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UNP-TULF Agreement

A Breakthrough Or Tactical Move By Government

Following the police atrocities in the northern part of Sri Lanka and widespread communal violence that enveloped the country during August-September this year, the recent talks commenced between the United National Party (UNP) Government and the leadership of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) have been hailed by some as a major breakthrough in restoring inter-racial harmony in Sri Lanka.

However some others have described in this effort as a tactical move on the part of the government and refer to the forthcoming Queen's visit as one of the motives behind the government's desire to ensure a semblance of peace and harmony in the country during the visit. They also point out the campaign that Mr. J.R. Jayawardene carried out in 1959 to successfully wreck the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayagam Pact and question his bonafides.

State Of Emergency

Whatever may be the motivations of the parties to the talks, the fact is that the country, following the declaration of a state of emergency and UNP-TULF talks, is presently enjoying a degree of relative peace. The leaders, whether they be of the government or the TULF should realise the enormous cost the people of the country have paid over the years both in terms of human life and property and dedicate themselves to the resolution of the problem. They should remember that: "Those who do not remember the past are condemned

to relive it" (Santayana, American philosopher).

It is learnt that a permanent Committee headed by the President, including several senior cabinet Ministers and TULF leaders, has been set up to keep all matters affecting inter-racial relations under continuous review. It is reliably reported that Professor A. J. Wilson, Ph.D., was recalled from Canada by the President and played a key role in the talks and in working out details. Some have expressed misgivings about the inclusion in this Committee of the Industries Minister, Mr. Cyril Mathew who has earned notoriety as the most extreme anti-Tamil exponent of Sinhala chauvinism and whose stock-in-trade is the baseless vilification of Tamil civil servants, University lecturers and businessmen.

TULF Demands

It is understood that the TULF placed five demands before the government including a demand for the appointment of an international commission to inquire into the May-June police atrocities in Jaffna, Sri Lanka. Reliable sources state that agreement has been reached on the following matters: a Home Guard to be set up to prevent communal disturbances; as far as practicable 75 per cent of the police personnel stationed in the Northern and Eastern Provinces to be Tamil speaking and extension of this principle to other sectors of government service too; operating the recently elected District

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POWERFUL PERSONS BEHIND RECENT VIOLENCE

"There is good reason to suspect that persons in powerful positions have been behind the instigation, organisation and planning of this campaign of violence" a group of opposition parties and individuals asserted in a statement issued concerning the recent outbreak of communal violence.

The statement was signed by Paul Caspersz and Reggie Siriwardene, the Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality; M. Sivasithamparam, -TULF; Upali Cooray, Revolutionary Marxist Party; N. Sanmugathan, Ceylon Communist Party; P. Hewa-batage, Janatha Sangamaya; Vasudeva Nanayakkara, NSSP; K. Fernando, Democratic National Front; Sevaka Yohan Devananda, All Ceylon Peasants Congress; Ven. Beruwala Sangatissa Thero, Vimukthi Dharmakendra; Ven. Wellawatte Gnanabhivansa Thero; - Sri Lanka Buddhist Congress; Charles Abeysekera; Kumar Rupasinghe and Prins Rajasooriya.

The text of the statement is as follows:

"The undersigned representatives of political parties and mass organisations and the undersigned persons condemn the outbreak of arson, looting, killing and other forms of violence, directed particularly against Tamil speaking people, in various parts the Island. We are convinced from the available evidence that this violence is not a spontaneous explosion of racial feeling. The vast majority of ordinary people, both Sinhala and Muslim, have remained unaffected by the persistent and organised attempts to incite them to racist violence by inflammatory posters, pamphlets and other means of propaganda. This, in fact, is a hopeful and welcome aspect of the present situation.

On the other hand, it is clear that the violence has been the work of organised gangs of thugs who have been used for sinister political purposes to stage these incidents. There is good reason to suspect that persons in powerful positions have been behind the instigations organisation

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Behind The Scenes

by Shanthi

Image Building

Embarrassed by the adverse publicity recently received in the international news media, it is reliably learnt that the Sri Lankan government has signed a contract with a Public Relations Consultancy firm located in Regent Street, London to undertake propaganda work in Western Europe and the USA.

It is said that the government has lost all confidence in the ability of their foreign missions to undertake the task of 'image building' and therefore decided to allocate thousands of pounds to project the 'good image' of Sri Lanka and counter 'hostile' propaganda in the capitals of the world.

Confronted with the story, an embarrassed but disaffected official of the Sri Lankan Foreign Ministry commented: "How can you project a good image of a bad original?"

Confidential sources reveal that the contract signed by the government with the Regent Street firm is for a sum of nearly £94,000.00 for a period of one year. The propaganda work is to cover U.K., U.S.A. and countries of Western Europe. However the firm has safeguarded itself by saying that success cannot be guaranteed.

The most interesting but intriguing aspect of the whole transaction is that the firm the government has employed is the same one which was employed by the late but unlamented Shah of Iran when he was in power to project the 'good image' of Iran and counter 'hostile' propaganda. Certainly this firm could not prevent the deposition and subsequent demise of the once great Shah. The other country which employs this particular Public Relations firm to project its 'good image' is the most hated and isolated racist regime in the world - the government of South Africa.

One assumes that the Cabinet sub-Committee headed by the Sri Lankan Prime Minister, R. Premadasa which recommended the employment of this firm must have been impressed by its credentials, credibility, clientele

and past record.

* * *

Dynastic Feud

The dynastic feud in the Bandaranaike Family has caused an open split of the main opposition political party in Sri Lanka, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP).

The split has resulted in the battle for possession and control of the party headquarters building which is being fought in the highest courtrooms of Sri Lanka with rival battalions of lawyers putting forward the conflicting claims of the contending factions, one led by Mrs. Srima Bandaranaike and the other led by her son Mr. Anura Bandaranaike and Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, the deputy leader of the party.

The split is being presented to the gullible masses as one between the 'progressive and democratic' faction of Maithri and Anura on one side and the 'reactionary and authoritarian' faction of Srima on the other. It is claimed that the Maithri-Anura faction stands for democratic control by grassroots of the party but the Srima group wants to continue with the old style of organisation in which the President of the Party, that is Srima, has absolute control. However, it is learnt that the present struggle for control of the party has nothing to do with such laudable and lofty questions of democracy or accountability in the party.

Sources close to the inner councils of the dynasty say that the seeds of discord between the mother and son were sown the moment it became apparent that Srima was going to be deprived of her civic rights. Anura saw an opportunity for the mantle of the dynasty falling upon him immediately following the deprivation of his mother's civic rights. The ambitious but not so fertile mind of Anura did not comprehend or foresee the depth or strength of the greed for power and position by his mother. He also never anticipated that his mother would use his sister Chandrika as a weapon against him.

Although Mrs. B. has been deprived of her civic rights and therefore will not be able to participate or contest in the next elections, she wants to remain and continue to be the leader of the SLFP. By remaining as leader and if the SLFP is to win the next elections with sufficient majority, she hopes to obtain the restoration of her lost civic rights and regain her position as President or Prime Minister. During the interim she wants to put forward her daughter Chandrika who will give way when the time comes. But Mrs. B. does not want Anura as leader of the SLFP because she fears that he will refuse to give way for her to regain her position at the top.

The first shots in this battle between the mother and son were fired as soon as the constituency of Attanagalla fell vacant when Mrs. B. ceased to be a member of Parliament following the loss of her civic rights. Anura's claim for nomination to his late father's constituency of Attanagalla was met with a blunt refusal. Mrs. B. offered the seat to her daughter Chandrika. Anura threatened. Mr. Luxman Jayakody became the lucky beneficiary of this mother-son-daughter dispute when he was nominated M.P. for the vacant seat.

Whither Education In SRI LANKA?

University admission to the Science Faculty this year has registered a sharp increase in the number of students admitted to the Science Faculties on considerations other than merit.

Except in Colombo and Jaffna where the percentage of concessionary admissions have been 35 per cent and 15 per cent respectively, in all other districts the percentage of low quality admissions have been very high. Even in Kandy which cannot be rated as "a deprived district" only 12 were selected on merit and 100 on basis other than merit. In Galle, out of 100 students selected, only 6 were selected on merit and 94 on considerations other than merit.

Whither Science Education in Sri Lanka?

THE BURNING OF A LIBRARY

The Jaffna [Sri Lanka] Public Library, one of the biggest in South Asia, containing nearly 100,000 books, including a rich and diverse collection of invaluable literary and historical material, some of them irreplaceable was set on fire as part of a campaign of arson, pilage and murder by sections of the Sri Lanka police force. This act of cold-blooded incendiarism resulting in the wanton and senseless despoliation of a major repository of knowledge and learning has been described as a national calamity.

'A National Calamity'

"The burning of the Jaffna Public Library on the night of 1st June 1981 resulting in the destruction of every book including several rare historical collections is a great loss not only to the people of Jaffna but also to the entire nation. The sense of outrage which all humane persons feel at the destruction of this repository of knowledge, culture and historical records would, we feel, make them want to express their concern over this national calamity and demonstrate their solidarity with the people of Jaffna, and build up goodwill and desire to undo as far as possible the damage that has been done."

Extracts from a statement issued by the Citizens Committee for National Harmony.

High ranking members of the Buddhist and Christian clergy have joined other wellknown Sri Lankans from all walks of life to support the appeal for funds to rebuild the Jaffna Library. Among these are:

Ven. Andrurupotha Gunaratne. Mahanayake Thero, Ven Pandit W. Seelaratane Mahanayake Thero, Ven Pandit Moratuwe Sranaratune Anunayake Thero, Ven Madihe Pannaseeha Nayake Thero, Pandit Akuretiya Amarawansa Nayake Thero (Principal Vidyalankara Pirivena), Ven. Buddiyagama Chandaratna Thero, Ven Baddegama Samitha Thero, Archbishop Nicholas Marcus Fernando, Bishop Leo Nanayakkara OSB, Bishop B. Deogupillal, Bishop Marcus Fernando, Bishop Lakshman Wickremesinghe, Dr. P.R. Anthonis, Dr. James T. Ratnam, LTP Manjusri, H.W. Jayewardene, QC, Iranganie Serasinghe, Harry Pieris, Henry Jayasena, Fr. Joe de Mel OMI.

CULTURAL INCINERATION

(Text of a letter written by Mr. H.A.I. Goonetilleke, the eminent Sri Lankan Librarian and Bibliographer to Fr. Paul Caspersz, the President of the Movement for Inter Racial Equality and Justice).

Dear Paul,

Knowing you as I do, I can well imagine how totally grieved and depressed you must be over the loathsome tragedy of a month ago, and I can see, from your reports of May and June this year, the concerned and resolute determination with which you have pursued your unhappy investigations, and written of them with a clinical and cleansing passion and perception.

In the entire catalogue of carnage, arson, pillage and murder which you have so courageously documented, the complete destruction by an act of calculated and cold-blooded incendiarism of the splendid Jaffna Public Library is the most wounding to the sensibility of our brethren in the North, and must outrage the humane feelings of every person in the land, whatever his political, racial or religious persuasion. Containing over 90,000 volumes, this notable library was the second largest public library in the island, and possessed a rich and diverse collection of valuable literary material, some of them irreplaceable. It was a distinct cultural landmark in the peninsula, and served the purposes of an intellectual resource centre. The wanton and senseless despoliation of a major repository of knowledge and learning is a national calamity and, perhaps, the most dastardly episode of vandalism in the modern history of Sri Lanka. The gutted building is a grim testimonial to savage and bestial tendencies of communal hate, and even more saddening and shocking is the knowledge that the blindly

chauvinist exponents of this cultural incineration were apparently operating under the sinister patronage of public sector terrorism. No level of official expiation (and, curiously enough, none has been forthcoming so far), or farfetched apologies conjured up to suit each face-saving speculation can excuse this irrational atrocity.

State-sponsored fanaticism was let loose in the city of Jaffna between May 31st and June 4th, and mayhem and terror stalked the streets, but with an implacable resolution and unmatched courage the Jaffna voter, brushing the ashes off his stricken face, administered a fitting coup-de-grace to his faceless enemy. In the indomitable spirit of this unquenched ardour, the library will surely rise again to light the way and shine like a brighter beacon. May the restitution of this gap in the national heritage become a symbolic cornerstone of amity, concord and unity between the people of the South and the North.

MIRJE has a vital and valuable role to play as a catalyst and healing agent in the long-drawn-out process of recovery of faith, hope and trust, remembering all the while that the most significant ingredient in any prescription for communal harmony is understanding, enlivened by love and steeled by fortitude in the face of continuing adversity.

Yours sincerely,
H.A.I. Goonetilleke.



The Burning Of A Library GOVERNMENT CANNOT RENOUNCE RESPONSIBILITY

"The whole nation should expiate this crime by our forces of law and order"

The Citizens Committee for National Harmony has launched an appeal to "persons of all walks of life to contribute towards a fund for the rebuilding of the Jaffna Public Library.... *We think that the nation as a whole should expiate this crime by our forces of law and order*". The signatories are: Mr. Godfrey Goonetilleke, Tissa Balasuriya, O.M.I. Prof. E. R. Sarathchandra, Bp. Leo Nanayakkara, O. S. B., Dr. Gunadasa Amarasekera, Dr. Carlo Fonseka, Mr. Norbert Mawalage, Mr. G. Kurukulasuriya, Ms. Kusala Abhayawardhana, Mr. Victor Gunawardena, Rev. Celestine Fernando, Sr. Helene Marguerite H. F., Mr. S. Nadesan, Q.C., Mr. A. Samarajeeva, Mr. H.A. Ian Goonetilleke, Mr. M.M. Mohideen, Ms. Bernadeen Silva, Rev. Yohan Devananda, Mr. Hector Abhayawardhana, Mr. K. Kanthasamy, Sr. Rose Fernando, P.H., Dr. B. Kaneshalingam, Mr. Rex Wanigaratne, Mr. Donovan Moldrich, Mr. Richard Dias, Ms. Manel Fonseka and Al-Haj S.M.A. Raschid.

A statement by the Committee also notes: "We are distressed that persons, so far undetected, have had recourse to the killing of some political leaders and police officers - 19 of them since 1977.

"It is even more sad and condemnable that the forces of law and order have also been the agents of killing and mass destruction particularly in this present instance.

"The Government itself must take its due share of the responsibility for this brutal assault by the agents of the State, even if 'the Police force in that area was on the verge of a virtual mutiny' as reported to Parliament by a Minister. No government may renounce responsibility for the actions of its agents. The country would appreciate a more responsible and sympathetic attitude from the members of the government than has been hitherto forthcoming.

"We urge the Government - to extend the terms of reference of the Commission of Inquiry that it intends to appoint to include the period up to the end of the recent Emergency and the acts of murder and destruction caused by all parties.

We further recommend that the Commission to be appointed consist of at least three members who are judges of the Supreme Court or of the Court of Appeal or retired Judges of the Supreme Court.

"Lanka Guardian"
1st July 1981

Donation From Malaysian MP

A Generous Gift of Rs. 50,000 has been made by Mr. Ponniah, the Malaysian M.P., to the Mayor of Jaffna towards re-equipping the Jaffna Public Library.

THE COLOMBO MUNICIPAL COUNCIL

The Colombo Municipal Council at its meeting on Monday 27.7.81 has decided that members should volunteer contributions from their allowances to re-build the Jaffna Public Library. The Motion was moved by Mr. D. W. Abeyakoon, an SLFP member of the Colombo Municipal Council.

Aid Pours In

The Mayor of Jaffna and the Organising Committee in charge of the restoration work of the Jaffna Public Library have been inundated with aid and promises of aid from several sources.

In response to a call made by the Bishop of Colombo the Rt. Rev. Swithin Fernando, the 100 Anglican congregations within the Colombo Diocese contributed the special Sunday Collection at the Church Service on 5.7.81 for the restoration of the Jaffna Public Library which the Bishop said, though an institution in the North was "a national wealth".

The Library was re-opened for use on 3.7.81 in the Jaffna Town Hall.

Part of the Jaffna Public Library which was burnt down will not be rebuilt, the Mayor said, but stand as a monument in remembrance of the incidents that took place in Jaffna between May 31, and June 8 this year.

be proud of the party of which I am leader.

"If I cannot it is better for me to retire from the leadership of this party and let those who believe that the harming of innocent people and property that has happened recently is the way to solve the problems that face this multi-racial multi-religious and multi-caste society, take over the leadership of the party.

"What Sort Of Animals Are These?"

"WHAT SORT OF ANIMALS ARE THESE?" cried Sri Lanka President Mr. J.R. Jayawardene referring to the widespread violence to which the Tamils of Sri Lanka were subjected to during August-September.

Speaking at the All Ceylon Executive Committee of the United National Party meeting held on September 4, the President said:

"I speak more in sorrow than in anger. Recent events throughout the Island, North, Centre and South show

that the religions we profess do not seem to influence for the good some of our people. I regret that some members of my party have spoken in Parliament and outside words that encourage violence and the murders, rapes and arson that have been committed.

"How many of our party leaders throughout the country have spoken against the recent acts of violence? What is the example we as leaders of the governing party are setting to our followers and to the rest of our countrymen? I must have reasons to

Municipal Council Calls For Inquiry Into DDC Elections

At its monthly meeting on 30-6-81, the Jaffna Municipal Council has called upon the Government to get an impartial inquiry held into the conduct of the Development Council Elections in Jaffna by an International Commission.

Among the reasons put forward by the Municipal Council for such a Commission were that the election itself was held in the conditions of Emergency declared in the Jaffna District and a curfew that ended only an hour or two before polling commenced in the Jaffna Municipal area.

The Council also states in its resolution that 150 officials who were mandated by the Commissioner of Elections as Presiding and Counting officers were arbitrarily replaced on the eve of poll by a group of "handpicked persons" who were, in many instances, not qualified for the tasks allotted to them.

Reference is also made in the Resolution to six ballot boxes which were not returned at the end of the poll to the Returning Officer and to some other ballot boxes taken to unauthorised places en route to the Returning Office.

The District Council Elections were held on 4-6-81 but the results for the Jaffna District were announced on 16-6-81.

Jaffna DC Polls-Results

| | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| TULF | - 263,369 votes |
| UNP | - 23,302 votes |
| TC | - 21,682 votes |
| Ind. (One) | - 4,151 votes |
| Ind. (Two) | - 3,455 votes |
| Rejected | - 4,328 votes |
| Total polled | - 315,999 votes |
| Total Registered | - 463,414 votes |

* * * * *

The 'Nation' Reveals: THE RIGGING OF AN ELECTION

The elections for the newly created District Development Councils in the Jaffna District, Sri Lanka were held on 4th June 1981. The massive and extensive officially admitted irregularities and illegalities that characterised the conduct of these elections were unprecedented.

The 'Nation', a weekly newspaper published in Sri Lanka has revealed the details of the attempted rigging of these elections.

A grama sevaka (Village Headman) an office messenger (Peon), several village level cultivation officers, junior clerks and assistant teachers were amongst those who officiated as senior presiding officers and counting officers at the elections to the Jaffna District Development Council held on the 4th of June. These were not officials duly selected by the Commissioner of Elections but were hand-picked by the high command of the United National Party. Altogether 150 officials picked by the Commissioner of Elections were replaced by nominees of the ruling party just before the poll.

For the first time in this country the conduct of an election was wrested from the control of the duly constituted authority and exercised by a political party. Thus, has the ruling United National Party celebrated the Golden Jubilee of universal adult suffrage in Sri Lanka.

The 'Nation' learns from reliable sources in the administration that the Commissioner of Elections Mr. M.A. Piyasekera, may tender his resignation as a protest against this Government, attempt to rig an election. Commentators observe that the exercise in Jaffna was a test run for similar plans for future elections to Parliament and to the Presidency, plans calculated to destroy the electoral franchise of the entire nation. Even in Districts such as Colombo the principle of secret ballot was violated by senior presiding officers, under UNP political direction, so to place the voting cubicles that they could observe the manner in which voters marked their ballot papers.

In Jaffna, the politically picked senior presiding officers, neither knew the procedure for the conduct of the poll nor were they able to perform their duties as counting officers.

Their very incompetence and the resistance of impartial public officers who could not be removed by Government leaders posted to Jaffna made the UNP assault on the franchise an ignominious failure. The UNP got only 7.37% of 315,999 ballot papers available on the count which took place 12 days after the date of the election. In countless general elections and by-elections in the past fifty years, to the State Council to Parliament, to the National State Assembly to numerous local bodies, not one ballot box has ever been lost or even been out of sight of responsible persons from the beginning of a poll to the end of a count.

The 'Nation' has learned the identities of the UNP nominees who replaced the appointees of the Commissioner of Elections as Senior Presiding officers and counting officers. The names of some of them and the polling stations they were in charge of are given below:

1. Lekamlage Rupasinghe Grama Sevaka Galamula G.S. Division No. 298, Kurunegala District-Senior Presiding officer and Counting Officer, polling station No. C20, Kankasanturai.
2. S.B.C. Gunaratna Banda, Cultivation Officer, Kurnegala District-Senior Presiding Officer and Counting Officer, Polling Station No. C42, Kankasanturai.

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Random Thoughts

BY RPT

CONVERSION

A theme used more than once in contemporary Tamil fiction, mostly the cinema, is the decision of the beloved son or daughter to marry against the wishes of the parents. There is then a great deal of anguish and distress. A number of emotionally charged scenes occur where threats of banishment and counter accusations of domineering attitudes are made. Non-traditional behaviour is justified on grounds of the need for and rights of self expression. There is then a near disaster where every individual's loyalty and affections are tested and found to be abundant. Reunion occurs and everyone lives happily thereafter. Could this model be used to analyse and understand a recent turbulent event that obtained the publicity it deserved.

Meenakshipuram a little known hamlet in Tamil Nadu state overnight achieved world wide publicity (TIME 1981 Sept 21). The event that caught the eyes of the media was the symbolic act of about 850 Harijans confirming their decision to convert to Islam. What happened at Meenakshipuram (now renamed Rhamatnagar) has begun to spread to other towns and villages in Tamil Nadu and to other states in India. It would be a shearing stretch of imagination to apply the theme of the cinema fiction to these events. One would be kidding oneself and no one else in assuming that much love is lost between high caste Hindus and the Harijans. Therefore to expect that long imbibed affiliation to culture would make the converts rethink their decision would be a forlorn hope.

As long as strong divisions along caste lines influence social life and the consequent problem of a low caste exists, interested parties would always attempt to exploit the opportunity offered and cause further disruptions. The response should not be to castigate the converts for being misled or lured by material gains. This would only be perceived as further insult and increase animosity. It would be more sensible to accept the conversions as each individual person's decision about his or her own spiritual life and to work on the basis that we all share a

common culture earlier linked by language and religion, now linked by language and geography.

No convert anywhere attains social equality with his former superiors by the mere act of changing religions. "Is convert free from caste grip?" asks a special correspondent writing in The Hindu. He comments "..... One of the points made by Harijans embracing Islam is that their social status will be improved. This implies that they consider Islam to be a caste - free religion. But studies by social scientists have brought out the existence of a system of social stratification among the Muslim communities in India comparable to the Hindu caste system" (The Hindu International Edition, 1981 August 15). It is unlikely that any of the recent converts anticipated that overnight he would become a social equal with his erstwhile caste superiors. The act is more a self-satisfying experience. The convert is telling himself that he is no inferior being. It is a visible protest to the outside world and a much needed self-reassurance. It is essential to acknowledge this protest and not to denigrate it.

Tamil Christians and Tamil Muslims have existed along with Tamil Hindus for centuries. They have all contributed positively to the language, culture and way of life. There is no reason why this should not continue for centuries to come. We must also be prepared to accept that there is likely to be a re-emergence of Tamil Buddhists as well. It would be foolish of Tamils in Sri Lanka not to be prepared for this. One should not equate the activities of individuals with the religious teachings those individuals are supposed to follow. In the same way as Christianity cannot and should not be judged by what goes on in Northern Ireland, Buddhism should not be judged by what goes on in Sri Lanka. It could be argued that both being 'Eastern religions' conversion from Hinduism to Buddhism should be culturally more acceptable than conversions to religions with totally different cultural backgrounds.

Mr. Morarji Desai's answer to the mass conversions is to threaten to call in the army if he were once again the Prime Minister of India and if the conversions were to lead to the call for the establishment of a new state. I wonder what he proposes to do till there is a ground swell. Authoritarians when ever and where ever they sprout find it difficult to tolerate non-homogeneity. Corporal threats and actions are their ready responses. The similarity between what goes on in Iran under Ayotalla Khomeni and what Morarji Desai proposes to do in India would not have escaped the attention of many.

Television viewers in UK were treated to the activities of a 'Maharishi' and the antics he encouraged his young followers from Western countries to engage in at Poona in India. Apparently he had discovered the existence of a 'life force' which could only be experienced by naked bodies coming into contact with each other in various contortions and establishing connection with this force. Having found the 'force' and gullible followers he suddenly vanished from his ashram to materialise in America. It requires deep meditation to decide whether to be happy or sad about 'conversions' to these peculiar forms of Hinduism.

AFGHANISTAN

Afghan rebels are receiving Soviet arms bought from Egypt by America, said President Sadat, according to news media reports. This immediately recalls to memory President Reagan's statement at the time of his inauguration that formulation of his foreign policy will be governed by the determination to control terrorism and that humanitarian considerations would play a less important role. Also one is reminded about America's support of the regime in El Salvador inspite of its atrocities in the name of combating terrorists. It would appear that new definitions are emerging. These definitions are - Insurgency is not terrorism when the rebels are supplied by America. Atrocities committed by state apparatus is not terrorism when the state is supported by America.

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Communal Tensions Pushed To Breaking Point

Sri Lanka would have liked to remember 1981 as its 50th anniversary of democracy. Instead, after unprecedented communal bloodletting over the past three months, it is likely to be remembered as the year when historically fragile relations between the majority Sinhalese and minority Tamils slipped into irreversible decline.

Ministers in President Junius Jayawardene's government openly admit that four years of painstaking effort to build bridges between the two communities have been reduced to rubble. Militants and chauvinists at both ends of the communal spectrum now hold the initiative. A week-old emergency has won a truce, but the wounds inflicted over the summer remain open and untended.

Sri Lanka's Sinhalese, who make up about 75 per cent of the country's 15m population, have through 1,500 years had tense relations with the country's Tamils. Setting aside the recent Tamil immigrants from India, most of whom work on the tea plantations, the 12m strong Tamil community (about 13 per cent of Sri Lanka's population) lives mainly in the inhospitable limestone regions of the north and east of the country. Lacking the lush agricultural lands which the Sinhalese farm in the south, they have become businessmen and traders, putting a high value on education. They are often resented in the way that Jews have been resented in Europe and Chinese in south east Asia.

Tensions have heightened since the country's independence in 1948. The declaration of Sinhalese as the national language stimulated calls for an independent Tamil state - to be called Eelam - and spawned small, elusive groups of Tamil militants which have earned local renown as the "Tamil Liberation Tigers."

The pattern of sporadic attacks in the north, mainly on Sinhalese policemen, was broken in 1958 and again in 1977 by eruptions of greater violence. But

clashes over the past three months have flared on an unprecedented level, taking communal tensions close to breaking point:

David Dodwell visited Sri Lanka recently and in this article which appeared in the Financial Times of 25.8.81 assesses the gravity of Sri Lanka's latest violence - published with kind courtesy of the Financial Times.

* Police and army personnel - mainly comprising Sinhalese officers - have for the first time abandoned their neutrality. In some cases, they led attacks on Tamil communities. It is officially admitted that they went "on the rampage" in the Tamil capital of Jaffna in June.

* Shops and homes have been burned and looted around Jaffna, and in numerous communities around Colombo.

* Tamil plantation workers, never before drawn into the violence, have been driven off 43 estates in the centre of the country. Up to 7,000 are still taking refuge in temples and schools in the area.

The Government called an emergency first in the northern areas in June, after local elections, and eventually last week across the whole country. This dramatic erosion in communal relations is a critical setback for President Jayawardene, who has over four years worked hard to bring together the two communities.

His first achievement was to woo into his United National Party (UNP) government two Tamil leaders. One of these, Mr. S. Thondaman, is the unchallenged leader of the Tamil community on the plantations.

President Jayawardene had next intended that district development council elections, held early in June, would be an important and popular concession to the Tamils of the north.

But the macabre events around Jaffna in the week before the elections ruined all Government hopes. Tamil militants first shot and killed the UNP's leading election candidate, and a few days later shot and killed three policemen at an election rally. The mainly Sinhalese police and army then went on the rampage.

As an emergency was called in the north to keep the simmering communities apart, Tamil MPs took their battle to parliament, with a vote of no confidence in the government. The response of the Sinhalese MPs was to go on the offensive, and what followed was perhaps the most racially poisonous debate in Sri Lanka's history. After two hours of pandemonium, Tamil MPs walked out and have boycotted parliament ever since.

The scene was set for the conflagration of 10 days ago, when Tamil plantation workers, mainly living in the Ratnapura area, were terrorised by local mobs for two days. Again, the Sinhalese police have been deeply implicated.

Communal acrimony is the obvious first cause of the clashes, but flames have been fuelled by the country's economic difficulties. To control inflation and budget spending, the Government has made deep cuts in capital spending programmes, welfare, health and education spending - for which Sri Lanka has long been proud

Whatever the economic environment, however, the clashes ultimately will be seen as racial. They have furnished myths to build on and martyrdoms to avenge.

In the now infamous no-confidence debate, one Sinhalese MP called for the return of the traditional Sinhalese death penalty designed to tear the offender's body limb from limb. Many fear this is exactly what the communal extremists are doing to Sri Lanka itself.

HEADLINES & PUNCHLINES

by Ravi

We have the greatest respect for the freedoms that America has won for their country and has given to the world.

-J.R. Jayawardene, Sri Lanka President (Ceylon News)

That is why the Sri Lanka Government detains people without trial; sacks 100,000 workers for merely exercising the lawful right to strike; permits its police force to burn and loot property and shoot people at random; undermines political opposition by depriving the civic rights of its leaders etc.etc.

Government takes over Sri Lanka Freedom Party Headquarters building because of the rival claims by two factions of the SLFP (Ceylon News).

Sri Lanka Freedom Party's loss is United National Party's gain...

Police protection is to be given to all foreign nationals working on development projects in various parts of Sri Lanka (Ceylon News).

But the natives should look towards the foreigners for protection from the Sri Lanka police.

Britain can learn a great deal from Buddhists to solve its social problems of social unrest and social conflicts.

-Dr. J. Lipner of Cambridge University speaking at the Sri Lanka Exhibition in London (Ceylon News).

But the frequency and regularity of communal disturbances and social conflicts show that Srilanka had learnt nothing from Buddhism.

PM glad Bonn is sending back Tamil 'refugees'. (Ceylon News)

On arrival at Colombo they will be treated to Kiri Bath, Kavun and Kokkis, and sent straight to Welikada prison.

Prime Minister R. Premadasa called upon all religious leaders to promote peace and unity among all communities. (Ceylon News)

Before preaching to the religious leaders, he should prevent his police personnel from burning temples.

For the first time in the history of the Sri Lanka Police Service, its 17,000 strong membership will don new badges and insignia. (Ceylon News).

The Badge and Insignia will certainly not depict a policeman setting fire to a library and then dancing and singing bails in the middle of street holding a rifle in one hand and a looted bottle of arrack in the other.

Citizenship And The Vote

Sir,

The feature article captioned "The Hustle At A Racist Disco Sets Off Civil War In Britain" by Rex de Silva in Weekend July 12, 1981 spotlights the marked difference between the Nationality Laws of Britain and Sri Lanka. In the concluding paragraphs of this feature, Rex de Silva states that these people (referring to Asians and other coloureds) who are asked to leave Britain by militantly racist groups like the Skinheads and National Front groups, and I quote: "Are in reality nationals of Britain.... Thus Britain becomes the only country in the world which is keen to repatriate its own nationals." It is common knowledge that some 8 or 9 years ago, Enoch Powell suggested a scheme for repatriation and a financial incentive. Now, some Parliamentarians other than Enoch Powell are advocating voluntary repatriation and a monetary inducement. The feature concludes: "This is a very sad reflection on a country which once stood for racial tolerance and democratic idealism".

The Asians referred to above have lived in Britain for 30 years or less, but Sri Lanka has some "stateless" Asians who have lived here for periods up to more than 50 years. What is their position in Sri Lanka? This year when the country is spending extravagantly on tamashas to celebrate 50 years of Adult Franchise (it cannot be described as Universal) Sri Lanka has hundreds of thousands of Asian plantation workers of so-called recent Indian origin (Asians, they are undoubtedly) who are subject to a Ceylon Citizenship Act which, it appears, was specifically designed to make it virtually impossible for the great majority of these semi-slaves from becoming citizens of this country. This was passed by the first Parliament of independent Ceylon (vide, Hansard, August 19, 1948, column 1733). On the other hand in 1931, the Donoughmore Commission representing an imperial power gave voting rights (with minor restrictions in certain cases) even to its plantation workers, spoken of those days as "coolies". The Ceylon Parliamentary

(Contd. on page 16)

THE PROHIBITED REPORT FROM COLOMBO COVER UP THAT FAILED

from Brian Eads in Bangkok

This Dispatch should be datelined 'Colombo': that it is not is a measure of the sorry state of Sri Lanka after a summer of racial violence marked by killing, arson and rape.

The report I sought to telex to London on Friday night was seized by Sri Lanka's Commissioner of Police 'on the instructions of the Ministry of Defence,' he said. I would not be allowed to send it, or any other material, and the original would not be returned to me. It appears that the decision originated with President J.R. Jayewardene himself.

The police, the army, and the President have much to be ashamed of and much to conceal from the prying eyes of the British press.

It is now established that the orgy of looting and arson in June in the northern city of Jaffna, the 'homeland' of the minority Hindu Tamil community, was planned, orchestrated and carried out by the predominantly Sinhalese Buddhist police force in the area.

Among their targets were Jaffna public library where 97,000 books burned, the offices of a Tamil newspaper, and the home of a Tamil MP.

It is also clear that subsequent violence in July and August, which was directed against Sri Lanka Tamils in the east and south of the country, and Indian Tamil tea estate workers in the central region, was not random. It was stimulated, and in some cases organised, by members of the ruling United National Party, among them intimates of the President.

In all, 25 people died, scores of women were gang raped, and thousands were made homeless, losing all their meagre belongings.

But the summer madness, which

served the dual purpose of quelling Tamil calls for Eelam, that is a separate state, and taking the minds of the Sinhalese electorate off a deepening economic crisis, is only one of the blemishes on the face of the island which the tourist brochures characterise as 'paradise.'

Since Jayewardene came to power four years ago, a system of what his critics call 'State terrorism' has brought an Ulster-style situation in the Tamil majority areas of the north and east.

Ostensibly in response to terror tactics by the so-called Tamil Tigers, who have killed 20 policemen, staged daring bank robberies and captured weapons from police posts since 1977, the Government has given carte blanche to police and army units in Tamil areas.

Hundreds have been detained without charge or trial. This year at least 156 Tamil youths have been detained and tortured, then released. Thirty-five are still held at Colombo's Panagoda army camp.

Human rights workers, Sinhalese as well as Tamil, told me that the most favoured tortures are hanging prisoners upside down over heaps of burning chillies, and inserting needles under their finger nails.

As counter-insurgency experts the world over might have told them, the strategy is counter-productive. The Tamil Tigers now number over about 1,000, some 200 of them armed, and overseas Tamil communities are looking to them rather than the mainstream politicians of the Tamil United Liberation Front.

President Jayewardene has abandoned the previous Government's 'welfare socialism' in favour of what the World Bank calls 'a bold economic experiment.' Colombo now has new

High Commission Clarifies

PRESIDENT READ IT FIRST

From the High Commissioner of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka:-

I refer to 'Sri Lanka tries to cover up riot orgy' by Brian Eads (World Report, last week) which we regard as highly prejudiced and partial.

Though Press censorship was introduced on 21 August to prevent the dissemination of false reports within the country, the Government did not interfere with the flow of information to abroad.

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cars, television, shops filled with consumer durables, telephone operators who urge you to 'have a nice day,' and call girls in the hotel lobbies. Inflation, however, runs at nearly 30 per cent, and huge shortfalls are in prospect for the budget and balance of payments.

The country is totally dependent on Western aid, Western loans, and Western investment. Some of the debt has been paid in Sri Lanka's drift from genuine non-alignment. Colombo has become the 'Western voice' in South Asia, used to counter the 'Soviet voice' of Delhi.

While human rights runs a distant third to strategic and economic interests, the prospect of civil strife will not delight western bankers and businessmen. It helps explain tentative settlement efforts which continued last week between the Government and Tamils.

The Tamil leader, A. Amirthalingam told me that agreement in principle had been reached on all demands save one - that an international body, such as Amnesty International, be invited to report on the violence. Among other things, the Government agreed to speed the recruitment of Tamil-speaking police, look into compensation for the victims of violence and slow down colonisation of Tamil regions by Sinhalese.

(Reproduced The Observer of
September 20, 1981)

Interview

PRESENT SITUATION IN SRI LANKA

by Neville Jayaweera

Q. You have been in Sri Lanka recently and spent some time. What is it that struck you most?

A. I was in Sri Lanka between the 8th August and 8th September with a two week break in India. What struck me most was the appalling nonchalance and lack of awareness among the Sinhalese people of the atrocities that were being inflicted on the Tamil community of Indian origin in the Ratnapura area. The press said little or nothing. The few people who knew about what was happening seemed to be quite content with fanciful theorising as to the causes. I learnt more about the incidents from the Indian newspapers while I was there than from news sources in my own country.

Q. The Government has admitted that the damage and destruction in Jaffna during May-June this year was the work of some sections of the Police Force which mutinied. What is your view?

A. I am glad that the government has admitted this. I myself do not believe, having studied the evidence carefully, that the government politicians actually ordered or instigated the depredations of the police. But, post factum, the government has done little or nothing to bring to book those who were responsible. The misconduct of the police, the government's security apparatus, was perhaps unparalleled in recent police history anywhere in the world except perhaps in Idi Amin's regime. If the government is unable to control its own security forces, it must confess being unable to govern and resign.

Q. Can you comment on the nature of the police attacks on the people and property in Jaffna?

A. The police would appear to have swept through Jaffna city with the fury of a tornado. There are some who make out that the whole thing was planned by some sinister and malevolent agent; some say it was some government ministers; others suggest opposition political forces in order to bring disrepute to the government; still others point the finger at a foreign agent. I have seen no evidence to

warrant any of these conclusions. I think it was a total break down of discipline and authority within the police force under conditions of stress, finding expression through the most convenient and traditional focus of pent-up emotions - the Tamils very similar to the pogroms against the Jews in pre-war Germany.

Q. Fast on the heels of the attacks in Jaffna, widespread disturbances occurred in other parts of the country during which Tamil speaking people were attacked and their properties looted and burnt. Can you say who were responsible for this and whether the Government took adequate steps in time to protect people and property?

Mr. Neville Jayaweera was recently in Sri Lanka. A former member of the Ceylon Civil Service, Mr. Jayaweera had a long and distinguished career as Government Agent, Jaffna; Chairman and Director General of the Ceylon Broadcasting Corporation and Permanent Secretary to Ministry of Information. After retirement, he worked with the Marga Institute as one of its Directors. Presently he is in London as an Associate General Secretary of an International Christian Organisation.

We publish here an interview with Mr. Jayaweera in regard to the current situation in Sri Lanka.

A. If by this you refer to the atrocities inflicted against the Tamils of Indian origin in the Sinhala areas, in August, the generally accepted view is that this eruption too was not an expression of the ordinary Sinhala masses. It was clearly the work of an organised gang of thugs who went from place to place, doing their foul works. But who were behind these thugs? Someone organised them. Unlike the police atrocities in Jaffna, I think there is evidence to justify the conclusion that the harassment of the Indian plantation workers was organised. But by whom? The curious thing is that up to now the government has not disclosed the findings of their investigations except to sack a Deputy Minister.

Q. Communal disturbances have occurred with more regularity and frequency in the recent past? Do you think that the parting of the ways has come between the Sinhalese and the Tamils?

I think basically the problem today is that on both sides two whole generations have come to maturity not

knowing each other's language, hardly meeting on common ground, sustained by emotions of hostility and virtually constituting two separate nations. The tragedy is that the policies of the past few decades have in fact created the two nations that they were determined not even to talk about! I do not support in anyway, neither do I think it practicable or desirable, to have a separate Tamil state in Sri Lanka. I think the idea is absurd. But we seem to have unwittingly created two nations.

Q. I understand that talks have commenced and a joint committee has been set up between the TULF and the Government to work out a solution to the inter-racial problem. Will this

work?

A. I hope and pray it will. But since 1956 I have witnessed how all political parties without exception including the Tamil parties have used the communal issues purely as a bargaining counter for perpetuating individual and party influence. Every party has ultimately shown itself to be cynical in this matter regardless of the human cost. Now however there appears to be again some sort of coming together by all the contending forces. We must say or do nothing to abort any positive gain that might emerge from this exercise however tempting it may be in the short term to do so.

Q. Some people have suggested that separation is the only solution. What is your view?

A. I do not think separation solves anything. Separation is only a theoretical notion. It is neither achievable nor workable. So any discussion about the merits or the case for separation is futile and a waste of time. However, I admit that the

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Opposition Parties CONDEMN VIOLENCE

HAVING ONCE LEARNT THE LESSON CIVILISED STATES SHOULD BE FORTHRIGHT AND TOTAL IN THEIR CONDEMNATION:

On the invitation of the Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE), the undersigned parties and organisations met and considered the alarming events that took place in the Jaffna District between 31st May and 8 June, 1981.

We condemn the widespread arson, destruction of public and private property, and state terrorism to which the people of this district were subjected both prior to and during the state of emergency that prevailed in the Jaffna district in this period.

More than 100 shops have been broken, burnt, looted; market squares in Jaffna and Chunnakam look as if they have been bombed in wartime; several houses have been looted and badly damaged; the house of the MP for Jaffna has been reduced to ruins (the MP himself was lucky to escape being murdered); several deaths have occurred at the hands of state armed personnel; the headquarters of the TULF in the heart of Jaffna has been destroyed; the Public Library in Jaffna - the second largest library in the island - has been reduced to ashes.

Even more reprehensible are the facts that these outrages should have taken place when Cabinet Ministers and several leaders of the security services were personally present in Jaffna directing affairs, and that a section of the security services, which had been sent there to maintain law and order, had been directly involved.

We consider that the Commission that the Government intends to appoint in regard to these events will serve no useful purpose. Appointed unilaterally by a Government whose role in these events is suspect, this Commission's terms of reference are confined mainly to discovering the killers of Mr. Thiagarajah and certain police personnel - a task that has already been undertaken by the Police itself - and excludes all events that took place under the state of emergency, as well as the charges of official rigging of the Development Council elections in the Jaffna District

on 4 June.

We consider that the Commission that the Government proposes to appoint can only help to divert attention from, and white-wash, the real perpetrators and inspirers of the outrages that have taken place, and instead to start a witch-hunt against political opponents of the Government.

We consider that any Commission that probes these events must be one whose personnel enjoy the confidence and approval of Opposition parties as well. Its terms of reference should also include specifically an investigation into—

(a) the activities and conduct of Ministers Cyril Matthew and Gamini Dissanaike who were present in Jaffna at various times during these events;

(b) the composition, political affiliations, and method of selection of the security personnel sent to Jaffna for the declared purpose of "maintaining law and order and ensuring a peaceful and democratic election", as well as the goon squads specially recruited by the party in power;

(c) who was responsible for ordering the arrest, on the morning of the

District Council election, of the Leader of the Opposition and other M.P's of the TULF; and

(d) the extensive and officially admitted illegalities, and irregularities, that took place in connection with the Development Council election in Jaffna on June 4.

We also demand that all victims of the violence that took place in Jaffna during this period are promptly and adequately compensated for the losses they sustained, and that early steps are taken to restore public property destroyed, including the restarting of a new Public Library.

We alert the people to the need to stop the growing tendency of the ruling party to abuse official power and use state terrorism against political opponents, including the rigging of elections as took place in Jaffna.

We also emphasise that unless there is a political settlement of the problems involved, based on the principles of inter-racial justice and equality, there can be no assurance that outrages such as those experienced in Jaffna between May 31 and 8 June 1981 will not be repeated.

Communist Party of Sri Lanka
Lanka Samasamaja Party
Tamil United Liberation Front
Revolutionary Marxist Party
Ceylon Communist Party
Janatha Sangamaya
Democratic Workers Congress
(Political Wing)

K.P.Silva
Bernard Soysa
M. Sivasithamparam
Upali Cooray
D. Ratnayake
T. Liyananarachchi
Paul Caspersz
President — MIRJE

(Contd. from page 6)

KAMPUCHEA

It was reported recently that further mass graves containing up to 60,000 or more bodies and skeletons were uncovered in the southern part of Kampuchea. The bodies are those of the victims of the deposed Pol Pot regime. With the gradual documentation of the way Pol Pot administration went about dealing with dissent and restructuring the social system

according to its warped thinking, it is fast competing for an equal place in human history with the nazi regime in Europe. Having once learnt the lesson condemnation at an encore. But hiding under the cover of the establishment jargon 'diplomatic propriety', the ASEAN states continue to recognise Pol Pot gang as still the legal government of Kampuchea. Sri Lanka has applied to join these states.

Present Situation In Sri Lanka

(Contd. from page 10)

natural and instinctive reaction is to think in such terms. But at the same time we have to be hardheaded and realistic.

Q. In your view what are the achievements of the present Sri Lanka Government of the UNP?

A. I believe that the J.R. Jayawardene government has been the most consequential Sri Lankan government of the twentieth century. JR of all our leaders of this century has indeed influenced history. For the first time we now have a fully dependent capitalism dependent on foreign resources. Sri Lanka has been sucked into the global capitalist system. This has brought certain superficial benefits in the form of foreign investment, liberalisation of imports and wider employment opportunities. But the cost has been equally high - spiralling inflation, mounting foreign debt, and massive balance of payment deficits. But all in all JR for good or bad has decisively broken the trend of political values of Sri Lanka since independence in 1948. He has virtually dismantled the welfare socialism of post 1947 governments. He has shown that there cannot be a sharing of the cake without baking it. But the question is that when the cake is baked who will have it.

Q. As you know the present government is following a policy of virtually unrestricted imports unlike the previous government. What is the effect of this policy?

A. Bt and large the people of Sri Lanka have become addicted to superficial consumer tastes and therefore wholly tied to and dependent on foreign commodity production. This funnels foreign inflation into Sri Lanka. And since not all sections of the community have access to imported commodities disincentives are created. Most importantly unrestricted imports have killed off most of the nascent industries like textiles and handlooms, poultry breeding, paint manufacture, etc. It will be almost impossible to reverse these consumerist tendencies without serious social tensions and even coercion.

Q. As a former civil servant and

permanent secretary with wide experience, can you comment on the success of the free trade zone and Mahaveli project?

A. The so-called gains of the Free Trade Zone have been largely illusory. Some 15,000 jobs have been created and some 180 industries have been started of which 95 are garment manufactures. Recently even the IMF has pointed out that our Free Trade Zone has merely provided the Korean and Taiwanese garment manufacturers who have exhausted their quotas in their own countries to pirate Sri Lanka's quotas. There has been no substantial transfer of technology. But there is a massive exploitation of local labour particularly of women who do not have even the minimum of trade union rights. With a deepening recession in the West the Free Trade Zone may soon disintegrate for lack of exports.

The Mahaveli project is I believe the major and most creative development programme of this government. But it will take at least 10 years before investments begin to yield substantial benefits. On the whole the government is doing a good job on the Mahaveli project.

Q. During the elections in 1977 the UNP made a great play of two issues, namely, the restrictions placed on the democratic rights of the people and corruption in public life during the term of the previous government. Has the Government done anything to improve the situation?

A. In respect of democratic rights I certainly think that with all the restrictions and curtailments the present government is doing better than the 1970-77 government. But the performance falls far short of the promise. Legally, democracy is preserved but in practice there is hardly an opportunity for serious dissent. The free press is virtually non-existent. Stories about corruption in high places are as rampant as in the previous regime, but one cannot vouch for the stories.

Q. Can you comment on the cause and effect of the split in the Sri Lanka freedom party?

A. I believe the split has little to do with politics and ideology. It is

primarily a struggle for power within the dynasty. It is a pity that the Sri Lanka Freedom Party has not yet emerged as a social force independent of the dynasty although it has the potential for being the only counter-vailing force against the United National Party. But petty dynastic wars of succession have castrated that potential.

Q. Mrs. Srimala Bandaranaike has been deprived of her civic rights. Who will lead the SLFP in the next elections?

A. The question is how many SLFPs will be there. The likelihood is that J.R. Jayawardene will call a presidential election some time in 1982 before the parliamentary election in 1983. In that election, I can believe that Mrs. Srimala Bandaranaike will nominate her daughter Chandrika to run for Presidential office and the other side will put up Mr. Maitripala Senanayake. In that case JR will win. But if they all lie low and put up Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, J.R. will lose.

Q. Not much had been heard about the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Communist Party. Do you think they will emerge again as a force in Sri Lanka politics?

A. Not in the foreseeable future. They will have to continue their 'popular front' tactics. They have both lost their mass base and are pre-occupied with sterile theoretical exercises. I believe that capitalism will thrive in Sri Lanka either under the United National Party or the Sri Lanka Freedom Party for the foreseeable future. Whether that is 'good' or 'bad' depends on one's political values.

Q. It is said that the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna [People's Liberation Front] has increased its support among the people. Do you think they could offer a serious challenge at the next elections?

A. No. They are a petit-bourgeois parliamentary party similar to the SLFP in 1951. But I do not see the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna offering a serious economic or social programme that is capable of implementation. They still confuse slogans for reality.

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Minister Admits

“POLICE WENT BERSERK”

[Extracts from the speech in Parliament by Mr. Gamini Dissanayake, Minister of Lands, Land Development and Mahavali Project].

“Let me assure you, Sir, and the hon. Members of this House that there is no doubt whatever that there was a very serious situation in Jaffna because the Police Force was on the verge of a virtual mutiny. *On the 2nd or the 3rd, virtually 200 policemen had deserted their posts, and since they were responsible for some very serious events which needed an answer.* -one possibility was that these people were going to attend the funeral of Police Sergeant Punchi Banda who was shot in the head. His Excellency the President ordered that any of these constables or police officers who are proceeding to this funeral should be apprehended so that they would be made to answer as to what happened in the course of the 31st and the 1st. Not all were apprehended. In fact, some had got news that the I.G.P. had given such an order, and we still do not know their whereabouts!

MP's House Burnt

“I do not want to enter into an argument. - (Interruption) Please, we do not want to enter into polemics on this matter. We are tracing back certain matters which happened. We got to work from that point onwards. And I say that it is not for us to discuss today whether ‘X’ did it or ‘Y’ did it. *But the fact is that it has happened and I agree with the hon. Leader of the Opposition that some damage had been done by the police. We do not deny that and we cannot contradict when he says that the house of the hon. Member for Jaffna [Mr. Yogeswaran] had been burnt by the police.* It is subject to inquiry. We do not know who did it. We cannot contradict him when he says that the TULF headquarters was burnt down by the police. But, Sir, we do not wish to be pontifical about this matter. I cannot say ‘X’ ‘Y’ or ‘Z’ did it. All I can say is that I did not go to Jaffna to have a holiday. A very serious situation prevailed there. They said that it would not be possible to conduct the poll, it would not be possible to give food. But His

Excellency the president decided, “We must go through with the poll. We are not going to postpone this.”.....

200 Policemen desert

“Then Sir, His Excellency the President was also concerned with the morale, the psychology and the behaviour patterns of the police, Two hundred police officers had left the station. We do not know who was with the government, who was against the government and I do not say government, politically, but in relation to the overall objectives of conducting a peaceful Poll in Jaffna. Now in that situation, it was correct that the Secretary and Additional Secretary to the Ministry of Defence, the Secretary to the Cabinet and I went to Jaffna.”

“I want to ask you, hon, Members of the Opposition, “Can you make an allegation here that anyone of us who went from Colombo was responsible for killing anybody, for burning a house, for looting, for stoning?” On the contrary it was only after we visited Jaffna that we were in a position to tell the Army Commander, “Do not expect any more trouble from the Police” because I myself went and addressed those people, and they were not easy people to talk to. The Hon. Minister of Fisheries will explain that when he went to the barracks he was welcomed by a loud hoot. What they said will be the subject matter, perhaps of what we would say in this House when you bring this Motion of No Confidence. I do not think, Sir, that either of us is any way afraid to meet this Motion of No Confidence because we have nothing to hide.”

Minister shocked

“We do not wish to minimize in any way the gravity of what has been done, the untold damage that has been done, to the hon. Member for Jaffna [Mr. Yogeswaran] because no amount of house building is going to give him back the house in which he grew up,

the house in which he lived and the house from which he had to run away like a criminal. I saw it and the house from which he had to run away like a criminal. I saw it and I was shocked. That is why I say in all sincerity that I hope that this kind of thing will never happen to anybody in this House. “That is the situation that prevails in Jaffna. And I think that people who are emotionally charged, *these police officers who fall outside the category of those who are regular officers of the Police, have run berserk. There was a virtual mutiny situation in the police,* and I hope that we will be able to bring that situation under control. The Secretary or Defence is going through the records of all those officers who were sent to Jaffna, because some have very devious backgrounds. Some were recruited by the hon. Member for Attanagalla (Mr. Lakshman Jayakody) when he was in office. Some have been recommended by certain Members of Parliament in the previous Government, whose connections with well known ultra-leftist movements are well known.”

Policemen insulted Minister

“In fact, when I spoke to some police officers there, I must say that I found it very difficult to carry on a conversation with them. Some of them were brazenly insulting; they were so healed up that their attitude seemed to be “Well, if you cannot deal with the situation we will do it ourselves.” No Government can allow para-military forces to function on their own. This is something which His Excellency the President has in mind. And I wish to say that when you bring a Motion of No Confidence, I will address my mind in whatever charges that you bring in this House.

“I am sorry for the violence that was perpetrated in the Jaffna peninsula. I think we are all responsible for it. Do not run away from responsibility because when you deal with people who do not believe in the democratic process they behave in a certain way, and every conduct is followed up by a counter course of action which one never contemplates. I do not think the Inspector General of Police when he sent these police officers to Jaffna

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TAMILS UNDER ATTACK

IN LATEST ROUND OF VIOLENCE

THE AUTHOR OF THIS ARTICLE IS A CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER OF THE NAVA SAMA SAMAJA PARTY:

The Sri Lankan government of President Junius Richard Jayawardena, bankrupt and desperate, is now fanning communal hatred, with its oppression of the Tamil Nation. The Government appears to think that the Tamils can and should be frightened and terrorised into silence. Fanatical, Sinhala chauvinistic elements have put out posters demanding that the Tamils clear out of the country.

This island country is once again in the grip of mounting tension. The Tamils have lived from agony to agony, starting with the communal holocaust of August, 1977, just about a month after the UNP Government was installed in office. This was followed in 1979 by the imposition of emergency rule in northern Sri Lanka's Jaffna District which involved not only the terrorising of the people but also brutal killing of Tamil youth.

The Tamils now live in fear not only in other parts of the Island but in their own homesteads in the traditional Tamil speaking areas too. This was demonstrated by the reign of terror that was unleashed in the Jaffna District between 31st of May and 8th of June this year when police personnel and other forces in civies, together with UNP thugs, engaged in wanton and barbarous destruction of the invaluable public library, the "Eelanadu" (Tamil regional daily press) the residence of the MP for Jaffna, the Headquarters of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), bookshops, numerous business houses pharmacies etc.

Houses Burnt In Amparai

Not content with this massive destruction and downright affront caused to the people of Jaffna, the UNP Government has turned its pernicious tentacles to the Eastern Province Districts of Ampara and Batticaloa. Close on the heels of the Jaffna attack, troubles broke out on the Batticaloa-Ampara border between Sinhala and Tamil peasants. Tamils were badly attacked by thugs and

some 43 of their houses were burnt down while the security forces looked on. The victims had to flee their homes for their lives.

Now, it is deeply ingrained in the minds of chauvinistic Sinhala elements that even individual disputes or minor incidents between Sinhalese and Tamil individuals or groups should be whipped up and communal disturbances let loose. So an incident which took place recently at the Batticaloa stadium grounds between Ampara and Batticaloa students was made use of to unleash, severe reprisals against Tamils in the Amparai area.

Shops destroyed

Large numbers of shops have been burnt down and over 500 Tamils (among them Government and Corporation employees), have been consigned to a couple of refugee camps in nearby towns, while those who were badly injured are undergoing treatment at the Batticaloa Hospital. The TULF member of the Amparai District Development Council was attacked by army personnel and placed under house arrest for 12 days.

Temple on fire

Moreover, hundreds of heads of cattle belonging to Tamils have been forcibly seized, fishing boats and nets destroyed by Sinhala hooligans. A Hindu temple at Amparai was set on fire and its priest attacked.

It appears that the Government has also been partly successful in whipping up communal disturbances in other parts of Sri Lanka such as Badulla, Bandarawela, Passara, Tissamaharama, Galle Hambantota, Negombo, Ragama etc. In all these places a number of shops belonging to Tamils have been destroyed and looted and some persons killed.

MP Assaulted

The Member of Parliament for the Northern Electorate of Udupiddy (Mr. T. Rajalingam) who was among those mercilessly attacked at the Ragama Railway Station on 11.8.81 (night) had one or two of his teeth broken.

Earlier, the Anaicottai Police Station in the Jaffna district was attacked by some unidentified persons on the night of July 27th. A Police constable (Sinhalese) died on the spot and 3 other constables, a Sinhalese, a Muslim and Tamil were badly injured. Arms and ammunition were also removed by the attackers.

Following this attack the Government disbanded 6 small Police Stations and converted them into army detachments and has also deployed heavy reinforcement of army personnel ostensibly to guard all police stations and to maintain security. But, judging from past experience, it is difficult to rule out the possibility that the government is getting set for a major showdown in the North.

No confidence motion

Recently there was a motion of no-confidence in Parliament against the TULF Secretary General and Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Appapillai Amirthalingam on the alleged ground that he has acted against the interests of the country in his campaigns carried on foreign countries. The entire Opposition including the TULF, the SLFP and the CP boycotted the debate on the ground that the motion was unprecedented in the history of Parliamentary democracy and that it was not open to Parliament to debate or pass such a motion since a Leader of the Opposition cannot and need not enjoy the confidence of the government.

Chauvinism

In the one-horse race that ensued, most of the government MPs who spoke on the motion, having taken leave of their senses, indulged in the most slanderous, vituperative and downright savage attacks on Mr. Amirthalingam, the TULF and the Tamil speaking people in general. Mr. Amirthalingam was called a liar and a traitor and the MPs shouted hoarse that he should be tied to the nearest post and whipped and hurled into the

(Contd. on page 15)

TAMILS

(Contd. from page 14)

nearby Beira Lake or shot to death opposite Parliament. And these MPs also suggested that all those who agitate for "Eelam" (separate state for Tamils) should be impaled or their bodies should be torn up.

Tamils and Muslims are Aliens

Among the things they said were:- (a) The country belongs to the Sinhalese and that the Tamils and Muslims are aliens, (b) The Tamils have no right to demand "Eelam", (c) The Tamils were brought to Sri Lanka as slaves and they belong to an inferior caste as compared to the high Aryan Sinhala stock; (d) The government is prepared for war if the TULF wanted it and that the "Eelam" demand should be forgotten if the Tamils want to live in unity.

Having found that the passing of the no-confidence motion has not removed the Leader of the Opposition from Office, some government MPs are now seeking to convert Parliament into a Court (Parliament is the highest court under the Constitution) and pronounce the requisite sentence to strip Mr. Amirthalingam of his position.

Sinhalese awake!

Racist Minister Cyril Mathew, the celebrated Sri Lankan counterpart of Mr. Enoch Powell, has put out a book entitled "Sinhala people, awake, arise and safeguard Buddhism". This 352 pages in Sinhala, with some 60 illustrations, contains nothing but the speeches etc. of President Jayawardena and others from the 1950s loaded with communal sentiments, intended to arouse further prejudice and hatred against the Tamils and to reinforce Sinhala chauvinism.

According to this book several archaeological excavations had proved the existence of Buddhist shrines in early times in certain places in the Jaffna District. The idea is generally propagated that Sinhalese Buddhists should be settled on such areas even though such places are traditionally inhabited by Tamils.

Now, government circles are consid-

MINISTER COMPLAINS OF MURDER AND MAYHEM

During the recent communal violence directed at the minority Tamils of Sri Lanka, the plantation workers of Indian origin were subjected to an

ring the imposition of a ban on the "Eelam" demand. An in-competent capitalist government which has already heaped unbearable burdens on the already suffering Sinhala and Tamil masses and is unable to face up to their problems any more is wilfully distracting the attention of the masses along inflammable communal lines.

Inalienable right

The TULF had explained, and the UNP admitted in its election manifesto of 1977 that the Tamil speaking people were driven to put forward and support the "Eelam" demand due to legitimate grievances over such areas as education, employment, colonisation etc.

Far from solving these problems, the government, ever since it assumed office in July 1977, has only aggravated them. Especially in the matter of employment, President Jayawardena himself admitted in a reply to a letter from the Leader of the Opposition sometime ago that the Tamils were deliberately left out on the alleged ground that they were terrorist in their behaviour.

Moreover, the Tamil Nation has the inalienable right to self-determination including the right to secede, if they so wish. They have the right to campaign on this basis and even canvass world opinion. The Nava Sama Samaja Party is the only Sri Lankan Leftwing Party which adheres consistently to this principled position on this question.

Forming a separate state in itself will be no solution to the problems of the Tamil speaking people, but recognition of their right to self-determination, removal of all discrimination in the fields of education and employment, regional autonomy for the Northern and Eastern Provinces with powers over Colonisation and land use, are steps which will create the climate for unity rather than division of the country.

unprecedented degree of terror. Mr. S. Thondaman who is a Cabinet Minister in the present Government of Sri Lanka and also the Trade Union leader of the plantation workers made the following statement protesting at the terror and violence suffered by these workers:

"We met His Excellency the President this morning to apprise him of our deep distress and concern over the wave of violence that has been spreading over various parts of the island, unchecked, causing untold misery and hardship to various sections of the population during the past few days.

"We reiterated our position that the mob rule which seems to be the order of the day in many parts of the country should be brought to an end without any further delay, as it had already resulted in the loss of many should say so that the people worth of property.

"In spite of the assurance given by the Government, the law and order situation had deteriorated as mob rule seems to persist and the people are in a state of perpetual terror as to what will happen to them next after what they have experienced in the past.

"The very fact that even plantation workers, innocent of any political crimes, have been singled out for murder and mayhem, has created a feeling among the people that the thousands of hooligans covertly enjoy the patronage of powerful personalities.

"If the Government is unable to put an end to the mob rule forthwith, it should say so that the people themselves could take the necessary precautions for their safety and security of both persons and property: The time has now come, when the people, exhausted of all their patience want an unequivocal end to this reign of terror by thugs.

"His Excellency appreciated our position and said that he was carefully studying all reports and that he would take all measures to ensure the law and order situation in the country".

The Shut-Outs From Universal Franchise Queen's Visit And Universal Franchise

The post office seals, the neon lights, the government press, the laudatory pronouncements of religious leaders have got the golden jubilee of "universal" franchise going with a bang. The tamashas are on the cards and Elizabeth of England will be here in October for the greatest of them all.

All this celebration is naturally going to cost a lot of sterling. And the cruel irony of it all is that the sterling will continue largely to be earned by the very people whose franchise rights were assaulted in 1931 and plundered in 1949.

Many who know the story of how universal franchise came to Ceylon know that the biological and political ancestors of those who today most loudly acclaim "universal" franchise were, to say the least, unenthusiastic about any extension of the franchise to the masses from the privileged 3 to 4 per cent of the population who enjoyed it in the 1920s.

But many probably do not know that when the leaders of the people were finally forced by the Donoughmore Commissioners to give way to universal franchise, they continued successfully to oppose its full and free extension to a special category of persons: the Tamils who had immigrated to Ceylon from South India in the middle and late 19th century and their descendants, most of whom were workers on the estates of the country. (These people are misleadingly called "Indian Tamils" while in their ancestry they are not more Indian than the "Ceylon Tamils" nor, indeed, are they more Indian in their origins than the Sinhalese!)

Having lost the battle against universal franchise, the Sinhalese leaders of the Donoughmore Period were however successful in their campaign that these Tamil people on the estates and elsewhere should, in addition to domicile, also have the special qualification of a "certificate of permanent settlement" in order to

have the right to vote. In practice, most of those Tamils who got the vote got it under the ordinary qualifications of "domicile of origin or of choice" and only 2 per cent bothered to seek the extra certificate.

Procedures for the registration of these voters were therefore tightened. With the revision of the electoral registers the number of Tamil estate voters fell from 225,000 in 1939 to 168,000 in 1943. In spite of this, at the crucial Elections of 1947, the Tamil estate workers won 6 out of the 7 seats which their party contested and in other constituencies they seem to have voted for the Marxist candidates (18 of whom won seats at the Election).

This finally closed the case against the Tamil estate population in the eyes of those who opposed the estate Tamil vote in 1981. No longer would they ask these estate people to produce proof of domicile of choice or even of origin. No longer would they bother to ask for certificates of permanent settlement. There was a simpler system. Let the Tamil estate workers obtain citizenship if they wanted to vote!

But, to make citizenship difficult for the Tamil estate workers, and in many cases virtually impossible to obtain, the Citizenship Acts of 1948 and 1949 were passed. And the lid was screwed on to the coffin of franchise for the estate workers by the Parliamentary Elections (Amendment) Act of 1949 which stated simply that any one who was not a citizen would not qualify for the vote.

Our conclusion should be as clear as the daylight.

If the celebrations of the golden jubilee of "universal" franchise are to have any meaning beyond the banquets and the processions, the newspaper supplements and filmed documentaries, the neon signs and the temple bells, they should bring to the notice of all our people - especially the

CITIZENSHIP AND THE VOTE

(Contd. from page 8)

Elections (Amendment) Act of 1949 gave voting rights only to citizens and so these workers who had the vote 1931 lost it in 1948. They now celebrate 33 years of being deprived of their voting rights, with the exception of approximately 200,000 who have become Ceylon Citizens.

Today, in this democratic socialist republic, some five hundred thousand are stateless aliens. As a result of a Pact in 1964 and 1974 bearing the names of two Prime Ministers, a certain number of these hapless people are expected to leave for India as deportees or refugees, since one cannot be repatriated to a country which one has never seen, and a certain number will in the near or distant future be accepted as Citizens of Sri Lanka. The terms of the Pacts that so eminently dictated their future were never discussed with these exploited work folk. They were always merely "counted" and last week in Parliament, there was very much the same attitude (with the exception of the Member for Kalawana) to these estate workers. How do we satisfy the Declaration of Human Rights, December 1948 Article (Article 15 - Everyone has the right to a nationality) which was accepted before the Ceylon Parliamentary (Amendments) Act of 1949 and also the 1959 Declaration of the Rights of a Child (Principle 2, The child shall from birth be entitled to a name and a nationality

When will justice be done, by this Dharmista Government?

Dr. F.K.R. Aluvihare.

290, Park Road,
Colombo 5.
15.7.81.

Courtesy: Tribune, (Sri Lanka) August 8, 1981.

urban workers and the progressive sections of the Sinhala peasantry - the denial of the franchise to the Tamil estate working class and summon them to work for the redress of this injustice.

PRESIDENT READ.....

(Contd. from page 9)

Mr. Eads states that his dispatch to you was confiscated by the authorities in Sri Lanka and so he had to file from Bangkok instead.

The facts, as ascertained by me, are that a police officer obtained the dispatch from Mr. Eads for purposes of perusal and submitted it to President Jayewardene.

The President went through it and found it to be a tissue of misrepresentations but nevertheless directed the police officer to return it at once.

However Mr Eads had already left Colombo for Bangkok.

The statement that violence against Tamils was 'stimulated and, in some cases, organised by' members of the ruling United National Party, among them intimates of the President,' is a gross misrepresentation.

The President and the Government have consistently denounced the acts of violence. Some backbenchers belonging to the Government party have, however, made inflammatory speeches and the President has taken disciplinary action.

In the disturbances of 14 August, people were killed and two cases of rape have been reported. Over 1,000 persons have been remanded in connection with offences committed during these disturbances and they will be prosecuted when police inquiries are complete.

The despatch refers to hundreds being detained without trial. In fact only 35 persons are in detention under the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act.

A.T. Moorthy
W2

Brian Eads writes: My despatch was intercepted by the Commissioner of Police 'on the orders of the Ministry of Defence' after it had been seen by the President. I was told it would be held indefinitely. The figure of 35 detainees does not include hundreds detained, tortured and later released.

TULF CONDEMNS VIOLENCE

An unidentified group mounted a midnight attack on the Anaikottai (Jaffna, Sri Lanka) police station on the night 27/28 July in the course of which one constable died and two others were wounded. The group had hijacked a van a couple of hours before they struck and after shooting at the policemen decamped with 17 rifles, 2 shot guns, a sub-machine gun and a thousand rounds of ammunition.

Condemning the attack, Opposition Leader A. Amirthalingam and Tamil

United Liberation Front (TULF) President M. Sivasithamparam in a joint statement said:

"We are shocked by the attack on the Anaikottai police station and the killing of a police officer during this incident. We cannot condone these senseless acts of violence. We reiterate that political problems can only be resolved through democratic processes, and request the people of Jaffna to remain calm. We convey our most sincere condolences to the family of the police officer concerned."

MINISTER ADMITS.....

(Contd. from page 13)

thought that they would cause him such problems.

Irrational behaviour

"That is exactly why I said that there was so much of tension in the Jaffna Peninsula, there was so much of irrational behaviour on the 31st and 1st and perhaps thereafter which we were concerned with. And His Excellency the President decided to carry on with the poll. It is in that context that all the incidents in Jaffna must be considered. So, if there were any irregularities in the poll, let the Commissioner of Parliamentary Elections report on that matter. If the matter has to go to court, let it go to court. If it comes to Parliament by way of motion of No Confidence, we will face it, and I have no doubt that hon. Members of the TULF will make the charges that they have to make against Ministers or Members of Parliament on that occasion. But I wish to mention the circumstances which led to this unfortunate incident in Jaffna. I wish to say once again before I sit down that having been in Jaffna, having observed what took place in Jaffna, there was no atmosphere there for free polls. The atmosphere was one of terror; the police were not easily confined to barracks, and I think many of us who were there were concerned with the situation. The Deputy Minister of Defence was there, and we were concerned. And if we have made any errors according to you in what we have done, we are prepared to face the consequences and take full responsibility for our actions."

BOOST FOR PRIVATE EDUCATION

Some of the highlights of the New White Paper on Education, (according to news reports trickling in the Press) are:

(a) The abolition of Education Circuits and with them Education Officers. In their place will be School-Clusters with five to ten schools.

(b) Large Schools in Urban Areas will remain independent Administrative Units under their own Principals.

(c) There will be two important School Examinations, one at Grade Eight and the other at Grade Eleven - Selection for higher education will be made at this point (and not as at present at Grade 10).

(d) Tertiary Education will be expanded to include Technical Education, aesthetic studies and accountancy courses.

(e) There will be two Advisory Bodies - one at the Ministry Level and the other at the local level.

(f) The Private Sector in Education will be given encouragement.



“SLFP SUPPORTS EELAM”

Sri Lanka President, Mr. J.R. Jayawardene has accused the Sri Lanka Freedom Party of supporting the creation of a separate state of Eelam in Sri Lanka.

President, Jayawardene addressing the Executive Committee of the All Ceylon United National Party Women's Union, at Ramakrishna Hall, Wellawatte said that in Trincomalee the Tamil United Liberation Front polled 2304 votes more than the UNP at the DDC Election. In 1977, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party polled in the Trincomalee district 20, 841 votes. If one fourth of these votes had been given to the UNP in 1981, the Chairman would have been one “who did not advocate the division of the country”.

The President affirmed that Eelam had received support from the present SLFP leadership in Trincomalee and the rest of the Eastern Province.

“When they are in office, they jail the TULF leadership, govern the North and East under emergency and postpone the Chelvanayakam bye-election. When in opposition they help the establishment of Eelam.

“UNP HELPS TULF”

With the events that have overtaken Jaffna, the Tamil United Liberation Front will sweep any poll in the foreseeable future not only in Jaffna but also in the five other districts in the Northern and Eastern provinces where the UNP had gained a significant breakthrough on June 4.

The UNP has only itself to blame for this. No government can avoid responsibility for the scorched earth destruction wrought by a section of its “disgruntled policemen” and what is worse is that all this was done with Cabinet Ministers and the top brass of the Armed Forces and the Police present on the spot.

-Tribune 20.6.81.

COMPULSORY ENGLISH

A Twelve Member committee which examined closely the State of English teaching in Sri Lankan schools today has recommended that English should be made a compulsory subject at the G.C.E (O/L) and A/L Examinations.

NEW UNIVERSITY

The Batticaloa University College will be ceremoniously opened by President Jayawardene on 5.10.81. It will have courses in Science and Agriculture and will be affiliated to the Peradeniya University. The College will admit 75 students.

AID TO SRI LANKA

The 17th Conference of Sri Lanka Aid Consortium held in Tokyo on June 30 and July 1st, Sponsored by the World Bank has pledged a total of 834 million US dollars (Rs. 15,640 million) to Sri Lanka for the current year.

RIGGING.....

(Contd. from page 5)

3. M.A.Nihal Piyatissa, Peon. Kurunegala Kachcheri-S P.O. and C.O. Polling Station No. C39, Kankasanturai.

4. Warnakulasuriya George Sunil Tissera, Punch Card-Operator Department of Census and Statistics SPO C.O. Polling Station No. 12. Udupiddy

5. J.M. Abeyratne, Cultivation Officer Kuliyapitiya, Kurunegala. District-SPO and C.O., Polling Station No. C39 Kankasanturai.

6. A.M. Wimalasara, Clerk, Judicial Service Commission - S.P.O. and C.O. Polling Station No. C37, Manipay.

Several senior Presiding Officers make frank revelations in their statutory reports to the Returning officer; Jaffna District. A. C. Kumarasinghe, S.P.O. Polling Station No. 7, Kankasanturai reports that he could commence the poll at his station

only at 11.30 a.m. and that after the closure of the poll, he despatched the ballot box to the Kachcheri without counting the votes as he had no instruction on the procedure. K. Mathiyaparanam, S.P.O. of polling station in Myliddy reports that he could not complete the count at his station as he was not permitted to do so by security personnel. S.B.C. Gunaratne, the Cultivation Officer from Kurunegala also reports that he sent the ballot box from his station to the Kachcheri without conducting the count. 40 of UNP replacements for the appointees of the Commissioner of Elections were got down from Kurunegala on the morning of the election day. It is understandable that they did not know the procedure laid down in the law and in the instructions issued to proper appointees by the Commissioner. They could have known only the instructions they had received from their political instructors.

The first prong of the UNP strategy to gain at least one DC seat in Jaffna District was the direct interference reported above. The second prong was

inhuman both in conception and its consequences.

Several hundred men picked for their readiness to do anything were sent from UNP electorates to Jaffna a few days before the poll. According to informed sources they were deliberately dressed in such a manner as to deceive people into believing that UNP mobsters were policemen in plain-clothes. The UNP thus not only ravaged the area, but also sought to throw the blame on the Police. Reports from Jaffna indicate that public have not been deceived.

The UNP campaign directors posted to Jaffna for the election were Caluwadewage Cyril Mathew, Landed Proprietor, Lionel Gamini Dissanayake, Attorney at law. Matthew is often referred to as the ‘Bete Noir’ of the Tamils. The question is, was he in Jaffna to win the hearts of the Tamil voters and help the UNP defeat the TULF with his appeal to the people of Jaffna? If so he did not succeed, not even with the assistance of Lionel Gamini and Michael Festus Wenceslaus.

OPPOSITION WALK-OUT

The Tamil United Liberation Front, Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the only Communist Party Member walked out of Parliament on 23.7.81 without participating in the No-Confidence Motion on the Leader of the Opposition.

The TULF walked out when Mr. Amirthalangam's attempts to make a personal explanation failed.

The SLFP walked out because the Speaker over-ruled a motion by Mr. Maithripala Senanayake (SLFP-Madawachiya) that the No-Confidence Motion was not within the scope and ambit of the powers of the House.

The Communist Party Member pointed out that the Motion is being stultified because even it is passed, it would lead to nothing.

Following the ruling given by the Speaker on the point of order, the Motion was moved by Dr. Neville Fernando (UNP - Panadura).

The Motion was passed on 24.7.81 with 121 voting for and two abstentions. Mr. S. Thondaman, Minister of Rural Industrial Development and Mr. Shelton Ranarajah, Deputy Minister of Justice did not vote.

NEW LOOK FOR COLOMBO

Colombo is to be made strictly a residential commercial city expanding vertically over the next five years with some 180 multi-storeyed buildings.

Government Departments and Corporations will move to the new parliamentary capital of Sri Jayawardenanapura, Kotte.

Queen Elizabeth on her forthcoming visit would ceremoniously declare open the new 26 mile long Kotmale road - Jaya Mawatha - which is described as the finest highway in Sri Lanka today.

(Contd from page 12)

that is capable of implementation. They still confuse slogans for reality.

Q. Elections are due in 1983. Which party do you think will win?

A. That depends on whether the United National Party will be confronted by a single party. If a united left front headed by the SLFP can confront the UNP, the UNP will lose as ignominiously as the SLFP lost in 1977. Not even proportional voting system will save the UNP in a straight fight. The big question is whether the SLFP can provide that leadership. If the SLFP cannot provide that leadership the UNP will govern till 1984 or 85.

LSSP ON NO-CONFIDENCE MOTION

The Lanka Sama Samaja Party Leader, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva has, in a statement he made held that a Vote of No-Confidence Motion against the Leader of the Opposition by the government is contrary to Parliamentary traditions.

The Opposition Leader has always to point out the foibles of the government and criticise its policies whenever it is necessary. That is his duty. He need not enjoy the confidence of the government.

While it is possible for Opposition Parties to bring in a Vote of No-Confidence against their Leader, the government attempting to do so is not in order.

FIRST OIL WELL

The first Oil Well under the Government's Oil Exploration Programme will be drilled in Mannar this year in November. This ambitious project costing Rs. 150 million is being undertaken by an American firm.



EVENTS

* GANAPATHY TEMPLE

The Maha Kumbabishekam ceremony of the above temple took place on a grand scale on the 10th, 11th and 12th of September 1981. Thousands of devotees participated in the function and enjoyed the grace of the Lord Ganesh.

Pramasiri V. Subramania Kurukkal, the resident priest, will conduct daily poojas at 7.30 a.m. and 8.30 p.m.

DEEPAVALI LUNCH

The Deepavali Lunch organised by SCOT has been fixed for Sunday, the 25th of October 1981 in Lola Jones Hall, (adjoining Tooting Swimming Pool), Greaves Place, Off Garrat Lane, London S.W.17 at 1.00 p.m. Tickets £2.00 (adults), £1.00 (children) can be obtained from the Secretary, 01-907 6836. Kindly note that tickets will not be sold at the door.

SILAMBOLI

A Disco has been arranged for October 17th 1981 in aid of the Building Fund for housing underprivileged girls in the Vavuniya settlement of the Ghandiyam Organisation. Tickets £1.00 each.

A sponsored walk is being organised by the same group for November 1st to raise funds to settle displaced Tamil families in North and East Sri Lanka following the recent troubles.

For further information please contact 01-393 8814, 01-949 1788 01-648 3200, Gravesend 61600.

COME TOGETHER

The Tamil Youth Association presents "COME TOGETHER" An evening of variety entertainment followed by Sam's Disco Date: 10th October 1981, Time: 7.00 p.m. - 10.45 p.m. Venue: Club Rooms, Harrow Leisure Centre, Christchurch Avenue, Wealdstone.

Admission by ticket: Price £1, Family ticket £3. Net proceeds to the Jaffna Hospital Fund.

HARTAL IN TAMIL NADU

Madras. Sept. 12

The one-day hartal sponsored by the Tamil Nadu Government in cooperation with all political parties went off peacefully

The hartal was intended to express the resentment of the people of the State to the attacks on Tamils in Sri Lanka.

According to reports received from various parts of the State the hartal was total. All shops including petty shops, hotels and restaurants had pulled down their shutters. Buses, both Government and private, taxis and autorickshaws were off the road.

Essential services, like hospitals electricity milk and water supply systems and newspapers were however exempted from the hartal.

The Chief Minister, Mr. M.G. Ramachandran, expressed the hope that the Sri Lanka Government would understand the "intense" feelings of the people of Tamil Nadu exhibited through the hartal and take steps to stop atrocities on any section of the people in future.

People thanked: In a statement, he thanked the people of Tamil Nadu and all political parties for observing the hartal "peacefully and successfully."

-HINDU, 19.9.81.

TAMIL TIMES

TAMIL TIMES makes its appearance at a time when events in Sri Lanka have hit the headlines in the international news media. These headlines did not bring credit to our country. But what they did achieve was to internationalise the single most important problem that has remained unresolved and plagued the country since independence - the national question of the Tamil speaking people.

The trials and tribulations of the Tamil speaking people of Sri Lanka for the last 33 years, the series of tragic and traumatic experiences they suffered as a consequence of frequent communal violence culminating in the recent reign of terror unleashed upon the Tamil people of Jaffna and the contribution of the state apparatus towards the destruction and devastation of their cultural institutions, the latest round of violence directed at the Tamils in the rest of the island rendering thousands destitute and homeless should have by now convinced those in authority and others that the Tamil national question would not simply disappear. Resolute positive and meaningful steps by way of appropriate and just political and constitutional arrangements are vital for the effective solution of this vexed problem.

Thousands of Sri Lankans live in various parts of the world. They left the shores of their motherland seeking advancement in all walks of life and

now live scattered. But wherever they live their attachment to the motherland and the deeply felt concern for their fellow countrymen remains unabated. They crave for news and information about their country. A great deal of anxiety results when the information they seek is not readily available. In its competition for newsworthiness Sri Lankan events do not always win a space in the news media. TAMIL TIMES is born with the ambitious intention of satisfying this craving for news and information about Sri Lanka and its people.

Although we appear under the title TAMIL TIMES, we are determined to ensure that news, views and information that we publish are of general interest to all Sri Lankans be they Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims and Burghers. While we will not hesitate to comment on political questions we are resolved to remain unaffiliated to any political party.

While we would endeavour to give as wide a coverage as possible to news and information, we are determined to make the TAMIL TIMES the standard bearer for the defence of democracy and human rights and a forum for serious discussion of political, social, economic and cultural matters concerning our mother country and host countries.

We are dedicated to the much cherished maxim:

'Facts are sacred, comment is free'.

UNP-TULF.....

(contd. from page 1)

Development Councils as effective bodies for local self-administration with possible expansion of their powers in the near future; review of the present system of standardising marks for university admissions; and steps to be taken to prosecute the policemen who were responsible for the May-June incidents in Jaffna.

Boycott To End

In return for the offers made by the government, the TULF for its part would appear to have agreed to operate a temporary moratorium on their demand for a separate state for the North and Eastern Provinces, to drop their demand for an international commission of inquiry and to call off the boycott of Parliament which they commenced on June 6th following the Jaffna incidents.

POWERFUL.....

(Contd. from page 1)

tion and planning of this campaign of violence. We have therefore legitimate ground for fear that these events may provide a cover for new repressive moves and attacks on the democratic rights of all sections of the people, regardless of race, language or religion.

We therefore urge the people to beware against being misled by racist appeals and instigations to violence, or by inflammatory rumours and fabrications designed to rouse one section of the people against another. We also urge the people to be vigilant against any moves to subvert democratic institutions and liberties behind a smokescreen of artificially fostered racial tension."

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