mechanisms. Jojoba bean contains 50% oil, which never gets rancid nor does it deteriorate even after long periods of high pressure, high-temperature use. Jojoba agriculture is attracting the attention and interest of investors throughout the world. The plant resists draught. According to one report: "At the present rate of growth of jojoba plantations worldwide, it is estimated that it will be 10 years before supply meets current demand — and demand is still growing".

Jojoba bushes begin to yield an income crop after the third year. The maximum yield begins at 10 years and continues for

100 years or more. According to estimates, 700 shrubs planted per acre, in the third year the yield should be 600 pounds of beans per acre, or approximately 42 gallons of oil. An acre of mature shrubs is estimated to produce 4,000 to 7,000 pounds of beans.

Costa Rica in Central America has the world's second largest jojoba planting after US and its success should be of interest. The Jojoba Oil and Seed Industries established its plantations in areas where temperature ranges from 70 to 100 degrees. The company has a capitalization of 20,000 common shares of no par value with a minimum participation of 10 common shares at \$500 per share. Each participating unit of 10 shares guarantees product yield on half an acre of planted jojoba. Similar projects in Costa Rica have been doubling of share value in three years.

Although wheat cultivation in the Island is unheard of, according to test results obtained by cultivation in 9 districts by the Bandarawela Regional Research Centre of the Department of Agriculture in 1982, best results were obtained in Jaffna, Vavuniya, Mannar and Mullaitivu. The Report released by the Centre states as follows:

"15 tons of seed of the "Sonalika" variety were obtained by kind courtesy of the FAO for cultivation in about 250 hectares of farmers' fields. Unfortunately, late planting and the unusual drought experienced during this particular season were detrimental to crop growth in several locations. Despite this setback, satisfactory results were obtained in nine districts, particularly in Jaffna, Vavuniya, Mannar and Mullaitivu.



# The Eelam Economy – II

## Results:

District	Agroecological region	Average yield (kg/ha)
Jaffna	Low-country Dry Zone	2595
Vavuniya	— do —	2150
Mannar	— do —	2010
Mullaitivu	— do —	1965
Trincomalee	— do —	1385
Nuwara Eliya	Up-country Wet Zone	1945
Ratnapura	Low-country Wet Zone	1535
Badulla	Up-country intermediate Zone	1975
Moneragala	Low-country intermediate Zone	1705

.....The highest yield of 2595 kg/ha or 38 bushels/acre was obtained in the Jaffna District”.

Despite the very promising results obtained in the four Northern Districts, nothing has been heard about wheat cultivation in those areas. What was expected by the authorities were results that would show that wheat could be successfully cultivated in the up-country areas. This was however not forthcoming. This could be seen in the conclusion to the Report, which states: "Particular attention will be paid to production promotion in the cool up country, where wheat will be introduced to the paddy fields during the Maha season wherever the cultivation of rice is bedevilled by sterility problems caused by cold weather prevailing during this period”.

With regard to rice cultivation, by proper utilization of the land and the resources, in particular by releasing the unutilized lands to the people and by several support schemes, Eelam could become self-sufficient in rice — the basic staple — relatively soon. The per capita consumption of rice is about 125 kg, and this demand could be met even on the existing land under plough with the abolition of landlordism, which is a serious debilitating factor in rice cultivation in Jaffna, Batticaloa and Wannai. The landlord does not receive rent but a share of the yield per acre. The landlord's share of tenant's rice produce is the highest in Jaffna, followed by Batticaloa. In Jaffna, it is 54% and in Batticaloa, the customary share is over 50%. Landlordism of paddy land operates as a serious constraint on productivity and the only economically justifiable course is its abolition and the handing over of those lands to the actual tillers. This age-old exploitative arrangement is indefensible and socially

oppressive and cannot be corrected by any tenurial reform short of abolition and redistribution.

In this Paper, it is not intended to cover the cultivation of subsidiary food crops like chillies, onions, potatoes, vegetables, or dairy, poultry, piggery, or the strength or weakness of the types of farming that are currently in operation or that should be adopted in the future.

In regard to mineral resources, no specific survey has been carried out in Eelam to determine their presence. The existing known resources include 4,000,000 tons of ilmenite located at Pulmoddai, north of Trincomalee and additional deposits at Thirukkoviil. Quartz, used for glass making is available in Trincomalee, Limestone suitable for cement manufacture is available in plenty in the Jaffna Peninsula, which itself is made of limestone and is underlain by a coral reef. The seismic survey conducted by a Russian corporation in the late 1960s, indicated the presence of petroleum in Jaffna, and it seems to be quite likely because of the recent discovery of large quantities of offshore oil along the Tamil Nadu coast.

This brief outline survey of the resources for economic development reveals Eelam as a land with promising prospects and contradicts the often encountered pessimists vision. The economic potential and viability of Eelam in its own right and on a comparative basis is exceedingly sound and ranks infinitely superior to those who export tea and rubber and import rice and wheat or the few countries that export bananas or peanuts only. What is important is the willingness for progressive change and those who insist on being presented with a blueprint for prosperity before they move an inch are not interested in any progress or change. Most of all colonialism had not tied up the best lands of Eelam for agro-export capitalism. Consequently, one of the greatest strengths of the Eelam economy is that the mode of production is structured around raising of foodstuffs and oriented towards satisfying the demands of the people. This provides the foundation for economic self-reliance and independent economic development. But, the fact that Eelam has the resources to build a viable economic structure is not sufficient. We must have the conviction and work to the proposition that a good life and success can be attained for all and not for the wealthy few. Though resources and man-power may exist, if their control falls into the hands of the few, then the lot of the many will only be poverty and misery. It is to prevent the resources and the means of production falling into the hands of the few that socialist ideology should be adopted and policy decisions should be directed.



# WHY ARE THERE SRI LANKAN TAMIL REFUGEES ? WHO ARE THEY ?

*The Madras Magazine 'ASIDE' carried the following letter from the Deputy High Commissioner for Sri Lanka in Madras, S. Piyasena, in its issue of October 19 - 1984 :*



"I have read with interest the Editorial report of the Meenambakkam Blast, your comment and also Shivani Mishra's report of an interview with me.

In that interview, it is said that Piyasena takes strong objection to Mrs. Gandhi's reference in her Independence Day speech that there were 40,000 Sri Lankan refugees in India. Some Sri Lankans, according to him, want to educate their children in convents in India and keep registering themselves as refugees every time they make a trip up and down."

As on who is having great regard and respect to Srimathi Indira Gandhi, before and after her becoming Prime Minister of India, I would never have taken any objection, strong or otherwise, to a statement made by her as the leader of the Nation.

However, when your correspondent asked me what my views are regarding the news of 40,000 Sri Lankan refugees are in India, I explained to her the actual position. I told her that I am signing hundreds and hundreds of certificates of affluent Jaffna Tamils who are getting their children admitted to several English Medium Schools in Tamil Nadu. They are admitted to Schools in Madras, Trichy, Madurai, Ooty, Kodaikanal and other places in Tamil Nadu. I also told her that all these Jaffna students are branded as refugees. Their parents are in Sri Lanka and they are wealthy enough to educate their children in English Medium Schools here, which is not possible in Sri Lanka as the mother-tongue is the compulsory medium. Further, even the Sinhalese affluent parents will also try to do this if they are also entertained by any State

Governments in India. These children, I pointed out to your reporter, go home during holidays and return and re-register as fresh refugees. The number of refugees in camps are less than 2000. Therefore I said my estimate cannot exceed 4000. I also told her that the Tamils from Eastern Province, Mannar, Vavuniya and the large Plantation areas are hardly trying to get admission because they cannot afford to educate their children in India.

Apart from the students there are so many businessmen and others who hold refugee visas travelling between India and Sri Lanka regularly."

**S. Piyasena**  
**Deputy High Commissioner**  
**for Sri Lanka, Madras**



It is obvious from Mr. Piyasena's letter that he has not met the question of who a "refugee" is. Mr. Piyasena appears also to be suffering under the confusion that anybody with any kind of affluence cannot be a refugee.

Who is a refugee? Here is a widely accepted definition as given by an authority on refugee situation, Sir John Hope Simpson:—

"The essential quality of a refugee therefore may be said to be that he has left his country of regular residence, of which he may or may not be a national, as a result of political events in that country, which render his continued residence impossible or intolerable, and has taken refuge in another country, or, if already absent from his home, is unwilling or unable to return, without danger to life or liberty, as a direct consequence of the political conditions existing there. In general the refugee cannot return without danger to life or liberty, though it

may be, in some cases, but by no means in all, that complete political submission to the authorities would enable him to return and live at peace. The terms political in this description is used in the sense wide enough to include religious conditions. Other features of the existence of the refugee, such as the absence of de jure national status (i.e. statelessness) may be incidental but are not essential to his quality as refugee in the nontechnical sense. He is distinguished from the ordinary alien or migrant in that he has left his former territory because of political events there, not because of economic conditions or because of the economic attractions of another territory."

Another accepted definition, drafted by ELFAN REES, a Theologian associated with the World Council of Churches, says:

"A refugee may be defined as anyone who has been uprooted from his homeland and has crossed a frontier, artificial or traditional and looks for protection and sustenance to a government or authority other than his former one."

Among the earlier accepted international definitions was the one which said:

"A Refugee is any person who does not enjoy or no longer enjoys the protection of his government and has not acquired another nationality."



Mr. Piyasena, being a member of the ruling 'Race' and a paid servant of his government might not be able to see it that way, but according to the last mentioned definition, over three million Tamils in Sri Lanka, both within and outside the shores of that Island, have automatically become refugees on the simple count that they 'no longer enjoy the protection of their government'. Those 40,000 out of those three million who are in Tamil Nadu and who have been driven to the position of seeking safety and sanctuary there because the government in their own country does no longer protect them, are obviously not expecting Mr. Piyasena to sign certificates for them, nor is Mr. Piyasena's signature necessary to getting admission to 'English-medium Schools in Tamil Nadu'.

Mr. Piyasena might not also be aware of other broader definitions drawn up in the post World War II period and setting forth the factors which contribute to the refugee problem. The most widely accepted definition of a refugee at present appears as a portion of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, initially signed by twenty-six governments, but now acceded to by more than sixty.

For the purposes of that Convention, the term 'Refugee' applies to any person who —

"as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality,

membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it."

The Organisation for African Unity determined upon another definition in 1969, which said a refugee was 'any person who, owing to aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing order in either a part or the whole of his country... is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence.'

It seems therefore obvious that whichever definition we choose, the Tamils of Sri Lanka fit easily into every category.

The Tamils in Sri Lanka became refugees in their own country during times of large-scale anti-Tamil violence ever since the first major riots of 1958. They fled to the safety of the traditional Tamil homelands in the north and east until the situation returned to normalcy in the affected areas in the south. Tamil Refugee Camps were set up in Colombo by the Tamil Refugee Rehabilitation Organisation

(TRRO) after the anti-Tamil violence of 1977. The anti-Tamil violence of July 1983 was so severe and received such overt support from influential sections of the government itself that a voluntary organisation like the TRRO could not have possibly functioned. The dedicated and yeoman service performed by the members of the TRRO in 1977 and later again, in 1981 had only earned the displeasure of the government.

After 1977 the situation in the north and east had also changed radically. These areas had come under armed occupation by all the three Armed Services of the State — the Army, the Air Force and the Navy. While in the south the Tamils faced periodic ordeals of violence by mobs and hoodlums, they were facing a systematic oppression and sporadic killings by the Armed Forces in the north and the east. Thereby the Tamils were deprived of any area in the country where they could run for safety; and this explains the very massive exodus of Tamils outside the country seeking refuge and asylum into all parts of the World. Tamil Nadu, because of its proximity and because of the close ethnic and cultural ties, naturally attracted the biggest number.



It is estimated that European countries particularly Britain, Germany, France, Switzerland, Norway and Italy had attracted nearly 20,000 Tamil refugees, many of them naturally seeking means of employment as well.

## BRITAIN

Here are extracts from a Report of Amrit Wilson who examines the treatment of political refugees in Britain (NEW STATESMAN — 19 October 1984):



Three days after I had applied for asylum, two policemen from the Aliens Registration Office came to see me. They told me my petition had been refused and I was to be deported. I was taken in a car to a British Airways plane by what looked like a back road to the airport. I was shouting out that I didn't want to go and in the end the pilot refused to take off with me on board. Then I was taken to the Aliens Registration Office in Holborn and locked up for three days. All my belongings were confiscated. Then I was moved to Pentonville prison.

This young Tamil from Sri Lanka, fearful for his safety at home in a Commonwealth country, had looked for protection to Britain. He was eventually forcefully sent back, after the first attempt to put him on a plane. This time, said the man, there were five of them. He says he was handcuffed and driven to the airport where about 15 ordinary uniformed policemen were waiting.

I was forced to board a British Airways plane. I made the journey to Colombo in a state of shock. My handcuffs were kept on and two 'Aliens police' sat one on each side of me. At Colombo he was handed over to the Sri Lankan CID. Inspector Slater of the Aliens Registration Office says this was a routine discipline escort. It is a routine — including the liaison with the Sri Lankan police — which is rather different from the 'outstanding concern' for refugees recently expressed by Home Office Minister David Waddington.



*Tamil refugees flown to the comparative safety of the North*

How do you prove that you have a well-defined fear of being persecuted or killed? According to Mr. Maharasingham who has worked with Tamil refugees for some years: 'We have to provide evidence of the family being affected or the village destroyed. It is very difficult. Sometimes it is impossible. Currently there is a moratorium on deportations of Sri Lankans but really it is a farce because each case has to be dealt with individually.' For Ugandans the escape route is even more blocked. Because many Ugandans flee via Kenya, British authorities often ask them to return there and seek asylum, despite substantial evidence of co-operation between the Ugandan and Kenyan secret police.

It has been very different for East German refugees. 'Within a few weeks of martial law being declared in Poland', says Pal Luthra, who until recently worked for the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, 'the Home Office announced a blanket policy giving exceptional leave to all Polish refugees. They did not have to prove anything.' The different treatment points inescapably to the obvious: there are no objective criteria for granting asylum; policy is determined by political and racist criteria.

The political motive can outweigh narrow racism or (as in the case of Sri Lankan refugees) Britain's close relationship with a Third World dictatorship...

For those escaping persecution in Commonwealth countries there is a peculiar problem. They are too British to

British enough for free entry. In 1956 International Law brought them under the convention, but Britain refused to consider them legally eligible for refugee status until 1980 and even now there is little evidence of any chance in practice. Providing they can prove that they are refugees certain groups of Commonwealth citizens — Cypriots and Ugandans for example — are given 'exceptional leave to remain' for a limited period. Others like Sri Lankans may be given 'temporary admission' with no endorsement in their passport and no status at all in the U.K.....

## SWITZERLAND:

Here is a report on Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in Switzerland published by THE GUARDIAN, LONDON last month. The report was sent by Iain Guest from Geneva:

The Swiss Government has ignored an appeal from the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and decided in principle to repatriate 1,700 Tamils who have sought refuge in Switzerland.

The decision is one of the most severe yet taken by a European government about Tamils, who fled in their hundreds following the violence in Sri Lanka. Switzerland's new refugee law, which recently came into force, will be harshly applied.

Although each case will be decided on an individual basis, only one out of the 150 appeals so far made has been upheld.



The decision was taken at a meeting of the Federal Council, or Cabinet, and announced to a press conference later by the outgoing Minister of Justice, Mr. Rudolf Friedrich. Mr. Friedrich said that the situation in Sri Lanka was no worse than other troubled countries.

"One cannot guarantee that they would not be in danger if they return. But if that means we never sent anyone home, it would make a nonsense of our laws on asylum," he said.

The Tamils began arriving in Switzerland in 1982, and most of them are now in Bern. Many Swiss government officials have been irritated by the ease with which they have entered the country.

Mr. Friedrich's decision has been denounced by worried voluntary agencies, the more so as it is based on a report by two senior Swiss civil servants in the Justice Department which appears to show that the situation in Sri Lanka is considerably less secure than Mr. Friedrich has suggested.

Mr. Pete Hess and Mr. Urs Hadorn spent eight days on the island in August. Their

24-page report states that anyone without identity papers is picked up by security forces...

## WEST GERMANY

In West Germany a federal court decision has gone against the thousands of Tamils who have sought refuge in the country. According to a Reuter report the court refused Sri Lankan Tamils the right to claim political asylum in West Germany as a persecuted group.

The decision, regarded as a setback for thousands of Tamils seeking refuge, overturned a lower court's ruling that "pogrom-type outrages" against the Tamils by the Sinhalese majority amounted to group persecution.

A federal administrative court said a group was considered persecuted only when "the group as such is the target of political persecution and every one of its members in all parts of the country had grounds to fear likely political persecution because they belong to it."

This was not the case for most Tamils living in northern Sri Lanka, it said.

The ruling, in the case of a 31-year-old Tamil refugee, had clear implications for the estimated 4,000 other Tamils seeking refuge in West Germany this year.

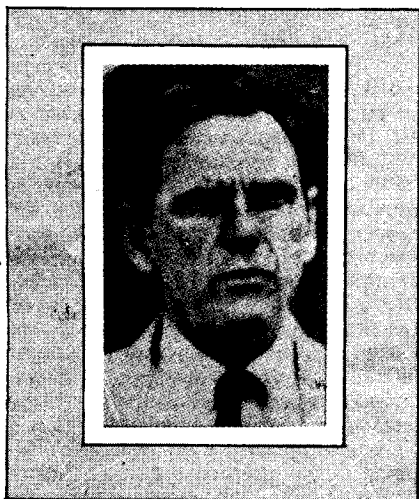
Authorities in West Berlin, whose services are overloaded by an influx of asylum-seekers, have offered to pay the fares of Tamils and Ghanaians who want to leave, but the scheme has attracted little interest.

## DENMARK

Sri Lankan Tamils are among refugees who are now arriving in Denmark at a record rate of over 500 a week, according to the Justice Ministry in Copenhagen. The steady increase in refugees seeking asylum here has put unprecedented strains on the immigration authorities and relief agencies.

The number of refugees, especially from Iran, Iraq, Sri Lanka and Lebanon has risen dramatically since Denmark liberalized its immigration laws a year ago. The Justice Ministry now estimates that Denmark will receive 7,500 refugees annually at the present rate of influx.

## Richard Murphy cements the Sri Lanka — Israeli link



What was US Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy up to, in Colombo on October 26? According to the US diplomatic sources, he had only gone there at the end of his New Delhi and Islamabad visits, to take part in the formal dedication ceremony of the new Chancery building. According to the dumb Sri Lankan Press, Mr. Murphy had also

come to shower "high praise for Sri Lanka's record as a liberal democracy".

TAMIL INFORMATION understands from diplomatic sources in Colombo that the main thrust of the Murphy mission was to drive a hard bargain with President Jayawardene: to extract a formal assurance from the Colombo government that it would eventually accord full diplomatic recognition of Israel, in the event of Washington continuing to favour the Sri Lankan request for aid under the US foreign military assistance programme. It would seem that the Murphy mission had succeeded.

Reportedly, President Jayawardene was told that the Reagan government was not fully convinced that Sri Lanka was "serious" about the Israeli interests section set up recently, and that there appeared to be some back-sliding in the Colombo stance following heavy pressure from Arab countries. Since President Jayawardene is in no position to bargain — with the mounting defence spending on fighting "Tamil terrorism" throwing his domestic budget out of gear, and threatening the island's development programme, he would be forced to opt for more and more military aid. The price to be paid, of course, would be to admit the Israelis by the front door, sometime in the near future.

President Jayawardene had apparently sought and got one assurance from Richard Murphy — that the US government would from now on turn the screws on all Tamil expatriate groups in that

country, who he believes are funding the "northern terrorists in Sri Lanka in the purchase of arms and ammunition"! Since the US government might not be able to find any evidence of such funding, it looks as if President Jayawardene has got next to nothing out of the bargain.

## C.I.A. man heads V.O.A.

A man known for his long and close association with the C.I.A., Eugene Pell was recently appointed the new Director of the Voice of America. It is believed that with his appointment, arrangements to make Sri Lanka the main propaganda base in the Indian Ocean region will be strengthened. It is known that U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy who visited Colombo recently had talks on the subject with President Jayawardene.

Eugene Pell has been known to be a diehard crusader against Socialist and developing countries of the Third World. His appointment is also expected to ensure greater co-ordination between the U.S. propaganda arm (VOA) and the subversive arm (CIA) in the international arena.

Richard Murphy was also reported to have boasted that once the new and expanded Voice of America radio station is set up in Sri Lanka on the thousand acres of virtual American territory, it "would be the biggest VOA station outside the United States!"

# THE BETRAYAL OF THE INDIAN TAMILS IN SRI LANKA

by R.R. Sivalingam



*Excerpted from the full text  
written by the author and  
published by Publications  
Division, "ISLAND" Trust,  
Trichy-21.*

AT the dawn of Independence of Sri Lanka in 1948, fifteen percent of the Sri Lankan population consisted of a people called 'Indian Tamils'. Though the Indian Tamils were only fifteen percent of the total population, they consisted of 33% of the working people of the country and over 85% of the plantation working class in the Tea and Rubber plantations of Sri Lanka. Around sixty percent of Sri Lanka's foreign exchange earnings come from the labour and toil of the Indian Tamil plantation workers. They thus occupied a pivotal position in the economy of Sri Lanka.

There was also a growing urban Tamil population of Indian origin who were the petty traders throughout the urban centres of Sri Lanka and particularly in the Pettah area of Colombo, and the main towns of Kandy, Kegalle, Ratnapura, Nuweraliya, Matale, Badulla, Bandarawela, Nawalapitiya, Gampola and Maskeliya. They were engaged in prosperous — retail and wholesale trade. There were also a few prosperous Indian Tamil proprietors who had bought and managed tea and rubber plantations.

The Indian Tamils were therefore wholly a working class people with wafer thin crust of merchants and a microscopic minority of them in the learned professions. They were educationally backward, because the plantation system had no concern for the education of the children of the plantation workers who were in turn to become the workers of tomorrow, inheriting the ignorance and docility of their parents. Even today only about 10% of the plantation women can read and comprehend even in their mother tongue. The plantation community as they could rightly be called represented

a closed community confining themselves to the plantations spread out in the higher altitudes of the Sri Lankan landscape.

The largest concentration of the plantation community was in the three Hilly provinces of Sri Lanka, at the central province with its Administrative Secretariat at Kandy, the Uva with its administrative Secretariat at Badulla and the Sabragamuwa with its administrative Secretariat at Ratnapura. Nearly one million acre of land was under tea and rubber and a one million strong plantation community created it; maintained it and worked on it. While the Indian Tamils thus actively contributed to the economic well-being of the country, their own Socio-economic conditions were probably the worst in the country.

Being isolated and ghettoed within the heartland of Sri Lanka, and also linguistically isolated from the Sinhala speaking villagers who lived in the valleys, the plantations workers were the classic example of captive labour whose life in its entirety was decided by the planters who ran the plantations as petty principalities of a Feudal Kingdom Any Social

relationship or cultural ties they had were only among themselves or with India, there was frequent travel between India and Sri Lanka in the pre-Independence days. The only ray of light in the benighted existence of the plantation workers, was the Trade Union movement, which in the forties had galvanised the plantation workers into a militant working class and they showed their anti-imperialist postures during the war years by joining hands with the Trotskyite Sama Samaja party, which carried the message of a working class struggle for liberation from the cruel exploitation by the plantation companies mostly of British Origin. The leaders of the anti-imperialist movement were Sinhalese and the Tamil Workers followed them, thus demonstrating the total absence of Communal tendencies among the plantation workers.

With the dawn of independence, things began to change and change drastically for plantation workers. They were the first community marked out for discrimination and injustice by the incipient state of Sri Lanka in 1948. It was observed that in the elections to the first parliament of Sri Lanka seven 'Indian Tamil' representatives were returned to parliament, who were the merchant middle class and trade Union representatives who successfully exploited the famed names of Gandhi and Nehru the heroes of Indian Independence, for their electoral victory. The plantation workers voted either for 'Indian Tamil Candidates or for Trotskyite candidates, both of whom were their most vociferous protagonists.

The pro-imperialist, anti-Indian Government which came to power in the first parliamentary election was that of D.S. Senanayake, who hurriedly formed the United National Party with his friends and relatives. A significant segment of the United National party consisted of the strong Sinhala Maha Sabha, an organisation dedicated to the promotion of welfare and development of the Sinhala People. Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, was the leader of this group. It was on the same plank of Sinhala chauvinism Mr. Bandaranaike broke away from the UNP and rose to power on the wave of a Sinhala resurgence in 1956.

Independence Lanka's first Government of D.S. Senanayake therefore was a mix of pro-western ideology, Sinhala Chauvinism, nepotism and anti-Indianism. The pro-western ideology of the late forties meant very strong uncompromising and antagonistic attitude towards the Marxist parties. Dr. N.M. Perera, the Trotskyite leader was the leader of opposition in the first Parliament. The Lanka Sama Samaja Party under the leadership of Dr. N.M. Perera was the second largest political party after the UNP in the First Parliament. D.S. Senanayake saw the

strong possibilities of a Marxist take-over of Government, after the very first Parliamentary election. He commenced the task of annihilating the Marxist parties and their associate organisation. His political mix therefore determined his Policies. He entered into a defence pact with Britain.

He was a christian by faith, and he became a Buddhist for political purposes. In order to pander to Sinhala Chauvinism he introduced legislation ostensibly for the purpose of defining the citizenship of Sri Lanka which in effect excluded the entire Indian Tamil population from the polity of the country. He brought an amendment to the parliamentary elections Act which had the effect of deleting all the Indian Tamil voters from the poll's register. By a single stroke of his freshly won legislative power he ostracized the Indian Tamils from the political main stream of the country. And to this day the Indian Tamils are untouchables in Sri Lanka politics.

The Senanayake Govt. was struck by the enormity of its own injustice in depriving a million people of their franchise rights, introduced another law, Indian & Pakistani Residents (Pakistan was born in August 1947, but Ceylon law of 1949, recognised 'Pakistan residents in Ceylon) who were the benefactors of the United National Party. The Second Law of citizenship (1949) was intended for purpose of granting citizenship to Tamil and Muslim merchants who supported the United National Party of D.S. Senanayake. This law was very stringently administered as to reject as many applications as possible of the Indian Tamils, particularly of plantation labour.

The Indian Tamil leaders' reaction to this curious piece of legislation was to boycott it altogether. This was a welcome reaction, as it involved a mass protest against iniquitous laws depriving Indian Tamils of their right to vote. But, one has to reckon with the character and composition of the Indian Tamil Leaders at that time. The important leaders were drawn from among the Indian Traders and landed proprietors whose interests were best served by collaborating with the capitalist Government of the United National Party. Senanayake, being a shrewd Sinhala politician had 'unofficially' made it known to the Indian Tamil Leadership, that they will be considered for nominations to parliament, if they called off their boycott which was beginning to prove embarrassing to the Govt. By these strategies the Indian Tamil leaders were persuaded to call off the boycott at the last moment. The Govt. which persuaded to them to call off the boycott did not even extend the time limit for receiving the applications for citizenship under the new law. These shamefaced Indian leaders, rushed

through hundreds of thousands of applications within a few months and most of which were erroneously filed and were easily rejected. This was the second betrayal of the Indian Tamils, by their own leaders who for their selfish interests, went through the drama of applying for citizenship. This law and its procedures and its stringent qualifications for citizenships is the greatest fraud perpetrated on the Indian Tamils by the Ceylon Govt., notwithstanding India's professed concern and popular outrage of the plantation people.

The ultimate outcome of the law was grant of citizenship to the rich Indian merchants and 'Pakistani' merchants, and the co-operative Indian Tamil leaders, were periodically 'nominated' by the Govt. to represent the plantation people, who were about a million in 1964 (15 years after the second citizenship Law) and had no vote but were continued to be exploited as 'stateless' labour. This great event of successfully ostracising nearly a million plantation workers from the political mainstream of Sri Lanka was not remembered when Sri Lanka officially celebrated fifty years of Universal franchise in 1982.

(to be continued)

## More Chinese naval craft for Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka will get five more Chinese naval craft by the end of the year, according to the London — based Jane's Defence Weekly.

The deal was concluded during President Jayawardene's visit to China in May last, it said.

In Beijing, the Sri Lankan President had denied he was seeking arms from China, but appreciated the useful role played by the patrol boats earlier gifted by China in curbing what he called 'illegal immigration'.

The Sri Lankan navy already has five Chinese 'Shanghai-11' class fast attack craft besides two large patrol craft capable of offshore operations and 22 coastal patrol craft.

Colombo is keen to acquire another eight small and medium vessels for its navy, reports from West European ship-building sources have said.

A supplementary budget of rupees 168 million has been granted to buy three ships to police the waters separating the island from India, following the declaration of a 140-mile 'surveillance zone' by Sri Lanka in early April.

# U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

## COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

### Opening Statement by Chairman Stephen J. Solarz:—

*Opening statement — Sri Lanka hearing — August 2, 1984  
Stephen J. Solarz, Chairman,  
subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs:—*

Sri Lanka has been one of Asia's few functioning democracies since it won its independence from Great Britain in 1948. It has held seven general elections, which have been widely recognized as being fair and honest. Further reinforcing Sri Lanka's status as a democracy is the fact that opposition political parties were usually the winners of such elections, and that the government peacefully turned power over to its victorious opponents.

Despite these achievements, Sri Lanka has suffered from decades of ethnic conflict between the majority Sinhalese Buddhist community and the minority Tamils, who are Hindus. Tamil charges of discrimination in jobs, education and other aspects of Sri Lankan life have prompted them to seek a federal state in the north-eastern part of the island where they are

the majority. Tamil pressures have in turn stimulated Sinhalese fears that Federalism would be only the first step toward a separate Tamil nation — a demand put forth by some elements in the Tamil community in recent years.

The tension between the two communities has periodically resulted in bloody riots. The most serious such episode occurred in July 1983, when the killing of Sinhalese members of the armed forces by Tamil terrorists led to widespread Sinhalese attacks on Tamils. At least several hundred people were killed and thousands were made homeless. Indeed, the violence and damage to both the economy and the fabric of society was so great that the country's promising future was called into question by many observers.

Our hearing today is designed to help us to understand the background to this tragic conflict, the issues separating the parties, and the efforts of leaders on both sides to reach an accommodation, and the implications of the conflict for the United States. We need to know if there has been systematic discrimination against

the Tamils, and if so what efforts are being made to end it. We need to know if laws, emergency regulations by the government, and the conduct of the Police and Army have deprived Tamils of their basic human rights. We want to examine the Tamil terrorist movement, the degree of support it has in the Tamil community, and whether or not. It receives external support. Finally, we need to know the prospects for a solution to the Sinhalese-Tamil conflict, for the \$75 million annually in foreign aid the U.S. is providing Sri Lanka is likely to have limited effect if the energies of its peoples are directed to fighting each other rather than toward promoting economic development.

To help us deal with these complex issues, we have: PROFESSOR HOWARD WRIGGINS from the Institute on War and Peace at Columbia University, who is a scholar of Sri Lankan affairs and a former U.S. ambassador to Sri Lanka; AMY YOUNG, Executive Director of the International Human Rights Law Group; and the Honorable HOWARD SHAFFER, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs.

### Statement by the Honourable GUS YATRON:—

One year has passed since the severe Riots that ravaged Sri Lanka in July of 1983. Outbreaks of ethnic violence between the majority Sinhalese and the minority Tamils have previously shattered the serenity of this Asian Island, but this conflict was unparalleled. Hundreds of Tamil civilians were murdered, some by the National Security Forces, and their property was destroyed. All aspects of Sri Lankan society were seriously disrupted.

The worldwide Human Rights Community was alarmed by what had transpired in Sri Lanka. Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists issued reports addressing Human Rights concerns in Sri Lanka. Appeals were made

to the Sri Lankan Government for an end to extrajudicial killings by the Security Forces, an investigation into those killings, and punishment for those who leveled these atrocities. Other major areas of concern included the wide powers of arrest and the disposal of bodies without inquest, which were provisions included in the Prevention Against Terrorism Act.

While it can be said that the human rights condition in Sri Lanka merits close scrutiny, the Government of Sri Lanka is taking some steps toward negotiating a peaceful settlement. To this communal violence. The President of Sri Lanka convened the All Parties Conference so that all factions of Sri Lankan Society

could work together to resolve their differences. The Government also repealed Public Security Regulation 15A which permitted the disposal of bodies without an inquest.

The Government of Sri Lanka faces a dilemma: how best to serve the majority of its citizenry without endangering the rights and freedoms of an increasingly polarized minority. With this dilemma in mind, I ask our knowledgeable witnesses to help our Subcommittees by providing us with more background information, ideas, and suggestions about the status of Human Rights in Sri Lanka, the growth of terrorism, and the actions the United States might take to affect this situation.



# U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES...

Statement by Councilman Noach Dear —

Good afternoon, Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you and the Committee for this opportunity to testify today. For more than a year now, the situation in Sri Lanka has been of great concern to me. I am here to offer my thoughts to the Committee not as an expert on Foreign Policy in that faraway part of the world, but as an American citizen who has come to learn a great deal about the situation in Sri Lanka; as a person who is greatly concerned about how a group of people is being treated; and as a public official who cannot understand how this country's policy can seemingly take so little cognizance of the horrors that have prevailed in that country in the recent past.

It is a learning process almost without equal. To hear a man who is a citizen of our country, a man who has saved scores of lives as a talented physician, tell of the brutal death of his father, an elderly man, a man who though a permanent resident of the U.S., just happened to be in Colombo visiting an ailing sister when the violence broke out. He was beaten to death by a mob while his wife watched on in horror. No investigation. No care. No concern. The results of these racial riots were just incredible. Some died, Tens of thousands left homeless, and not a word from our Government... so little reported in the Press. Yes, quite a learning experience indeed.

Yes, I believe that innocent Tamils have been murdered with Government acting at the very, very least as not-so-innocent bystander. Yes, I believe Amnesty International's conclusions that there have been Extrajudicial Killings in Sri Lanka; that the Government's Anti-Terrorism Laws are brutal, repressive and inherently anti-democratic; and, yes, I believe that the process of disenfranchising anyone who believes in a potential solution that is not consistent with the majority view is completely Anti-democratic and inconsistent with the reasonable goal of looking for solutions through Political and Social dialogue... not violence.

**"THE UNITED STATES CANNOT SIMPLY WRITE OFF MURDER AND SYSTEMATIC DISCRIMINATION AS AN "INTERNAL MATTER" WHEN**

**THE COUNTRY HAPPENS TO BE NON-ALIGNED AND IS WILLING TO SAY NICE THINGS ABOUT OUR COUNTRY"**

Since it may be unusual for you to see a New York City Councilman come before you on a matter such as this, let me explain how I came to be involved. Within my district is one of the truly superb medical centers in our great land, the Maimonides Medical Center. Through years of work in the community, and also as a patient, I came to know many of the people who are associated with the hospital. One of them, who has asked to remain unnamed today, became my doctor and my friend. About a year ago, when the severe violence broke out again, my friend came to me and said he had a matter of extreme urgency to see me about. He and some of his friends who were also expatriot Sri Lankans wanted to brief me on a reign of wanton terror and murder taking place in their former home... A reign of terror so brutal it seemed unbelievable. After all, I told myself, if it were that bad, the Press would report it, the Government would do something about it. Alas, I was wrong. The situation was that bad and the U.S. Government decided murder of an Ethnic Minority wasn't so terrible if the Government of that country was the first Rightist regime in a while; and the press were salivating over Central America and there is, after all, only so much space that Newspapers and TV can give to murders in faraway places.

Shaken, I set about to learn as much about Sri Lanka as I could. I was amazed to learn what I did. The pattern of racial discrimination being practiced against the Tamil minority by the Sinhalese majority is unmistakable, brutal and offensive to anyone who values the precepts of Human Freedom and Dignity found in our Constitution. The very presence of so many Tamil Expatriots who have become Naturalized Citizens of our country (and many live in my district in Brooklyn) is revealing in itself. They emigrated here so they could use their medical and professional skills... The opportunities for them in their native land had become so limited. The treatment of the Tamils is simply a tragedy of human indecency to human, and I am so very saddened by the fact that so little has been done to stop it.

Sri Lanka is not the Democratic Jewel of the South Pacific. The systematic exclusion of Tamils from opportunity proves that. Oh, some forms of seemingly democratic activity go on there, but in their definition, democracy is majority rule... And to hell with anyone else. In our definition of democracy, majority rules but also guarantees the rights of minorities... A guarantee that might have made the difference for hundreds of murdered Tamils over the years.

And so I come before you today, arm-in-arm with my friends and constituents, the expatriot Tamils of Sri Lanka, and tell you that our country's policy toward Sri Lanka is wrong and to urge you to exert your influence on the Administration and the State Department to change their views. The United States cannot simply write off murder and systematic discrimination as an "Internal Matter" when the country happens to be Non-Aligned and is willing to say nice things about our country. We should be putting pressure on President Jayawardene to move to resolve the terrible, terrible divisions within his country just as we have tried, as painful as it has been, to resolve such divisions here in our own country. We must let the Sri Lanka Government know that we will not tolerate a government that is in any way complicit in the killing of its own citizens.

We must, Mr. Chairman, tell these new citizens of our country that our Government will fight for the ideals they have come from so far away to cherish as we do... That we live in America where Freedom, Justice and Truth are paramount and that we are dedicated to their defense and protection around the world.

I thank you for giving me this opportunity to come before you today, and urge you to do what is right in the defense of Liberty and Human rights in Sri Lanka.

Thank you.

# INTERNATIONAL BRIEFS

**COLOMBO:** Robbers who broke into an ancient Buddhist temple at Mahiyangana, 200 kms. off Colombo, early on the morning of Friday 19 October, got off with three gold caskets containing Buddha's relics and other priceless antiques. The value of the gold caskets alone is estimated around 40,000 dollars. The temple is believed to have been blessed by Buddha's visit 2500 years ago.

**MADRAS:** Three weeks' bail was given by the Madras High Court on October 19 to Vigneswara Raja, one of those arrested in connection with the Meenambakkam bomb blast on August 2. Counsel said petitioner's father was critically ill in London and so he should be freed on bail to enable him to go to London. While granting bail, Justice Khader said the petitioner should execute a bond for Rs. 25,000 and also two sureties for an equal sum to the satisfaction of the Second Class Judicial Magistrate, Saidapet. After the expiry of the period, he should surrender.

**LONDON:** Lord Shinwell, Labour Party veteran, believed to be the world's oldest practising politician, celebrated his 100th birthday on October 18. Lord Shinwell, who in 1919 was jailed for incitement to riot, was London-born but represented a Scottish constituency in the House of Commons. He was Minister for Fuel and Power, Defence Minister, and from 1964 to 1977, chairman of the Labour Party.

**HONG KONG:** The concept of "One country, two systems", which is incorporated in the recent Sino-British joint declaration over the future of Hong Kong is based on China's conditions and is not an expedient measure, according to China's strongman Deng Xiaoping. Mr. Deng was reported to have said that the idea that the capitalist system in Hong Kong should remain unchanged for 50 years after 1997 was advanced in connection with the prospect that China needed 50 to 60 years to achieve modernisation. Socialism would be the main system in China while capitalism would be practised in regions such as Hong Kong and Taiwan.

**MONTREAL:** Eminent U.S. pediatrician, Dr. Benjamin Spock was arrested by police for participating in a rally in the U.S. capital against the aggressive policies of the Reagan administration. Dr. Spock's arrest took place on October 16 near the White House while he was publicly making a call for a vote against President Ronald Reagan in the November 6 elections.

**LONDON:** The pound sterling dropped below the \$1.20 mark during the third week of October and some analysts are predicting it will fall below \$1.10 mark by year end, if there is no dramatic improvement in the British economy and state of labour relations. The cut in the price of the North Sea oil by \$1.35 to \$28.65 a barrel, will, translated in revenue terms, cost the British Treasury a loss of some Rs. 1,600 crores equivalent in oil taxes.



*M. Kalyanasundaram*

**MADRAS:** M. Kalyanasundaram, MP and veteran leader of the Communist Party of India celebrated his 76th birthday on October 20. Political leaders and public men, including DMK President M. Karunanidhi, Murasoli Maran, M.P., GKNC leader Kumari Anandan, former Minister S.D. Somasundaram, Assembly Speaker K. Rajaram, and other Trade Union leaders and workers thronged the headquarters of the Tamilnadu CPI unit — Balan Illam — to greet and garland the veteran Communist leader. Other callers included TULF Secretary General A. Amirthalingam, accompanied by V. Ponnambalam and Mavai Senathirajah.

**COLOMBO:** Diplomat Azriel Karni arrived in Colombo amid tight security on October 11 to head Israel's controversial interest office. The 61-year old Karni, who left his post as consul in Tokyo, replaces Dan Matnai who left Colombo last month.

**MADRAS:** Tamilnadu would continue to press the Centre for early implementation of the Rs. 282 crore Sethusamudram Canal project. Transport Minister S. Muthusamy told the Legislative Council on October 15. Replying to questions he said, according to a report submitted by an expert committee appointed by the Centre, the project cost could be recovered within five years of its implementation.

**COLOMBO:** A dawn-to-dusk curfew is now in force in Lanka's northern waters, National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali said on October 13. Speaking at an official function here, he said the measure was aimed at preventing northern terrorists from receiving arms from south India. Another area will be allocated to Lanka's northern fishermen to engage in fishing during curfew hours. Four new army camps have also been set up in the northern area in addition to the surveillance zone, he claimed.

**PARIS:** Film Director Francois Truffaut, a leading figure of France's post-war new-wave cinema, died here of cancer on October 21. Truffaut revolutionised French film making in the 1950s. His work that won dozens of international awards from Cannes to Hollywood, was strongly influenced by the late Alfred Hitchcock. Truffaut was 52.

**COLOMBO:** Indian High Commissioner in Colombo, S.J. Chatwal has made it clear to Sri Lankan Foreign Minister A.C. Shahul Hameed that there are no Sri Lankan Tamil terrorists in India and as such the question of their handing over does not arise. Chatwal was commenting on a report published in a Colombo paper THE ISLAND quoting Opposition leader Anura Bandaranaike as saying his Sri Lanka Freedom Party when elected to office would have no problem in getting India to "sent back the terrorists taking refuge there". India was not interested in any particular party in Sri Lanka nor did it have different attitudes to different political parties there, Chatwal said.

**WELLINGTON:** The British government fears that New Zealand's policy against nuclear ships may restrict its naval operations in the Pacific, Baroness Young, Minister of State for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office said on October 19. She said after talks with New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange that she hoped British ships could continue to visit New Zealand ports. But, she stressed that Britain, like the United States, would neither confirm nor deny the presence of nuclear weapons on board its ships.

**TORONTO:** Canada's immigration policy will soon have to change and allow twice as many immigrants into the country, according to a top city official. He told the Kiwanis Club of Toronto recently that with the birth rate down it will be economically necessary to admit 200,000 immigrants a year to maintain current population levels to the year 2050. The population projections are based on the current immigration rate of about 100,000 annually and a birth rate of about 1.75 children per family.

**COLOMBO:** Is Saudi Arabia holding back the \$50 million loan promised to Sri Lanka for the Medura Oya project of the prestigious accelerated Mahaweli Development Scheme because of Sri Lanka's links with Israel? This is the question worrying the government, because the optimism held out by Sri Lanka Transport Minister M.H. Mohamed after his visit to Riyadh has had no visible result. Despite Minister Mohamed's reported assurances to Arab leaders of Sri Lanka's commitment to Arab friendship, the loan is yet to come through.

**WASHINGTON:** Indians are the 16th largest immigrant group in the United States with just over 200,000 natives of India residing here. The country continues to be a melting pot of the world, playing host to more than 14 million foreign-born residents. According to the U.S. census bureau, 155 nations, including India and Sri Lanka, are listed as home by U.S. residents born elsewhere. Long known as the nation of nations, the US population has been built primarily by immigration over the last two centuries.

**JAFFNA:** Students of several schools in Jaffna staged a hunger strike on October 10, protesting against the stationing of a Police Commando unit near Hartley College, Point Pedro. Men from this unit were responsible for the burning of the buildings belonging to Hartley College, including the school library, in the first week of September. There has been a chorus of protests ever since then, calling upon the government to shift this commando unit from the vicinity of the school, but with no result.

**COLOMBO:** A report from Colombo quoting Police sources said on October 20 that a large quantity of weapons and seven boats with powerful outboard motors were recovered in a "terrorist hide-out" in the Jaffna district a few days previously. Detonators and a stock of maps indicating strategic points were also seized, the report claimed. Police had also said that during the operation, one of the soldiers accidentally shot and wounded two other soldiers and a policeman.

**NEW DELHI:** Dominique Lapierre, the co-author of the best-seller "Freedom at Midnight" plans to write a book on Calcutta entitled "The City of Joy" and produce a film on the life of Mother Theresa. Mr. Lapierre, on a promotional tour of India along with a group of 35 eminent publishers and artistes from France and the U.S. was scheduled to call on Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Mother Theresa. The French author's love for India took personal dimension when he and his wife adopted a hope of 150 children of lepers in northern Calcutta in 1981.



*Mother Theresa*

**PORT LOUIS:** President Zail Singh of India arrived in the Mauritius capital on October 22 on a six-day State visit, the first ever by an Indian Head of State to the strategically important island. He was welcomed by the Mauritius Governor General Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister Anerood Jugnauth, prominent officials and citizens. Driving from the Plaisance airport to the Governor General's residence Le Reduit, the President was greeted by warm, cheerful crowds and school children waving Indian and Mauritian flags. President Zail Singh was scheduled to visit Coolie Ghat the site where some half million indentured labourers from India arrived between 1834 and 1923 and participated in reconstructing the island's economy.

**COLOMBO:** A major fire broke out in the night of October 16 at the Colombo Duty-free Shopping complex, causing serious damage. A police spokesman would not rule out sabotage. He said damage was estimated at several million dollars. The gutted shops contained imported luxury goods to be sold for foreign exchange. The complex, patterned on a similar one in Singapore, was opened three years ago.

**PARIS:** A senior American official has ruled out any postponement of the US pull-out from UNESCO at the end of the year, and said the chances of the Reagan administration changing its mind were "fairly slim". Assistant Secretary of State Gregory Newell said after meeting Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, Director General of the Paris-based UN agency that reform proposals now under discussion were not significant enough to force a rethink of the US decision.

**COLOMBO:** Sri Lanka Police offered a reward of Rs. 100,000 to anyone providing information leading to the arrest of those responsible for the bombing of oil pipelines in Colombo on October 8, but no arrests were made even by the end of that week. According to the Ministry of National Security the three explosions that occurred at Bloemendhal, and at Nagalagam Street "went off slightly damaging the pipeline", but a fourth one which was discovered and defused could have caused greater damage.

**MADRAS:** "It is as big as a tennis ball", said Dr. Stirling Meyer, the neurologist from the U.S. as he described to newsmen the size of the swelling in the brain of the ailing Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M.G. Ramachandran. The swelling which remains a source of concern to the doctors is around an infarct — a region of dead tissue — caused by a stroke the Chief Minister suffered on the night of October 13, after a block occurred in the middle cerebral artery, one of the three arteries supplying blood to the brain. The left side of the brain that controls the speech and the limbs on the right side of the body, was affected.

**COLOMBO:** A Tamil manager of a printing press in Kotahena was killed by unknown men on the night of October 5 and the motive is believed to be racial. 46-year old V. Pillai, manager of the Stanley Printing Press, Kotahena, was found lying gagged in a pool of blood by employees of the press who reported for work. Robbery was ruled out as nothing had been taken away. Mr. Pillai has been living in the premises of the printing press.

**DUBLIN:** The Irish Republican Army which claimed responsibility for the bomb blast at the Brighton Hotel on October 12 in which British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had a miraculous escape, said in a statement signed by P.O. Neill on behalf of the IRA Publicity Bureau: "Thatcher will now realise that Britain cannot occupy our country, torture our prisoners and shoot our people in their own streets and get away with it. Today we were unlucky, but remember, we have only to be lucky once; you will have to be lucky always. Give Ireland peace and there will be no war".

# With Universities and with Mathematics: A Long Love Affair

Valedictory Address La Trobe University

C.J. Eliezer



I have had a long innings as a University Academic. It is just over 45 years ago when, after completing an honours degree, I started lecturing at the University in Colombo, under an appointment similar to that of the present tutorship at La Trobe but with more lecturing duties.

Since then I have moved along a long road which has taken me to several countries and universities. I had an early fancy that every 5 years or so I should change my place of work and every 20

years my profession. Things have not quite worked out that way, but I have had in all 8 years in Cambridge, 13 in Ceylon, 9 in Malaysia and nearly 16 at La Trobe — with sabbaticals in Princeton Institute, University of Chicago and Matscience in India. so in 4 continents, I have worked with hundreds of colleagues, sat in thousands of committees, worked on hundreds of research problems; taught tens of thousands of students, given tens of thousands of lectures, marked hundreds of thousands of examination scripts.

My family and I have lived among and enjoyed the friendships of people of various cultures, different nationalities, many language groups, and all major religious persuasions. We have found it easy to do so because of our upbringing where we learnt to repeat an ancient Tamil couplet of 2nd century B.C. ("Puranaruru"):

*All the world is my homeland  
All its people my kinsfolk.*

## A SON OF TAMIL EELAM

Professor Christie Jayaratnam Eliezer, MA. PhD. Camb., DSc Lond., Hon.Dsc. Jaffna., Bar-at-Law Middle Temple, FIMA, was until his retirement in December 1983, Professor of Applied Mathematics in La Trobe University in Melbourne, Australia, a post he held for 15 years from the time of the founding of the University in 1968.

Educated at Hartley College, Jaffna, (the Library of which school was burnt down by Sri Lankan Police commandos in the first week of September this year) and at University College, Ceylon, he proceeded to Cambridge where he achieved the honour of becoming a Wrangler. Whilst at Cambridge he won the 1851 Royal Exhibition, the Isaac Newton award and the Charles L. Meyer award of the

United States Academy of Science. He held a Fulbright Scholarship while on a visit to Princeton Institute for Advanced Studies. He was also a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge from 1946-1949.

Next, he took up the appointment as Professor of Mathematics in the University of Ceylon, which he held for ten years. In 1959 he was appointed to the chair of Mathematics in the University of Malaya, where he served as Dean of Science and as Deputy Vice-Chancellor for four years.

At La Trobe where he became the first Professor of Applied Mathematics, Professor Eliezer also served for two periods as Dean of the School of Physical Sciences and has acted as Deputy Vice-Chancellor.

Professor Eliezer has been much involved in the activities of the

Ceylon Tamil Association of Victoria which elected him President, and more recently Patron of the Association. He has also done considerable work in broadcasting and he has been lately compere of Melbourne's 3EA Radio Tamil programme.

On retirement from La Trobe, the University has honoured him by launching an Award in his name, to be presented to one of more students in the Department of Applied Mathematics.

TAMIL INFORMATION takes the liberty of publishing extracts from his valedictory address at La Trobe. We recommend it to readers, not necessarily those interested in Universities or Mathematics, but to all those who value clarity of thought, limpid prose, quiet humour and wisdom in living.

— Editor



Now reaching that age when formal professional life terminates and one looks back and reflects, two things about that professional life stand out: One is that I have been lucky to have as a subject one which is demanding and absorbing, one with a long history and which has profoundly influenced mankind and its ways, a subject which continues to grow and bring new surprises, a thing of beauty, elegance, intellectual challenges and emotional satisfaction, and occasionally, in those lucky moments, wild emotional thrill.

The second matter of luck for me was to work in universities in various stages of development, when much of the university world was expanding into a world wide community which valued and promoted a liberal education, and intellectual activity and growth, in an atmosphere of academic freedom where universities are not subject to political control or made instruments for particular power groups. At the same time universities have been moving towards a determination not to be isolated from the world at large. I was lucky to work in Universities when they were committed to the twin concepts of Autonomous University and a Responsible University.

Thus the two worlds — the Mathematical world and the University world became early in life my professional loyalties, which with the passing of the years have mellowed into professional loves. This is the background to the title of my address.

I had occasion about a year ago to speak on the Mathematical Sciences in Perspectives at the inauguration of the Institute of Fundamental Research in Sri Lanka (1982). I think that a summary of what I said then would be useful as introduction today.

## SCHOOL MATHEMATICS

I am going to begin with some early history.

In this audience, there are many mathematicians. I am going to suggest that every one here is or was a mathematician. Some would immediately disclaim that description. At school — one learnt about numbers and arithmetic. Later one learnt Geometry, with its theorems, construction and proofs. All that was good mathematics. How much lasting influence these had on each of us, we cannot really tell, not without psychoanalysis and study of the sub-conscious. I would suggest that those influences were great, despite what our conscious memories may suggest.

Some say of their school mathematics that they hated it. Bernard Shaw in his

usual style had some pungent words. When late in life Karl Pearson convinced him of the use of statistics, he exclaimed that he realised only then that at school, instead of being taught mathematics, he had been made a fool of — with those x's, y's and other nonsenses.

## EARLY HISTORY

It is useful to recall that in the early history of man both numbers and geometry were integral parts of those processes which quickened human activity and led on to the beginnings and developments of what we call civilization. That is, the origins of mathematics are intermingled with the origins of civilization. Certain evidences of our past have been buried in the debris of ancient cities or buried within ancient languages. In recent times archaeologists and linguists have combined to dig out information and to make interpretations. The picture they give is fascinating.

Human activity quickened at the end of the last Ice Age. As temperatures began to rise, there was more fruit in the trees, and more fish in the streams. More food led to more population, which then began to cluster together for safer and better living, in villages than cities. The first cities emerged 10,000 years ago. However, the cities that came up about 5,000 — 6,000 years ago, on the banks of some great rivers, showed two new features: the invention of the wheel and development of writing. In Sumeria, on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, in Egypt on the banks of the Nile, in India in the Indus Valley, and in China near the Yangtze and Hwang-Ho, cities developed and human evolution had reached a new phase.

The analysis of ancient languages has shown that in every major language, number words were an integral part of the evolution of that language. The words for the numbers were an integral part of the evolution of that language.....

*(Professor Eliezer then went on to talk of the Plumptre Tablet, the Deductive Method, the Survival of Mathematics, the Modern Period, Geometries and Quantum Mechanics, He thereafter concluded on a personal note. The concluding part of his address follows:)*

Before I conclude, I feel I ought to add some personal comments on these interests, and how I came by them. In Ceylon I had seen very good teachers and I had begun to like Mathematics — but it was in Cambridge when my interests took definite shape.

Cambridge had a famous School of Mathematics then. There were 4 Professors, Hardy, Littlewood, Dirac, Eddington — what a great combination, with many distinguished staff members also.

In older times in Cambridge, every one who entered the University first did the Maths Tripos Part I. Thereafter one either changed to other subjects like Theology, Medicine, Law, or continued with Maths. A certain element of this was still there in my Cambridge days. Those who continued on with the Maths did at the end of 3 years — the Maths Tripos Part II, a prestigious and most demanding examination. Till recent times most of the Maths staff in British Universities would be drawn from those who had done this course. The pass list was arranged in order of merit. The best group among them were called Wranglers.

The one who came first was called Senior Wrangler. He was much honoured in British Educational life. At the graduation ceremonies of every year it was the Senior Wrangler who got his degree first. Incidentally the one who came last, but passed, got the Wooden Spoon in the same ceremony. There used to be quite keen competition for both top and bottom places.

A few years before I got to Cambridge, the system of issuing the pass list in order of merit had ceased. There still continued an old custom where the results of this particular Tripos were read out by the Chairman of Examiners at the Senate House at a time and date prescribed by Statute. I recollect that during my year, I went along with other friends from Christ's to "learn the worst" as we could say.

A story is told of Lord Kelvin famous mathematician over 100 years ago. He was Thomson in his younger days. He loved sleeping in so instead of going to the Senate House himself he sent a College servant to find out the results. Thomson still in bed as the man returned asked him "Who came second?". The memorable reply was "You Sir".

To proceed with my story. It was by a chance circumstance that Professor Dirac agreed to supervise me for the Ph.D. He usually did not take on students. The Faculty Board had informed me 3 months earlier that they would let me know who my supervisor would be — and I had not heard, and the Academic Year was almost starting. Then one morning I had a letter

from Professor Dirac in his very neat handwriting. It went something like this: As I am appointed your supervisor, you must come up and see me sometime. I lecture Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays at 10. The best time to catch me is immediately after a lecture.

I saw him at the earliest opportunity.....

That is how I got started. The succeeding years were great times. Concentrated delights, frustrations, foolishness, errors, lucky guesses or ideas that worked — all made up the Ph.D. years and later the Fellowship and lecturing years.

## THOUGHTS ON EDUCATION

After 45 years as an academic, I feel I could say something about the learning process, at any rate in the mathematical field. First, one has to have a passionate and desperate desire to understand something, to formulate a problem, narrow it down and concentrate upon it. Days, weeks, months, maybe, and result is often frustration and temporary abandonment. Then a period of incubation when the subconscious is at work. Then unexpectedly comes illumination. To take a homely example. I try to recall something and my memory does not oblige, however hard I try. Then some time later, perhaps the next day or so, I am not thinking of the matter at all, and the answer pops up. In scientific matters, those moments of illumination are the landmarks of discovery. The day Archimedes was at his bath, and ran through the streets of Syracuse, clad only in the rapture of a new discovery, should be celebrated as the first recorded version of a great moment of human emotion and illumination. It is said of Ramanujam that he would go to sleep thinking up some difficult problem, and the next morning he would wake up with a proposition in the theory of numbers or some long series expansion. When asked to explain how the proposition came to him, he would say that his Mother Goddess had explained it all to him in a dream. We may paraphrase and say that the subconscious was active during his sleep.

In the fourth stage of the learning process, one recasts the results and systematises it. Thus, the four stages are: Concentration, incubation, illumination and Systematisation.

Einstein was once asked whether his life had been of great thrills with all those discoveries. He said that when he was thinking and concentrating hard, it was pain and anguish. The pleasure came later after a new idea triggered, or when one realised the scope of what one had done.

So education without the pain of concentration and effort is no education at all. It is a fashionable trend nowadays for organised education to skip all the difficult things, and go through the motion with easy things. As parents we get concerned that whereas, education should be concerned with thought development, there is a temptation in schools to go in for thought elimination devices. Even in this age of gadgets and machines, the human being is the most intricate and exciting of all machines, and it has the further merit that it is about the only one that can be mass produced by unskilled labour with comparative little expense and so much more pleasure.

Soon after the last War, the New Maths became the vogue, especially by the persuasion of American professors of mathematical education. They said it will bring mathematics within the reach of all — a most laudable objective. Over the years it has not quite turned out that way. In some countries, they have taken advantage of the language precisions of new maths to teach the contents of the old in the new language. In some other countries the time for Mathematics has gradually dwindled and the contents have suffered.

I often wake up with a bad dream — with the image of the grin of the Cheshire Cat. In the story, the grin remained, while the cat disappeared. My bad dream is about the New Maths where the newness like the grin remains, and the contents like the cat have gradually disappeared. I say it was a bad dream. I hope it has little relation to the facts.

John Adams the historian has said: There are two educations. One teaches us how to live, the other how to make a living. We need to keep these perspectives in balance.

Any thought on the future of universities? First, about University Mathematics. I indicated before that Mathematics being an Abstract Art, there is the danger of it becoming isolated from the rest of Academia. In the 19th or early 20th centuries, mathematics made great impact on philosophy, science, education etc. Nowadays they are too isolated.

There is the need for abstract mathematics, which is essential for long term perspectives. There is also the need to be in touch with the real world. These

two aspects have to be kept in balance. While this is a matter of worldwide concern, I am confident that here at La Trobe the balance could be kept, and Mathematics will continue to prosper.

It is very pleasing that University education is now available for so many more students than they were 45 years ago. With expansion however came also some problems.

I refer to one change that has come about in universities. When I joined the staff there were very few Ph.D.'s, but now that is the norm. This is a very good thing, since academics are able to continue research, despite the pressures of other duties, having benefitted by the earlier period of intense research activity for the Ph.D. But this Ph.D. cult also encourages narrowness. Whereas a teacher of a subject should see it in its wholeness, the Ph.D. area often tends to take over.

I believe that student needs and subject progress require from staff a balanced approach.

I think also that while we love our special worlds and love the University world, we overlook that we are in the total world of life and living and cannot escape the demands, the joys and sorrows of the wider world. Universities were centres of great liberal human values, which spread to all corners of the world. Universities are homes of Good Causes, even if lost causes. Our world can have in it so much sadness and savagery. 'Every man for himself' the elephant said, as he danced among the chickens.

Many of us know of C.P. Snow and the Two Cultures. He was a fellow of the same College and so I knew him quite well. He died a couple of years ago. When I visited Cambridge soon after, I found that the Urn containing his ashes is kept on a pedestal on the edge of the old swimming pool at Christ, where there or four previous Urns from 2 to 300 years are also kept. A verse on the plinth attracted my attention. It may have been with C.P. Snow's approval or his wish. It is from a Jewish Father of 2000 years ago, Hellier the Elder. It goes:

*If I am not for myself, who am I?  
If I am for myself alone,  
who am I? If not now, when?*

### Eliezer On Ramanujan

"Among the exciting and unusual figures among the great creators of mathematics is SRINIVASA RAMANUJAN, whose short life (1887 — 1920) had the stamp of genius and greatness, though perhaps mingled with sadness and tragedy". Wrote Prof. Eliezer in a published paper of the First International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia in April 1966.

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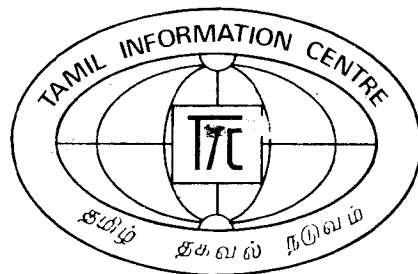
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people cannot seek their own protection.*

*Without the knowledge that Human Rights are violated  
no individual or organisation can seek to provide  
protection.*

*Both the promotion and protection of Human Rights  
therefore require that INFORMATION BE AVAILABLE  
FOR ALL....."*



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