

MUSLIMS IN PRE-INDEPENDENT

SRI LANKA

The Sri Lanka Muslims (Ceylon Moors) are an ancient community. They are so much part of this country, that they are as indigenous as the very fauna and flora of this country. They are Sri Lankans to all intent and purposes but only difference is that they professed their own religion-Islam. The fact that Arabs were in Sri Lanka very early period is borne out by no less an authority than Sir James Emerson Tennent, who was one of the Colonial Secretaries of Ceylon. He expressed his conviction in the following words:

"The truth, however, is that there were Arabs in Ceylon ages before the earliest dates named in these conjectures. They were known there ^{here} as traders centuries before Prophet Mohammad was born and such was their period for enterprise that at one and the same moment they were pursuing Commerce in the Indian Ocean and manning the galleys of Marc Anthony in the fatal sea fight at Actium. The Author of the Periplus found them in Ceylon about the first Christian Century...." Dr. Balendra ~~supporting the theory of Sir Emerson Tennent~~ says that the Ceylon Moor is a full-blooded native of this country. He is just as much a native as a Sinhalese or a Veddah because he is here for the last 2,000 years.

The Arab ancestors of Sri Lanka Muslims came from Arabia pursuing commerce and settled on the coasts of Ceylon. The Island had many attractions for them. It is the place where their primitive father, Adam was when he obtained forgiveness of God for the sin of disobedience committed by him and where the mountain which bears his foot print, and which for that reason is visited by Muslims from time immemorial, stands.

Its seaports were the centre of trade, visited by not only the Arabia merchants but also the Persian, Chinese and other traders as well. It produced the aromatic drugs, gems, pearls, shells, cinnamon etc. articles for which much demand existed in Egypt, the countries of the Persian Gulf and other Western Countries between which and Ceylon the trade was largely in the hands of the Arabs.

In their own countries, Arabia, things were not then as they desired. With the attainment of power by the Omeyyades the period of trouble for the Hashimites began. Most of the ancestors of the Ceylon Muslims were, according to tradition, members of the family of Hashim. Some of the Hashimites, probably, a few other tribes, who were less war-like and given more to the peaceful pursuit of trade, naturally thought to hold themselves aloof from the amphitheatre of constantly changing political dramas in their country, where lives and properties were not secure, and sought refuge in foreign lands. Some were in fact driven by the tyranny of the contending rulers. At such a critical moment what other country would have been more attractive to them as a place of refuge, than Ceylon, which had been their commercial resort for a considerable period ? When they settled here, they did so among the Tamils and not Sinhalese. This may appear strange to some for Ceylon was the country of Sinhalese majority, but history explains the matter.

Those Arabs were traders, and, hence, it was natural that they should come in contact with the traders of this country. Our Sinhalese brothers were not traders, they disliked commerce and gave themselves up to Agriculture and other pursuits. Such places as Galle, Beruwela and Weligama, which are considered as purely Sinhalese Districts in the Southern Parts of the Island and the Southern Sinhalese not only had an aversion to commerce but were desirous to escape from mixing with strangers. Therefore we can safely conclude that the Arabs had not the opportunity of mixing with the Sinhalese. Then it may be asked who were the people who received the strangers in the Southern Districts and helped them to settle down there. THEY WERE THE TAMILS WHO WERE THEN CALLED MALABARS.

The Malabars-Tamil were all powerful in most seaports of the Island at the time our ancestors were settling here and that it was they who received the Arabs in evidenced by historical facts as well as the traditions current among the Muslims themselves. It is recorded in history, that when SINBAD, the famous Arabian mariner, arrived in

Ceylon, he was first received by the Malabars - Tamils and one of them had spoken to the visitor in Arabic. Hence it is clear that very intimate relationship had existed between the Arabs and Tamils for the latter to have learned the language of the former, and been the first among the natives of Ceylon to extend hospitality to the Arabs on their arrival here. It is therefore there is no difficulty in believing that the Arabs, likewise, learnt the language of the Malabars-Tamils, with whom they had business relationship for centuries and after settling among them, and ceasing connections with their own country, continued to speak the Tamil Language, with the result that their decendents have entirely forgotton the national language of their fathers and stuck to that which was borrowed by their fathers from their Tamil friends and TAMIL WIVES.

The first Arab Muslims who settled in Ceylon were according to the traditions which prevailed among their decendents, a portion of those Arabs of the house of Hashim who were driven from Arabia in the early part of eighth century by the tyranny of the Caliph Abdal Melik bin Merwan, and who proceeding from the Euphrates Southwards made settlement in the Cocan, in the Southern part of the peninsula of India, on the Island of Ceylon and at Melaca. The group of them who came to Ceylon formed eight considerable settlements along the North East, North and Western coast of the Island, viz - Trincomalee, Jaffna, Mantotte and Mannar, Coodremalle, Puttalam, Colombo, Beruwela (Barbareen) and at Point-de-Galle.

Arabia in Sanskrit is "Yavana" in Pali "Yonna" and in Tamil "Sonaham". The Arab settlers who were the ancestors of Ceylon Muslims (Arabs) were called by the Sinhalese and Tamils, by the names given by their respective languages. The Muslims themselves have admitted all along that among their ancestors there were many who had married Tamil wives, whose language, habits, customs and manners their descendants adopted in the long run. It is more natural for the children to cherish and adopt the thoughts and habits of their mothers than of their fathers.

It is true that the Ceylon Muslims have the customs like "Seethanam (Dowry)", "Alati" the tying of the "Thali", etc. These have been borrowed by them from the Tamils, to whose race their mothers, in most cases belonged and among whom their fathers settled. Despite the adoption of Tamil Language and the freedom with which they inter-married, the unifying influence of their religion ISLAM had helped the descendants of these early Arabs settlers to preseve a distinctive race, cultural and religious consciousness. Further, the social democracy of Islam served to strengthen the cohesion of the community particularly by preventing the entry of cast distinction into its fold.

Although the Muslim Traders who were settled in Ceylon had acquired great wealth and influence very early in the eleventh century, and although they continued to possess a most extensive and lucrative trade in its ports till the end of the fifteenth century, it was during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that they attained the heights of degree of their commercial prosperity and political influence on the Island. During that period the great Muslim merchants of Mannar and Mantotte received into the immense warehouses, which they had established at this emporium, the most valuable produce of the Island from their subordinate agents, who resided at the different seaports which were situated in the neighbourhood of those provinces, where the various articles of commerce were produced. From their agents of Trincomalee they received rice and indigo, from those at Jaffna the chaya root or red dye, the wood of the black palmyrah tree, and the seashells called chanks; from those at Coodremalle pearls; from those at Puttalam, arecanut for chewing with betel leaves, ebony, satin and clamanderwood for furniture and sappan wood for dying; from those at Colombo cinnamon and precious stones, from those at Barbarene (Beruwela) coconut oil and coir and from those at Point-de-Galle ivory and elephants.

When the Portuguese landed in Colombo in 1505 it had a large Muslim Population. They called the Muslims "Moors", a name derived from the Greek "Mauros" which denoted the Muslim inhabitants of Mauritania in

North Africa, who over ran Spain and Portugal in the 8th century. Although it was one time customary in Europe to refer to Muslims from whatever country they came, by this name in local usage the expression "Ceylon Moors" has since acquired an ethnic connotation.

The Muslims of Sri Lanka are a peaceful and law abiding people with strong religious conviction. They came to this country as traders whose arrival was not accompanied by military subjugation. Therefore, there was no bitterness or animosity between the natives and the Muslims. There is no historical legacy of conflict or hatred between the Ceylon Moors and other communities. In their peaceable disposition, they were quite unlike the Sinhalese and Tamils. As traders, they were also a useful complement to the Sinhalese, the majority of whom tilled the soil. While thus their disposition and occupation made them welcome as residents, it was quite the contrary with their religion. In Sri Lanka, the Portuguese found the Jaffna man easiest to convert to the Catholic religion, the Sinhalese as a whole less easy, but still manageable, while the Muslim-Moors were never converted to Catholic religion.

The Portuguese, by devious methods got round the Sinhalese Kings and in 1518 Dharma Prakrama Bahu granted them permission to erect a fort in Colombo. The Portuguese who had already gained a foothold in India, ordered their war galleons to seek out and destroy every merchant ship of the Arabs, whom they called Moors. They considered the Muslims their sworn enemy, not only because of business rivalry but also they found that it was almost impossible to convert them to Christianity while some leading members of the other communities readily embraced the new religion. To the Portuguese, in general, the Muslims were the "Sworn enemies of the King and God". Therefore, to expel them from the Portuguese territories was patriotic and to deny them the right to live in this world was service to God.

Bhuweneka Bahu who succeeded to the throne of Kotte embraced the new religion and sent an envoy to John III of Portugal to send missionaries to Ceylon to convert his subjects to Christianity. The mission was said to have been a great success and thousands of people were converted

all along the coast and many churches were established. Muslims saw the grave danger of this to themselves and joined Mayadunna, the brother of the King, who was fighting his brother at the time to oust him from the throne. The bid and counter bid of the Sinhalese princes for military aid from the Portuguese drove the Muslims from pillar to post and the only consistent thing was the cruel and inhuman treatment the Muslims were subjected to by the Portuguese. Their properties were confiscated and they were forbidden to enter certain areas in the City of Colombo like Fort and Pettah. This was the time when Muslims had to undergo great hardship.

The Education of their children was neglected and they took to petty trade in the interior of the country. They received fair treatment, however, in the Kandyan Kingdom under Wimaladharmasooriya who was opposed to the Portuguese. The final blow came with the signing of the Malwana Convention when the King of Portugal was recognised as the sovereign ruler of the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon by a large gathering of Sinhalese Chiefs and populace.

The Muslims of Sri Lanka are second to none in their allegiance and loyalty to the country. The position of the Muslims towards the land of their birth is not a political phenomenon of the recent times. It is reflected in the entire freedom struggle of the country through the ages. The participation of the Muslims in the freedom struggle dates back to the early days of the 16th century when they were foremost in the battle against the Portuguese to release our country from the fetters and shackles of foreign domination. The Ceylon Muslims fought valiantly with courage, resoluteness and determination against the Portuguese. Even the Sinhalese rulers thought it fit to feign friendship towards the powerful foreigners, the people at large, together with the Muslims, remained adamantly hostile. When Vijaya Bahu VII decided to wage open war against the Portuguese who were defying his authority, he turned to the Muslims for help.

In the battle of Mayadunna, the Muslims of Sri Lanka, proved useful not only as soldiers but also as advisors. This unity of purpose and oneness of aim of the Ceylon Muslims was in those difficult days a great factor in their service to the country. The Ceylon Muslims were

the only people who openly resisted the Portuguese.

When the Portuguese expelled the Muslims in 1526 and again in 1626, Mayadunna of Sitawaka and Senerath of Kandy gave them asylum in their territories. Four Thousand Muslims expelled by Constantine de Saa were re-settled by Senarath in the East coast of ceylon and the descendants of these refugees have since merged with those of the original Arab settlers in and around Kalmunai whose ancient colony is described as "Arabiththa Civitas" in the 15th century Vatican manuscript of Ptolemy's map. They now occupy a sixty mile belt Southward of Batticaloa, where they have established a sturdy rural tradition as industrious farmers.

The process of Muslim penetration into the interior and their subsequent integration with the Sinhalese and Tamil communities was not caused entirely by the "Push" from the colonial territories. It was also the result of a simultaneous "pull" from the independant Kandyan Kingdom. Although the Kandyan Kingdom had its own natural protection in the form of inpeneterable central hills, it also had its strategic weaknesses. The most vulnerable part of the kingdom especially in case of a foreign attack were its few outlets to the sea like the port of Kalpitiya, Trincomalee, Kottiyar and Batticaloa. By capturing and controlling these harbours one could strangle this kingdom economically as it was through these ports that the Kandyan produce found its way to the outside world and the Kandyan imports of Cloth, Salt and Dryfish found their way to the local consumer. Therefore, to lose these ports to an enemy was tantamount to political suicide. The Kandyan Kings must have realised this danger specially in view of their hostile attitude towards the Portuguese.

There was also another weakness which emanated from the economic structure of the Kandyan society. This was the relative absence of a class of traders and navigators among the Kandyan Sinhalese. It is in the light of these two weaknesses one should view the friendly attitude of the Kandyan Kings towards the Muslims. By winning over the friendship of the latter and by encouraging them to settle down along the sea coasts, the king could not only maintain his trade link with the outside world but could also creat a buffer between the Kandyan population and the foreign force in case of an attack from the sea.

Thus, the four thousand or so Muslims who were expelled by the Portuguese were accommodated by King Senarath and were allowed to settle down at various strategic areas along the Eastern sea coast between Trincomalee and Pottuvil. These settlements grew so strong that later when the Dutch in order to "contain the Kingdom of Kandy within land-locked boundaries and seek to divest it of its outlets to the sea and to the outer world" wanted to "root out" the Muslims from coastal areas, the latter's resistance proved formidable.

At the end of the 16th century, not long after the attainment of the nationhood the Dutch had acquired from themselves a dominant position as a major carrier and distributor of Eastern produce to Europe. At the time of the arrival of the Dutch in the East, in the last decade of the 16th century, the Portuguese had established themselves as the dominant sea power with firm control over the sea lanes and major trade emporia. The Muslims bore the brunt of Portuguese religious and political oppression. The Dutch too found that the Muslims in Asia were the major rivals to their enterprises and this made them extremely hostile to the Muslims especially in the 17th century.

The Muslims of Sri Lanka formed a well integrated community at the time of the arrival of the Dutch to the shores of Ceylon. There were long established settlements of Muslims all along the coasts of the Island as well as inland. Even the Portuguese persecution did not seem to have succeeded in driving away the coastal Muslim settlements as evidenced in Dutch records indicate the presence of these communities in the low-land in the 17th century.

Even though Portuguese persecution led many Muslims to seek refuge in the Kandyan Kingdom, Muslim settlements in the Kandyan area were much older than 16th century. The Gopala Muslims of the Kegalla district which formerly belong to the Kingdom of Kandy, seem to have settled there much earlier than the 16th century.

In 1760 there was a conspiracy to murder King Kirthi Sri Rajasinghe and place a Siamese prince on the throne of Kandy hatched by some section of the Kandyan Aristocracy in alliance with a section of the Kandyan Buddhist establishment. The conspiracy was foiled, and one of the

informants who helped to foil the conspiracy was a Gopala Mudaliyar from the Getaberiya Clan. The episode indicates that the leading Muslims of Kandy were very much privy to the high politics of the Kandyan Kingdom.

King Rajasinghe, pleased with the way the Ceylon Moors fought on his side against the Portuguese, settled them in Kandy, granted them land at Akurana. During the Kandyan-Dutch war of 1760-66, the Muslims became extremely useful to the court of Kandy in soliciting support for their cause in South India. The entire Pybus mission of 1762 seem to have been engineered by the Muslims. The chief character involved was one Maula Muhandiram. He had two sons who were engaged in the actual mission to seek assistance from the English in Madras, one of them is known by the name of Uduma Lebbe.

The Dutch records are full of oppression and discriminatory regulations against the Muslims. No land and property could be sold to them. They are required to perform the odious "Uliyam" on fear of confiscation of their land, ordered to evacuate Galle and Matara in 1659 and Colombo in 1670 and were prohibited from possessing houses and lands within the Fort and Pettah areas of Colombo by a regulation that was not recinded till 1832.

When the persecution was relaxed some what during the later phase of the Dutch regime, the wise Governor Willem Falk (1765-85) introduced special Laws relating to the Muslims. As it was based on the rules of the Shafie "Madahab", the Sunni School of Muslims in Sri Lanka readily accepted. In 1790 an attempt was made by the Commander of Jaffna to find out the laws and customs of the Muslims. In 1794 the Governor and Council of Colombo agreed to the arrangements made by Jaffna authorities for the translation of Laws of the Muslims "existing in Arabic Language with their priests" the arrangements was first to translate them into Tamil and then to Dutch. The Muslim leaders in Jaffna compiled a list of 250 laws based on the Quran and gave them to the Governor.

The two centuries or more during which the Muslims of the Maritime provinces underwent anxious, difficult and sometimes tragic moments under Western rule constituted in contrast period of peaceful progress

for the Muslims of the Kandyan Kingdom. Here, they enjoyed unrestricted freedom of worship and met with encouragement, rather than harassment, in the pursuit of trade in which they enjoyed a virtual monopoly. The community was regarded with tolerance and respect.

The British succeeded the Dutch after a series of encounters and on the 16th February, 1796 the Dutch ceded the entire Maritime Provinces to the British. The British continued the work of the Dutch in the development of the country and maintained law and order. Theirs was that of political liberalism. They were not indisposed towards the Muslims as such and the Muslim community made rapid progress socially, and economically but not in Western Education. Suspicion of their children being enticed from their faith still lurked in their minds.

While the British were casting envious eyes on the Kandyan Kingdom, because they wanted the whole country under their suzerainty, the Kandyan Chiefs by their short sighted intrigues to gain power over the ancient Sinhala Throne, tried to place on the Kandyan Throne, the Nayakka relatives of the late King in preference to a Sinhalese heir to the throne. Pilimatalawa, the Chief Adigar, placed Kandasamy, one of his favourites, on the throne, hoping ultimately to oust him and succeed to the Throne. But Kandasamy became suspicious of Pilimatalawa and on some excuse ordered him to be put to death. On the slightest suspicion, the King Kandasamy, now assuming the grandious title of Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe, put to death the Kandyan Chieftains and even their families, not excluding even the one who was responsible for making him King. One of the Chieftains, Ehelepola rushed to the British Governor for aid. The King was captured and brought down to Colombo and deported to Madras. In 1815, for the first time in its history, the whole of Sri Lanka came under the political subjugation of an alien power.

The British declared all un-occupied land as "Crown Land" which the Government disposed of chiefly to the British, who came in large numbers to develop the land for their own benefit. British democratic institutions were introduced and missioneries were given a free hand to establish schools and to introduce English education in the important cities of Colombo, Jaffna, Kandy, Galle etc. Muslims generally kept

away from these institutions with the result that they remained backward in Western Education. They were very particular about their religious education. Colebrook recommended that English should be the Language of administration throughout the Island. The result was a change from autocratic feudal system to the beginning of a democratic system of government and a commercial and capitalist economy.

The British proclamation of 1818 to the effect that 'no Kandyan Chief should exercise jurisdiction over the Muslims, and that the Muhandirams over the various Madige departments should receive their appointments direct from the several agents of the government must be considered as a premeditated attempt by the colonial government to encourage separate development for the various communities in the Island. The British were masters in the art of divide and rule, and the first seeds of Communalism in this country were thus sown by them.

However, once the British recognised the Muslims as a separate political entity and removed the irksome civil and economic restrictions imposed on the latter by the Portuguese and Dutch, the Muslims began to participate actively in the new economic openings. The traditional trading instinct of the community received a fresh fillip in the 19th century. In Colombo, for example, the Muslims were confined by the Dutch to the 'Moor Street', now after the removal of the restrictions, there was an influx of Muslims into business quarters of the City. Generally they began to acquire property in the Pettah areas of Colombo and in the process of time nearly all the immovable properties here which originally belonged to the descendants of the Dutch passed into the hands of the Muslims. By 1875, in the Main Street of the Pettah alone there were 73 business firms belonging to the Muslims. Similarly in Kandy, Galle, Matale and Nuwara Eliya the Muslims, along with the other English, Indians and Low-country men were opening up business firms. They were best gem merchants at that time. According to the census of 1911, of the 979 gem dealers in Ceylon, 866 had been Muslims. Similarly among a total of 848 Jewellers at that time 411 had been Muslims.

Beside the development of plantation and internal commerce, the growth of Colombo as the metropolis was the most outstanding feature of the 19th century. The building trade prospered as a result and the Muslims with their special aptitude for masonry were quick to exploit the opportunity. The General Post Office, the Museum, the Customs, Old Town Hall in Pettah, Gall Face Hotel, Victoria Arcade are but a few the Architectural wonders shaped by the hands of the Muslim genius of yore.

Economically, there was an air of prosperity among the Muslims in the 19th century. But even at that time the Muslims were not entirely a business community. According to the 1901 census only 21.6 per cent of earners among the Muslims were dependent on commerce, transport and storage for their main income. As opposed to this nearly 35.5 per cent of the Muslims were involved in pasture and agriculture. In the census report of 1911 Denham says that "the Sinhalese and the Ceylon Muslims for the most part are small farmers cultivating their own lands. Even the 1946 census report says that the "Sonahars are cultivators".

One notable feature in the 19th century economic changes was the widening class difference within the various communities of Ceylon. The Muslim community was not an exception to this. A class of "New Rich" was emerging within the community in whose hands even the political destiny of the Muslims to be lie.Of course they were being business men and extra ordinary rich men among the Muslims. But they represented not even 5 percent of the Muslim community. It was this 5 per cent that controlled the destiny of the Muslim community as a whole during the last half a century. But this minority group, enormously rich, lacked the educational enlightenment and political foresight to lead the community in the right direction. As a result, the Muslim community in this country is educationally backward, politically insignificant, economically retarded and culturally isolated.

In the Legislative Council, the Muslims were represented by Mr. P. Ramanathan who was then considered the leader of all Tamil speaking people. Muslims agitated in 1889 to look after the interests of the

of the Muslims, and he was succeeded by Mr. W.M. Abdul Rahman, the father of Sir Razik Fareed and the son of Wapitche Marikar, a master builder, a great philanthropist, keenly interested in education of Muslim Children.

The racial harmony and peace which existed during the British rule in Ceylon was shattered as a result of the Sinhala-Muslim riots in 1915. The riots which broke out in 1915 is now regarded as the clash between Sinhalese and "Coast Moors" (Indian Muslims) in Ceylon, rather than the Muslims who were settlers from the ancient time. However, the Gampola Perehara case, came as the ignition for the racial disturbances and the Sinhalese and the Muslims both suffered as a result of the unfortunate riots. The British government took this local incident seriously as a move to overthrow their regime from the colony and the governor took repressive measures to put down the riots. Many lives of the Sinhalese and the Muslims were lost.

The principal effect of the riots of 1915 was a sense and feeling of helplessness among the Muslims in Ceylon. Although the colonial government protected the Muslims during the riots, they lost confidence in the British administration. The bitter memories and the impact of the 1915 riots, polarised the forces among the Muslims and encouraged them to form various organisations in order to defend their political rights as well as to better their social and cultural backwardness.

The "Moors Union" established on 29th August, 1900 and "Ceylon Muslim Association" formed in 1903 in order to uplift the social, cultural and political life of the Muslim community, contributed towards the maintenance of the separate identity of the community. Siddi Lebbe, M.C. Mohamed and I.L.M. Azeez were the pioneers of the "Moors Union". Through this Union it refuted charges made by Ramanathan about the Enthology of Moors. When the first Muslim Advocate in Ceylon Mr. M.C. Abdul Cader was forbidden by the Chief Justice in 1905 to appear before the High Court with head and feet covered, the Muslim Community immediately agitated and this campaign ended with the withdrawal of the original ruling and was a victory for the Muslim activists.

The younger set who founded the "Ceylon Moors Association" in 1922 were W.M. Zaheed, S.L.H.M. Asheer, A.R.A. Razik, A.M. Fuard, M.L.M. Reyall, H.M. Macan Markar and others. A.R.A. Razik was its President. "The

Young Muslim League" developed into "All Ceylon Muslim League" with M.A.C.M. Saleh, Saheed A. Marikar, Abdul Cader and T.B. Jayah in 1924 which agitated for increased representation in the legislature full responsible government of Ceylon, safeguard for the Cultural, Social, economic interests of the Muslim community and to promote friendship in the country.

Manning Reform increased the unofficals in the Legislative Council to 37 and 12 members to be elected on communal basis. In this constitution, Muslims were given three communal elected seats, H.M. Macan Markar, N.H.M. Abdul Cader and T.B. Jayah were elected to represent the muslim Community in the New Legislative Council inaugurated on October 15, 1924.

When Donoughmore Commissioners visited Ceylon to make changes in the Constitution, the Muslim Political Association led by N.H.M. Abdul Cader, T.B. Jayah and H.M. Macan Markar gave evidence before the commission. Their main representation were to increase the members of Muslim representatives in the legislature from 3 to 5 members, Communal representation and the safeguarding of their rights from the majority Community. The Donoughmore Commissioners abolished Communal representation, extended the franchise to all adults over 21 years and recommended the creation of electoral districts with ~~population~~ of 75,000 to 90,000 each, they substituted the State Council and handed over its functions to the Board of Ministers. The elections on the extended franchise were held in May-June 1931 and when the first State Council met in July 7, 1931, there was only one Muslim member elected from Batticaloa South.

The Muslim Community was not satisfied with the position to which it had been relegated by the Donoughmore Commission, Mr. T.B. Jayah led a deputation to Whitehall in 1932 demanding a system of representation in which the Muslim Community, scattered as they were, could have adequate representation. The British Government did not make any electoral adjustment favourable to the Muslims. When the election in

1936 was held for the State Council, none of the Muslim members won. However, A.R.A. Razik and T.B. Jayah were nominated as Muslim representatives.

The period between 1936 and 1945 witnessed the division of the Muslim movement with the Ceylon Moors' Association was formed under Sir Mohamed Macan Markar and Ceylon Muslim League was formed under the leadership of Saheed A. Marikar, Abdul Cader and T.B. Jayah. This weakened not only the Muslim agitation movement for political reforms but also the UNITY OF THE COMMUNITY.

However, when The All Ceylon Muslim Political Conference which united all the political divisions among the Muslims went before the Soulbury Commission on 5th February, 1945, they demanded that the communal representation to be replaced to safeguard their interests. The Soulbury Commissioners were greatly concerned about the position of the minorities under the New Constitution and expressed the hope that in the demarcation of electorates, such electoral devices as multiple member constituencies, reduced electoral strength for minority areas etc., would be utilised in order to give adequate representation to the Minority Communities, especially the Muslims as they are more or less scattered throughout the country.

At the end of the First State Council the Board of Ministers demanded full Responsible Government by the removal of the three officers of State and the Reserve Powers of the Governor. Two of the Ministers of the minority community demurred and the Secretary of State refused to consider it as it was not a unanimous demand of the Ministers. Meantime, World War II broke out in 1939 and the Secretary of State put off all questions of constitutional reforms. He, however, appealed to the Board of Ministers for their co-operation in the war efforts and made a declaration that Ceylon would be considered for Independence after the war. The Ministers and the people gave their full support for the war-efforts.

When the war came to an end, the Board of Ministers reminded the British Government of its promise and presented their Dominion Status Bill before the State Council. British Government-Whitehall insisted on approval of it by a Majority of three quarters of the total members of the State Council - an impossible task unless the minorities gave their support. Indeed this requirement of three quarters majority was the most potent guarantee that the wishes of the minorities would be given a great deal of consideration. All the Muslim members supported it. Mr. T.B. Jayah and Dr. M.C.M. Kaleel spoke in favour and A.R.A. Razik and Dr. Kaleel voted for it. Jayah was not present at the time of the voting.

On 9th November, 1945 came the historic vote on the acceptance of the Soulbury Proposals. All the Muslim members voted in favour. Two of them Razik Fareed and T.B. Jayah spoke on that occasion. During his speech Razik Fareed said "...I feel that I should say how we the Moors, have been placed in the past in spite of the treatment we received, not at the hand of the Sinhalese, but at the hands of the other communities..... We have been heard even without representation. I remember the time when we, the Ceylon Moors were told that as we speak a sort of Tamil, we can be put down as Tamil Speaking Community and represented by Tamil Members. We had to bow even to that. We have suffered. But you are not going to suffer one-tenth of what we, Moors have suffered. It will be remembered that in 1939 the Moors were not able to send even one representative to this Council. Did the Tamil Community help us? No. Instead, they sent in Tamil members to represent places like Mannar, Batticaloa South and Trincomalee where the Moors number over 40,000 each area. The All Ceylon Moors' Association which has 50 odd branch associations and they entrusted to me the task of announcing to this house that they pledge their support to the resolution of the Hon. Leader under discussion today. Nothing else would at the moment give me great pleasure that to do so, and to express my whole-hearted support to the Hon. Leader's Proposal. As my community and I have always stood by them, I must say that in this hour of his triumph we join hands with him in the forward march to the goal of Dominion Status to which he aspires....."

During his speech T.B. Jayah said :

".....I am glad, Sir, that it has been stated that this is not the moment for jubilation or exultation or even for mutual recrimination. I certainly think that this is not the occasion to speak of the discomfiture of the minority communities or of the victory of the majority community ".

"As far as I am concerned, I speak with the full support of members of the Muslim community. I saw to it that the Ceylon Muslim League, representing the Muslim community of Ceylon, consulted representative muslims in different parts of the country on the important issue before the house and I am in a position to say that the Muslim members of this Council have the fullest backing of the Muslim Community in this island".

"When the Muslim members of this Council decided to take a definite stand at the time the "Sri Lanka" Bill was introduced, they did so for one and one reason only. The reason was that where the political freedom of this country was involved, they were prepared to go to any length, even to the point of sacrificing advantages and benefit as a result of such action ".

Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike expressed his gratitude to the Muslim members on behalf of his own community. Hansard of 22nd March 1945, Column 2062 - Hon'ble Bandaranaike ".....May I refer to the support that the main principle of the Bill has received from the Hon'ble Nominated member (Mr. T.B. Jayah), The Hon'ble Nominated Member (Mr. Razik) and the Hon'ble Member for Colombo Central (Dr. M.C.M. Kaleel) among the minority members ".

" I say that if any member has brought closer the achievement among the various sections of the people of this country by an attitude of generosity, where even those with whom he is concerned stand to suffer, I say the fullest credit must go, more than any one else among us, to the Hon. Nominated Member (Mr. T.B. Jayah). The Hon. Nominated Member (Mr. T.B. Jayah), has made a speech today that will have a great effect

in bringing unity among the people of this country, in bringing such sense of reality to the struggle, however it may shape, that we are going to undertake to obtain a satisfactory measure of freedom ".

"What have the Nominated member (Mr. T.B. Jayah) and his colleagues the Hon. Nominated member (Mr. Razik) and the Hon. Member for Colombo Central have done ? There is provided in the Bill a Scheme of representation under which the Muslim Community in this country might suffer in the form in which it appears, but yet, he himself was so sincerely determined to work for the main idea of freedom that he was prepared to vote for the principle embodied in the Bill ".

" But I can give the Hon. Nominated Member (Mr. Jayah) this assurance on behalf of, I think, the vast majority, at least of the Community that I represent, that in the struggle for freedom whatever may or may not be the recommendation of the Soulbury Commission on our representation, he may be rest assured that we will be quite prepared to consider any reasonable point of view that he might put forward ".

Many are familiar with the part played by the Ceylon Muslims like Sir Mohamed Macan Markar, Dr. T.B. Jayah, Sir Razik Fareed, Dr. M.C.M. Kaleel, Mr. M.A.C.M. Saleh, and Dr. Badiudin Mahmud in the Constitutional reforms of the country. They enthusiastically supported the demand for Dominion Status and also for independence. They have never obstructed the political progress of the country. With several others like Siddi Lebbe, Wapiche Marikar and I.L.M. Abdul Azeez they have forged close and intimate bonds of friendship with the Sinhalese and Tamil of this country.

On the 4th of February, 1948, Independence was declared in Kandy and Mr. D.S. Senanayake "the father of the Nation " had the privilege of bringing down the British flag and hoisting the Ceylon National Flag.

ETHNIC GRIEVANCES

OF

SRI LANKA MUSLIMS

We Muslims are proud of the fact that we are citizens of the Republic of Sri Lanka, our motherland, where our racial ancestors, the Arabs originated the Ceylon (Muslim) Moor race nearly two thousand five hundred years (2500) ago. As people professing the religion of Islam we have been here for over 1,400 years, according to authenticated historical facts.

The Muslim community is composed of various cultural groups. The vast majority of them are the Ceylon Moors, the descendants of the Arabs who were the early traders settled here. The Malays who came during the Dutch Period after 1640 from Indonesia and Malaya formed the second group. Later, during the British period, after 1796, more Muslim Traders came from the Indian sub-continent, mostly from Malabar and Coromendal coasts. More recently came the Borahs, Memons and others from India, who have made their home here and become a part of the Sri Lankan Muslim Community.

According to 1981 Census, 10,985,666 Sinhalese, 1,871,535 Sri Lankan Tamils, 1,056,972 Sri Lankan Moors, 825,235 Indian Tamils, 43,378 Malays, 38,236 Burghers, and 28,981 Others, totalling 14,850,001. Of the total Muslim Population of 1,134,556, about 762,551 live in the Sinhalese Speaking Areas and the balance 372,005 are living in the Tamil Speaking Areas in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. More than half the community depend on Trade and the rest depend on Agriculture.

Muslims have not broken the law by asking separation of the country nor are we terrorists. We always stood with the people in the fight to protect the independence and sovereignty of the country. We did not change our religion to receive honours or land. We are proud of our loyalty to the country. This loyalty we have been carrying to the last. The Muslims in the Sinhalese area wish to live peacefully with the Sinhalese. Similarly, the Muslims in the Tamil speaking area wish to live peacefully with the Tamils. We Muslims are opposed to any form of separation in the respective linguistic Areas or Regions.

GRIEVANCE NO. 01 - LANGUAGE

After independence, the Muslims expected the majority community, the

Sinhalese, to be reasonable in their dealings with the minorities in this country. The State Council adopted a resolution in 1944 that Sinhala and Tamil should be the Official Language of the country. It was on that basis that the Tamil speaking people - both Tamils and Muslims joined the Government after the Independence. In 1955 a wave of Sinhala communalism swept the country. Bhasa Peramunas sprung up demanding that Sinhala be made the ONLY OFFICIAL LANGUAGE of the country. The so called National Political Parties - viz: the United National Party and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party succumbed to this wave. Mr. S.W. R.D. Bandaranaike, who was swept to power in 1956 introduced the Sinhala only act in Parliament on the 5th of June 1956. The introduction of the Sinhala as the only official language and reduction of Tamil Language to an inferior position placed the stamp of perpetual inferiority on Tamils and Muslims whose mother tongue is Tamil. It also resulted in their being denied equality of opportunity in employment.

With the passing of the Official Language Bill in 1956 and the introduction of Sinhala and Tamil as the medium of instructions in schools, the Muslims accepted the changes and opted to learn Sinhalese. Several, particularly those who live in the Urban Towns of the Sinhala Speaking area, educated their children in Sinhala Medium. As a result a new generation of Muslim Youths have emerged in the Sinhala Speaking area who speak very little Tamil if not none at all, and who now demand even the religious sermons in the mosques to be delivered in Sinhala the only language they understand. This transformation has awakened the Muslims to the most complicated problems of finding instantly, sufficient Islamic Religious books and literatures in Sinhala and also to find the ways and means of preventing a potential split in the Community between the Sinhala Speaking and Tamil Speaking.

All the Muslim Schools, whether in the Sinhala Speaking area or Tamil Speaking area, are Tamil Medium Schools. More than two-third of the muslims living in the Sinhala Speaking area where the language of Administration is only Sinhalese have to educate their children in Sinhala if they are to be employed. Unfortunately Muslims do not have a single Sinhala Medium Muslim School in any part of the country where the Muslim children could get their education in Sinhala up to University entrance. As it is, the Sinhala Only Language Policy has

done more damages to the Muslim Community than to any other community in this country.

GRIEVANCE NO.2. - CITIZENSHIP ACT

At the time of Independence it was made out that under the Soulbury Constitution, out of the 95 elected members 42 members would be returned from the minority communities. Within four years of Independence, the whole scheme of representation which involved weightage to the minorities, was totally distorted. The passing of the Citizenship Laws which de-citizenised and dis-franchised about a Million Tamil Workers and deprived them of the representation they had in Parliament was the first blow directed against the Minorities in this country. It also resulted in the Majority Community the Sinhalese, who were 68% of the population at that time captured 80% of the representation in Parliament. The Citizenship Laws also made the totality of the Tamils and Muslims in the country as doubtful citizens and we are still undergoing several hardships in registering title deeds for lands, in obtaining Passports, registering of names in Voters Lists, obtaining National Identity Cards and many other matters to which hardship the Sinhalese are not subjected to. It is one of the most discriminatory piece of legislation. Not only it was passed and circulars sent to Departments not to employ doubtful citizens. Even the issue of Ration Books to the Tamils and Muslims depend on the proof of citizenship. As the law stands today, Tamil and Muslims who will be born in the future, will, with the passing of time have to prove the birth in Sri Lanka of themselves and a series of ancestors, if they want to establish their citizenship.

GRIEVANCE NO. 03 - MINORITY RIGHTS AND POLITICAL SELF DETERMINATION

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party of Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike, was returned to power on the 27th May, 1970. It received a mandate at the election to repeal the Soulbury Constitution of 1947. So, the Parliament constituted itself into a Constituent Assembly to draft the Constitution which came into effect on 22nd May 1972. On that day, having abolished the Senate, declared the country to be a Sovereign and Independent Republic within the British Commonwealth.

The Republican Constitution did away with some of the very important safeguards provided for the minorities by the Soulbury Constitution at the time of Independence. The provisions of Section 29 (2) and (3) of the Soulbury Constitution which were designed to give some protection to minorities against legislation which the majority might be tempted to enact to the disadvantage of the minorities, did not find a place in Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike's Republican Constitution. Secondly, it did not re-enact the provisions of the Soulbury Constitution which empowered the Governor General to appoint members to represent interest that is not adequately represented. Thirdly, the Senate where the minority found a forum to air its views and grievances and to stall hasty legislation was abolished.

The UNP-Jayawardene Constitution of 1978 is same as the SLFP - Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike's Constitution of 1972 with regard to the abolition of safeguards to minorities. More damaging are its provisions with regard to the demarcation of Electoral Districts and the Proportional Representation Election System which virtually eliminates Muslim elected representation to the Legislature. This law seems to be directed against the Muslim Community rather than any other community in Sri Lanka.

GRIEVANCES NO. 04 - LAND ALIENATION - COLONISATION

Colonisation has been accepted as one of the main grievances affecting the Tamil and Muslim people in Sri Lanka. Land policies pursued hitherto in the Tamil Speaking area have had their far reaching adverse effects.

1. The Minorities have been denied their legitimate share of developed state land.
2. Deprivation of land, more particularly developed land, to landless people in the district of Land Alienation.
3. Substantial alteration on the Ethnic composition of Districts in which State Land have been alienated.

This has contributed to the growth of tension and hostilities amongst different communities resulting in ethnic violence. Victims of such violence have always been the minorities.

Total extent of State Developed Land alienated under various Schemes, after independence, is 828,585 acres. The total number of allottees in those Schemes are 396, 952. According to ethnic ratio 30,168 Muslim allottees should have been given 62,972 acres from these state developed land. But information available in District Land Kachcheries have proved that the Muslims have not received even one-fourth of their legitimate share. The majority community - Sinhalese, who are 74% of the population have been given most of the State Developed Land in all the Settlement Schemes.

According to 1921 census, the Sinhalese were 3% of the Population in the Trincomalee District and 4.5% in the combined Batticaloa and Amparai District. There were less than 4% in the whole Eastern Province. According to 1981 census the Sinhala Population in the Eastern Province is 25%.

Gal Oya Scheme in Amparai District, Allai, Kanthalai, Morawewa and Padavia Schemes in Trincomalee Districts are examples of planned Sinhalese Colonisation in the Eastern Province. These colonisations were carried out in violation of the Land Development Ordinance. The Muslims who were the first majority in the Gal Oya Area, Amparai District, were made minorities by State Aided Sinhala Colonisation.

When the major Irrigation Schemes were inaugurated in the East, immediately after the independence, the late Mr. D.S.Senanayake said that the lands that were to become arable would be alienated among the local farmers and the would be Sinhala Colonists from outside the province, on a 50 - 50 basis. The successive Governments, whether UNP or SLFP, ont only failed to implement the promise but also adopted various methods to ensure the economic and political weakening of the Tamils and Muslims in the Eastern province.

Further, the Commissioner of Archeology has stated that 273 sites in the Northern and Eastern provinces have already been excavated and soon Buddhists will be settled in these places. According to Hansard Volume 25 No. 10 of Friday 7th October, 1983, there are 43 placed of Archeological interests in the predominant Muslim areas of Amparai

Population of Sri Lanka by District, Province and race-census-1981

AN.

DISTRICTS	All Races Total	Sinhalese Total	%	Ceylon Tamils Total	%	Indo as Tamils Total	%	Tamil Total	%	Ceylon Moors Total	%	Burghers Total	%	Malays Total	%
WEST PROV.															
1. COLOMBO	3,915,001	3,325,675	84.95	220,360	5.63	60,746	1.55	281,106	7.18	240,774	6.15	27,069	0.69	28,830	0.74
2. GAMPARA	1,691,322	1,322,658	77.9	165,952	9.8	21,504	1.3	187,456	11.1	140,461	8.3	18,997	1.12	20,041	1.18
3. KALUTARA	1,315,490	1,280,902	97.3	45,807	3.3	5,732	0.4	51,539	3.7	38,607	2.8	7,742	0.56	8,077	0.58
CENTRAL PROV.															
4. RANDY	827,189	722,075	87.3	8,601	1.0	33,510	4.0	42,111	5.0	61,706	7.5	330	0.04	712	0.09
5. NAYAGALA	2,005,956	1,317,119	65.66	147,082	7.33	376,035	18.75	523,137	26.08	152,556	7.61	3,254	0.16	4,275	0.21
6. NAYAGALA	1,126,296	844,325	75.0	55,675	4.9	104,840	9.3	160,515	14.2	112,032	9.9	2,402	0.21	2,648	0.24
7. NAYAGALA	285,514	209,36	73.3	20,936	5.9	24,084	6.7	45,020	12.6	25,836	7.2	250	0.07	514	0.14
8. NAYAGALA	572,219	187,280	32.7	70,471	12.3	247,131	42.8	317,692	60.8	14,668	2.8	602	0.12	1,113	0.21
SOUTH PROV.															
9. GALLE	1,882,912	1,791,260	95.13	11,564	0.61	25,308	1.34	36,872	1.96	47,085	2.50	533	0.03	4,599	0.24
10. MATARA	814,579	769,928	94.4	6,093	0.7	11,069	1.4	17,161	2.1	25,896	3.2	216	0.03	158	0.02
11. HAMBANTOTA	644,231	609,367	94.5	3,918	0.6	13,931	2.2	17,849	2.8	16,457	2.6	254	0.04	61	0.01
NORTH PROV.															
12. JAFFNA	424,102	412,965	97.4	1,553	0.4	908	0.07	1,561	0.4	4,732	1.1	63	0.01	4,380	1.03
13. JAFFNA	1,111,468	33,149	2.98	939,797	86.35	63,431	5.71	1,023,228	92.06	52,638	4.74	505	0.05	117	0.01
14. MANAR	831,112	4,615	0.6	792,246	95.3	20,001	2.4	812,247	97.75	13,757	1.6	350	0.04	46	0.01
15. VAVUNIYA	104,940	2,710	2.6	54,106	50.6	14,072	13.2	68,178	63.8	28,464	26.6	41	0.04	23	0.02
16. MULLATIVU	95,904	15,876	16.6	54,541	55.9	18,592	19.4	73,133	73.3	6,640	6.9	21	0.02	31	0.03
EAST PROV.															
17. BATTICALOA	77,512	3,948	5.1	58,904	76.0	10,766	13.9	69,670	89.9	3,777	4.9	93	0.12	17	0.02
18. AMPAR	976,475	243,358	24.92	399,406	40.99	12,045	1.23	411,451	42.14	315,201	32.28	4,154	0.43	963	0.10
19. TRINCOMALEE	330,899	10,646	3.2	234,248	70.8	3,868	1.2	238,216	72.0	79,317	24.0	2,300	0.70	49	0.01
20. PUTTALAM	388,786	146,371	37.6	76,315	20.1	1,410	0.4	79,725	20.5	161,481	41.6	643	0.17	179	0.05
N. P. PROV.															
21. KURUNEGALA	256,790	55,341	21.5	86,743	33.8	93,510	36.4	50,047	32.9	109,301	64.1	1,049	0.06	2,033	0.12
22. PUTTALAM	1,706,099	1,536,001	89.93	46,656	2.73	6,427	0.5	19,965	1.6	61,342	5.1	605	0.05	1,201	0.10
23. KURUNEGALA	1,212,755	1,028,548	84.8	13,438	1.1	2,964	0.6	36,182	7.3	47,959	9.7	444	0.09	882	0.13
C. P. PROV.															
24. ANURADHAPURA	493,344	437,453	88.7	33,218	6.7	990	0.12	13,978	1.64	56,924	6.93	337	0.04	398	0.05
25. POLONNARUWA	830,575	775,702	93.2	12,981	1.53	735	0.1	7,898	1.3	41,833	7.1	280	0.05	226	0.05
VA. PROV.															
26. BADULLA	262,753	238,803	90.9	5,875	2.2	205	0.1	6,080	2.3	17,001	6.5	57	0.02	132	0.05
27. MONARAGALA	922,636	786,070	85.2	41,608	4.51	144,939	15.71	156,567	20.22	32,130	3.48	721	0.08	1,452	0.16
28. MONARAGALA	642,893	440,245	68.5	36,595	5.7	135,795	21.1	172,380	26.8	26,808	4.2	641	0.10	1,300	0.30
N. B. PROV.															
29. RATNAPURA	279,743	255,825	91.8	5,023	1.8	9,164	3.3	14,187	5.1	5,322	1.9	80	0.03	152	0.05
30. KEGALLA	1,478,179	1,263,332	85.42	32,074	2.17	132,308	8.95	164,382	11.12	48,363	3.27	614	0.04	661	0.04
31. KEGALLA	796,403	674,657	84.7	17,979	2.3	18,429	1.1	108,408	13.4	13,531	1.7	450	0.06	410	0.05
32. KEGALLA	682,411	588,675	86.3	14,095	2.1	42,875	6.4	57,974	8.5	34,832	5.1	164	0.02	251	0.04

The claims that are being made by the Sinhalese in Muslim areas are exactly the same as the Jews have been pursuing in Palestine in dispossessing the Arabs of their homes. Today we find a frantic search for Buddhist shrines in the North and East not for the love of Buddhism but to chase away the Tamils and Muslims. Worst of all is the present government policy to colonise all areas in Sri Lanka with 74% Sinhalese.

GRIEVANCES NO. 05 - EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMY

The Muslims are a misunderstood community as far as the economic position is concerned. They are loosely referred to as a rich community whereas the fact is otherwise. Muslim community has been engaged in trade in the past. In 1875, in the Main Street of Pettah alone there were 73 business firms belonging to the Muslims. Similarly, in Kandy, Galle, Matara and Nuwara Eliya, the Muslims had many big businesses. They were the best Gem Merchants at that time. According to the census of 1911, of the 979 gem dealers in Ceylon 866 had been Muslims, and among the total 848 jewellers at that time 411 had been Muslims. They were dealing in a big way in the export and import business during the pre-independent period.

With the gaining of independence in 1948, various changes have been effected in the economic structure of the country. The establishment of Co-operative Movement and the State-owned Co-operative Wholesale Establishment with retail outlets throughout the country has placed the Ceylon Muslim Community in an unfortunate position as trade was one of their main occupations. These and subsequent State monopolies, have created problems and difficulties for the Muslims in Sri Lanka after independence.

According to 1901 census, 21.6 per cent of earners among the Muslims were dependent on Trade, Transport and Storage for their main income. 35.5 per cent of the Muslims were involved in pasture and agriculture. Various policies pursued by the successive governments, whether it is UNP or SLFP, with regard to land settlement and commerce have seriously affected the economy of the Muslim community. The economic position

State Personnel Classified by Major Occupational Groups and Race - 1972

Occupational Groups	Sinhalese	%	Tamil	%	Moors & Malay	%	Burghers	%	Others	%	Unspeci- fied	%	Total
Administrative, Professional and Technical Grades	5,413	67.8	2,275	28.5	201	2.5	74	0.9	15	0.18	14	0.17	7,992
Middle Grades	76,532	81.2	14,397	15.3	2,073	2.2	804	0.8	150	0.1	295	0.3	94,251
School Teachers	83,994	81.5	11,963	11.6	6,820	6.6	106	0.1	54	0.5	153	0.1	103,090
Minor Employees	45,329	86.4	5,542	10.6	1,020	1.9	265	1.9	126	0.24	156	0.3	52,438
Labour Grades	55,610	85.5	7,561	11.6	1,284	2.0	225	2.0	119	0.20	185	0.3	64,984
Unspecified	773	--	114	--	17	--	2	--	--	--	57	--	963
	267,651	82.68	41,852	12.93	11,415	3.53	1,476	0.46	464	0.14	860	0.27	323,718

Source : Statistics of Personnel in the State Services - 1972

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF THE ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF PROFESSIONALS LISTED IN THE FERGUSON'S DIRECTORY 1979 - 1980

Profession	Sinhala	Sri Lanka Tamils	Moors	Others	Total	Tamil %	Sinhala %	Moors %
1. Attorney-at-Law	1,883	857	238	86	3,064	27.97	61.46	7.76
2. Medical Practitioners	2,734	1,950	149	221	5,054	38.58	46.97	2.93
3. Dentists & Dental Surgeons	320	247	15	26	608	40.63	52.63	2.46
4. Registered Medical Practitioners	414	408	18	23	863	47.28	47.97	2.09
5. Ophthalmic Surgeons	4	12	0	2	17	70.59	17.64	0.00
6. Members of Sri Lanka Institute of Architects	67	21	1	8	97	21.65	69.07	1.03
7. Persons with Annual Licenses in Surveying only	47	9	4	5	65	13.84	72.30	6.15
8. Persons with Annual Licences Surveying & Levelling	219	80	5	9	313	25.56	69.97	1.59
9. Total of (7) & (8)	265	89	9	14	377	23.61	70.29	2.36
10. Veterinary Surgeons & Practitioners	175	142	9	12	338	42.01	51.78	2.66
11. Accountants & Auditors	72	80	17	2	171	46.78	42.11	9.94
12. Civil Engineers	410	273	15	16	714	38.24	57.42	2.10
13. Mechanical Engineers	130	30	2	10	172	17.44	75.58	1.16
14. Electrical Engineers	106	51	3	6	166	30.72	63.85	1.80
15. Water Engineers	12	13	2	0	27	48.15	44.44	7.41
16. Structural Engineers	9	4	0	1	14	28.57	64.29	0.00
17. Chemical Engineers	4	3	1	0	8	37.50	50.00	12.50
18. Metallurgical Engineers	2	0	0	0	2	0.00	100.00	0.00
19. Agricultural Engineers	0	1	0	0	1	100.00	0.00	0.00
20. Other Corporate members of allied professions (Engineering)	30	17	3	9	59	28.81	50.85	5.08
21. Total Engineering Nos. 12 to 20	703	398	26	46	1,169	34.05	6.14	2.22
22. University Staff up to Library Assistants	1,645	490	28	42	2,205	22.22	74.60	1.26
Share of Total (1 to 2)	1,282	4,623	510	478	100.00	33.0	59.3	3.6

Note : Indian Tamils are almost wholly the estate population. They are 825,233 (or 5.56%) of the total population of 14,850,001 at the 1981

Corporations Sector Employees by Major Occupational Groups and Race - 1980

	Sinhalese	%	Tamils	%	Moors	%	Malays	%	Burghers	%	Others	%	Total
Total	195,955	85.7	24,373	10.66	5,847	2.55	1,031	0.45	1,081	0.47	244	0.1	288,531
Professional, Technical and Related Workers	8,155	75.5	2,304	21.33	202	1.87	64	0.59	48	0.44	28	0.25	10,801
Administrative and Managerial Workers	4,539	83.31	682	12.51	127	2.33	56	1.02	28	0.51	16	0.29	5,448
Clerical & Related Workers	62,596	86.55	7,175	9.92	1,678	2.32	412	0.56	399	0.55	63	0.08	72,323
Sales Workers	892	87.28	85	8.32	22	2.15	10	0.98	12	1.17	1	0.1	1,022
Service Workers	11,602	87.6	1,111	8.39	389	2.93	51	0.38	71	0.53	16	0.12	13,240
Agricultural, Animal Husbandry & Forestry Workers, Fishermen and Hunters	4,541	60.88	2,671	35.81	86	1.15	84	1.12	58	0.77	18	0.24	7,458
Production & Related Workers, Transport Equipment Operators and Labourers	101,884	88.0	9,687	8.36	3,278	2.83	337	0.29	452	0.39	97	0.19	115,735
Workers not classified by Occupation	1,746	69.72	658	26.27	65	2.59	17	0.67	13	0.51	5	0.19	2,504

Source : Census of Public and Corporation Sector Employment 1980, Sri Lanka.

Public Sector Employees by Major Occupations Groups and Race - 1972

Occupational Groups	Sinhalese	%	Tamils	%	Moors	%	Malays	%	Burghers	%	Others	%	Total
Total	311,089	84.34	42,818	11.6	12,283	3.33	1,109	0.3	1,356	0.36	194	0.05	368,849
Professional, Technical and Related Workers	116,557	82.43	17,123	12.11	7,204	5.09	195	0.13	249	0.2	59	0.04	141,387
Administrative and Managerial Workers	3,013	81.3	576	15.5	71	1.9	25	0.67	14	0.37	6	0.16	3,705
Clerical & Related Workers	61,137	83.8	9,647	13.2	1,577	2.16	323	0.44	280	0.4	33	0.04	72,997
Sales Workers	1,742	83.14	297	14.2	46	2.2	2	0.1	5	0.23	3	0.2	2,094
Service Workers	23,839	86.9	2,472	9.01	668	2.44	112	0.4	325	1.2	12	0.04	27,428
Agricultural, Animal Husbandry and Forestry Workers, Fishermen and Hunters	2,145	73.2	618	21.1	146	4.98	10	0.34	10	0.34	1	0.03	2,930
Production and Related Workers Transport Equipment Operators and Labourers	86,268	85.5	11,511	11.4	2,345	2.32	334	0.33	311	0.3	72	0.07	100,841
Workers not classified by Occupation	16,389	93.8	574	3.28	226	1.29	108	0.6	162	0.9	8	0.04	17,467

Source : Census of Public and Corporation Sector Employment - 1980, Sri Lanka.

Includes teachers who totalled 136,714 according to the 1980 School Census. of these, 112,031 were Sinhala and 14,833 were Tamil. The number enumerated for each ethnic group in the Census of Public Sector Employees is not available.

Ethnic distribution of Senior Administrative Professional and

Technical Personnel

	Sinhala		Tamil		Others	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Secretaries to Ministries	39	95.12	2	4.88	-	-
Heads of Departments (Directors and Commissioners only)	224	79.15	46	16.25	13	4.59
Additional Secretaries	25	83.33	4	13.33	1	3.33
Assistants (All personnel designated Asslstants)	892	81.24	171	15.57	35	3.19
Other Secretaries	107	89.17	9	7.50	4	3.33
Chairmen of Corporations	86	88.66	6	6.19	5	5.15
Deputies (only)	394	76.06	100	19.31	24	4.63
All other senior grades (Anyone who does not fall into the above categories is mentioned here)	2,232	76.57	559	19.18	124	4.25
Total of all	3,999	78.38	897	17.58	206	4.04

The data in this table have been extracted from "SRI LANKA OFFICIAL TELEPHONE DIRECTORY 1982" and is subject to further verification. This excludes District officials such as Government Agents.

of the Muslims could be summed up by referring to one vital matter, namely the low per-capita income of the Muslims in relation to other communities. Central Bank Surveys have revealed that in rural sector the lowest per-capital income is that of the Muslims, below even to the Indian Tamils, most number of whom are employed unlike the Muslims. Mass poverty amongst the Muslims is also reflected in the fact that on a population basis one of the largest groups of public assistance recipients, charity and T.B. allowances, etc., are the Muslims.

The Public Sector is by far the largest and most vital national organisation. Our position in Government Departments, State Corporations or Local Government Services viewed from an ethnic proportion basis is shocking. Though the Muslims form 7.6 per cent of the country's population, only 3.62 per cent of those employed in Government Departments and 3 per cent in Government Corporation are Muslims. According to the census of Public and Corporation Sector employment 1980, 1982 in Government Departments there are 84 per cent Sinhalese, 11.6 per cent Tamils and 3.6 per cent Muslims. According to the same source, in the Corporation Sector there are 85 per cent Sinhalese 10.6 per cent Tamils and 3 per cent Muslims. Our grievance in this regard is that we do not have even half of our national ethnic ratio in this vital sector. Whereas the majority community Sinhalese have got 10 per cent more than their ethnic ratio of 74 per cent.

GRIEVANCES NO. 06 - EDUCATION

The Muslims have long been identified as an educationally backward community. Due to various circumstances the main cause being the reluctance of the community to participate in the venture and the almost inseparable association of Western Education and Christianity. Since Education appeared to them as synonymous with conversion especially in the 16th and 17th centuries the majority of the Muslims preferred to keep completely out of the Educational scene.

While tracing the recent development of Muslim Education many names are remembered. Dr. W. Dahanayake who showed great interest and took concrete steps to strengthen the position of the Muslim Schools.

MUSLIM POPULATION, SCHOOLS, TEACHERS, STUDENTS AND

UNIVERSITY ADMISSION - 1983

DISTRICTS	MUSLIM	MUSLIM	MUSLIM		MUSLIM	%	MUSLIM	
	POPULATION	SCHOOLS	TEACHERS		STUDENTS		UNIVERSITY	ADMISSION
	1981		MALE	- FEMALE			1983	1984
<hr/>								
1. Colombo	168,956	25	301	310	32,294	19.11	21	27
2. Gampaha	47,850	19	150	117	10,830	22.63	11	05
3. Kalutara	62,781	22	240	222	16,029	25.53	13	11
4. Galle	26,359	14	152	96	6,829	25.91	03	10
5. Matara	16,853	14	229	50	4,344	25.78	07	05
6. Hambantota	9,333	7	56	34	2,528	27.09	02	04
7. Kandy	125,646	72	742	703	34,409	27.38	21	42
8. Nuwara Eliya	15,791	5	40	72	3,084	19.53	05	04
9. Matale	26,603	20	199	138	7,298	27.43	06	07
10. Puttalam	50,246	41	239	97	11,767	23.42	12	28
11. Kurunegala	64,213	77	401	195	17,543	27.32	13	12
12. Polonnaruwa	17,621	16	89	03	3,463	19.65	01	01
13. Anuradhapura	43,801	59	223	76	10,466	23.89	05	07
14. Kegalle	36,548	31	345	243	10,139	27.74	19	29
15. Ratnapura	15,441	4	101	52	3,248	21.03	01	01
16. Jaffna	14,169	7	95	52	3,096	21.85	04	06
17. Mannar	30,079	28	185	96	8,131	27.03	13	15
18. Vavuniya	6,754	9	38	5	1,668	24.70	=	01
19. Mullaitivu	3,816	2	14	6	877	22.98	=	00
20. Batticaloa	79,662	37	285	73	16,951	21.28	21	25
21. Trincomalee	75,761	62	322	52	19,144	25.27	22	26
22. Amparai	161,754	93	879	260	37,961	23.47	92	81
23. Badulla	28,759	14	152	122	7,196	25.02	06	03
24. Monaragalla	5,750	5	17	8	1,203	20.92	=	=
<hr/>								
Sri Lanka	1,134,556	683	5494	3082	270,498	23.83%	299	350
							5.5%	6.2%

MUSLIM PUPILS ACCORDING TO GRADES - MARCH 1983

(a) <u>Primary</u>	<u>Students</u>	<u>Percentage (%)</u>
KG	31,421	11.60
Grade 1	34,072	12.58
2	33,766	12.47
3	33,314	12.32
4	28,928	10.68
5	25,575	9.44
	-----	-----
	187,076	69.09%
	-----	-----
(b) <u>Junior</u>		
Grade 6	22,308	8.24
7	17,456	6.44
8	13,387	4.94
	-----	-----
	53,151	19.62%
	-----	-----
(c) <u>Senior</u>		
Grade 9	10,939	4.04
10	8,714	3.22
10 (2)	5,429	2.00
	-----	-----
	25,082	9.26%
	-----	-----
(d) <u>Collegiate</u>		
Grade 11	1,399	0.52
12	3,790	1.40
	-----	-----
	5,189	1.92%
	-----	-----
(e) <u>University</u>		
Arts	128	0.05
Commerce	47	0.02
Law	13	0.00
Engineering	25	0.01
Medicine	20	0.01
Phy. Sc.	24	0.01
Bio. Sc.	30	0.01
Dental	01	0.00
Vet. Sc.	01	0.00
Agriculture	09	0.00
Architecture	01	0.00
	-----	-----
	299	0.11%
	-----	-----
Total	270,797	100%
	-----	-----

Numerical and Percentage distribution of University of Ceylon

Students : by Ethnic Origin.

Year	Sinhalese		Tamils		Muslims		Others		Total
	No:	%	No:	%	No:	%	No:	%	
1942	519	57.4	289	32.0	25	2.7	71	7.9	904
1943	509	56.3	307	34.0	21	2.3	67	7.4	904
1944	575	57.8	325	32.6	29	2.9	67	6.7	996
1945	624	58.6	337	31.7	28	2.6	76	7.1	1065
1946	803	61.7	383	29.4	37	2.8	79	6.1	1302
1947	952	61.3	458	29.5	45	2.9	101	6.3	1554
1948	977	61.5	492	31.0	40	2.5	80	5.0	1589
1949	1114	60.4	592	32.1	40	2.2	98	5.3	1844
1950	1218	59.8	670	32.9	46	2.3	102	5.0	2036
1951	1346	60.9	729	33.0	46	2.1	89	4.1	2210
1952	1338	60.8	724	32.9	39	1.8	101	4.5	2202
1953	1439	60.2	807	33.7	41	1.7	105	4.4	2392
1954	1461	60.0	830	34.1	42	1.7	101	4.2	2434
1955	1453	59.8	840	34.5	54	2.2	84	3.5	2431
1956	1526	60.2	874	34.5	57	2.3	77	3.0	2534
1957	1631	60.0	944	34.7	54	2.0	89	3.3	2718
1958	1876	63.6	936	31.7	72	2.5	66	2.2	2950
1959	1983	62.4	1065	33.5	66	2.1	63	2.0	3177
1960	2468	67.0	1085	29.4	67	1.8	64	1.8	3684
1961	3323	71.4	1187	25.5	84	1.8	61	1.3	4655
1962	3703	72.4	1252	24.5	89	1.7	73	1.4	5117
1963	4290	75.2	1266	22.2	89	1.5	61	1.1	5706
1964	5247	73.1	1677	23.4	155	2.1	103	1.4	7182
1965	8371	78.1	2051	19.1	219	2.0	82	0.8	10723
1966	8175	78.0	2013	19.0	232	2.0	81	0.8	10501

Source : Statistical Abstract of Ceylon.

DEVELOPMENT IN UNIVERSITY EDUCATION: THE GROWTH OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CEYLON (1942 - 1965).

VACANCIES IN MUSLIM SCHOOLS

DISTRICT	Principals	GRADUATES		TRAINED TEACHERS					Moulavis	Others	Total
		Science	Arts & Commerce	English	Science	Maths	General	Other Specialists			
1. Colombo	-	-	-	-	06	08	35	03	-	-	52
2. Gampaha	04	02	09	11	13	09	30	15	01	02	96
3. Kalutara	-	10	11	09	10	13	65	19	05	-	142
4. Kandy	06	15	-	25	48	-	138	09	18	30	289
5. Matale	-	08	18	10	17	12	51	21	14	113	264
6. Nuwara Eliya	01	-	0	02	-	02	09	01	01	-	16
7. Galle	-	03	08	-	11	04	12	05	04	-	47
8. Matara	-	03	04	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	17
9. Tangalle (Hambantota)	-	-	04	-	06	07	-	10	01	-	28
10. Jaffna	-	-	-	02	-	-	08	-	05	-	15
11. Mullaitivu	01	-	-	01	01	-	03	-	-	01	07
12. Vavuniya	02	-	01	03	02	01	11	05	03	05	33
13. Mannar	11	09	15	39	-	-	-	-	02	43	119
14. Batticaloa	28	04	07	52	28	11	272	-	04	63	469
15. Amparai	-	18	11	115	03	-	205	-	34	-	386
16. Trincomalee	45	02	07	66	16	-	296	50	10	-	492
17. Kurunegala	40	04	26	85	40	45	150	74	40	-	504
18. Chilaw (Puttalam)	40	02	12	44	23	17	111	26	09	03	287
19. Anuradhapura	22	04	06	45	23	32	69	44	34	23	302
20. Polonnaruwa	14	-	-	29	-	-	34	-	13	-	90
21. Bandarawela (Badulla)	12	-	05	10	05	-	15	-	04	14	65
22. Monaragalla	-	-	-	-	-	-	03	-	01	-	04
23. Ratnapura	06	02	02	06	05	-	12	09	06	-	48
24. Kegalle	-	06	07	08	11	11	-	05	02	-	50
TOTAL	232	92	153	562	268	172	1539	296	211	297	3822

P.S. In view of the large number of Muslim students attending Sinhala and Tamil Schools all over the island there are about 100 vacancies for Moulavi Teachers in such schools bringing the total number of Moulavis required to 311.

Facilities available in Government Schools (1980)

Educational District	No.of Schools	Library	Science Labs.
1. Colombo	251	126	128
2. Homagama	200	99	95
3. Gampaha	345	123	158
4. Minuwangoda	249	45	90
5. Kalutara	462	118	111
6. Galle	511	163	179
7. Matara	418	148	118
8. Tangalle	279	50	58
9. Moneragala	175	16	16
10. Amparai	102	36	23
11. Polonnaruwa	146	18	37
12. Anuradhapura	507	91	61
13. Puttalam	142	31	18
14. Chilaw	171	59	52
15. Jaffna	559	116	166
16. Mannar	97	9	16
17. Vavuniya	213	16	23
18. Trincomalee	195	41	35
19. Batticaloa	246	21	28
20. Kalmunai	156	9	21
21. Kandy East	306	79	67
22. Kandy West	400	109	89
23. Matale	287	50	64
24. Nuwara Eliya	326	75	84
25. Bandarawela	342	88	63
26. Ratnapura	546	128	123
27. Kegalle	569	164	157
28. Kurunegala	386	98	138
29. Kuliyaipitiya	286	100	93
30. Nikaweratiya	245	23	35
Total	9117	2249	2351

Source : School Census 1980

SUMMARY OF SCHOOLS, TEACHERS CLASSIFIED BY EDUCATION DISTRICT AND ACADEMIC/PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS
AND TEACHER PUPIL RATIO (1980)

Serial No.	Educational District	Schools	Graduates		University Diploma Science and Mathematics	Teacher-Pupil Ratio	Total L.K.G. No.	Drop-outs to Grade 8 Ratio
			Science and Mathematics	Arts, Commerce and Accounting				
1.	Colombo	251	364	1,450	25	23.99	1,786	1.06
2.	Homagama	200	45	743	15	23.03	2,688	3.25
3.	Campaha	345	113	1,002	18	24.88	4,113	2.94
4.	Minuwangoda	249	55	413	11	24.47	3,200	3.81
5.	Kalutara	462	104	866	11	23.21	4,286	3.19
6.	Galle	511	133	1,388	13	23.34	4,938	3.35
7.	Matara	418	87	1,012	4	22.44	3,504	2.09
8.	Tangalle	279	35	834	5	27.31	2,441	3.08
9.	Moneragala	175	13	350	-	28.10	333	0.74
10.	Amparai	102	7	212	1	29.39	260	1.05
11.	Polonnaruwa	146	11	369	1	26.48	2,175	4.99
12.	Anuradhapura	507	30	744	2	23.47	3,636	3.98
13.	Puttalam	142	7	99	-	28.45	1,679	5.24
14.	Chilaw	171	32	315	4	21.32	2,797	5.62
15.	Jaffna	559	460	700	2	29.41	4,141	2.86
16.	Mannar	97	20	73	-	27.04	1,043	5.99
17.	Vavuniya	213	23	123	1	27.71	1,206	4.57
18.	Trincomalee	195	43	215	1	30.65	1,874	3.98
19.	Batticaloa	246	57	144	-	31.04	2,590	4.69
20.	Kalmunai	156	23	107	1	28.72	901	2.01
21.	Kandy East	306	52	631	7	22.31	4,140	2.07
22.	Kandy West	400	135	1,091	13	20.37	2,591	3.99
23.	Matale	287	49	513	4	21.48	3,846	4.35
24.	Nuwara Eliya	326	38	651	9	23.83	1,649	2.08
25.	Bandarawela	342	48	807	3	20.96	4,059	3.17
26.	Ratnapura	546	36	805	12	24.35	3,316	2.74
27.	Kegalle	569	84	1,043	7	21.27	3,600	3.05
28.	Kurunegala	386	82	948	10	19.62	2,579	4.24
29.	Kuliyaipitiya	286	40	502	6	20.24	2,250	3.89
30.	Nikaweratiya	245	12	299	1	29.94		
Total		9,117	2,238	18,450	187	23.99	77,621	3.11

Source : School Census 1980

UNIVERSITY ADMISSIONS 1975

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS BY THEIR DISTRICTS OF ORIGIN

District	Population Percentage	Medicine & Dental Surgery	Actual selection on District basis	Hypothetical Selection According to Merit	Actual Selection on District basis	Engineering & Science	Hypothetical selection according to order of merit
COLOMBO	21.03	110	132	70	129		
KALUTARA	5.76	15	11	20	16		
KANDY	9.34	24	17	31	11		
MATALE	2.49	08	03	08	03		
NUWARA ELIYA	3.57	02	02	06	-		
GALLE	5.80	29	18	20	24		
MATARA	4.63	08	05	15	20		
HAMBANTOTA	2.68	01	-	08	-		
JAFFNA	5.54	20	61	20	56		
MANNAR	0.61	01	01	01	-		
VAVUNIYA	0.75	-	-	-	-		
BATTICALOA	2.03	06	04	07	02		
AMPARAI	2.14	-	-	01	01		
TRINCOMALEE	1.51	03	01	05	05		
KURUNEGALA	8.09	12	03	26	09		
PUTTALAM	2.99	03	02	10	02		
ANURADHAPURA	3.06	02	01	04	01		
POLONNARUWA	1.20	01	-	01	-		
BADULLA	4.84	02	01	07	02		
MONERAGALA	1.51	-	-	02	01		
RATNAPURA	5.21	11	07	10	05		
KEGALLE	5.13	08	06	18	03		
	100.00	275	275	290	290		

Source : Planning & Research Unit, University of Sri Lanka

STUDENT POPULATION BY GRADE 11 AND 12 AND SEX - GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

Serial No	Education District	Grade 11				Grade 12				Grade 12				Total	Grand Total
		Science		Arts & Commerce		Science		Arts & Commerce		Arts & Commerce		Total			
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
1.	Colombo	1897	1556	1481	2031	3273	2781	2501	3167	9152	9535	18687			
2.	Homagama	304	409	608	959	611	647	1048	1798	2571	3808	6379			
3.	Gampaha	661	653	1226	1830	1381	1581	2338	1547	5606	7611	13217			
4.	Minuwangoda	272	364	586	886	511	475	927	1650	2296	3375	5671			
5.	Kalutara	490	688	897	1702	1137	1644	1679	3464	4203	7498	11701			
6.	Galle	858	949	1289	2133	1707	1955	2435	4236	6289	9173	15462			
7.	Matara	574	641	1062	1807	1466	1349	2048	3767	5150	7564	12714			
8.	Tangalle	252	230	686	1255	473	534	1475	2348	2886	4367	7253			
9.	Moneragala	47	31	839	459	131	70	387	416	904	976	1880			
10.	Amparai	106	65	231	300	102	71	217	337	656	773	1429			
11.	Polonnaruwa	84	111	340	491	127	117	288	411	829	1130	1959			
12.	Anuradhapura	162	161	597	8834	392	321	927	1174	2079	2490	4569			
13.	Chilaw	224	205	432	560	331	343	605	887	1592	1995	3587			
14.	Puttalam	15	24	100	84	83	59	157	128	355	295	650			
15.	Jaffna	1425	1257	816	1425	3458	2744	1232	2206	6931	7632	14563			
16.	Mannar	76	47	102	129	151	9	151	153	480	428	908			
17.	Vavuniya	100	84	11	165	1985	141	108	146	504	538	1042			
18.	Trincomalee	163	114	193	284	382	221	223	318	961	937	1898			
19.	Batticaloa	386	323	321	318	543	305	247	304	1497	1240	2737			
20.	Kalmunai	451	239	242	184	409	205	223	180	1325	808	2133			
21.	Kandy East	206	226	714	1106	445	382	1080	1600	2445	3304	5749			
22.	Kandy West	734	505	1381	1780	1435	1579	1785	2804	5335	6658	11993			
23.	Matale	228	241	548	751	516	488	645	1137	1927	2617	4544			
24.	Nuwara Eliya	194	136	631	814	368	272	816	1065	2009	2296	4295			
25.	Bandarawela	290	242	723	904	561	451	504	1117	2478	2714	5192			
26.	Anuradhapura	313	341	888	1596	665	671	1142	2176	3008	4784	7792			
27.	Kegalle	648	408	1557	2012	1351	764	2215	2784	5771	5568	11739			
28.	Kurunegala	405	528	1005	1700	1276	1015	1813	3199	4099	6442	10941			
29.	Kuliyaipitiya	172	227	542	887	388	531	1154	1800	2266	3445	5701			
30.	Nikaweratiya	102	90	408	501	173	133	663	738	2346	1462	2808			
Total		11829	11075	20056	29879	24031	21948	31424	48951	87340	111853	199193			

Source : School Census 1980.

Percentage distribution of Undergraduate Entrants by Academic Streams and Ethnicity
for the academic year 1977/78m 1978/79 & 1979/80

Academic Stream:	Arts - oriented studied		Phy.Sc/Bio.Sc. & Architecture		Medicine & Dentistry		Veterinary Science		Engineering						
	77/78	78/79	79/80	77/78	78/79	79/80	77/78	78/79	79/80	77/78	78/79	79/80			
Indic ethnicity															
HALA	83.6	NA	81.4	68.4	62.7	65.6	54.7	60.0	55.6	46.7	NA	59.3	60.1	66.1	65.7
IL	15.4	NA	13.5	30.1	33.6	30.5	44.9	36.6	42.4	50.0	NA	33.3	37.9	29.6	30.3
ERS	4.0	NA	5.1	1.5	3.7	3.9	0.4	3.4	2.0	3.3	NA	7.4	2.0	4.3	4.0

Source : U.G.C. (Research Division)

Percent distribution of Undergraduate Entrants by Academic Stream and Ethnicity
for the academic year 1980/81, 1981/82 and 1982/83

Academic Stream :	Arts	Law	Phy. Science	Biological Sc.	Medicine	Engineering
Ethnicity	80/81 81/82 82/83	80/81 81/82 82/83	80/81 81/82 82/83	80/81 81/82 82/83	80/81 81/82 82/83	80/81 81/82 82/83
SINHALA	82.8 79.4 77.1	73.0 68.8 78.5	63.5 61.1 73.4	72.5 71.7 70.3	72.7 72.4 72.8	68.2 66.9 66.4
TAMIL	13.3 16.3 16.4	16.2 24.0 11.5	31.8 33.5 23.1	24.3 26.1 23.1	23.1 25.3 22.1	28.1 28.5 28.1
OTHERS	3.9 4.3 6.5	10.8 7.2 10.0	4.7 5.4 3.5	3.2 2.2 6.6	4.2 2.3 5.1	4.7 4.6 5.5

Source : U.G.C. (Research Division)

Where there was 51% of Muslim children in a school, he declared it to be a Muslim School with a Muslim Head.

As Minister of Education, Al-Haj Dr. Badiudin Mahmud, conscious of the grave disabilities of the Muslims of Sri Lanka, due to their educational backwardness, tried very hard to give the Muslims their rightful share in the construction of schools, the up grading of the existing schools, provision of educational equipments and facilities, appointment of teachers and educational officials in proportion to the Muslim population, out of the appointment he made for the country.

Muslims have a long way to go in order to keep pace with the progress the other communities have made in the field of education. According to the Survey of Sri Lanka's Consumer Finance 1973, a report published by the Central Bank of Ceylon, the illitracy among the Muslims is second only to the Indian estate Tamils. The educational facilities available to both primary and post-primary education for young Muslims are much less than those available to the other communities. Today our schools are without proper buildings and equipments. Our schools are functioning without teachers. We have a shortage of 3822 teachers in 684 Muslim Schools. The proportion of Muslim students admitted to the Universities is a matter of another important grievance of the Muslims. Only 3.8 per cent of those who gained admission to the universities are Muslims. Here again you will find that only half of the ethnic ratio of the Muslims have entered the Universities, mostly to the Arts Faculty.

GRIEVANCE NO. 07 - POLITICAL EXPLOITATION

Muslims do not have a political party of their own. They have placed their trust mostly, in the United National Party and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. It is well known that the leadership of the Muslim Community is always from the Sinhalese speaking areas, particularly from the western region and they should be responsible for the pathetic plight of the Muslims in this country today. These leadership have been alienating Muslim Political support unconditionally, during election times, either to the UNP or SLFP. Immediately after the

election Muslim leaders and their family members were adequately rewarded and the community is conveniently forgotten till the next election. The obligations of these Muslim leaders are more towards their Sinhalese patrons than towards their community. This practice gave rise to the emergence of Muslim leadership not quite familiar with the grievances and aspirations of the community.

Nearly a third of the Muslim population of Sri Lanka lives in the Eastern Province. It is from the Eastern Province that the Muslim Representatives are elected by the muslims and today we have five (5) Muslims elected by the Eastern Province Muslims, to Parliament, but for more than 50 years, not a single Muslim Parliamentarian elected by the Muslims of the Eastern Province was made a Cabinet Minister. This is a clear example of exploitation of the Muslims of the Tamil Speaking Area by the Muslims of the Sinhalese Speaking Area in connivance with their Sinhalese patrons. It is the main reason for the backwardness of the Muslims in the Tamil Speaking Area.

In the present UNP government there are three (3) Muslim Ministers, all are elected from the Sinhalese majority electorates from Sinhalese Speaking Areas. Cabinet Ministers, Foreign Diplomatic Assignments and the Chairmanship of State Corporations and Boards are given only to Muslims representing the Sinhalese and those support, in many ways, the Sinhalese Political Leadership. In short, they are Muslim Political opportunist appointed and kept for a purpose to look after the interests of the Sinhalese and not the Muslims. Their appointments are mere window-dressing to hoodwink the Arab and Muslim countries for the purpose of Middle East Employment which brings the second largest revenue in foreign exchange to the country, export of tea and other commodities, import of oil on easy terms and to obtain help from Muslim countries to traffic Israeli Zionist and Western Imperial Arms to crush minority struggle against discrimination.

GRIEVANCE NO. 08 - SECURITY AND PROTECTION

The violence that were unleashed in the past against the Muslims in Kirinda, Ratnapura, Galle, Kalutara, Panadura, Kelaniya,

VALUE OF DAMAGES SUSTAINED BY MUSLIMS

District	Number of Cases	Amount	Burnt or looted	
			Houses	Shops/Factories
Colombo	128	Rs. 231,260,966.00	20	108
Kandy	28	Rs. 5,155,500.00	03	25
Badulla	41	Rs. 7,505,061.00	03	28
Trincomalee	20	Rs. 2,306,973.00	04	16
Kalutara	14	Rs. 3,521,250.00	01	13
Mannar	17	Rs. 210,800.00	-	17
Puttalam	03	Rs. 578,000.00	-	03
Batticaloa	05	Rs. 388,765.00	-	05
Kegalle	17	Rs. 2,408,500.00	-	17
Matale	08	Rs. 649,596.00	-	08
Nuwara Eliya	05	Rs. 1,193,776.00	-	05
Gampaha	10	Rs. 2,746,938.00	-	10
Ratnapura	03	Rs. 26,600.00	-	03
Vavuniya	01	Rs. Not given	-	01
SRI LANKA	300	Rs. 257,952,725.00 *		

* The above figures of damages are from the information received by the All Ceylon Muslim League and The Colombo Janaza & Welfare Society.

NAME OF MUSLIMS WHO HAVE BEEN MURDERED

1. Mr. Mohamed Cassim, 44/12, Solomon Avenue, Colombo 6.
2. Mr. Mohamed Najmudeen, 92/27, Cyril Kemis Mawatha, Colombo 5.
3. Mr. Kachchi Mohideen, Gorakana, Moratuwa.
4. Mr. Mohamed Nizar, 28/63, Forest Estate, Henamulla, Panadura.
5. Mr. S.M. Mohamed, Block C, 211/30 - 2/1, Jumma Masjid Road, Dematagoda.
6. Mr. Jainudeen Sherifdeen, 66/15, Baseline Road, Dematagoda.
7. Mr. A. Aboobucker, C/o. A. Mohamed Lebbe (Teacher, New Kattankudi).

ONE MOSQUE IN GONAWELA - KELANIYA WAS BURNT AND NOT YET RENOVATED.

ONE MOSQUE WITH A ZIARAM WAS DESTROYED IN MAWILMADA - KANDY DURING AMITY ALL PARTY TALKS JANUARY, 1984

Mawilmada, Dehiwela etc., have proved that the Muslims living scattered all over Sri Lanka, have no security for their life and property. One has to keep in mind the deep feeling of insecurity and alienation that was felt by the Muslims in the Sinhalese area after the latest spate of violence in July 1983, specially when the Muslims came to know about "The Second Plan to Attack the Muslims". During the July '83 violence, more than seven Muslims have been killed, 31 houses have been burned, 259 shops and factories have been destroyed or burnt. The total number of cases affected in various parts of the country was about 300 and the damage was estimated approximately Rupees 258 Millions. During this violence, the Sinhalese have threatened to attack Mosques if the calling of prayers "Azan" in Loudspeakers are not slowed down or completely stopped.

In 1975, five Muslims have been shot in a Mosque by armed Sinhalese Police officers, in Puttalam. One mosque with a Ziyaram was destroyed in Mawilmada, Kandy during January 1984. On 17th of May, 1986, a few Muslims have been attacked by Army Officers, in Slave Island, Colombo, when they were returning after Tharaweeth Prayers during Ramazan. Few years ago in the same area, number of Muslims were shot by the Police in the Mosque premises, when they objected for the use of Mosque Loudspeakers for un-Islamic activities. All these happened in the Sinhalese areas. Under the present political set up the Muslim leadership and the community were unable to prevent such occurrence in the future.

BETRAYAL OF NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES.

From what had happened to the Muslim Community after Independence in 1948, one finds it very difficult to accept the view that the United National Party and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party are truly national parties. We cannot judge these parties at their face value. When one bears in mind, the policies that have been pursued in this country after the independence, by successive governments, which are headed by one or the other of these parties, on citizenship, Language, Education, Religion, Employment, Colonisation, Inter-communal relationship, particularly in relation to the safety and security of the minorities,

one finds it difficult, infact impossible to accept their position as National Parties. Infact they are communal parties by the majority Sinhalese to lookafter the interest of the Sinhalese only. The Muslim members of these parties are expected to fall in line with the decisions of the Sinhalese leaership even on matters which are harmful to other minority communities. The minority community members who are not prepared to accept this position have been asked to leave the party or threatened to be kicked out.

THEREFORE THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE MUSLIMS TO CONSIDER SERIOUSLY THE PRESENT TREND TO REDUCE THEM TO THE POSITION OF MERE HEWERS OF WOOD AND DRAWERS OF WATER AND TO TAKE SUITABLE ACTION TO PROTECT AND PRESERVE THE INDEPENDENCE AND IDENTITY OF THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY AS A RECOGNISED ETHNIC GROUP IN SRI LANKA.

**GRIEVANCES UNDER THE
LAND AND COLONISATION
POLICIES**

Land Policies covering subjects such as Land Use, Land Development, Land Settlement and allied matters are of utmost importance. Land use and Settlement have come to be acknowledged in Sri Lanka as "Colonisation" in effect "State Aided Colonisation". Colonisation has been accepted as one of the main grievances affecting the minorities-Tamils and Muslims in Sri Lanka.

The United National Party in its Election Manifesto of 1977, identified Colonisation as being one of the several grievances that had led to the present communal unrest in the country.

The History of Colonisation dates back to 1932, when Representative Government started the experiment of settling the landless peasants in an area which had been provided with facilities at State expenses. The main object of State Aided Settlement is to provide land to the landless, both Agricultural and Residential Land. Alienation of State Land in Colonisation Schemes, involves the expenditure of large amount of State Funds in Land Development, provision of irrigation facilities, various subsidies, housing and other infrastructures. In short the State does everything for the allottees, to start a new life away from home.

In our economic development land and water are the most versatile National Resources. With the attainment of Self-Government, they were being developed in a spirit of sharing these resources equally among all Sri Lankans. Unfortunately the Land Policies pursued hitherto by successive Governments after the Independence have had their far reaching adverse effects.

1. The Minorities have been denied their legitimate share of Developed State Land.
2. Deprivation of Land, more particularly developed land, to landless people in the Districts of Land alienation.
3. Substantial alteration in the Ethnic composition of the Districts in which State Land have been alienated.

This has contributed to the growth of tension and hostilities amongst different communities resulting in Ethnic Violence. The victims of such violence have always been the Minorities.

MUSLIMS HAVE BEEN DENIED THEIR LEGITIMATE SHARE

OF

DEVELOPED STATE LAND.

PERIOD FROM 1932 TO 1950

The first experiment of Land Settlement was started at Minneriya in Thammankaduwa area. It was here that the idea of Colonisation took shape and spread into areas like Parakrama Samudra in Polonnaruwa, Kagama in Kalawewa, Iranamadu in the North, Ridiyagama in the South and Elahera and Manipe in the Central part of Sri Lanka. Settlement in these major Schemes are for the majority Community. Even the few allotments given for the Muslims were unsuitable and they have been compelled to leave.

PERIOD FROM 1950 TO 1977

Experiments gained in the early land development ventures, the Government started the Gal Oya in Batticaloa, Mahavillachiya in Anuradhapura, Atharagallawa and Hakwata Oya in Kurunegala, Unnichchai in Batticaloa, Allai in Trinco, Mankulam and Vannikulam in Vavuniya, Thabbowa in Puttalam Kaduwela, Minneriya II, Divulukadawala, Parakrama Samudra III (Sungavil) in Polonnaruwa.

In these Schemes some lands were given to Muslims but in sporadic manner. Even the settlements meant for the Muslims in the Schemes like Unnichchai, Sungavila, Thambala and Majeed Puram were in the tail ends of the Schemes with very little or no water for proper cultivation. The area in which Muslims were settled do not have even drinking water in dry season. This situation had led to the Muslims leaving the allotments or transferring the rights to the interested parties.

PERIOD FROM 1977 UP TO NOW

Lands alienated during this period would fall into a third category which are being alienated under Major Irrigation Schemes on one hand and under the Mahaweli accelerated schemes on the other. Lunugamvehera in the Southern Province, Inginimitiya in the North Central Province and the accelerated Mahaweli Schemes.

The Main Settlements that have taken place in Sri Lanka are as follows:

1. Major Colonisation Schemes under which there are 105 Irrigation Schemes accounting for approximately 339,687 acres with 75,212 allotments. These Schemes are mainly based on the development of tanks and the land alienated are owned by the State. The extent of alienation ranges from 2-5 acres per allotment.

2. Village expansion Schemes accounting to 284,684 acres with 297,670 allottees.

The programme of Village expansion is essentially on land acquired for this purpose and in most cases adjacent to existing Villages and the purpose of this is to provide land for the construction of houses and the extent of allotments are rather small from a few perches to less than an acre.

3. Youth Settlement Schemes. These Schemes are generally to train and provide facilities for agricultural activities for educated youths of this country. There are about 56 such Schemes accounting to 6,442 acres with 3,212 allottees. Most of the youth settlement schemes are very productive and give good income for the youths. Passion Fruits Schemes of Hewasa in Kalutara is an example. The extent of alienation is fairly reasonable with extent varying from 3-5 acres. The allottees are given all facilities to acquire specialised knowledge in agriculture, marketing and development of land.

4. Middle Class Colonisation Schemes. These schemes are essentially meant for plantation agriculture to be developed by resourceful persons. The extent of land alienated was large enough between 15-25 acres per allotment. The allottees are supported by many forms of subsidies to develop their lands. There are about 133,381 acres alienated to 10,934 allottees. Most of these schemes are in the high land area of Morawaka and Deniyaye and being cultivated with Tea and Rubber.

5. Highland Colonisation. There are about 31,774 acres allotted to about 9,210 allottees in 67 schemes and these schemes are mainly in the upcountry area for planting Tea and Rubber. The size of the allotments are rather small ranging from 2-4 acres and the alienation is to the landless villagers. To support the scheme, the State has provided facilities for agricultural advice and also provide factories for processing the raw materials.

6. Other Settlement Schemes. Marginal Land 19,396 acres and 604 allottees.
 Special Lease Schemes 13,221 acres and 106 allottees. There are also Special Schemes that have been established for the purpose of special developments funded by Foreign Aids. Muthukandia is one such scheme funded by the Government of Australia as an experimental dry farming project. The size of allotments is 6 acres providing basic facilities for the development of different type of agricultural activities. An important feature of this scheme is the provision of a pond in the allotment itself to conserve water for cultivation. Each allottee is provided with facilities for livestock farming, planting citrus, for a plot of paddy and for the cultivation of various cereals. The allottee is assisted with cash subsidies, subsidised planting materials, agricultural inputs and facilities for marketing.

TOTAL EXTENT OF STATE DEVELOPED LAND ALIENATED UNDER VARIOUS SCHEMES IS 828,585 ACRES. THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ALLOTEES ARE 396,952. ACCORDING TO ETHNIC RATIO 30,168 MUSLIM ALLOTEES SHOULD HAVE BEEN GIVEN 62,972 ACRES OF STATE DEVELOPED LAND IN VARIOUS SETTLEMENT SCHEMES. BUT INFORMATION AVAILABLE IN DISTRICT LAND KACHCHERIES HAVE PROVED THAT THE MUSLIMS, BEING 7.6% OF THE NATIONAL POPULATION, HAVE NOT RECEIVED THEIR LEGITIMATE SHARE OF DEVELOPED STATE LAND.

The Majority Community - Sinhalese, who are 74% of the population have been given most of the State Developed Land in all the Settlement Schemes.

Land settlement policies of successive Governments, particularly after the independence have worked out to be detrimental to the Muslim Community in this country. If Sri Lanka was known to be the Granary of the East in ancient time, we could call Batticaloa, the Pattipola Aru Basin, the present Amparai - the Granary of Sri Lanka. Muslims of Amparai were experts in opening out thick jungle and establishing paddy fields. It is this that prompted Hon. D.S. Senanayake to call up on Gate Mudaliyar M.S. Kariapper to send Muslims to open out jungles of Polonnaruwa for settlement.

When the country began the Grow More Food Campaign before the Independence, the Muslims in Amparai, the former Batticaloa District, were almost forced to open more jungles to cultivate paddy. They were issued LDO Permits to do so. The policy of the Government at that time was to clear as much land as possible to grow more food. The landless Muslims of the Eastern Province, cleared thick jungle at great expense in order to cultivate paddy by themselves and their dependents. I give below some of the areas opened out on permits under LDO .

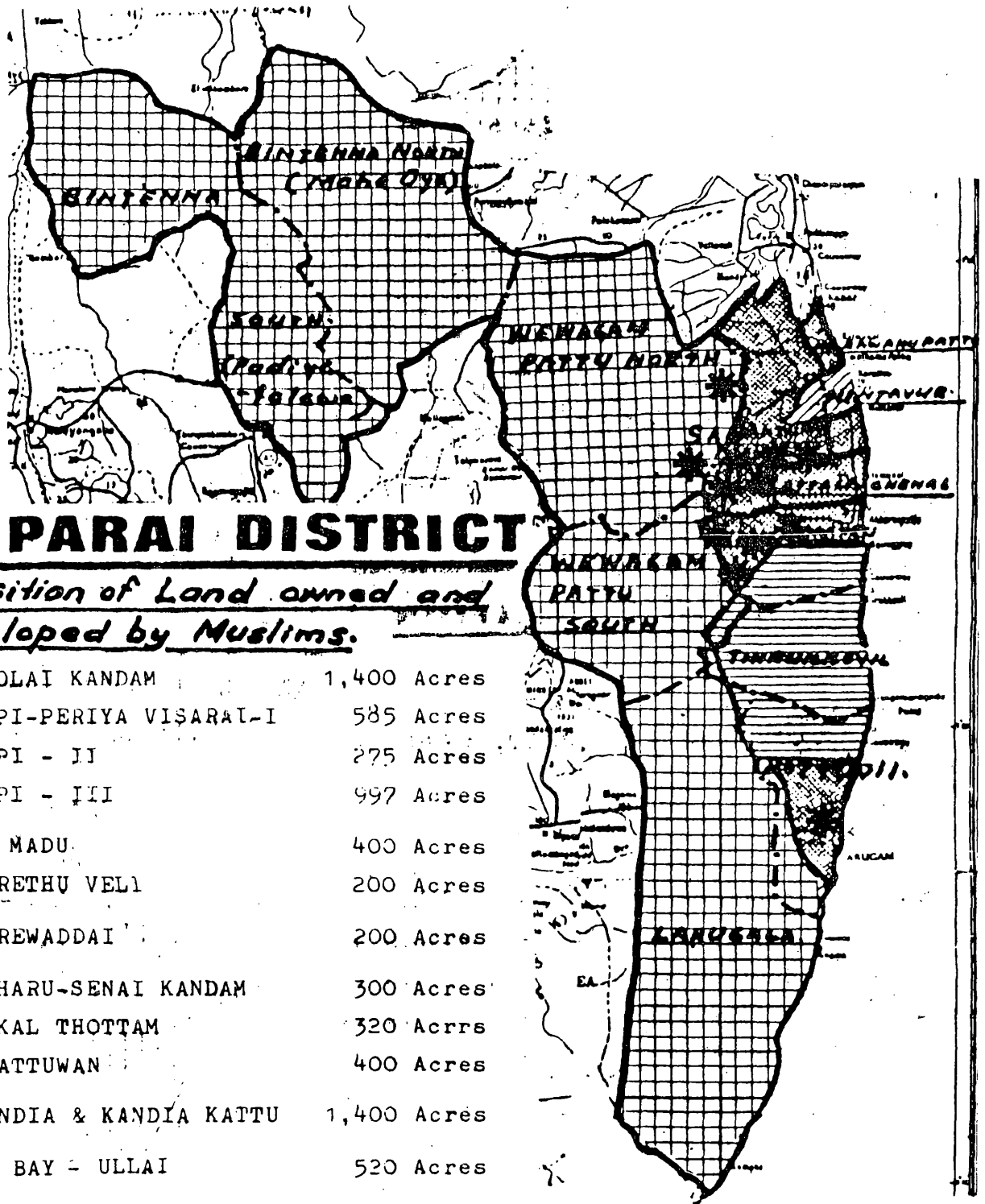
Noraicholai Kandan	1,400 acres
Valemarathuvelli Kandan	200 acres
Ambalatharu-Senaikandan	300 acres
Periyavisarai Kandan -	
Digawapi - I	585 acres
Digawapi - II	275 acres
Digawapi - III	997 acres
Vikkalmadu	400 acres
Siyathrewaddai	200 acres
Vellakalthottam	320 acres
Kondavettuwan	400 acres
Mahakandiya & Kandian Kattu	1,400 acres
Arugambai-Ullai	<u>520 acres</u>
Total	6,997 acres
	=====

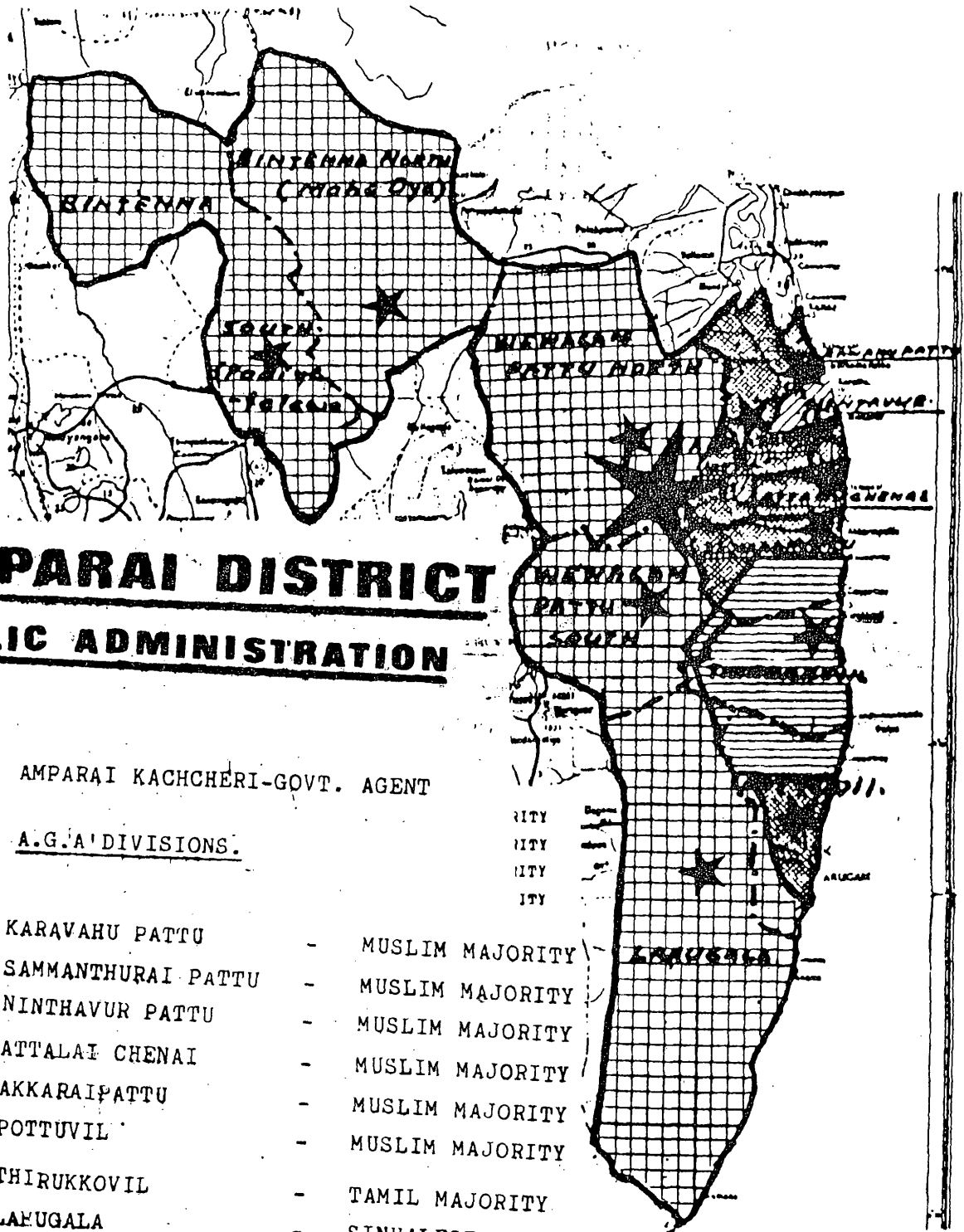
DEPRIVATION OF LAND, MORE PARTICULARLY DEVELOPED LAND

TO THE LANDLESS PEOPLE

IN THE

DISTRICT OF LAND ALIENATION





AMPARAI DISTRICT

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION



AMPARAI KACHCHERI-GOVT. AGENT

A.G.A' DIVISIONS.

KARAVAHU PATTU	-	MUSLIM MAJORITY
SAMMANTHURAI PATTU	-	MUSLIM MAJORITY
NINTHAVUR PATTU	-	MUSLIM MAJORITY
ATTALAI CHENAI	-	MUSLIM MAJORITY
AKKARAI PATTU	-	MUSLIM MAJORITY
POTTUVIL	-	MUSLIM MAJORITY
THIRUKKOVIL	-	TAMIL MAJORITY
LAFUGALA	-	SINHALESE MAJORITY
WEWAGAMPATTU SOUTH	-	SINHALESE MAJORITY
WEWAGAMPATTU NORTH	-	SINHALESE MAJORITY
BINTENNA NORTH	-	SINHALESE MAJORITY
BINTENNA SOUTH	-	SINHALESE MAJORITY
+	SINHALESE AREA.	=====
	TAMIL AREA.	
	MUSLIM AREA	■

When Gal Oya Development Scheme was inaugurated the late Hon. D.S. Senanayake stated that the lands that were to become arable would be distributed among the local peasants. It was said that it was the POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT THAT AT LEAST 50% OF THE NEW LANDS THAT WERE TO BECOME CULTIVATABLE UNDER THE GAL OYA DEVELOPMENT SCHEME WOULD BE DISTRIBUTED ON A 50-50 BASIS BETWEEN THE LOCAL CITIZENS OF THE BATTICALOA DISTRICT AND THE WOULD BE COLONISTS FROM OUTSIDE BATTICALOA DISTRICT.

It was on the strength of this promise and the policy of the Government the local Muslims who were noted for their fearlessness and ability for opening thick jungles, risked their lives and came forward to work under the Gal Oya Scheme. The successive Governments, whether they are UNP or SLFP, not only failed to impliment the so called policy of 50-50 distribution but also adopted various methods to ensure the economic and political weakening of the Muslims in the Gal Oya Valley.

Opening of the Gal Oya Scheme was a great boon to the people of Sri Lanka. However, this has been used as a device to deprive the Muslims to live and own lands under this Scheme. This would be seen from the Settlement Policy worked out since the opening of the Gal Oya Scheme.

Noraicholai Kandan Plan 273-Village 9A.

This area is about 5 miles from the predominant Muslim Village of Akkaraipattu 1,400 acres was given to the Muslims under LDO Permit to open out the jungle and cultivate paddy. The Muslims developed this area at great expense even at the loss of life and limbs. They became some of the finest paddy fields in this area.

The River Valley Development Board the successor to the Gal Oya Board, without any notice or compensation to these Muslim cultivators with LDO Permits, handed over the whole area to the Sugar Corporation. They sent the Bull-dozer to destroy the paddy fields and took over the land for sugar cultivation. Hundreds of Muslims were thrown out on the road.

The land taken over chasing the Muslims proved a dismal failure for sugar cultivation. One thousand four hundred acres of fertile paddy fields were reduced to shrub jungle. Recently, the Government has settled Sinhalese brought from outside instead of giving the land back to the Muslims who developed these lands on LDO Permits or to their dependants.

Similarly Muslims who developed the State land with LDO Permits have been chased out from Valamarethveli Kadam - Plan 819 Village 9A; Ambaltharu Colony and Ambalam Oya Kadam - Lot 124 & 125 in Plan 293; Chenai Kadam Lot 122 & 123 in Plan 293. TOTAL LAND FROM WHICH MUSLIMS HAVE BEEN CHASED AWAY WITH THEIR LDO PERMITS (AND GIVEN TO SINHALESE BROUGHT FROM OUTSIDE) AMOUNTS TO MORE THAN 7,000 ACRES.

The Sri Lanka Sugar Corporation at Ingurana, Gal Oya; Tile Factory under Ministry of Industries at Irrakkamam, The River Valley Development Board - the successor to the Gal Oya Development Board, too over the fertile paddy fields of the Muslims without due regard to the provisions of the law relating to acquisition of land. This has resulted in the Muslims not getting alternate land or compensation.

It is a different story altogether in the Sevanagala Sugar Development Project in the Uda Walawa Scheme in Embilipitiya. Thousands of unauthorised squatters who did not have even the LDO Permits were given first the compensation and a subsistence of Rs. 550/= per month, till the land illegally occupied by them is fully developed for sugar cultivation and given back to them at the rate of three to five acres. They are also given a developed plot of one acre high land and a free house. No one is displaced on account of Sugar cultivation project as happened in Gal Oya and not a single Muslim or Tamil is brought from outside the area. What happened in Gal Oya Development Scheme is a deliberate discrimination against the Muslims.

PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE MUSLIMS OF TRINCOMALEE DISTRICTS.

Before the introduction of the Kantalai and Allai Colonisation Schemes, Kantalai was predominantly a Muslim Village with a small Tamil popu-

lation. During this time Muslims cultivated about 4000 acres of paddy land at a place called Pottanai in Thampalakamam Pattu. When Kantalai Colonisation Scheme came in 1952 the promise and the Policy of the Government was 50% for the local and 50% for others. Quite contrary to this, the Muslim cultivators who had been in the land for more than 30 years were chased away without any compensation. These lands were given to the Sinhalese in 1954.

The Battukachchi area which is presently called Akbarpuram were earlier pasture land of the people of the area. Here also they chased the Muslims and colonised with Sinhalese. Even now there is a Mosque and a Muslim school. When Kanthalai Sugar Corporation was established in 1958, more Sinhalese came in and occupied land along Alakantalai Road, depriving the lands of the Muslims. Kantalai, Pottanaikadu, Peraru are few of the purana Villages of the Muslims and Tamils which are now being occupied by the Sinhalese. Prior to 1965 the Local Government Village Council Chairman was a Muslim.

Kinniya which is the largest Muslim Village in Trincomalee has a population of 40,000. The poor landless farmers who lost their purana lands to the Sinhalese under Kantalai Colonisation Scheme, started clearing their immediate neighbouring jungle at a place called Vanaru. About 10,000 acres of land had been occupied by more than 3,000 Muslim Farmers from the villages in the area - Vanaru, Sundiaru, Maniarasan-kulam, Savaru, Kalaruppu, Valamadu, Vannathi palam, Katukuli, Naduluthu etc. In 1967, the Government introduced a scheme called Kusumangada Vanala Scheme and started chasing the Muslims who were in occupation of the land at Vanaru. It was during this time that a Police Station was opened at the heart of the jungle called Van-Ela Police Station to chase away the Muslims to were in occupation of the land and to help the Sinhalese to take possession of the lands developed by the Muslims.

The land available between Kinniya/Thampalakamam Road and Alaikanthalai Road was originally reserved for the village expansion of Kinniya, Kurunjakerney Alankerney and Thampalakamam. When the Tobacco Corporation came in at a place called Chondankadu area, closer to Mudalaimadu, the employees of the corporation started encroaching into these areas.

The lands owned by the Muslims are now forcibly being occupied by the Sinhalese. There is serious discrimination in Trincomalee Kachcheri. Annual Temporary LDO Permits were not renewed for the lands cleared and cultivated by the Muslims. But new Permits are issued to the Sinhalese who suddenly come and occupy the developed land of the Muslims. Muslims are thrown out without any compensation or alternate land.

In the Padavia Colonisation Scheme in that portion of the land that falls within the Trincomalee District in the Eastern Province, the entirety of the land was alienated to the Sinhalese. Needless to say that the entirety of the land under the Padavia Scheme that fell within the North Central Province was also given to the Sinhalese. Today, the Tamil Speaking people, Tamils and Muslims who held land on State Permits within the Trincomalee District very much before the implementation of Padavia, Allai and Kantalai colonisation schemes, on the boundry of such schemes are being compelled to vacate such lands.

SUBSTANTIAL ALTERATION OF THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION

OF THE DISTRICTS

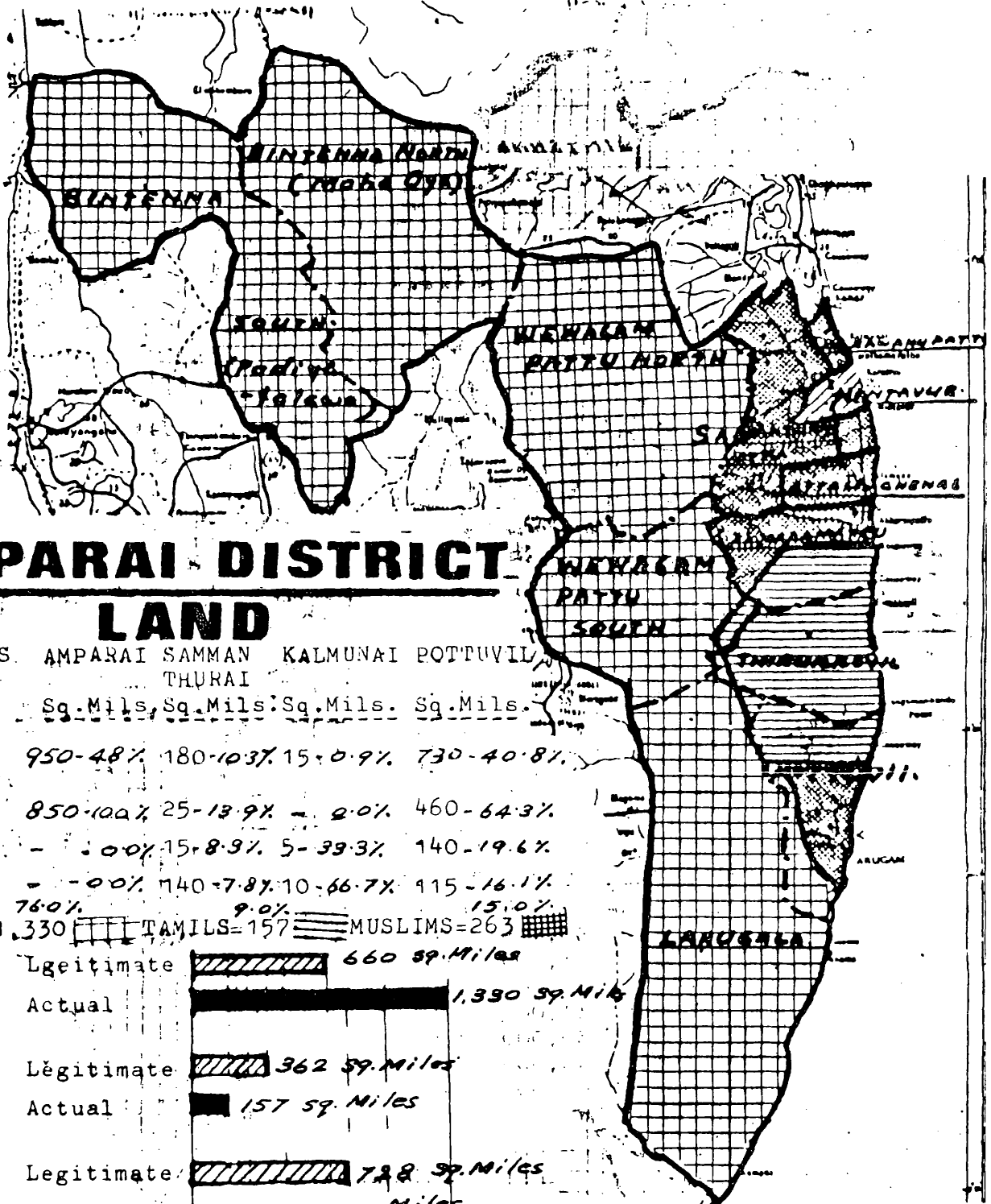
IN WHICH STATE LANDS HAVE BEEN ALIENATED.

Opening of the Gal Oya Scheme was a great boon to the people of Sri Lanka. However this has been used as a device to deprive the Muslims to live and own lands under this scheme. This would be seen from the Land Settlement Policy worked out since the opening of Gal Oya. The fact that between 1956 and 1960, while the Muslim voting strength increased from 44,000 to 52,000, the Sinhalese strength suddenly shot up from 3,905 to 23,000. This is note worthy fact that between the period 1956 and 1960 when there was only 9% natural increase in the Muslim voters, the Sinhalese voting strength increased by 500%. The figures in the Annexure " " would speak for themselves. These figures would indicate beyond a shadow of doubt that there has been calculated move to up-set the Ethnic Proportion in the Amparai District.

According to the 1921 census, the Sinhalese were 3% of the population in Trincomalee District and 4.5% of the population in the combined Batticaloa & Amparai Districts.

At this stage it is relevant to have it recorded the fact that the Muslims gave the fullest co-operation to the Sinhalese Kings at that time in the struggle of the Sinhalese against the Portuguese to save the honour and intergrity of Sri Lanka. In one battle alone, during the time of King Mayadunne 4,000 Muslims have been killed in their joint struggle along with the Sinhalese against the Portuguese. Even today when Muslims pass the Matara Bridge, they recite prayers in memory of the 2,000 Muslims who were caught and beheaded on the bank of the Nilwala River by the Protuguese. It was in order to save the remaining Muslims that King Mayadunne settled the Muslims in the Eastern Province.

Amparai District is 1,775 square miles in extent. According to the census of 1981, the Sinhalese who are 37.2% are eligible for 660 square miles; But they have 76% or 1,340 square miles in the predo-minent Sinhalese areas. Muslims are 41.6% and eligible for 728 square miles. But the Muslims in their area have only 263 square miles which is only 15% of the land in Amparai District. Please see annexures ..



AMPARAI DISTRICT LAND

ELECTORATES AMPARAI SAMMAN KALMUNAI POTTUVIL
TOTAL THURAI
Sq.Mils. Sq.Mils. Sq.Mils. Sq.Mils. Sq.Mils.

1,775 950-48% 180-103% 15-0.9% 730-40.8%

Sinhalese 850-100% 25-13.9% - 2.0% 460-64.3%

Tamils - 0.0% 15-8.3% 5-39.3% 140-19.6%

Muslims - 0.0% 140-7.8% 10-66.7% 115-16.1%

76.0% 9.0% 15.0%

SINHALESE=1,330 TAMILS=157 MUSLIMS=263

Legitimate 660 Sq. Miles

Sinhalese Actual 1,390 Sq. Miles

Tamils Legitimate 362 Sq. Miles

Actual 157 Sq. Miles

Legitimate 728 Sq. Miles

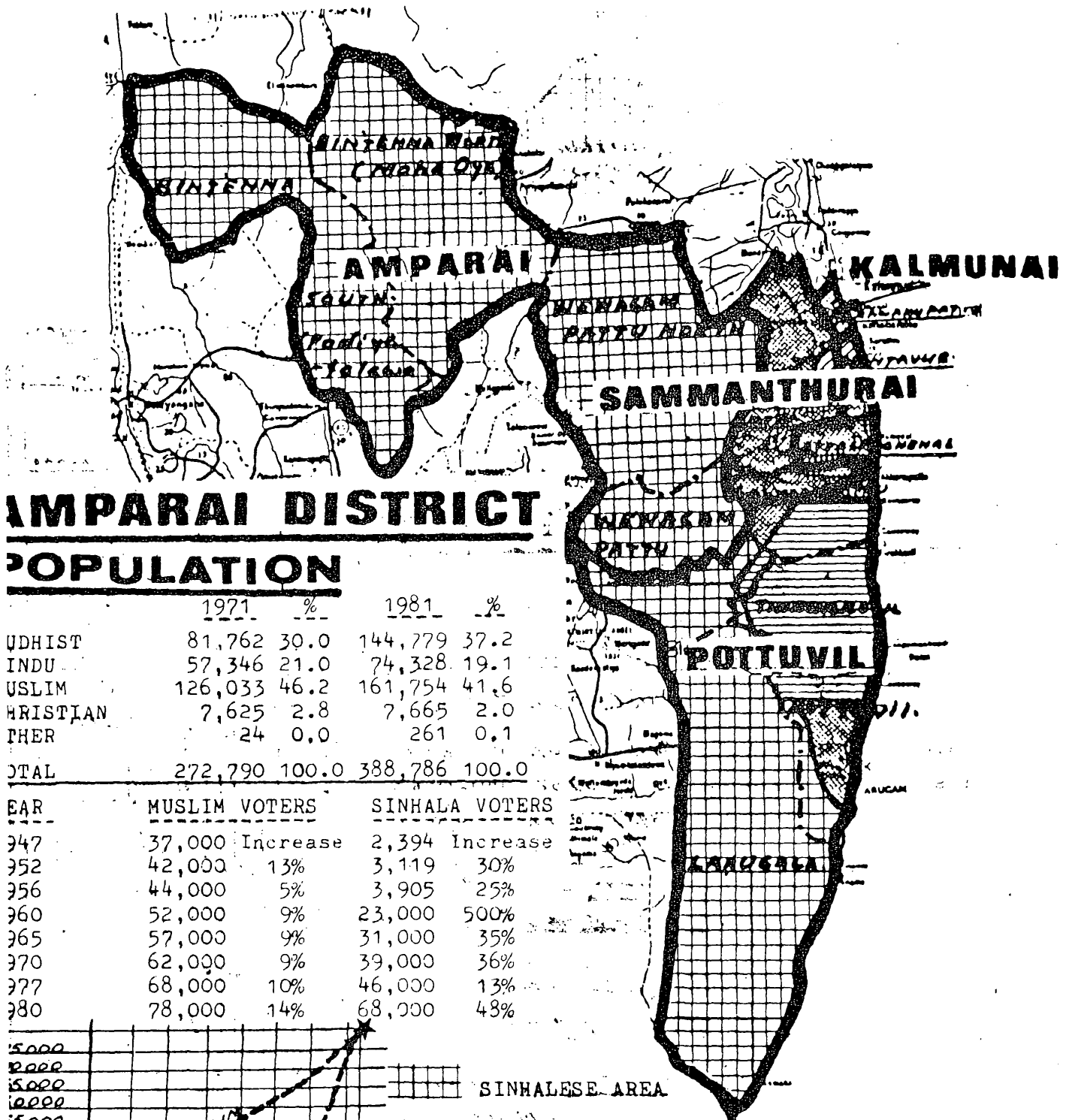
Muslim Actual 263 Sq. Miles

DISTRICT AVERAGE

SINHALESE AVERAGE

TAMILS AVERAGE

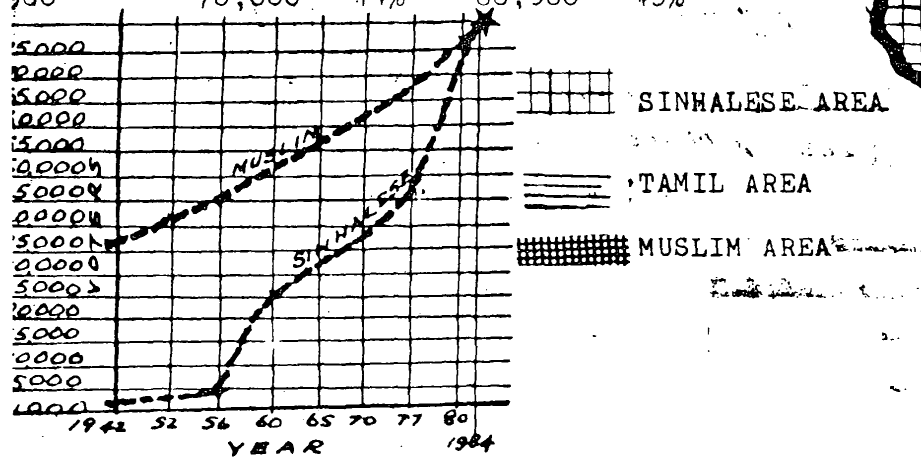
MUSLIMS AVERAGE



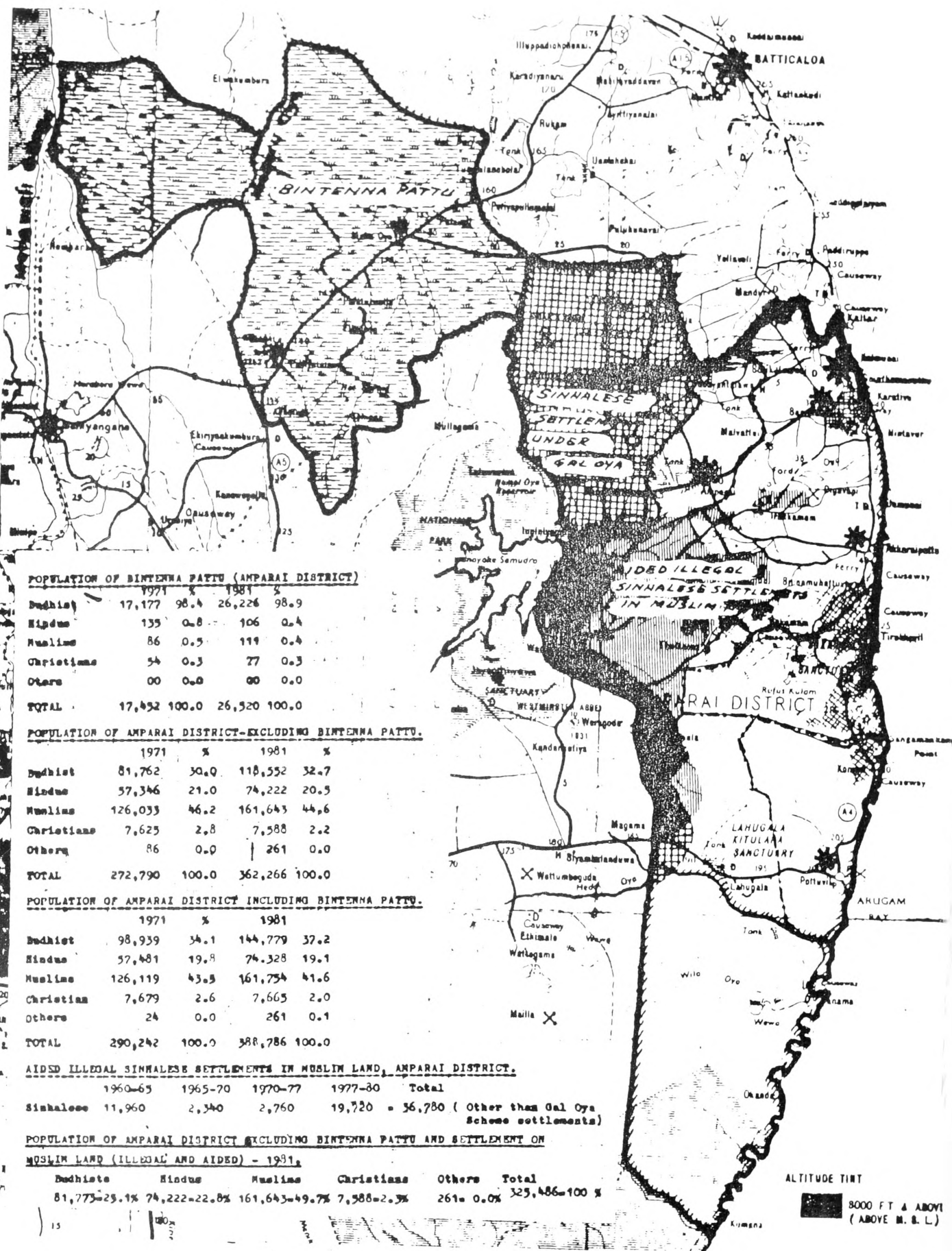
AMPARAI DISTRICT POPULATION

	1971	%	1981	%
UDHIST	81,762	30.0	144,779	37.2
INDU	57,346	21.0	74,328	19.1
USLIM	126,033	46.2	161,754	41.6
HRISTIAN	7,625	2.8	7,665	2.0
THER	24	0.0	261	0.1
TOTAL	272,790	100.0	388,786	100.0

YEAR	MUSLIM VOTERS	SINHALA VOTERS
1947	37,000 Increase	2,394 Increase
1952	42,000 13%	3,119 30%
1956	44,000 5%	3,905 25%
1960	52,000 9%	23,000 500%
1965	57,000 9%	31,000 35%
1970	62,000 9%	39,000 36%
1977	68,000 10%	46,000 13%
1980	78,000 14%	68,000 48%



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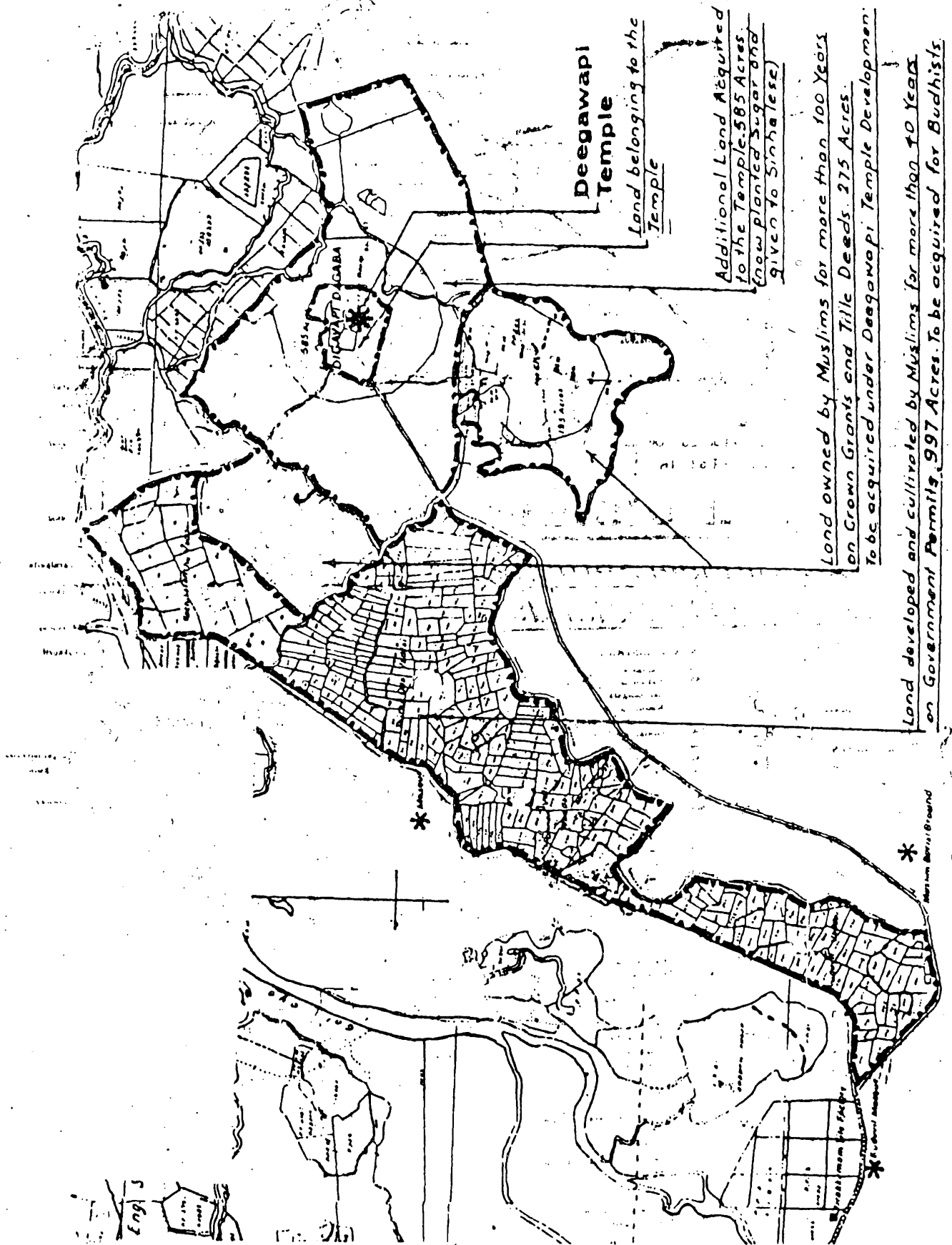


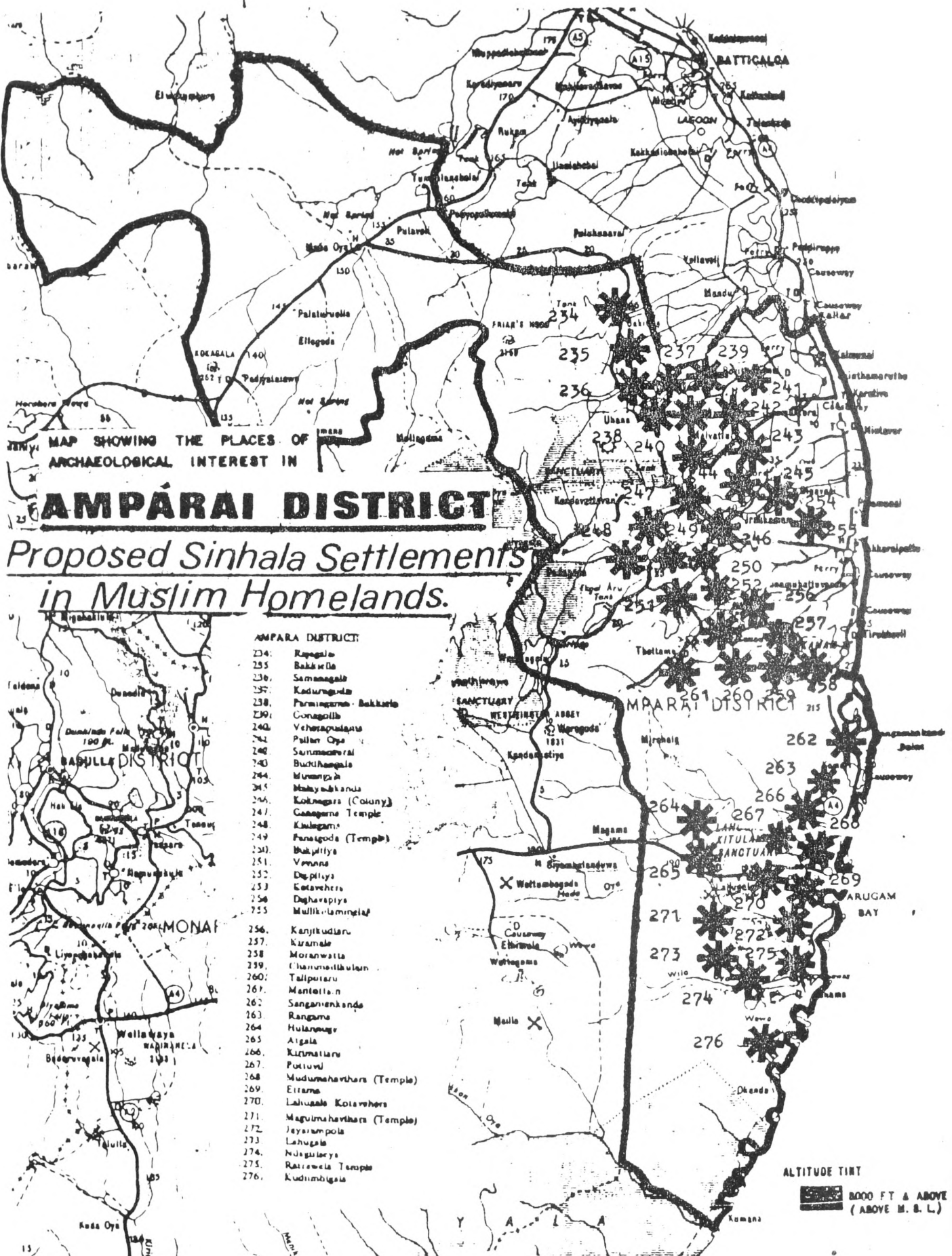
However the political authority of the previous government and the District Minister in the present government are very keen to grab the developed and ready made paddy fields of the Muslims and settle Sinhalese relatives brought from other districts. These are the illegal politically aided settlements of Sinhalese in Muslim Areas WHICH IS OVER AND ABOVE THE 38 SETTLEMENTS OF SINHALESE UNDER THE GAL OYA SCHEME 1960-63. This manoeuvre has very seriously affected the economy and the political strength of the Indegenous Muslim population of Amparai District. Please see annexures.

Adding insult to injury action are still continued to deprive the Muslims from even the 15% of the land holdings in Amparai District. It is sad to observe that these actions are being contemplated in the name of religion and culture. Certain areas where Muslims have been living traditionally have been already earmarked as places of Archeological Interest. The Commissioner of Archeology has stated in the "Silumina" on the 1st January, 1984 that 273 sites in the North and East have been excavated and Buddhist Priests and Buddhist Sinhalese are to be settled in these places. Please see annexure . According to Hansard Volume 25 No. 10 of Friday 7th October, 1983, there are 43 places of Archeological Interest in the predominantly Muslim areas of Amparai District. Please see annexure .

Some of the Buddhist Priests and Sinhalese have tried to make out that even the Northern & Eastern provinces were peopled by Sinhalese several centuries ago. They referred to the presence of Buddhist ruins as proof of this fact. They should remember the fact that the whole of South India and the majority of the Tamil speaking people were Buddhists in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD. The well known Tamil Literary epic MANIMEKALAI and several other Tamil Literary works of this period bear ample testimony to this. These ruins in the North and East were places worshiped by Tamil Speaking Buddhists.

The claims that are being made to even the Northern & Eastern Provinces as Sinhala territory are on par with the claims of the Jews in Palestine.





Population. EASTERN PROVINCE by Districts.

SRI LANKA

PROVINCES AND DISTRICTS

ELECTORAL SEATS-EASTERN PROVINCE.

Trincomalee District.

93.Seruwila-	Sinhala	1
94.Trincomalee-Tamil		1
95.Mutur-	Muslim	1

Batticaloa District

96.Kalkudah-	Tamil	1
97.Batticaloa-	Tamil	1
	Muslim	1
98.Paddiruppu-	Tamil	1

Ampara District

99.Amparai-	Sinhala	1
100.Sammanthu		
-rai-	Muslim	1
101.Kalmunai-	Muslim	1
102.Pottu		
-vil-	Muslim	1
	Tamil	1

TOTAL.

Sinhala	2
Tamil	5
Muslim	5

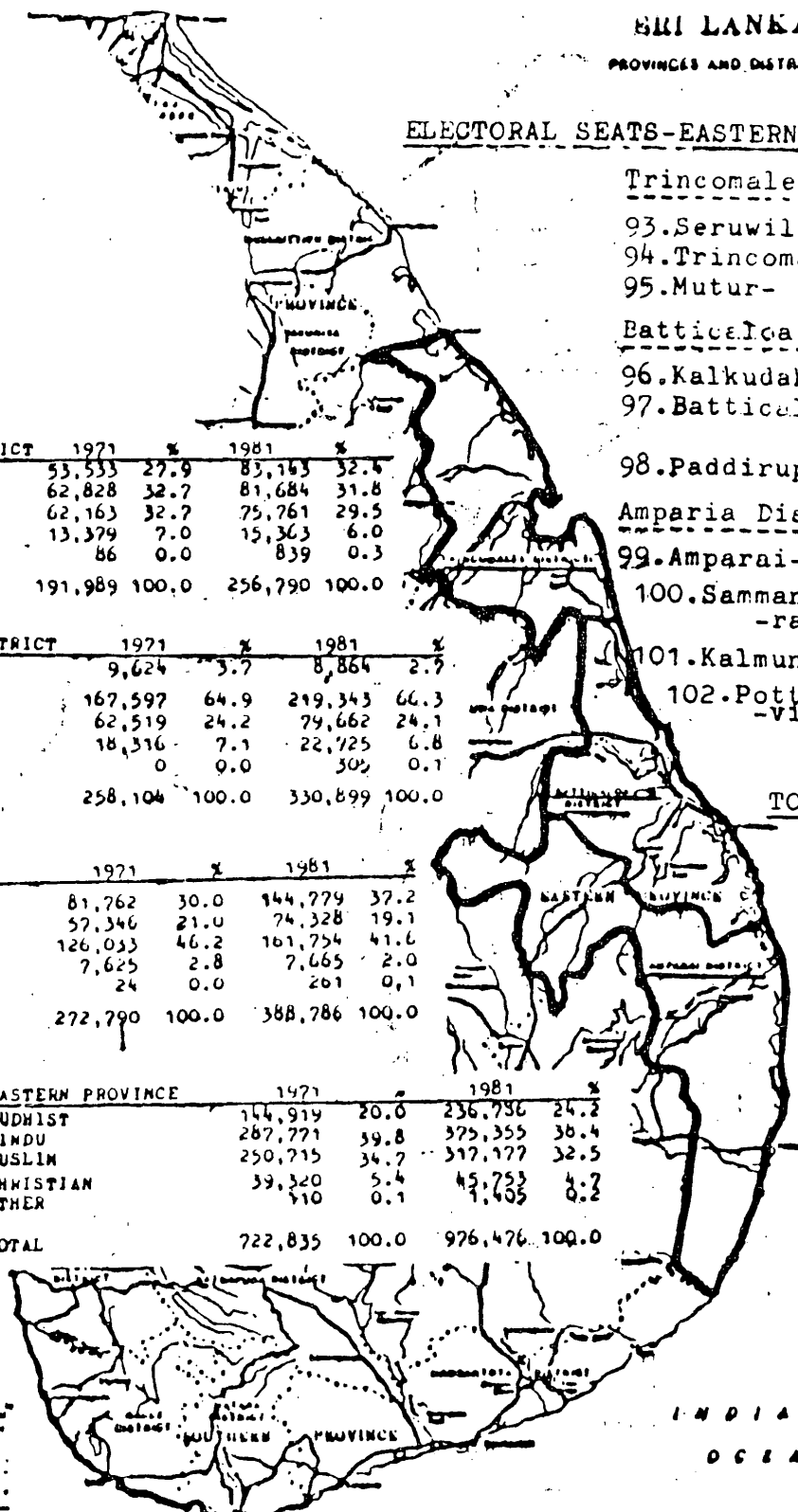
12

TRINCO MALEE DISTRICT	1971	%	1981	%
Buddhist	53,533	27.9	83,163	32.4
Hindu	62,828	32.7	81,684	31.8
Muslim	62,163	32.2	75,761	29.5
Christian	13,379	7.0	15,363	6.0
Other	86	0.0	839	0.3
TOTAL	191,989	100.0	256,790	100.0

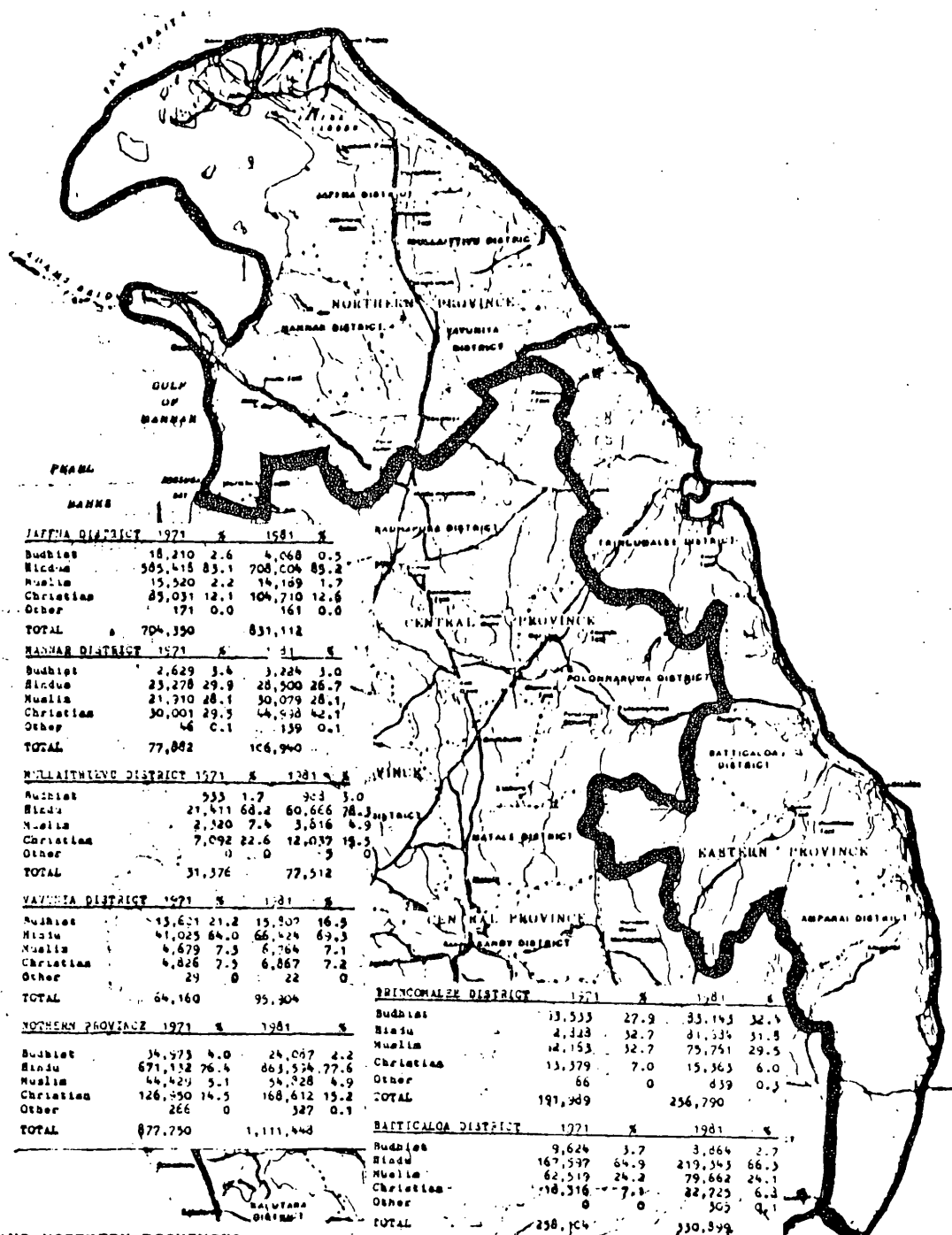
BATTICALOA DISTRICT	1971	%	1981	%
Buddhist	9,624	3.7	8,864	2.9
Hindu	167,597	64.9	219,343	66.3
Muslim	62,519	24.2	74,662	24.1
Christian	18,316	7.1	22,725	6.8
Others	0	0.0	302	0.1
TOTAL	258,104	100.0	330,899	100.0

AMPARAI DISTRICT	1971	%	1981	%
Buddhist	81,762	30.0	144,279	37.2
Hindu	57,346	21.0	74,328	19.1
Muslim	126,033	46.2	161,754	41.6
Christian	7,625	2.8	7,665	2.0
Other	24	0.0	261	0.1
TOTAL	272,790	100.0	388,786	100.0

EASTERN PROVINCE	1971	%	1981	%
BUDHIST	144,919	20.0	236,736	24.2
HINDU	287,771	39.8	375,355	38.4
MUSLIM	250,715	34.7	317,177	32.5
CHRISTIAN	39,320	5.4	45,753	4.7
OTHER	110	0.1	1,435	0.2
TOTAL	722,835	100.0	976,476	100.0



Population of Northern & Eastern Province by Districts.



JAFFNA DISTRICT	1971	%	1981	%
Buddhist	18,210	2.6	4,068	0.5
Hindu	505,415	83.1	700,004	89.2
Muslim	15,520	2.2	14,169	1.7
Christian	29,031	12.1	104,710	12.6
Other	171	0.0	161	0.0
TOTAL	704,350		831,112	

PAÑNAR DISTRICT	1971	%	1981	%
Buddhist	2,629	3.6	3,224	3.0
Hindu	23,278	29.9	28,500	26.7
Muslim	21,310	28.1	30,079	28.1
Christian	30,001	29.5	44,538	42.1
Other	46	0.1	159	0.1
TOTAL	77,862		106,940	

MULLAITIVU DISTRICT	1971	%	1981	%
Buddhist	533	1.7	903	3.0
Hindu	21,411	68.2	60,666	78.3
Muslim	2,320	7.4	3,516	6.9
Christian	7,092	22.6	12,037	15.5
Other	0	0.0	5	0.0
TOTAL	31,376		77,512	

VAVUNIA DISTRICT	1971	%	1981	%
Buddhist	13,621	21.2	15,307	16.3
Hindu	41,025	64.0	66,424	69.3
Muslim	4,679	7.3	6,764	7.1
Christian	4,826	7.5	6,867	7.2
Other	29	0.0	22	0.0
TOTAL	64,160		95,304	

NORTHERN PROVINCE	1971	%	1981	%
Buddhist	34,473	4.0	24,067	2.2
Hindu	671,152	76.4	863,534	77.6
Muslim	44,429	5.1	54,228	4.9
Christian	126,450	14.5	168,612	15.2
Other	266	0.0	327	0.1
TOTAL	877,750		1,111,446	

TRINCOMALEE DISTRICT	1971	%	1981	%
Buddhist	13,533	27.9	33,143	32.3
Hindu	4,323	32.7	81,334	51.5
Muslim	14,153	32.7	75,751	29.5
Christian	13,379	7.0	15,363	6.0
Other	66	0.0	659	0.3
TOTAL	191,909		256,790	

BATTICALOA DISTRICT	1971	%	1981	%
Buddhist	9,624	3.7	3,664	2.7
Hindu	167,537	64.9	219,343	66.3
Muslim	62,519	24.2	79,662	24.1
Christian	18,316	7.3	22,725	6.3
Other	0	0.0	303	0.1
TOTAL	258,104		330,399	

AMPARAI DISTRICT	1971	%	1981	%
Buddhist	81,762	30.0	144,779	37.2
Hindu	57,146	81.0	74,328	19.1
Muslim	126,033	46.2	161,754	41.6
Christian	7,625	2.8	7,665	2.0
Other	24	0.0	261	0.1
TOTAL	272,790		388,786	

TRINCOMALEE DISTRICT	1971	%	1981	%
Buddhist	13,533	27.9	33,143	32.3
Hindu	4,323	32.7	81,334	51.5
Muslim	14,153	32.7	75,751	29.5
Christian	13,379	7.0	15,363	6.0
Other	66	0.0	659	0.3
TOTAL	191,909		256,790	

BATTICALOA DISTRICT	1971	%	1981	%
Buddhist	9,624	3.7	3,664	2.7
Hindu	167,537	64.9	219,343	66.3
Muslim	62,519	24.2	79,662	24.1
Christian	18,316	7.3	22,725	6.3
Other	0	0.0	303	0.1
TOTAL	258,104		330,399	

AMPARAI DISTRICT	1971	%	1981	%
Buddhist	81,762	30.0	144,779	37.2
Hindu	57,146	81.0	74,328	19.1
Muslim	126,033	46.2	161,754	41.6
Christian	7,625	2.8	7,665	2.0
Other	24	0.0	261	0.1
TOTAL	272,790		388,786	

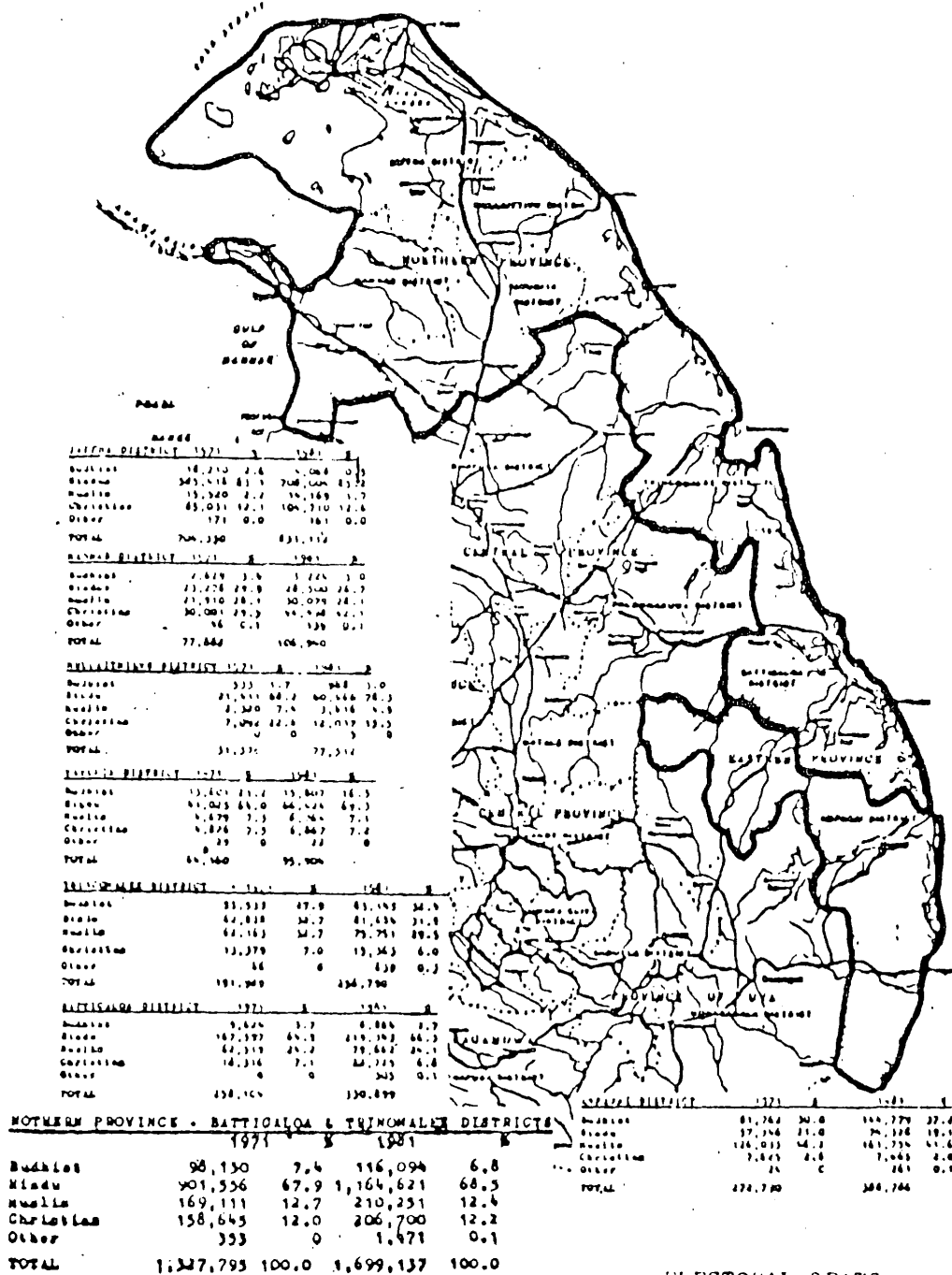
EASTERN PROVINCE	1971	%	1981	%
Buddhist	144,919	20.0	236,786	24.2
Hindu	287,771	39.8	375,355	36.4
Muslim	250,715	34.7	317,177	32.5
Christian	39,320	5.4	45,753	4.7
Other	110	0.1	1,405	0.2
TOTAL	722,835		976,476	

EASTERN AND NORTHERN PROVINCES.

	1971	%	1981	%
Buddhists.	179,892	11.2	260,873	12.5
Hindus.	958,903	59.8	1,238,949	59.2
Muslims.	295,144	18.4	372,005	17.9
Christians.	166,270	10.4	214,365	10.2
Others.	376	0.2	1,732	0.2
TOTAL.	1,600,585=100.0		2,087,924=100.0	

INDIAN
OCEAN

Population - Northern Province + Trinco & Batticaloa Districts Amparai District.



NORTHERN PROVINCE
TRINCOMALEE DISTRICT
BATTICALOA DISTRICT

AMPARAI DISTRICT

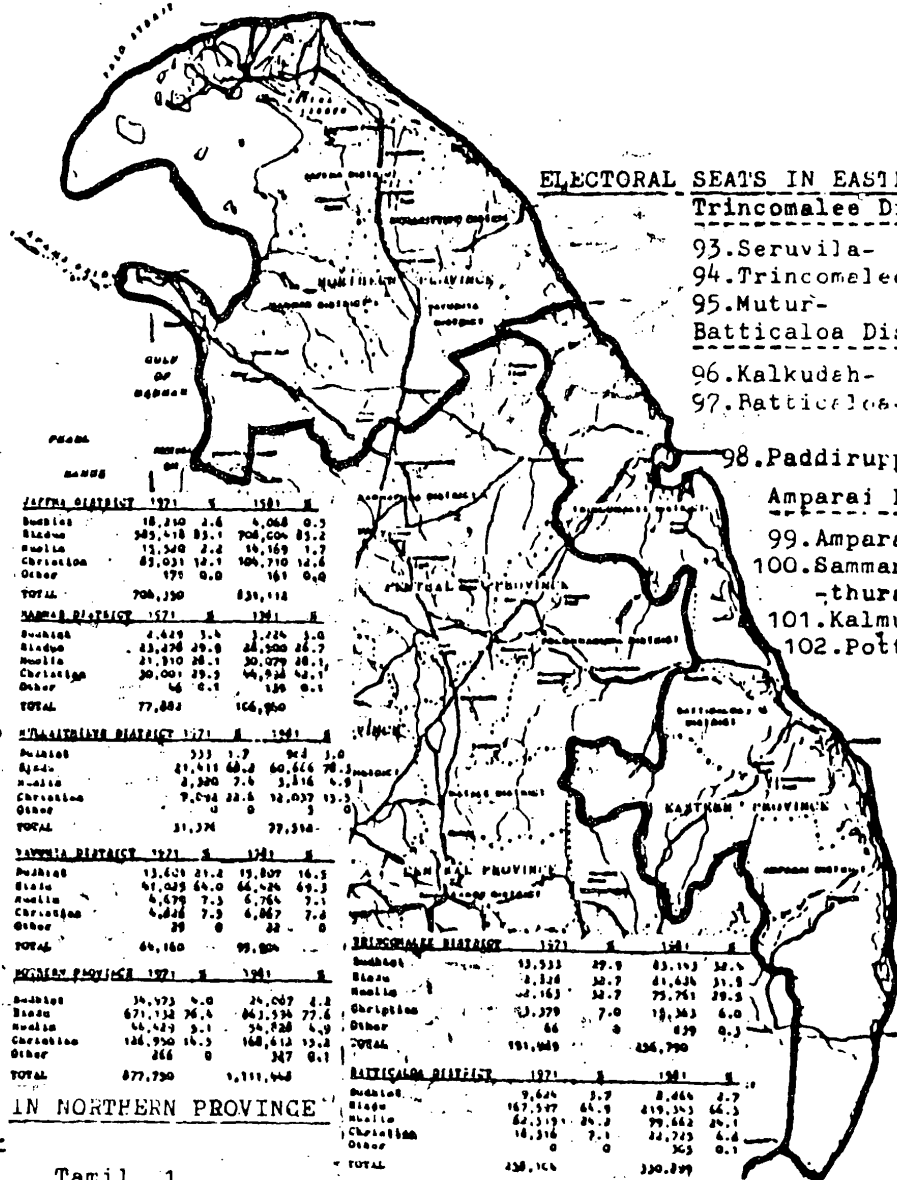
NORTHERN PROVINCE

EASTERN PROVINCE

ELECTORAL SEATS			TOTAL		
SINHALA	TAMIL	MUSLIM	SINHALA	TAMIL	MUSLIM
00	14	00			
01	01	01			
00	03	01	01=4.8%	18=85.5%	2=11.5%
01	01	03	01= 20%	01= 20%	03= 60%
00	14	00	00= 00%	14= 100%	00= 00%
02	05	05	2=16.7%	5=41.65%	5=41.65%

NORTHERN PROVINCE - BATTICALOA & TRINOMALEE DISTRICTS					BATTICALOA AND TRINOMALEE DISTRICTS.				
	1971	%	1981	%		1971	%	1981	%
Buddhist	98,130	7.4	116,094	6.8	Buddhists.	63,157	14.0	92,007	15.7
Hindu	901,536	67.9	1,164,621	68.5	Hindus.	230,425	51.2	301,027	51.2
Muslim	169,111	12.7	210,251	12.4	Muslims.	124,682	27.7	155,423	26.43
Christian	158,645	12.0	206,700	12.2	Christian	31,695	7.0	38,088	6.5
Other	353	0	1,471	0.1	Others	86	0.1	1,144	0.2
TOTAL	1,327,795	100.0	1,699,137	100.0	TOTAL	450,095	100.0	587,689	100.0

Population. NORTHERN & EASTERN PROVINCES by Districts.



ELECTORAL SEATS IN EASTERN PROVINCE.

Trincomalee District.

93. Seruvila-	Sinhala	1
94. Trincomalee-	Tamil	1
95. Muttur-	Muslim	1

Batticaloa District.

96. Kalkudah-	Tamil	1
97. Batticaloa-	Tamil	1
	Muslim	1
98. Paddiruppu-	Tamil	1

Amparai District.

99. Amparai-	Sinhala	1
100. Samman-	Muslim	1
-thurai-		
101. Kalmunai-Muslim		1
102. Pottuvil-Muslim		1
	Tamil	1

TOTAL.

Sinhala	02
Tamil	05
Muslim	05
	12

JAFFNA DISTRICT 1971	1981	%
Buddhist	18,210	2.6
Hindu	345,418	85.1
Muslim	11,340	2.2
Christian	81,031	12.1
Other	170	0.0
TOTAL	706,130	100.0

AMPARAI DISTRICT 1971	1981	%
Buddhist	4,429	3.5
Hindu	23,476	29.0
Muslim	21,310	26.1
Christian	30,001	29.2
Other	46	0.1
TOTAL	77,862	100.0

MULLAITIVU DISTRICT 1971	1981	%
Buddhist	333	1.7
Hindu	21,411	68.2
Muslim	2,380	7.6
Christian	9,546	28.8
Other	0	0.0
TOTAL	31,370	100.0

PATTALAYAKKAM DISTRICT 1971	1981	%
Buddhist	13,621	21.2
Hindu	61,025	64.0
Muslim	4,679	7.3
Christian	4,828	7.3
Other	29	0.0
TOTAL	84,162	100.0

MANNAR PROVINCE 1971	1981	%
Buddhist	34,473	5.0
Hindu	671,132	76.4
Muslim	66,423	9.1
Christian	126,950	14.3
Other	266	0.0
TOTAL	877,790	100.0

TRINCOMALEE DISTRICT 1971	1981	%
Buddhist	13,533	29.9
Hindu	1,324	30.7
Muslim	2,163	32.7
Christian	13,379	7.0
Other	66	0.0
TOTAL	191,069	100.0

BATTICALOA DISTRICT 1971	1981	%
Buddhist	9,646	3.7
Hindu	167,597	64.9
Muslim	82,319	24.2
Christian	18,316	7.1
Other	0	0.0
TOTAL	258,166	100.0

AMPARAI DISTRICT 1971	1981	%
Buddhist	81,762	30.0
Hindu	37,154	21.0
Muslim	126,033	64.2
Christian	7,645	2.8
Other	24	0.0
TOTAL	272,790	100.0

KALUNGU DISTRICT 1971	1981	%
Buddhist	144,919	20.0
Hindu	287,771	39.8
Muslim	290,312	34.7
Christian	10,328	8.4
Other	110	0.1
TOTAL	722,835	100.0

ELECTORAL SEATS

TOTAL.

ELECTORAL SEATS IN NORTHERN PROVINCE

Jaffna District.

79. Kayts-	Tamil	1
80. Vaddukoddai-	Tamil	1
81. Kankasanturai-	Tamil	1
82. Manipay-	Tamil	1
83. Kopay-	Tamil	1
84. Udupiddy-	Tamil	1
85. Point Pedro-	Tamil	1
86. Chavkashcheri-	Tamil	1
87. Nallur-	Tamil	1
88. Jaffna-	Tamil	1
89. Kilinochchi-	Tamil	1
Mannar District.		
90. Mannar-	Tamil	1
Mullaitivu District.		
91. Mullaitivu-	Tamil	1
Vavunia District.		
92. Vavunia-	Tamil	1

NORTHERN PROVINCE

EASTERN PROVINCE

Sin.	Tami.	Mus.	Sin. %	Tami. %	Muslim %
00	14	00	0	100.0	0
02	05	05	16.7	41.65	41.65

Successive governments have pursued the same policies as the Jews are pursuing in Palestine in dispossessing the Arabs of their land and driving them from their homes. Today we find a frantic search for Buddhist shrines, not for the love of Buddhism but to chase away the Muslims from their lands.

Land acquisition and ejection of Muslims in Digawapi area in Amparai District is a very good example. It was around 1940 that a Buddhist priest came to reside at the site of the Chaitiya. There were no Buddhist to give Dana. The Muslims in this area helped the priest. The land around the Chaitiya was planted with coconut by the Muslims of the area for the priest. Suddenly in 1960 some Buddhist wanted all the land around the Chaitiya to be taken over by the government for Buddhist purpose.

The Government, in 1968 appointed a committee headed by Mr. Ratnethunge, the former Surveyor General, to investigate and submit a report. Number of Buddhist Organisations made representations and finally the Committee recommended to take over 500 acres around the Chaitiya. It was agreed with the Muslims that no more land would be taken. Quite contrary to this agreement and promise by the Sinhala Buddhists, there was a sudden move to acquire another 1,000 acres of paddy land belonging to the Muslims. The Government, without any regard for Law and Order send the bulldozers destroying 185 acres of paddy cultivation in the periyavisaraikandam owned by the Muslims on Crown Grant-Title Deeds. What is happening in the Amparai District is deliberate discrimination against the Muslims.

NADSA

National Agricultural Diversification and Settlement Authority (NADSA) was inaugurated by His Excellency on the 22nd November 1978. This is a World Bank supported project. It involved 24,649 acres of Estate Land (Unproductive) where minor export crops were to be established and poor peasants settled. This scheme covered Hewaheta, Nawalapitiya, Aranayake and Yatiyantota electorates.

According to figures as at 8th July, 1980, settlements were carried out as follows:

Sinhalese	767
Tamils	17
Muslims	3

But the labour force taken over from these unproductive estates are as follows:

Sinhalese	7015
Tamils	6400
Muslims	132

All the Muslim villages living on the estate boundaries were casual workers on these estates and an undertaking was given that when landless villages are settled, Muslims will also be given their due share. It is regretted that in Gampola, Hewaheta, Nawalapitiya and Yatiyantota no Muslim settlements have taken place under the NADSA settlement Schemes.

Sinhalese are more than 74% of the population in the Sinhala Speaking area. Statistics have shown that the Sinhalese have had most of the State land alienated to them under various settlement schemes up to now. They are also occupying, under various pretext, more than 80% of the State land under major colonisation schemes in the Tamil Speaking area, Northern and Eastern Provinces. The newly demarcated Amparai Electorate in Amparai District and Seruvila Electorate in Trincomalee District for the new Sinhala settlers in Gal Oya, Padavia, Allai and Kantalai Schemes, cover more than 65% of the land area in these Districts.

Muslims are less than 7.6% - the National Ethnic Ratio, in 18 Districts and more than 7.6% in other Districts. Most of the District in which the Muslims are less than the National Ethnic Ratio are in the Sinhalese Speaking areas and the main occupation of these Muslims is Trading for which land is not important. These Muslims do not require even

1% of their Ethnic Quota for commercial and residential purposes. As it happened in the previous Land Settlement Schemes, all the land including the quota for Muslims will be taken over by the Sinhalese in the Sinhalese Areas.

On the other hand, where the Muslims are more than 7.6% live in the Tamil Speaking area, Northern and Eastern Provinces. The occupation is agriculture. For them land is very important. These are the Districts of Amparai, Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Mannar, Puttalam etc. According to the colonisation policy of the present government - TO COLONISE ALL DISTRICTS WITH 74% SINHALESE, Muslims in these districts will also become eligible to only 7.6% of the land that would be alienated under any colonisation scheme in the future. In other words, although the Muslims were more than 65% before Gal Oya Scheme and 42% of the population of the Amparai District in 1981 census, they are eligible to only 7.6% of the land. The Sinhalese who were less than 5% in 1921 and 38% in 1981 will become eligible for 74% of the land in Amparai District in future.

As mentioned earlier, the extent of land available in Muslim area for the 42% Muslims in Amparai District is only 264 sq.miles, whereas the extent of the land available in the Sinhalese area for the 37% Sinhalese is 1,340 sq. miles. Even at 1981 census, there is already a short fall of 465 sq.miles of land for the Muslims and an excess of 680 sq.miles for the Sinhalese in the Amparai District. With the new policy of the Dharmista UNP Government, the Muslims will loose another 137 sq. miles to the Sinhalese. This would mean a serious social and economical discrimination against the Muslims in Amparai District. It would be worse for the Muslims in Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Mannar Districts. Please see annexures

According to the present Election Laws under the Proportional Election System every recognised political party and Independent Group polling less than one-eighth of the total votes polled at any election in any Electoral District, shall be disqualified from having any candidates of such party or group being elected for that Electoral District.

In other words, in order to qualify to have its candidates elected the party or group should have polled not less than one-eighth or 12.5% of the total votes polled at the election in an Electoral District. As shown in annexure....., the proportion of the Muslims to other Communities is much less than 12.5% in 18 out of the 22 Districts, even if the Muslim community votes en-block for a party or a group of Muslim Candidates, it cannot poll the required minimum and therefore will be disqualified from having any of its candidates elected to represent them.

More than 69.3% of the Muslim population of the Island are found in the 18 Electoral Districts where they are less than 12.5% in these District population. Only 30.7% of Muslims living in 4 Electoral Districts are more than 12.5% of the population here. Therefore, more than two-third of the Muslim Community are deprived of the opportunity of being represented by members of their own community, an opportunity which other communities have in ample measure. It needs no repetition that in a parliamentary democracy this human right has been taken away from the majority of the Muslim Community by the provisions in Chapter XIV, Article 99 (5) (a) of the Dharmista Constitution of 1978.

We have already observed from the annexure.....that in Amparai, Batticaloa, Trincomalee and Mannar Districts, the Muslim Community is found concentrated in sizeable proportions and there it has the opportunity of being represented by Muslims of its own choice. In view of the present colonisation policy of the Government, the question naturally arises how long will that opportunity last? In the census of 1921, the Sinhalese population of the combined Amparai and Batticaloa Districts was less than 5%. After the Gal Oya Scheme settlements, the 1971 census revealed that Amparai had 126,033 Muslims out of the total population of 272,605 - that is to say, the Muslims constituted 46.2% of the population of Amparai District. The same census showed that the Sinhalese population was 82,868 or 30.39% of the total population. By the process of the natural increase at 2% per annum, one would expect the number to rise to 101,015 in 1981. But their number according to the census of 1981 is 146,371. That is to say 45,356 Sinhalese have been brought in to Amparai, after the Gal Oya Settlements,

by illegal settlements and this exercise has reduced the Muslim strength from 46.2% to 41.6% and increased the Sinhalese strength from 30.39% to 37.6%. The same trend is noticeable in the Trincomalee District as well. It is therefore a mere matter of time for the Muslims to become less than 7.6% in Amparai, Batticaloa, Trincomalee and Mannar Districts, when the present policy of the Government to colonise all Districts with 74% is implemented. This will completely eliminate Muslim elected representation to the legislature. This policy of colonising all districts according to National Ethnic Ratio seems to be directed against the Muslim Community rather than any other community in Sri Lanka, to destroy their traditional home land, independent economy and the right to elect their own political representation to the legislature.

Inter-racial colonisation schemes have proved dismal failure far from leading to intergration within the schemes itself, they have led to disintergration in the whole country, emphasising the realities for diversity. Inter-racial colonisations have proved catastrophic as far as the Muslims are concerned. There was to be new and more healthy thinking on this matter. We have become sick of the manoeuvre and manipulations of Ministers and Public Officials entrusted with land work.

Muslim population and Land Eligibility according to Districts and 7.1% in SRI LANKA.

76

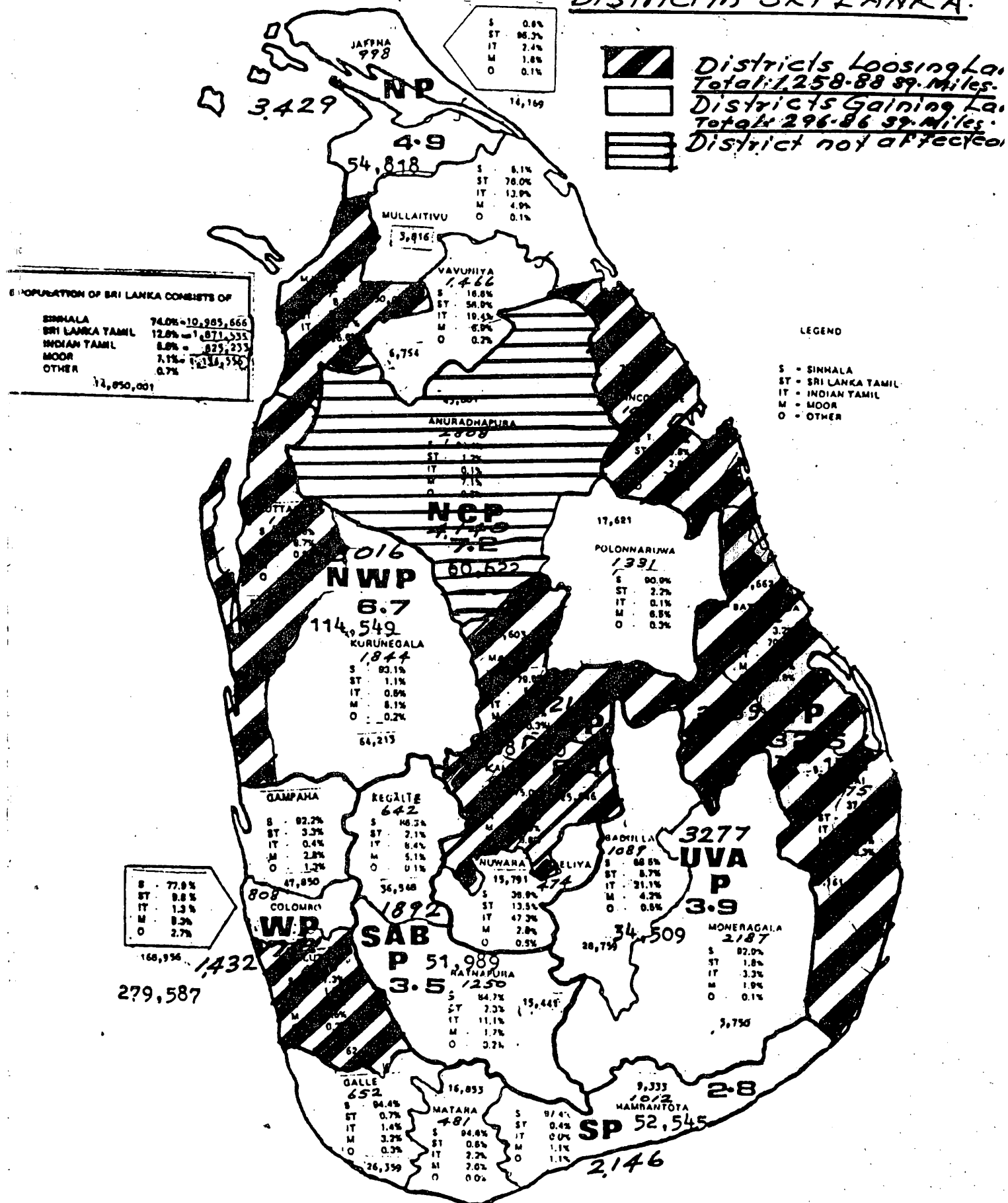
TRADING OR AGRICULTURE	District. Muslim Population	Area in Sq. Miles.	Moors. District %	Land Eligibility District 7.1%		Land Gain	Land Loss.
				% Sq. Mls.	Sq. Mls.		
T	Colombo-Gampaha 168,956 47,850	808.	7.00	56.56	57.37	+ 000.81.	
T	Kalutara 62,781	623	7.50	46.73	44.23		- 000.50
T	Galle 26,359	652	3.20	20.86	46.29	+ 25.43	
T	Natara 16,853	481	2.60	12.51	34.15	+ 21.64	
A	Hambantota 9,333	1,012	1.10	11.13	71.85	+ 60.72	
T	Kandy 125,646	914	9.90	90.47	64.89		- 25.58
T	Matale 26,603	770	7.20	55.44	54.67		- 000.77
T	Nuwera Eliya 15,791	474	2.80	13.27	33.65	+ 20.38	
T	Kegalla 36,548	642	6.10	39.16	45.58	+ 6.42	
T	Ratnapura 15,441	1,250	1.70	21.25	88.75	+ 67.50	
A	Puttalam 50,246	1,172	9.70	113.68	83.21		- 30.47
A	Kurunagala 64,213	1,844	6.10	112.48	130.92	+ 18.44	
A	Anuradhapura 43,801	2,808	7.10	199.37	199.37	=	=
A	Polonnaruwa 17,621	1,331	6.50	86.52	94.50	+ 7.98	
A	Mannar 30,079	964	26.60	256.42	68.44		- 187.98
A	Vavuniya-Mullaithi 6764 3816	1,466	6.10	89.43	104.07	+ 14.64	
A	Jaffna-Kilinochi 14,169	998	1.80	17.96	70.86	+ 52.90	
A	Trincomalee 75,761	1,048	29.00	303.92	74.41		- 229.51
A	Batticaloa 79,662	1,016	24.00	243.84	72.14		- 171.70
A	Amparai 161,754	1,775	41.60	738.40	126.03		- 612.37
						+ 296.86	- 1,258.88
							+ 296.86
							- 962.02

74% Sinhala Colonisation in all districts will benefit the Muslims in 12 district by 296.86 Sq. Miles - mainly Trading Muslims approximately 500,000 or 46%. But it will seriously effect the Muslims in 12 Districts by 1,258.88 Sq. Miles - Mainly Agricultural Muslims approximately 650,000 or 54%. This will destroy Muslim Elected Political Representation in SRI LANKA under Proportional Representation.

Al-Haj M. I. M. MOHIDEEN

(Sri Lanka), MSI (Zambia), AMCSI (London)

77
Map showing MUSLIMS Loosing, Gaining, and not affected by 7.1%. Distribution of Land in all District in SRI LANKA.



Population and Land Eligibility

With special reference to Muslims in SRI LANKA.

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THE ACTUAL LAND HOLDINGS OF THE MUSLIMS. EVEN IN THE EASTERN PROVINCE-PREDOMINANT MUSLIM AGRICULTURAL AREA, IS LESS HALF OF THEIR ELIGIBILITY.

THE AVERAGE SINHALESE POPULATION FOR THE SEVEN PROVINCES IS 87.12 %.

BECAUSE THE MUSLIMS AND TAMILS IN THESE PROVINCES ARE NOT AGRICULTURAL THE LAND HOLDINGS OF THE SINHALESE ARE MORE THAN 90 % IN THE SEVEN PROVINCES WHICH IS MORE THAN 16% OF THEIR NATIONAL AVERAGE 90.74 %.

LEGEND

S - SINHALESE
ST - SRI LANKA TAMIL
IT - INDIAN TAMIL
M - MOOR
O - OTHER

THE POPULATION OF SRI LANKA CONSISTS OF

SINHALESE	74.0% 10,985,668
SRI LANKA TAMIL	12.8% 1,871,335
INDIAN TAMIL	0.6% 825,235
MOOR	2.1% 313,352
OTHER	0.7% 1,038,001

LAND ELIGIBILITY ACCORDING TO DISTRICT POPULATION

District	Total	Sinh	Tam	Mus
Colombo	808	687	53	68
Ampeha	623	544	31	48
Alutara	652	617	14	21
Alle	481	435	13	19
Atara	997	904	11	11
Andy	914	674	130	90
Atara	770	618	97	55
Ward Eliga	474	173	288	13
Agalle	642	534	55	33
Atnapura	1250	1061	168	21
Ataram	1172	972	86	114
Atunagala	1844	1720	90	94
Atunagala	2808	2572	37	199
Atunagala	1831	1518	31	87
Atunagala	964	89	617	258
Atunagala	1466	198	1182	86
Atunagala	998	5	985	18
Atunagala	1049	363	381	304
Atunagala	1016	40	732	244
Atunagala	1775	674	363	738
	22048	18268	3297	2515
	100%	83%	15%	11%

S	77.9%
ST	9.8%
IT	1.3%
M	0.3%
O	0.7%

279,587

ACTUAL LAND HOLDINGS IN THE EASTERN PROVINCE

Atunagala	1775	1830	157	243
Atunagala	1916	50	844	122
Atunagala	1948	375	243	230
Atunagala	8839	1855	1244	615
Atunagala	1077	1476	1284	
Atunagala	878	59	Mls. in EXCESS	
Atunagala	232	59	Mls. in SHORT	
Atunagala	669	59	Mls. in SHORT	

ACTUAL POSITION IN E.P.

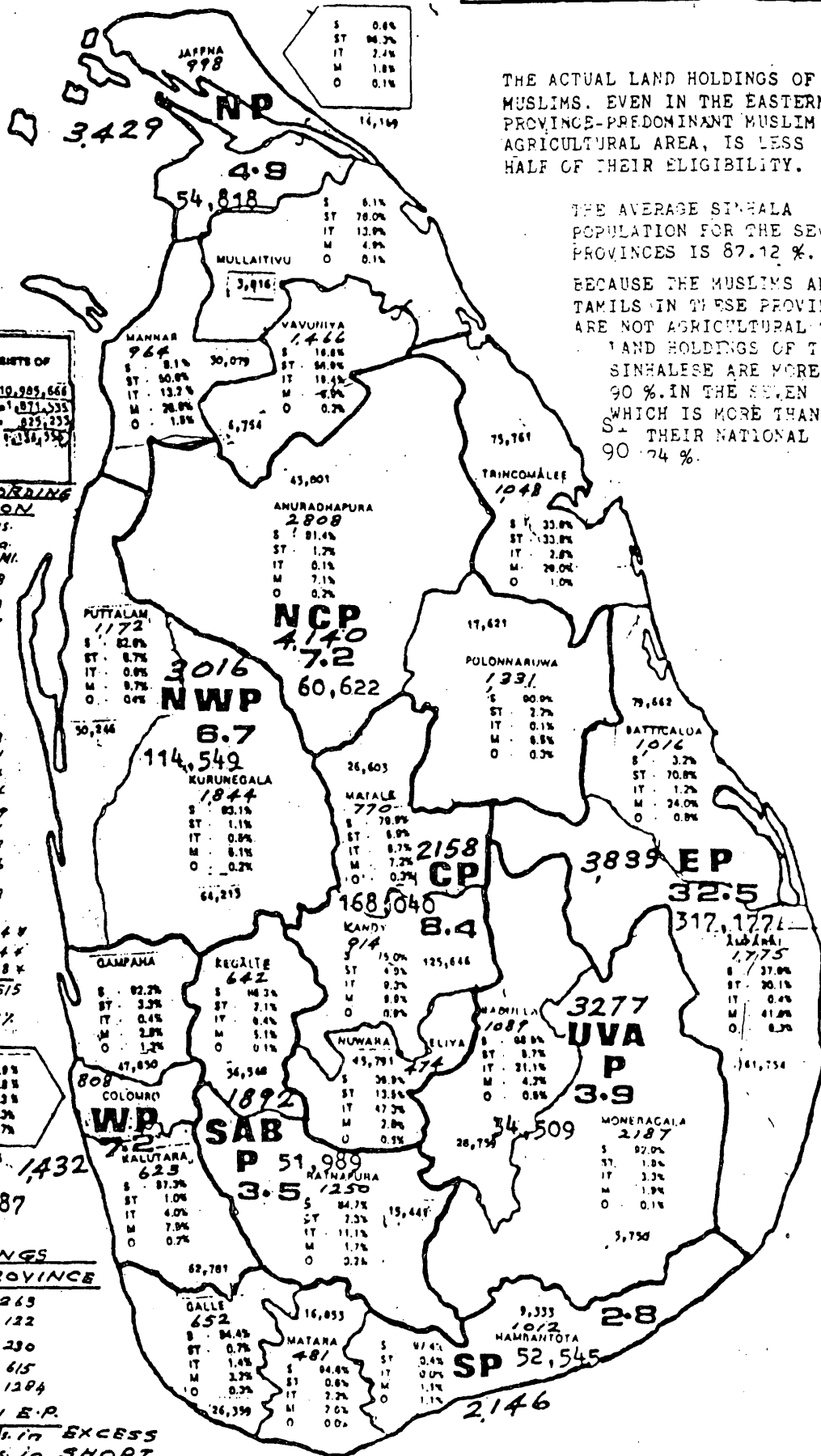
Atunagala	878	59	Mls. in EXCESS
Atunagala	232	59	Mls. in SHORT
Atunagala	669	59	Mls. in SHORT

Al-Haj M. I. M. MOHIDEEN

ASI (Sri Lanka), MSI (Zambia), AMCSI (London)

Note: The area used in this map is taken from the Report of the Delimitation Commission 1976.

Population figures according to 1981 Census.



SI (Sri Lanka), MSI (Zambia), AMCSI (London)

**GRIEVANCES UNDER THE
PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION
ELECTION LAWS.**

The 1978 Republican Constitution is in no way different to its predecessor in regard to the abolition of safeguards to minorities; it too refrained from re-enacting the provision of Section 29 of the Soulbury Constitution, reinstating the principle of appointment, and resurrecting the Senate. More damaging are its provisions with regard to demarcation of electoral districts, which are produced below:

96. (1) The Delimitation Commission shall divide Sri Lanka into not less than twenty and not more than twenty four electoral districts, and shall assign names thereto.
- (2) Each Province of Sri Lanka may itself constitute an electoral district or may be divided into two or more electoral districts.
- (3) Where a Province is divided into a number of electoral districts the Delimitation Commission shall have regard to the existing administrative districts so as to ensure as far as practicable that each electoral district shall be an administrative district or a combination of two or more administrative districts or two or more electoral districts together constitute an Administrative district.
- (4) The electoral district or each Province shall together be entitled to return four members, (independently of the number of members which they are entitled to return by reference to the number of electors whose names appears in the registers of electors of such electoral districts) and the Delimitation Commission shall apportion such entitlement equitably among such electoral districts.

The 1978 Republican Constitution does not contemplate establishment of any other future Delimitation Commission than the one which was established within three months of its coming into operation and which has already completed its task and become functus. Therefore the demarcation of electoral districts it has carried out is final for all time; equally final is its distribution of the 36 members among the electoral districts of each of the nine Provinces on the basis of Article 96(4) and the 160 members in terms of Article 98. These could be altered only by amending the constitution, which could be achieved only by a two-third majority, which is not practical politics under the proportional representation system which has been introduced into the machinery of elections. This is one of the most reactionary features of the 1978 Constitution.

We notice that the provisions cited above do not contain any instructions to the Delimitation Commission to pay some attention to the minorities in the country while demarcating electoral districts. In other words, the provisions of the Soulbury Constitution with regard to minority representation which have been reiterated in slightly different language in the previous constitution are conspicuous by their absence in the 1978 Constitution. As the future general election will be held in terms of the electoral districts carved out by the Delimitation Commission appointed under the 1978 Constitution and of the number of members assigned by it to each electoral district, it is imperative that the Muslim Community being a minority in the country do understand the implications of omitting the provisions in question.

It is a rule of interpretation that when an enactment is revised, and a word or words are omitted in revised enactment, one cannot give effect to the omitted word or words, since the omission is a deliberate act of the legislature. When one looks at the 1978 Constitution with this canon of construction in mind, one is driven to the conclusion that the Delimitation Commission appointed under it,

however sympathetic it might wish to be, is not empowered by its terms of reference, which is law, to give any consideration to the question of minority representation, when it sets out to demarcate electoral districts in the Island.

The Delimitation Commission appointed under the 1978 constitution is constrained by the law that brought it into being to disregard all consideration of minority representation in the division of provinces into electoral districts. This law seems to be directed against the Muslim Community rather than any other Community in Sri Lanka.

THE PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ELECTION SYSTEM

DENIES THE MUSLIMS THE RIGHT OF

SELF DETERMINATION

Electoral Districts	Registered Votes 1983	% Polled in 1982	Votes Polled on 1983 Regis.	% Muslim Votes 1981	Muslim Votes Registered 1983	Muslim Votes Polled on 1983 Regis.	1/8 Cut-off Point	Average No. of Votes Per Member	No. of Mem- bers
Amparai-Digamadulla	224,585	87.24	200,420	41.6	93,427	83,375	25,053	33,403	06
Batticaloa	186,267	87.51	163,002	24.0	44,704	39,121	20,375	40,750	04
Trincomalee	144,696	85.60	123,860	29.0	41,962	35,919	15,482	30,965	04
Colombo	1,050,105	82.59	867,282	8.3	87,159	71,984	108,410	41,299	21
Gampaha	899,136	87.41	780,690	2.8	25,007	21,859	97,586	43,372	18
Kalutara	528,616	88.26	466,556	7.6	40,175	35,458	58,320	42,414	11
Kandy	602,232	88.30	531,770	9.9	59,620	52,644	66,471	44,314	12
Matale	200,794	88.99	178,686	7.2	14,457	12,865	22,336	35,737	05
Nuwara Eliya	214,923	86.12	185,091	2.8	6,018	5,183	23,186	30,849	06
Kurunagala	765,759	89.46	685,048	5.1	39,053	34,937	85,631	42,816	16
Puttalam	288,934	87.37	252,442	9.7	28,027	24,487	31,555	36,063	07
Jaffna	536,229	81.60	437,562	1.8	9,652	7,876	54,695	39,178	11
Vanni	128,590	85.41	109,828	14.5	18,646	15,926	13,728	21,966	05
Galle	543,413	86.54	470,269	3.2	17,389	15,048	58,783	42,752	11
Matara	424,431	87.34	370,698	2.6	11,009	9,615	46,337	41,189	09
Hambantota	260,007	87.48	227,454	1.1	2,860	2,502	28,432	32,493	07
Anuradhapura	297,213	88.39	262,409	7.1	21,102	18,630	32,801	37,487	07
Polonnaruwa	140,170	84.96	119,088	6.5	9,111	7,741	14,886	29,772	04
Ratnapura	429,764	85.90	369,167	1.7	7,306	6,276	46,146	36,417	10
Kegalla	428,579	88.20	378,006	5.1	21,858	19,279	47,251	37,801	10
Badulla	300,907	87.63	263,685	4.2	12,638	11,075	32,961	32,961	08
Moneragala	145,009	84.85	123,040	1.9	2,755	2,338	15,380	30,760	04
SRI LANKA	8,731,361	86.25	7,566,053	7.6	613,935	534,138	945,757	38,602	196

The concept of Proportional representation presupposes the existence of a party system in the Politics of the country. In this respect, the system of proportional representation introduced by the 1978 Constitution into the machinery of the elections in the country has caught the Muslim Community napping. Assuming the Muslim Community is going to organise itself into a political party as the other two communities have done under the guise of national political parties, we shall now proceed to discuss the political nature of the muslim community under the 1978 constitution. For this purpose, we have to look closely at the community's dispersion in the country in the light of the provisions of paragraph (5) of Article 99 of the Constitution.

The distribution of the Muslim Community in the Provinces according to the 1981 census was as follows:-

Eastern Province	317,177	32.5 per cent
Western province	279,587	7.2 " "
Central Province	168,040	8.4 " "
North-Western Province	114,549	6.7 " "
Southern Province	52,545	2.8 " "
North-Central Province	60,622	7.2 " "
Sabragamuwa Province	51,989	3.5 " "
Uva Province	34,509	3.9 " "
Northern Province	54,818	4.9 " "

As stated earlier, the nine Provinces have been divided into 24 administrative districts. The Delimitation Commission appointed by the President in terms of Article 95 of the Constitution has divided the nine Provinces into 22 electoral districts to coincide with those of an equal number of administrative districts. In the Northern Province, However, the Administrative district Mannar, Vauniya and Mullaitivu have been combined into one electoral district to which has been assigned the name Vanni. In each of the 22 electoral districts, the strength of the Muslim Community vis-a-vis the other communities therein was as follows:

Amparai	161,754	41.6 per cent
Batticaloa	79,662	24.0 " "
Trincomalee	75,761	29.0 " "
Colombo	168,956	8.3 " "
Gampaha	47,850	2.8 " "
Kalutara	62,781	7.6 " "
Kandy	125,646	9.9 " "
Matale	26,603	7.2 " "
Nuwara Eliya	15,791	2.8 " "
Kurunegala	64,213	5.1 " "
Puttalam	50,246	9.7 " "
Jaffna	54,818	1.8 " "
Vanni	40,659	14.5 " "
Galle	26,359	3.2 " "
Matara	16,853	2.6 " "
Hambantota	9,333	1.1 " "
Anuradhapura	43,801	7.1 " "
Polonnaruwa	17,621	6.5 " "
Ratnapura	15,441	1.7 " "
Kegalle	36,540	5.1 " "
Badulla	28,759	4.2 " "
Moneragala	5,750	1.9 " "

The architects of the 1978 Constitution would have had in their hands the population figures of the Census of 1971 and the percentages of concentrations of the various communities in the different districts worked out, when they set to frame the constitution introducing proportional representation into electoral system of the country.

The Constitution, in chapter III very ostentatiously flaunts certain fundamental rights, then almost by a sleight of hand, in chapter XIV, dealing with franchise and election, enacts in Article 99 (5) (a) :-

"Every recognised political party and independent group polling less than one-eighth of the total votes polled at any election in any electoral district shall be disqualified from having any candidates of such party or group being elected for that electoral district ".

In other words, in order to qualify to have its candidate elected, the party or group should have polled not less than one-eighth or 12.5 percent of the total votes polled at the election as shown above, the proportion of Muslims to other communities is much less than 12.5 percent 18 out of the 22 Electoral Districts. In these 18 districts even if the Muslim community forges a complete solidarity and votes en bloc for a party or group of Muslim candidates, it cannot poll the required minimum and therefore will be disqualified from having any of its candidates elected to represent it. We have seen that 69.3 percent of the Muslim population of the island are found in those 18 electoral districts, and only 30.7 percent in the other 4 electoral districts. Therefore more than two-third of Muslim Community will be deprived of the opportunity of being represented by members of their own community, an opportunity which other communities have in ample measure. It needs no repetition that in a parliamentary democracy, this human right has been taken away from the majority of the Muslim Community by the above provision.

We have already observed that in Amparai, Batticaloa, Trincomalee and Vanni electoral districts, the Muslim Community is found concentrated in sizeable proportions, and there it has opportunities of being represented by Muslims of its own choice. In view of the colonisation policy of the Government, the question naturally arises: how long will that opportunity last ? The census of 1971 revealed that Amparai had 126,033 Muslims out of a total population of 272,605 - that is to say, the Muslim constituted 46.2 percent of the population of Amparai. The same census showed that the Sinhala population was 82,868 or 30.39 percent of the total population. By the process of the natural increase

at 2 percent per annum, one would expect their number to rise to 101,015 in 1981 (that is in ten years). But their number, according to the census of 1981 is 146,371. That is to say 45,356 Sinhalese have been brought into Amparai, and this exercise has reduced the Muslim strength from 46.2 percent to 41.6 percent and increased the Sinhalese strength from 30.39 to 37.6 percent. The same trend is noticeable in the Trincomalee District as well. It is therefore a mere matter of time for the Muslims to become minorities in these districts too. For the purpose of this subject it is not necessary to examine the other directions given to the Delimitation Commission, and it would suffice if the allocation of seats made by the Commission is reproduced.

Colombo District	21	seats
Gampaha District	18	"
Kalutara District	11	"
Kandy District	12	"
Matale District	5	"
Nuwara Eliya District	6	"
Galle District	11	"
Matara District	9	"
Hambantota District	7	"
Jaffna District	11	"
Vanni District	5	"
Batticaloa District	4	"
Digamadulla District	6	"
Trincomalee District	4	"
Kurunegala District	16	"
Puttalam District	7	"
Anuradhapura District	7	"
Polonnaruwa District	4	"
Badulla District	8	"
Monaragala District	4	"
Ratnapura District	10	"
Kegalle District	10	"

The election laws introduced by the 1978 Republican Constitution entitle the voters to vote for one of the parties whose list of candidates appears on the ballot paper. The party that polls the highest number of votes in any electoral district is entitled to have the candidate on top of its list declared elected straightway (99-4) . Thereafter, the parties that polled less than one-eighth of the total polled in that election are disqualified and the votes cast in their favour are rejected. Then, what would happen to the Muslim Community living in an electoral district like Batticaloa or Trincomalee to which 4 seats have been assigned ? In such a district, in order to have one member elected, the Muslim list should collect $\frac{1}{3}$ or 33.333% of the total poll. But the Muslim strength which was only 24.2 percent in 1971 has been reduced to 23.98 percent in Batticaloa and this is a continuing process. Similarly, in Trincomalee, it has been reduced from 32.4 percent in 1971 to 28.958 percent in 1979. Thereafter, at the next general election, the Muslim community will have no opportunity of being represented by Muslims of their own choice, in such districts. In Matale and Vanni which have been given 5 members each, the Muslim Community should poll $\frac{1}{5}$ or 25 percent of the total poll: therefore, there too it will be disfranchised, in the sense that it cannot collect $\frac{1}{5}$ or 25 percent of the total poll. Nuwara Eliya and Digamadulla have been assigned 6 members each; in the former, Muslims have no chance, because they cannot poll $\frac{1}{5}$ or 20% of the total poll: in Digamadulla however, they will be able to poll $\frac{1}{5}$ or 20% of the total and therefore, there they will have a chance of being represented by their own member for the time being.

Hambantota, Puttalam and Anuradhapura have been allocated 7 members each; in these electorates, they should poll $\frac{1}{6}$ or 16.66% of the total therefore here too they will be unrepresented. Badulla's 8 members will not include a Muslim because Muslim will not be able to collect $\frac{1}{7}$ or 14.28% of the total poll, being only 3.8 percent of the population. Matara with its 9 members will not be affected by the cut-off point of 12.5 percent, but Muslims being 2.5 percent will be out, as they cannot obviously poll $\frac{1}{8}$ or 12.5% of the total that will be polled there. In Ratnapura and Kegalle which have 10 seats each, Muslims

should poll $1/9$ or 11.111% of the total votes polled, which is not possible. Galle, Kalutara and Jaffna have 11 seats each; in order to get a seat there, the Muslim should poll $1/10$ or 10% of the total votes polled, which cannot be achieved, because their percentages are much less. Kandy is given 12 seats; if the Muslims are to get a seat there, they should poll $1/11$ or 9% of the total, which they will not be able to do, as their percentage is 8.8. Kurunegala is entitled to 16 seats; Muslims have to poll $1/15$ or 6.06 percent of the votes polled at an election to get a seat for them, which is not possible as they are only 4.8 percent of the population. Similarly, in order to win one of the 18 seats of Gampaha, Muslims have to poll $1/17$ or 5.88% of the votes polled, which is again impossible as they are only 2.77% of the population. Finally Colombo will have 21 seats; if Muslims are to have a seat there, they should poll $1/20$ or 5% of the votes polled, which they might be able to do; however, since their strength is only 8.3 percent, and the cut-off point is 12.5 percent, they will fail here too. So, the statement of the Commission on page 17, para 37 that "Introducing Proportional Representation.....the present Constitution too appears to have had very much in mind the question of adequate representation for everyone" cannot justify its statement.

EXCUSES FOR DEPRIVING THE MUSLIMS

OF THEIR RIGHT

TO

SELF DETERMINATION

Various reasons are being trotted out in an attempt to justify the denial of representation to the Muslim Community. They need examination and discussion.

Firstly : the denial would lead to the achievement of a united state in which every elector would be the equal of every other elector. This argument seems to assume that a minority community should be politically swept under the carpet in order to build a united state. It ignores the possibility of achieving a higher state of strong unity in rich diversity, and making the legislative body a true mirror of the nation. If the right of being represented by their own representative is denied to a community of over one million people who have been born and bred and living in and regarding this country as their father land, such denial certainly would not create a united state. On the other hand, it would make that community feel that they are a set of second class citizens in the country of their birth, and would generate in their hearts a feeling of frustration and insecurity which would to say the least, deprive the country of that loyalty and concern which are so badly needed in its present state of development. Besides, this so-called argument savours of intolerance of the presence of others from a different culture and background from that of the majority.

It is to note that those who put forward this argument do not realise that the need of the country today is an emotional and psychological integration of all Sri Lankans, which cannot materialise in the hearts of eleven lakhs of people who as a community are left for from the decision making table.

As to second limb of the argument, one fails to see how, in the proposed proportional system, if a minority were enabled to obtain representation for itself through its own elected members, the equality of the elector would be jeopardised. On the contrary if the minority is not to use its vote to secure representation for itself by its own

members, and is made to cast its votes for the majority community, the proposed proportional representation system will enable the majority community to derive an undue advantage for itself from votes of the minority community. In other words, while the minority's vote will be of no value to the minority itself, it will be of positive value to the majority when cast in its favour.

The Delimitation Commission by its demarcation of electoral districts, which one must concede has been correctly carried out, in accordance with its terms of reference as found in the 1978 Republican Constitution, succeeded in making every elector the equal of every other elector, which task is set out to perform ? This is an impossible task; the scheme of demarcation of electoral districts envisaged by the 1978 republican Constitution can never achieve such an utopian result. If you look at the Voter's Registers of 1979 on which the commission based its findings, you will see no two electorates in which the number of voters per member are equal. For instance, the number of voters in the Kandy electorate in 1979 was 530,517 for 12 members or 44,210 voters per member whereas the number of voters in Vanni electorate (Mannar, Vauniya and Mullaitivu) was 108,493 for 5 members or 21,698 voters per member. That is to say, one voter in the Vanni District is equal to more than two voters in the Kandy District. More or less glaring inequalities appear when you compare the figures of any two electoral districts at random.

Secondly ; minorities are also told that they have nothing to fear from that want of representation in the Legislature as there are entrenched provisions in the 1978 Republican Constitution that guarantee fundamental rights to all citizens alike, irrespective of race, religion language etc. In this respect, one has to bear in mind that Sri Lanka is a multi-racial, multi-caste, multi-religious, multi-lingual country. All the same, the Republic is pledged to give the religion of the majority the foremost place and to protect and foster the Buddha Sasana. As for the other religions, the State is to assure to them as well as

to Buddhism certain rights which are, however, subject to restrictions, if the need arises. There is an assumption in the constitution that the fundamental rights are granted by its as if they were not inherent in the human being. Be that as it may, where the provisions with regard to giving Buddhism the foremost place and to protecting and fostering the Buddha Sasana comes to the surface. Whenever the majority, or some pressure group in it desires to grab a well-developed land of the minority, the State machinery is pressed into service to declare that area where the land is situated sacred to Buddhism. Once that declaration is made, it would be foolhardy for the owner to resist. In a number of places, dispossessions have taken place in such circumstances.

Thirdly ; A novel feature of the 1978 Republican Constitution is the proportional representation which it is introducing into the machinery of elections. We have already referred to the cut-off point fixed by the Constitution, and how it virtually eliminates majority of the Muslim population from the political arena. At this stage, it would suffice to add that proportional representation cannot be applied to by-elections. In consequences, when vacancies occur, they are filled by party loyalists, regardless of the opinion of the electorates or of the appointees' connection with them. Party system is essential to Proportional Representation in that every party gets representative strength in proportion to the support it has in the country. It can thrive only in a country with a homogenous population. It will not work unless it is based on factors of opinion which can change. As stated earlier, Sri Lanka is a heterogeneous country, with each community having its peculiar Social, Economic, Religious and Cultural Characteristics; Language complicates the situation still more.

NEED FOR MUSLIM DIRECT REPRESENTATION

IN

SRI LANKA

The Muslim Community needs genuine representation - not pseudo representation through the nominees of others. In this multi-racial, multi-caste, multi religious, multi-lingual country, the muslim Community finds itself quite marginalised in that it has no effective representation to make known its needs and aspirations in the decision-making centre, the legislative body of the country. All the same, while the community itself is not the subject of rights, some of its sons are the objects of favour granted to a degree necessary to rub off the militancy of the masses who are some how being manipulated by propaganda. It is in order to do away with this abject marginalisation that the community needs its own representation, elected by itself. Like the other communities, the Muslims too want to have their grievances aired in the appropriate forum and have them redressed. This is a democratic right. That is why they want direct representation.

The need of the Muslim Community representation in the country's legislature by its own elected members is imperative. However good a representative chosen for it by others may be, he cannot be regarded as an adequate substitute for a representative chosen by the community itself. In the event of Parliament seats being increased to 225, the Muslim Community should have the right to elect its own representative according to its Ethnic ratio, directly as given in the following schedule.

**PROPOSED ELECTORATES TO ELECT MUSLIM REPRESENTATIVES DIRECTLY BY
THE MUSLIMS.**

Electorates	Districts	Muslim Population in 1981	Number of Muslim Representatives
-----	-----	-----	-----
Eastern Electorate	Amparai, Batticaloa, Trincomalee.	317,177	5
Western Electorate	Colombo, Gampaha, Kalutara	279,587	4
Northern Electorate	Mannar, Jaffna Vauniya, Mullaitivu	54,828	1
Southern Electorate	Galle, Matara, Hambantota.	52,545	1
Central Electorate	Kandy, Matale, Nuwara Eliya	168,040	2
North-Western Electorate	Puttalam, Kurunegala	114,459	2
North-Central Electorate	Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa	61,422	1
Sabragamuwa Electorate	Kegalle, Ratnapura	51,980	1
Uva Electorate	Badulla, Monaragala	34,506	1

Total Muslim Members of Parliament.....			18



Muslim United Liberation Front

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SECURITY FOR MUSLIMS IN THE NORTHERN AND THE EASTERN PROVINCES

by

M I M Mohideen

02nd March 1988

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Muslims are greatly perturbed by the recurrence of ethnic violence between the Tamils and Muslims of the Eastern and Northern Provinces, which area had been identified as the area of historical habitation of the Sri Lanka Tamil Speaking Peoples-the Tamils and the Muslims, in the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord.

Hundreds of Muslims- men, women and children have been killed and injured in the Eastern and Northern Provinces of Sri Lanka, since the signing of the Peace Accord on 29th of July, 1987. The number of Muslims who have been forced to become refugees since the Indians came to " keep the peace " in the Eastern and Northern Provinces, has exceeded 100,000 Many Muslim women have been raped and Billions of Rupees worth of properties belonging to the Muslims have been destroyed.

Other communities in Sri Lanka, the Sinhalese and the Tamils, have also suffered. But the case of the Muslims in Sri Lanka is quite different. The Government and its Armed Forces are giving all possible protection and relief to the 74% majority Sinhalese. Armed Tamil Militants, the Indian Government, Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) and the International Tamil Community are fully backing the 12% Sri Lankan Tamils. But the unarmed 8% Sri Lanka Muslims are helpless and caught napping in the unfortunate ethnic conflict. Although the Muslims are the worst affected lot, the world outside, and the International Muslim Community in particular, are of the opinion that the Muslims in this country are quite happy because President Jayawardena has made the twelve Muslim Members of Parliament Ministers, Deputy Ministers and District Ministers in the present UNP Government.

The Pattern of attacks that have been unleashed on the Muslims of the Eastern and Northern Provinces demonstrate that there is a deliberate plan by vested interest to weaken the economic, political and social strength of the Muslims.

The five Muslim Members of Parliament representing the Muslims of the Eastern Province continue to live in their ivory towers in Colombo, never had the guts to take direct action against the anti-Muslim activities of the Government, Terrorists and the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF).

In recognising the failure of the steps taken by the Authorities, the Muslim United Liberation Front had realised the importance of a comprehensive report on the causes and the sequence of the events which led to the violence against the Muslims and the nature of such violence in the Eastern & Northern Provinces.

It was hoped that such a report would lead to resolutions at a National Convention which would help democratic institutional process necessary for resolving inter ethnic conflicts and which would also help foster extremely important values of impartiality, objectivity and due process of Law. It can also be considered as an attempt to ascertain facts and figures in an objective manner in the hope that such understanding will contribute to the restoration and maintenance of ethnic harmony and also assist in bringing justice and relief to the Muslims affected in the Eastern and Northern Provinces.

MUSLIM UNITED LIBERATION FRONT

M I M Mohideen

SECRETARY GENERAL

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Colombo 10,

SRI LANKA.

BACKGROUNDS TO TAMIL-MUSLIM ETHNIC VIOLENCE
IN THE EASTERN AND THE NORTHERN PROVINCES IN SRI LANKA.

A peculiar phenomenon in the Eastern Province is that a Muslim Village is interspersed with Tamil Villages and vice versa. Substantial share of the private lands owned by the Muslims are adjoining the Tamil Villages. Due to population increase, Muslims and Tamils are facing acute shortage of lands for expansion. As scarcity of land become acute, tension between the two communities increased, mainly because of fears of expansion and absorption. As a result of this particular socio-economic factor, new rules and regulations evolved in both communities which forbade members of either ethnic group to sell to the other ethnic community. This is indicative of a desire by both ethnic communities to maintain their separate identities in a situation where they had co-existed for centuries. However, the Muslims were buying lands off the Tamils offering higher prices by virtue of their economic position, whereas the Tamils illegally occupied thousands of acres of private land belonging to the Muslims with the help of the Militants, for example the lands of Rasool Estates in Komari, Thirukkoviil, Eravur, Thampalakamam, Trincomalee etc.

The occupation of the earlier generation of the Eastern Province Muslims were, related to cultivation, and to a lesser extent fishing and trading. However, after the introduction of Free Education and Guaranteed Price for Paddy, in Sri Lanka, the educational and economic status of the Eastern Province Muslims have raised considerably. Many Muslim University Graduates, Doctors, Engineers, Accountants, Lawyers, Technicians and middle class and lower grade public servants and more particularly teachers, whose numbers according to known statistics, is the highest among the Muslim Areas in Sri Lanka. In short, the Muslim intelligentsia had already shifted to the Eastern Province.

Contrary to the claims from various quarters as to the peace, amity and sense of co-existence among the Muslims and Tamils of the Eastern and Northern provinces, resentment and antipathy among the Tamils have been growing towards the Muslims for the last half a century, particularly after the independence to Sri Lanka in 1948. In fact they feel that the Muslims were better placed economically than the Tamils. Muslim youths were advancing in education and out-pacing the Tamils in higher education at the Universities and Technical Institutions. Muslims were able to obtain more Government and Private Sector jobs pushing the Tamil Youths into the cadre of unemployment. Muslims were more favourably placed with the Government in power on the strength of their leaders disclaiming separatist policies, while the Tamils caught in the web of "Elam" activities, were left in the lurch and thus alienated them from the Government with the on set of struggle for a Separate State for the Tamils. Muslims were unsympathetic towards their Separate State demand and therefore constituted a danger in their midst.

TAMIL-MUSLIM ETHNIC VIOLENCE IN THE NORTHERN & EASTERN PROVINCES
BEFORE INDO-SRI LANKA PEACE ACCORD OF JULY 1987.

Owing to the geographical location and economic interdependence of the two communities-Tamils and Muslims in the Northern and the Eastern province, there have been intermittent clashes over the years over comparatively trivial issues such as Muslim farmers being harassed by Tamils when they pass through Tamil areas, waylaying of vehicles, and robbing of paddy and cattles belonging to the Muslims. These conflicts, in general were minor and were quickly resolved before they escalate into serious clashes.

However, after the 1983 ethnic violence in Sri Lanka, it was found that the Tamils in the Northern and the Eastern Provinces, have been openly giving expressions to these feelings of resentments and antipathy towards the Muslims by verbal insinuations, deprecations and even insults regarding the position of the Muslims as "Userpers" of their lands, "Exploiters" of their workforces and negators of their chances for University and Technical Education and Employments. Physically harassing the Muslims, waylaying and robbing Muslims who traverse through Tamil areas to and from their paddy fields.

Administratively denying civic amenities to Muslim villages situated within the ambit of the Local Government of Tamils. Extorting money, jewelleries, motor vehicles and agricultural implements from Muslims. Abducting Muslim youths to force them into collaborating with the Separatist movements.

This volatile atmosphere gave rise to suspicion and made the muslims in the Northern and Esatern Provinces to realise that the prospect of sharing political and economic powers with the Tamils in the event of a separate state becoming a reality, are remote.

With the increase activities of the Separatistists, in the early part of 1985, the animosity and resentment of the Tamils towards the Muslims took a more brash and bold turn. Consequent to it, numerous incidents of extortions of money, jewellery, motor-cycles and other valuables and gun point threats for co-operations with the separatist movements took place. When such atrocities escalated, the Muslims tried to assuage the situation not by open warfare but by humane methods as prescribes by the Laws of Islam.

The breaking point of the Muslims came when the Tamil Separatists tried, in the course of robbing a rich Muslim Trader, to take his daughter as hostage in Akkaraipattu a predominant Muslim Town, 14 miles down South of Kalmunai, in the Anmparai District.

Angered by this, the Muslims registered their protest by peaceful hartal in Akkaraipattu, from 8th to 12th of April 1985. All the shops reopened for business on the 13th of April 1985. Simultaneously, the National Flag was hoisted in the Bazaar, declaring the solidarity of the Muslims with the Government and its policy of Unitary State and also their rejection of the Division of the Country.

On the 14th of April 1985, at 9.00 a. m. thirteen Tamil Separatists sped into Akkaraipattu by a Jeep from Karaithievu, a Tamil village 10 miles North of Akkaraipattu. They were fully armed and started firing, the first shot being fired in the vicinity of the Town Mosque of Akkaraipattu and raced towards the junction in the main market place. Due to high speed, they were unable to negotiate the turn and the Jeep toppled. Most of them died on the spot and the rest were shot by the Police.

With this unfortunate incidence, the Tamil-Muslim ethnic violence started and swiftly spread to Kalmunai, Eravur, Ottamawadi, Valaichenai, Muthur and Kinniya. Hundreds of Muslims were killed by the armed Tamil Separatists and many Billions of Rupees worth of properties belonging to both the Tamils and Muslims were burnt and destroyed. It is during the April 1985 riots, the Tamils and Muslims fought for the first time each other, as communities in the Eastern Province.

TAMIL-MUSLIM ETHNIC VIOLENCE IN THE NORTHERN & EASTERN PROVINCES
AFTER INDO SRI LANKA PEACE ACCORD OF JULY 1987.

During the massive anti-terrorist operation by the Sri Lanka Armed Forces, in Muthur in May 1985, only after a month of the Tamil-Muslim clashes in the Eastern Province, Tamils suffered very badly. It was the Muslims who gave the Tamils a helping hand during those difficult days. Unfortunately, this did not in any way changed the anti-Muslim attitude of the Tamil Separatists.

Tamil Separatists brutally murdered Mr. Habeeb Mohamed, the Assistant Government Agent of Muthur on the 3rd of September 1987, which led to widespread protest-demonstrations by the Muslims throughout the Eastern province. Annoyed by this, the Tamil Separatists organised a counter demonstration on the 10th of September 1987 in Kalmunai, which resulted in the Tamils attacking and burning Muslims owned shops, mills and houses in the predominant Muslim Town of Kalmunai, in the presence of the IPKF. Properties belonging to the Muslims and damaged by the Tamils is approximately Rupees 67 Millions.

Mr. A.L. Abdul Majeed, former M.P., and Deputy Minister of Muthur was killed on the 13th of November 1987. Mr. Abdul Majeed was actively involved in the relief operation to the thousands of Muslim Refugees who came from Muthur, consequent to Tamil Armed Separatists attack on the Muslims on the 12th of October 1987 in the presence of the IPKF.

About 26 Muslims were killed and another 200 were injured when the IPKF shelled in Ottamawadi, a predominant Muslim Village in the Batticaloa District on 02nd December 1987. Number of houses and shops belonging to Muslims were burned and destroyed. Some Muslim women were also reported to have been raped by the IPKF. About 14,000 Muslims became refugees and fled away from the Eastern province to the North-Central Province, Polonnaruwa.

Kattankudi, the home of nearly 30,000 Muslims, 4 miles down South of Batticaloa, was attacked by the Armed Tamil Separatists on the 30th of December 1987. In this fierce attack, nearly 60 Muslims were killed and more than 200 were injured. Rupees 200 Millions worth of properties belonging to the Muslims were burned and destroyed by Armed Tamil Separatists. All these happened in the presence of the Indian Peace Keeping Forces-IPKF. Although the attack took place for two days, Kattankudi was under siege until the 8th of January 1988. During this period, all movements, in and out of the area were blocked by the Armed Tamil Separatists while the IPKF was supposed to be in control of the area.

Due to attacks launched by the IPKF and Armed Tamil Separatists, nearly 35,000 innocent Muslims who have lived for generations in Mannar, Jaffna, Mullaithievu and Vavunia have abandoned their homes and are now living as refugees outside their traditional home lands.

MUSLIM REFUGEES IN SRI LANKA DECEMBER 1987.MUSLIM POPULATION AND REFUGEES OF THE NORTHERN AND THE EASTERN PROVINCES ACCORDING TO A.G.A.DIVISIONS.

<u>EASTERN PROVINCE</u>	1981	1987	MUSLIM REFUGEES
<u>Amparai District</u>	161,754	193,797	-
Kalmunai	45,480	54,576	-
Sammanthurai	37,996	45,592	-
Ninthavur	20,716	24,860	-
Attalaichenai	20,140	24,168	-
Akkaraipattu	22,941	27,529	-
Pottuvil	13,433	16,120	-
<u>Batticaloa District</u>	79,662	94,939	10,225
Batticaloa Town	3,725	4,432	-
Kattankudi	26,509	31,546	-
Eravur	21,582	25,683	-
Ottamawadi/Valaichenai	27,291	32,476	10,225
<u>Trincomalee District</u>	49,280	87,428	49,280
Trinc.Town & Gravatt	7,979	9,176	5,000
Muthur	19,184	22,062	16,000
Kinniya	28,669	32,969	18,000
Thampalakamam	8,008	9,209	6,280
Kuchcheveli	2,088	2,401	2,000
Kanthalai	4,406	5,067	2,000
<u>NORTHERN PROVINCE</u>			
<u>Jaffna District</u>	14,169	13,306	13,160
Jaffna Town	10,925	10,270	10,100
Chavakachcheri	601	565	560
<u>Mannar District</u>	30,079	37,933	13,650
Mannar Town	14,517	18,291	6,250
Musali	8,716	10,982	4,720
Nanaddan	1,736	2,187	1,212
Manthai West	5,110	6,439	1,468
<u>Mullaithievu District</u>	3,816	5,304	3,040
Maritime pattu	2,852	3,964	2,560
Mullaithievu Town	690	959	480
<u>Vavuniya District</u>	6,764	8,876	4,845
Vavuniya Town & VST	2,973	3,895	2,233
Vengalachettikulam	3,655	4,788	2,612
<u>EASTERN & NORTHERN PROVINCES</u>	<u>371,405</u>	<u>432,310</u>	<u>94,200</u>

MUSLIMS HAVE NO PROTECTIONIN THE NORTHERN AND THE EASTERN PROVINCES IN SRI LANKA.

Muslims have realised from the recent experiences in the North and East that there is a conspiracy to attack all Muslim economic bases in the Eastern Province and thereafter to carry on a systematic elimination of the Muslims intelligencia and the active Muslim youths. The Police Stations are not functioning properly in the troubled areas. The Indo-Sri Lanka Accord compels the Sri Lankan Armed Forces to remain in the barracks. The Indian Peace Keeping Forces have not only failed to protect the Muslims but also supporting the Tamil Separatists to destroy the Muslim community in the Eastern province. Under these circumstances, the Muslims are facing a serious problem today with regard to their safety and security

Dr. Badiudin Mahmud, the President of Sri Lanka Muslim Council, Dr. M. C. M. Kaleel, the President of All Ceylon Muslim League, the five Eastern Province Muslim Members of Parliament and representatives of Muslim Organisations took up the Security for Muslims in the Northern and the Eastern Provinces, with the President J. R. Jayawardena on the 21st of December 1987 and submitted the following memorandum for immediate action:

1. The Muslims of Sri Lanka are deeply perturbed and agitated over the present plight of the Muslims of the North and east, with particular reference to the lack of security for their lives and properties.
2. Over 100,000 innocent Muslims have been rendered homeless on account of the on-going war and violence in the North and East.
3. Hundreds of Muslims lives have been lost, millions of rupees worth of properties owned by Muslims have been damaged and/or destroyed and several Muslim women have been molested and raped.
4. The State security machinery available in these areas has failed to give any protection to the Muslims.
5. We are of the firm view that there is a deliberate attempt to involve and implicate the Muslims of the East in the prevailing conflict.
6. The pattern of attack that has been unleashed on the Muslims of the North and East demonstrates that there is a deliberate plan by vested interest to eradicate the political and economic strength of the Muslims in these areas.
7. The Muslims of Kalmunai, Muthur, Oddamawadi and Valaichenai in the East and Jaffna, Mullaithievu, Mannar and Vavuniya have already been attacked mercilessly and are living in mortal fear. Furthermore, there is an apprehension of an impending attack on areas, such as Eravur, Kattankudi and other Villages in the East, where the Muslims are in majority but helpless.
8. It is our duty to bring to Your Excellency's notice that unless immediate steps are taken by Your Excellency's Government to prevent any future attack on the Muslim majority areas in the East, the Muslim community of the Eastern Province will be exposed to the danger of total annihilation.

9. We are constrained to note that the Muslim majority areas have not been given the same protection by the Sri Lanka Government Armed Forces like what has been afforded to the Sinhalese majority areas like Kantalai in the Trincomalee District and Aranthalawa in the Amparai District.

10. We urge Your Excellency as the Head of the State to provide for and ensure immediately the safety and protection of the Muslims living in the Eastern and Northern provinces.

Immediately after this interview with the President, the situation became much worse and Dr.Badiudin Mamud had to send the following telegram to His Excellency J.P.Jayawardena on the 6th of January 1988:

"Pursuant to our delegation meeting Your Excellency I am directed to inform you regrettfully the deteriorating condition of the Muslim community in the Eastern Province.

As we warned Your Excellency, Kattankudi has now become the target of attack. Mr.C.M.Buhari of Oddamawadi, who was one of the spokesman of our delegation, has been kidnapped and shot dead by the Tamil Separatists.

According to kachcheri sources over 15,000 Muslims from Oddamawadi, Valaichenai, Miravodai etc. from Kalkudah Electorate, have taken refuge in Polonnaruwa. Karbala Model Village in Kattankudi attacked yesterday mid-night during curfew hours, 46 houses and a Mosque destroyed. Refugees coming from Kalkudah are being turned away by the forces at Punanai.

We reiterate our demand for firm action by the Government to provide security to protect lives and property of Muslims in the Eastern provinces. Appreciate immediate action and reply"

The Government, the Muslim Ministers and the five Eastern province Muslim Members of Parliament have failed to give protection for the Muslims, and the 435,000 unarmed Muslims of the Northern and the Eastern Provinces are now left in the lurch to find their own security.

The Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka Mr.J.N.Dixit when interviewed by the Al-Islam reporter Mr.Abdul Aziz Haniffa during January 1988 has said:

"When we were discussing the process of devolution of power, there were at least five or six groups of Muslims, claiming to represent Muslim Interest, trying to negotiate with the President Jayawardena and with me. I was totally lost in determining which group really represent the Muslim Masses on given issue.He scoffed at the so called Colombo-based Muslim Leaders, pretending to represent the Interests of the Muslims of the East.

Mr.Dixit acknowledged that there have been disturbances in the East, not all the time created by the LTTE and that he had reliable information that at times they were instigated by all sections and segments of Sri Lankan Politics who do not wish the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement to succeed."

MUSLIMS(MOORS) AND THE INDO-SRI LANKA PEACE AGREEMENT.

The Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Agreement dated 19th of July, 1987, acknowledges that Sri Lanka is a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual plural society consisting inter alia of Sinhalese, Tamils Muslims (Moors) and Burgers; and further recognises that each ethnic group has distinct cultural and linguistic identity which has to be carefully nautured.

The agreement emphasises the need for preserving its character as a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-religious plural society in which all citizens can live in equality, safety and harmony and prosper and fulfil their aspirations.

Further it is mentioned in the agreement that during the interim period i.e. from the date of the election to the Provincial Council to the date of the referendum, the Northern and the Eastern Provinces as now constituted will form one administrative Unit, having one Governor, one Chief Minister and Board of Ministers. The President, may at his descretion, decide to postpone such referendum.

But in the creation of the unit of devolution of power for the settlement of ethnic grievances in Sri Lanka, the interests of the Muslim (Moor) ethnic group, have been completely disregarded and no opportunity was given to seek those safeguards under the principles enunciated above. Since Muslims (Moors) are not in the majority in any of the present provinces, they cannot share power like the Sinhalese or Tamils when powers are devolved to the Provinces created by the Colonial Rulers for their own convenience. The position becomes even worse when the Northern and the Eastern Provinces are combined and considered as a single Unit for Political and Administrative purposes.

The concept of a Unitary State under the Unitary Constitution where all citizens enjoy equal rights cannot be justified when the people in the seven (7) Sinhalese Speaking Provinces are given the right to decide the merger after the formation of their councils and after a referendum, while the people in the other two (2) Tamil Speaking Provinces are denied such rights and dumped together immediately after the election. Unitary State has no uniform arrangements for the merger of Provincial Councils. Two different arrangements, one for the Sinhaless Areas and another for the Tamil Areas confirms the two nation concept of the Separatists.

Without proper safeguards and power sharing arrangements during the interim period, in the combined North-Eastern Council, the 33% Muslims of the Eastern Province would become virtually a community of Political and Social Slaves under the 70% Tamil domination, when the referendum is postponed by the President for some reason or other as provided in the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Agreement.

The transfer of political power to the 70% majority Tamil ethnic group in the combined Northern Eastern Provincial Council has not been accompanied by adequate safeguards for the separate Muslim ethnic group or effective power sharing arrangements. Tamils being much more advanced educationally and organisationally, would be in a position to use the newly acquired political powers to the best advantage of the tamils and the 18% Muslims, without adequate power sharing arrangements would be reduced to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Since no separate power sharing political and administrative units are created, Muslims have to be extremely cautious specially when extensive power are devolved to the Provincial Councils with regard to Law and Order and Land Settlement. The combined North Eastern Provincial Council will have a Police Force consisting mainly, if not solely of Tamils. The ASPP and the Inspectors in the Police Force will be the Tamil Militants in our areas of Historical Habitations. Muslims do not wish to be continuously terrorised by the Tamil Militants in our Villages.

Since all settlements in the combined province on State Land other than those in the major Irrigation Schemes, will be under the control of the 70% Tamil majority Provincial Council. Therefore, the areas of historical habitations of the Tamil speaking Muslims in the combined province should be identified and protected from further colonisation by the Tamils.

Great injustice have been done to the Muslims in the Eastern Province when carving out local bodies under the provisions of the newly enacted Pradesiya Sabhas Act of 1987 and the allocation of lands and natural resources for development. Muslim majority Amparai District had neep colonised by the Sinhalese under Gal Oya Scheme and Sugar Plantation. Amparai is no more a Muslim majority district. This has created much problems for the Muslims economically and politically.

Although patronising remarks and promises are made by Sinhalese and Tamil political leaders, in the actual exercise of power, every effort appears to have been made to cripple and destroy the rights and privileges of the Muslims of the Eastern province. Muslims in the Eastern Province should consider more seriously the present trend and take immediate steps to safeguard our legitimate rights in an appropriate manner. If proper safeguards are not secured now, it would amount to be the biggest betrayal of not only the present generation but also those yet to be born in the eastern province as Muslims in the future.

POWER SHARING ARRANGEMENTS IS THE BEST SECURITY FOR THE MUSLIMS
IN THE NORTHERN AND THE EASTERN PROVINCES.

It is the first time in the history of the Independent Sri Lanka, that steps are being taken to share powers with the minorities. Therefore, we, the Muslims do not wish to be ignored and our legitimate rights to be denied. A fair and just settlement would be to establish 74% Sinhalese-7 Provincial Councils, 18% Tamils-2 Provincial Councils and 8% Muslims-1 Provincial Council.

Muslims never asked anything more than what is legitimately due to us as citizens of this country. Every Ethnic Community is entitled to a share of the National Pie. We have not asked for separation nor have we resorted to terrorism to solve our grievances. The National Political Parties have let us down very badly and the Muslim Community has been taken for granted by every government since Independence in 1948. The present Government, the Muslim Ministers and the Five Eastern Province Muslim M.P.P have rejected the Muslim Majority Provincial Council for the Muslims to share power like the Sinhalese and Tamils in this country. Today we are left in the lurch without any protection for our lives and properties in our traditional home lands. We are dumped against our wish to remain as an insignificant minority in the merged North Eastern provincial Council.

Under these circumstances, the Government, the Sinhales and the Muslim Leadership have not given any alternatives for the Muslims who have to continue to live in the Northern and the Eastern Provinces, other than accepting the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord, fully support the merger of the Northern and Eastern Province which was given as a viable alternative to the Tamils in order to give up Separation and terrorist activities by both the Sri Lanka and Indian Governments, and to make power sharing arrangements with the Tamils in the merged North Eastern Province.

The Muslims in the Sinhalese areas are supposed to be living happily by supporting the aspirations of the Sinhalese. Similarly the Muslims in the Tamil Speaking Areas can also live happily by supporting the aspirations of the Tamils (definitely not on matters affecting the interests of the Muslims). Eastern province Muslims support to the Tamils at this crucial time would work wonders to achieve the security and protection we need most today to protect the lives and properties of our people.

Therefore, meaningful negotiations should be arranged immediately with Tamils-Moderate as well as Militants, on arrangements that may be worked out in the Northern and the Eastern provinces, to adequately share power in order to protect the Independent ethnic identity of the Muslims and to provide the desired security for our people in the Tamil Speaking region.

There are four important aspects in this regard:

1. The Separate and distinct religious, cultural and ethnic identity of the Muslims should be preserved and strengthened.
2. Adequate arrangements should be made to ensure that in the representation within the Provincial Council, Muslims could enjoy and exercise effective political power and influence.
3. Adequate arrangements should be made to ensure that in regard to economic benefits, such as access to jobs, distribution of land, access to credit, and investment in industrial and agricultural projects for Muslims, that Muslim dominated villages have an equitable share of these benefits.
4. Institutional arrangement be worked out to link the Muslim majority AGA Divisions in the Eastern and Northern Provinces in such a manner as to constitute a single administrative and Political Sub-unit within the region.

The Tamil political leadership has repeatedly assured the Muslims that they would make every effort to satisfy the just and legitimate aspirations of the Muslims in regard to all these matters. This assurance is made not on the basis of a promise of support for the proposed Referendum, or any such political deal, but on the moral ground that there is a duty cast on the majority community within the region to recognise and respect the aspirations of the Tamil Speaking Muslim Minority.

There is, however, one concern that the Tamils may have in this regard. While endeavouring to work out an equitable arrangement, such an arrangement should not seriously prejudice, or undermine the integrity of a unified region for political and administrative purposes.



East Sri Lanka MUSLIM FRONT

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REGIONAL OFFICE: MOHIDEEN SQUARE, AKKARAIPATTU, SRI LANKA. Phone: 596147

A
PROPOSAL
FOR
A MUSLIM MAJORITY PROVINCIAL COUNCIL
IN
SRI LANKA

9th August, 1986.

His Excellency J.R. Jayawardena,
President,
Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka,
Colombo.

Your Excellency,

A MUSLIM MAJORITY PROVINCIAL COUNCIL IN SRI LANKA.

The Government Proposal dated 25th June, 1986; for the devolution of power to solve Ethnic Grievances in Sri Lanka, do not give equal opportunity for Muslims to share power in the Provincial Council like the Sinhalese and Tamils.

As it is, Sinhalese are the majority in seven (7) provinces and the Tamils are the majority in the balance two (2) provinces. According to ethnic ratio, a fair arrangement should be - Sinhalese 74% - 7 Councils Tamils 18% - 2 Councils and Muslims 8% - 1 Council. Being one of the major ethnic community in Sri Lanka, it is our legitimate right to have a Muslim Majority Provincial Council, so that we could also have the opportunity like the other two communities, to elect our own Chief Minister and the Board of Ministers.

Grievances are not confined to one community nor to the followers of one religion. The Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims have grievances in Sri Lanka. We are enclosing herewith a document proving with facts and figures that the worst discriminated lot in Sri Lanka are the Muslims. Therefore, the type and the unit of devolution should be appropriate to the situation and satisfy the aspiration of all.

After studying the present situation in the country and the position of the Muslims as a whole, the East Sri Lanka Muslim Front wish to submit for Your Excellency's sympathetic consideration, a proposal for the creation of a Muslim Majority Provincial Council so that the Muslims could also participate in decision making and sharing of powers like the Sinhalese and Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Further, we wish to mention that under the Proportional Representation Election, the chances of a two-third majority for a single political

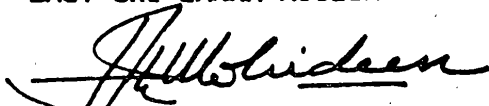
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party in the future Parliaments, seems very unlikely. Therefore, we wish to appeal to Your Excellency to consider our Proposal favourably when making necessary amendments to the constitution for the implementation of the Government Proposals.

Thanking you,

Yours Respectfully,

EAST SRI LANKA MUSLIM FRONT.


M.I.M. MOHIDEEN
PRESIDENT.

- c.c. 1. Hon. R. Premadasa, Prime Minister
2. Dr. M.C.M. Kaleel, President, All Ceylon Muslim League.
3. Hon. Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister of National Security.
4. Hon. A.C. Shahul Hameed, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
5. Hon. M.A. Abdul Majeed, Deputy Minister
6. Secretary, The Political Parties' Conference Secretariat.

A MUSLIM MAJORITY PROVINCIAL COUNCIL IS OUR LEGITIMATE RIGHT

1. MUSLIM COMMUNITY

- 1.1. We Muslim are proud of the fact that we are citizens of the Republic of Sri Lanka our motherland, where our racial ancestors, the Arabs originated the Ceylon Moor race nearly two thousand five hundred years (2500) ago. As people professing the religion of Islam, we have been here for more than 1,400 years according to authenticated historical facts.
- 1.2. The Muslim Community is composed of various cultural groups. The vast majority of them are the Ceylon Moors - the descendents of the Arabs who were the early traders settled here. The Malays who came during the Dutch period after 1640 from Indonesia and Malaya formed the second group. Later during the British period, after 1796, more Muslim Traders came from the Indian Sub-Continent, mostly from Malabar and Coromendal coasts. More recently came the Borahs, Memons and others from India, who have made their home here and became a part of the Sri Lankan Muslim Community.
- 1.3. According to 1981 Census, 10,935,666 Sinhalese, 1,871,535 Sri Lankan Tamils, 1,056,972 Sri Lankan Moors, 825,235 Indian Tamils, 43,378 Malays, 38,236 Burgers and 28,981 others, totalling 14,850,001 is the total population of Sri Lanka. Of the total Muslim population of 1,134,556 about 762,551 live in the Sinhala speaking area and the balance 372,005 are living in the Tamil speaking area in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. More than half of the community are traders and the rest depend on Agriculture. - Annexure I

- 1.4. Although the majority of the Muslims live in Sinhala area, it is from the Eastern province that most of the Muslim Representatives are elected by the Muslims to the Legislature. Even on the extended franchise election held in May - June 1931, the only Muslim Member for the first State Council was also elected from Batticaloa South. Because of Muslim concentration and the availability of Muslim Electorates in the Eastern Province, many Muslims, even from Sinhala speaking areas were able to come to the East and contest elections to represent Muslim interests in Parliament.

2. POLITICAL RIGHTS

- 2.1. In the Legislative Council, Muslims were represented by Mr. Ramanathan who was then considered the Leader of all Tamil Speaking people. Muslims agitated for a separate representative of their own and Mr. M.C. Abdul Rahman was nominated to look after the interests of the Muslims.
- 2.2. The All Ceylon Muslim league, in 1924, agitated for increased representation in the Legislature, full responsible government for Ceylon, safeguard for the Cultural, Social, Economic interests of the Muslim Community in the country. Manning Reforms increased the unofficials in the Legislative Council. In this Constitution, Muslims were given three (3) communal elected seats to represent the Muslim Community in this Legislative Council inaugurated on October 15, 1924.
- 2.3. The Donoughmore Commission abolished Communal representation. On the extended franchise election held in May - June 1931, only one Muslim Member was elected for the first State Council. Muslim Community was not satisfied with the position to which it had been relegated by the Donoughmore Commission. Mr. I.B. Jayah led a deputation to Whitehall, London in 1932, demanding a system of representation in which the Muslim Community scattered as they were, could have adequate representation. The British Government did not make any electoral adjustments favourable to the Muslims. When the election in 1936 was held for the State Council, none of the Muslims were elected.

2.4. The All Ceylon Muslim Political Conference which united all the political divisions among the Muslims went before the Soulbury Commission on 5th February 1945 and demanded that the communal representation to be replaced to safeguard our interest. The Soulbury Commissioners were greatly concerned about the position of the minorities under the New Constitution and expressed the hope that in the demarcation of electorates, such electoral devices like multiple member Constituencies, and reduced electoral strength for minorities areas etc., should be utilised in order to give adequate representation to the minority Communities, especially to the Muslims as they are more or less scattered throughout the country.

3. ETHNIC GRIEVANCES

3.1 Statements have been made from time to time, even by responsible politicians that the Muslims are a rich community and have enjoyed a large share of National Resources than the community is eligible according to its ethnic proportion in this country. The fallacy of this statement had been proved with facts and figures in the document "Sri Lanka Muslims & Ethnic Grievances" enclosed herewith. The truth is that if any community has grievances in Sri Lanka, the plight of the Muslims is the most grievous.

3.2. Our constitution provides for a unitary form of highly, centralised government. Political powers by virtue of numbers have always been in the hands of the majority ethnic group - The Sinhalese. This had led to serious discrimination against the minorities Tamils and Muslims, by successive Governments since Independence :

- * Introduction of Sinhala as the only official Language of Sri Lanka and the reduction of Tamil, the mother tongue of Tamils and Muslims, to an inferior position ;
- * Passing of Citizenship Laws which made the Tamils and Muslims of Sri Lanka doubtful citizens;

- * Removal of the provisions of section 29 of the Soulbury constitution which were designed to give some protections to minorities against legislation which the majority might be tempted to enact to the disadvantages of the minorities;
- * Manoeuvres and Manipulations under the land settlement policies which have resulted in the denial of legitimate share of Developed State Land for the minorities, deprivation of land to the landless people in the district of land alienation and substantial alteration on the ethnic composition of districts in which the state lands have been alienated;
- * Introduction of Proportional Representation Election System with its adverse provisions with regard to the demarcation of Electoral Districts and cut off point;
- * Denial of employment opportunities to the minorities in the Public Sector according to ethnic ratio;
- * Denial of equal facilities and just opportunities for the minorities in education and University admissions;
- * Lack of security for the life and properties of the minorities; are the main causes for the present ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.

3.3. The Government and the majority Community should no longer shut their eyes and ears to the just grievances of the minorities and the consequences due to these grievances since Independence. Failure to recognise and respond to the needs and aspirations of the minorities have led to dissatisfaction and the demand for separation.

3.4. Muslims have not asked for separation nor have we resorted to terrorism to solve our grievances. We do not have Muslim Political Parties to fight for our rights. We have opted to remain with the main stream and have placed our faith in the National Political

Parties. But the National Political Parties have let us down very badly and the Muslim Community had been taken for granted by every government since Independence in 1948.

4. DEVOLUTION OF POWER

- 4.1. What we have today in Sri Lanka is Ethnic grievances and not a Tamil problem. Grievances are not confined to one community nor to the followers of one religion. The Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims have grievances in Sri Lanka. Various political solutions have been attempted for the settlement of ethnic grievances. The Bandaranayake-Chelvanayakam Pact, the Dudley Senanayake - Chelvanayakam Pact and Annexure "C" are the well known solutions that have been seriously proposed for implementation. The common feature in all these proposals, is the substantial devolution of power. All leading personalities in the recognised political parties in Sri Lanka today, have at one time or other, have accepted the principle of devolution of power to settle ethnic grievances.
- 4.2. The current negotiation between the Political Parties on the Proposal of the Government dated 25th June 1986 for the devolution of power to Provincial Councils, is the best chance for peace in Sri Lanka, It is a national tragedy to allow our country to slowly bleed to death. It should not be beyond our ingenuity to device ways and means to restore peace and to live in harmony for it is our own overall interest to do so.
- 4.3. As a compromise between highly Centralised Unitary System and a Seperate State, powers should be properly shared by all ethnic groups, Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims. Patchwork and halfway measures will only make settlement difficult. There should be genuine sharing of power and the division of powers between the Centre and the Prepheral units should be incorporated in the Constitution which would ensure the unity, intergrity and sovereignty of the country. The powers

transferred should enable the ethnic minorities, Tamils and Muslims assume responsibilities and participate fully in decision making process in those areas where they are a majority.

5. UNIT OF DEVOLUTION

5.1. Under the Systems of Government mentioned in the Proposals dated 25th June 1986, the principal Agencies apart from the Central Government for the exercise of the power of Government will be

- (a) Provincial Council,
- (b) Municipal Councils and Urban Councils,
- (c) Pradesheeya Sabah in each A.G.A. division.

We have observed, since Muslims live scattered all over the country that the relevant proposals are quite inadequate to share power by the Muslim Community, like the other two Communities at the level of the Provincial Council. As it is, the Majority Community - Sinhalese will have seven (7) Provincial Councils as they are the majority in all the Seven (7) Provinces in the Sinhala speaking areas and the Tamils will have two (2) Provincial Councils as the Tamils are the majority in the two (2) provinces in the Tamil speaking areas. -

Annexure II

5.2. The East Sri Lanka Muslim Front while supporting fully the principles to which the Sri Lanka Government subscribes:

- * Maintenance of the unity, integrity and sovereignty of Sri Lanka;
 - * The maintenance of the Unitary character of Sri Lankan Constitution;
- wish to emphasis that the system and the Unit of devolution of power should be appropriate to the situation and satisfy the aspirations of different ethnic groups in Sri Lanka. In the interest of the settlement of the present ethnic conflict the East Sri Lanka Muslim front concedes to the proposals provided necessary provisions are made for the creation of a separate Provincial Council for the Muslims to protect our independent ethnic identity with equal powers and functions like other Provincial Councils to achieve our aspirations.

6. EAST SRI LANKA MUSLIMS NOT OPPOSED TO MERGER

- 6.1. The Tamil Moderates and the Armed Eelam Fighters have said that if they are not given a viable alternative for a separate state, they would continue their struggle till they finally achieve what they want. What they have in mind we believe, as a viable alternative is a Linguistic Council in the Tamil Areas of the Tamil speaking Northern and Eastern provinces. Annexure...III. They have also made it clear that as provided in the Bandaranayake - Chelvanayakam Pact, they would welcome the creation of two (2) or more councils in the Eastern Province so that the Muslims could also have a separate Council where they are in a majority. Annexure IV & V. The Merger of Northern and the Eastern Province was refused on the ground that the Muslims of the East are opposed to it. The Muslims opposed this merger mainly because they would become an insignificant minority under the Tamils. Annexure VI & VII. But they are not opposed to the merger of the Tamil areas leaving the Muslim areas in the Tamil speaking provinces, for a separate Muslim Provincial Council. Annexure VIII.

7. MUSLIM MAJORITY PROVINCIAL COUNCIL

- 7.1. Since Muslims are also a recognised Major Ethnic group in Sri Lanka it is our legitimate right to have a separate Provincial Council where the Muslims will be of sufficient majority to form a council and to share powers like the other two Major Ethnic Groups.
- 7.2. The proposed Provincial Council for Muslims can be in the Eastern Province. The area of authority of this Council would include the three predominant Muslim Electorates-Kalmunai, Sammanthurai, and Pottuvil including the balance part of Wewagampattu South. Extent approximately 900 sq.Miles in the present Amparai District as basic, and the non-contiguous Muslim areas of Kattankudy, Eravur, Valai-chenai, Ottamavadi, Mutur, Kinniya, Thampalagamam. Annexure IX. In the event of a merger of the Tamil areas of the Eastern province with the Northern Province, Musali and Erikalampiti in Mannar

District should also be joined with the provincial Council for Muslim s Annexure VIII. These Muslim areas which are non-contiguous should be first made community oriented Pradesheeya Sabhas - A.G.A. Divisions as proposed in para (iii) 16 of the New proposal and considered parts of the Muslim Provincial Council. This would incorporate a little more than 85% or 315,000 Muslim of the Total Muslim population of 372,005 in the Tamil speaking area. There will be about 80,000 Tamils and 40,000 Sinhalese also in the Council for Muslims. Muslims will be more than 72% in the proposed Muslim Council.

7.3. The problem of administrating non-contiguous areas is not as impossible as it is made out to be. For example the former French possession in India-Pondicheri, parts of it falls in three different states Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Andrah Pradesh where three different languages are spoken and administrated as a seperate Union State. Where as in Sri Lanka all the Muslims in the Tamil Speaking area speak Tamil and their grievances with regard to land, language, economy and employment are same. What we are asking here is a Provincial Council on the administrative pattern of non-contiguous Union State in India.

8. VIABLE ALTERNATIVE TO A SEPERATE STATE

8.1. East Sri Lanka Muslim Front is opposed to the division of the country and terrorism but realises that a viable alternative to satisfy the aspirations of the Tamils should be given for a meaningful Political settlement of the conflict. After studying the present situation in the country and the Ethnic problems as a whole, we have come to the conclusion that the only viable alternative within the Unitary State, is to demarcate the area of land in the Eastern Province according to the ethnic units based on population of 1981. Total area of Eastern Province is about 3,839 sq. Miles. Sinhalese 25% - 960 sq. Miles, Tamils 42% -1612 sq. Miles and Muslims 33% - 1267 sq. Miles. Annexure X;

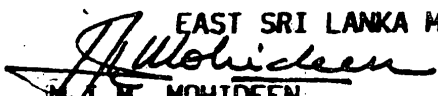
8.2. Bintenna Pattu North, Bintenna Pattu South and Wewagamapattu North, about 880 sq. Miles in the Amparai District and the balance 80 sq. Miles or more from the predominant Sinhala area of Seruwila Electorate in the Trincomalee District total 960 sq. miles can form the Sinhala Unit. The Muslim Unit will cover the areas of the three electorates-Kalmunai, Sammanthurai and Pottuvil- about 895 sq. Miles in Amparai District and the area of the Pradesheeya Sabhas of Kattankudy, Eravur, Valaichenai, Ottamavadi, Mutur, Kinniya and Thampalakamam-about 372 sq. Miles in Batticaloa and Trincomalee Districts, total 1267 sq. Miles. The balance of 1612 sq. Miles in Batticaloa and Trincomalee Districts will be the Tamil Unit.

Annexure V

8.3. By virtue of the parliamentary powers mentioned in para 2 of the Government proposals, the provincial boundaries can be changed merging the Sinhalese Unit of 960 sq. Miles with the Sinhala areas, Uva and North Central Provinces. The Tamil Unit of 1612 sq. Miles and the Muslim Unit of 1267 sq. Miles totalling 2879 sq. Miles continue to remain in the Eastern province. The Tamil Unit can be merged with the Northern Province to form North-Eastern Provincial Council. The Muslim Unit will form the Muslim Provincial Council in the Eastern province. The total number of Provincial Council remain as nine - Annexure III.

9. CONCLUSION

9.1. Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims have lived in this island for more than 2500 years. They can and must live together in peace and work for the mutual benefit though they are different ethnic groups. The Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims can live in one State provided the relationship is based on freedom, equality and justice. Domination of one Community by the other should cease and the approach should be based on equality and mutual benefit.

EAST SRI LANKA MUSLIM FRONT

N. I. M. MOHIDEEN
PRESIDENT

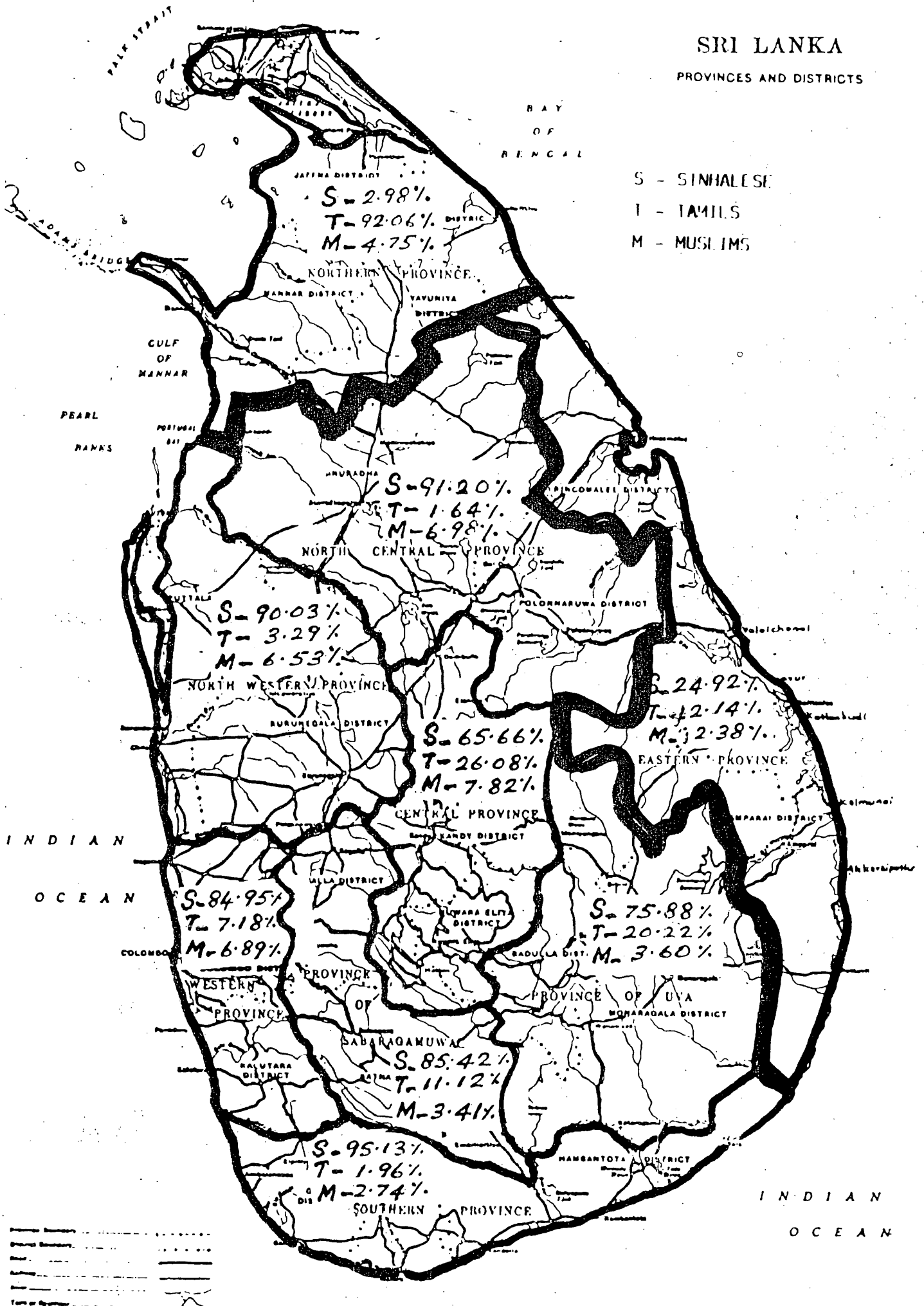
SRI LANKA

PROVINCES AND DISTRICTS

S - SINHALESE

T - TAMILS

M - MUSLIMS



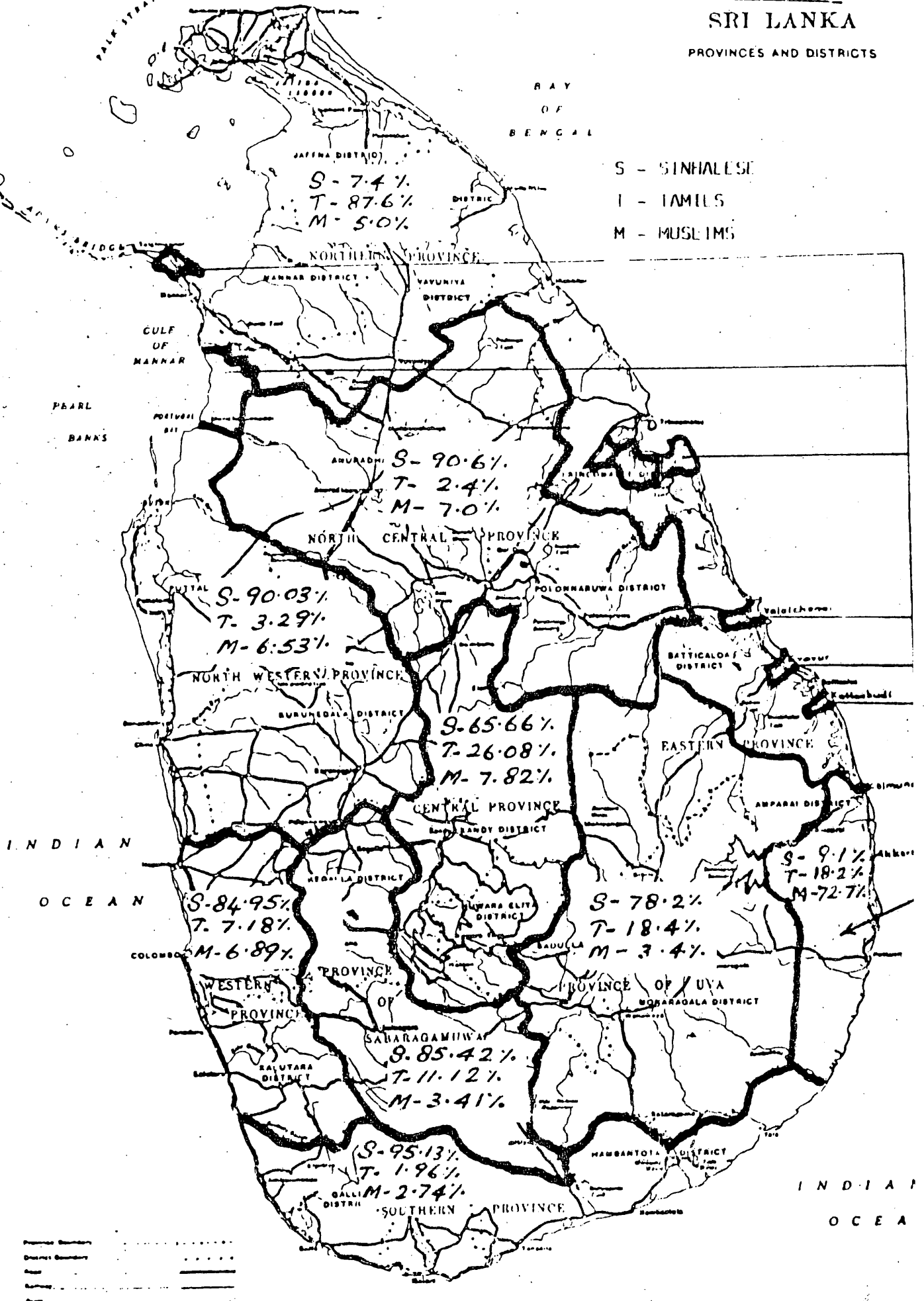
MUSLIM MAJORITY PROVINCIAL COUNCIL IN TAMIL SPEAKING AREA

ANNEXURE VIII

SRI LANKA

PROVINCES AND DISTRICTS

S - SINHALESE
T - TAMILS
M - MUSLIMS



A PROPOSAL BY THE MUSLIM UNITED LIBERATION FRONT.

SAFEGUARDS FOR MUSLIM (MOORS) ETHNIC COMMUNITY
IN THE NORTHERN & EASTERN COMBINED PROVINCIAL COUNCIL.

In the proposals that were put forward by His Excellency J.R. Jayewardena, the Executive President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, on the 25th of July, 1986, for the devolution of power to the Provincial Councils it is stated as follows:

- " 12. Elections will be held in respect of each Province on the Proportional representation system on the basis of District Administration for the Constitution of a Provincial Council. The number of members to be elected to each Provincial Council will be determined according to the population and area of each District within the Province.
16. In order to allay the apprehensions of any community the Government is prepared to consider the following additional suggestions:
- (i) Suitable institutional arrangements to provide for the Provincial Councils in the Island to consult with each other and act in coordination on matters of mutual interest and concern;
 - (ii) Suitable legal and institutional arrangements to ensure that the ethnic group in each Province participate in the Government of the Province;
 - (iii) Establishment of units to give to the ethnic groups a large measure of local self-government under the control of the Provincial Government such as:
 - (a) Community oriented AGA Divisions;
 - (b) Pradeshiya Sabhas in the AGA Divisions;
 - (c) Any other unit of Local Self-Government."

Under the terms of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement as well as the Proposals of His Excellency the President J.R. Jayewardena, immediate steps should be taken for the creation of power sharing POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE sub-national units, comprising the areas of historical habitations of the Sri Lanka Muslims (Moors) in the Northern and the Eastern Provinces in the following manner:

1. Creation of a Muslim (Moor) Majority Administrative District in the present Amparai District comprising the (former) four (4) Muslim Majority DRO's Divisions-Panamapattu, Akkaraipattu, Sammanthuraipattu and Karavahu/Ninthavur pattu and Wewegampattu AGA Division. -AGA Divisions,
2. Creation of Muslim Majority Pradeshiya Sabhas/in Kattankudi, Eravur and Ottamawadi/Valaichenai comprising the areas of historical habitations, agricultural lands and natural resources in proportion to the Muslim population of 24% in the Batticaloa District. -AGA Divisions,
3. Creation of Muslim Majority Pradeshiya Sabhas/in Kinniya, Muthur and Thanpalamam comprising the areas of historical habitations, agricultural lands and natural resources in proportion to the Muslim population of 29% in the Trincomalee District.

4. Creation of Muslim Majority Pradeshiya Sabhas in Erikalampitti and Musali comprising the areas of historical habitation, agricultural lands and natural resources in proportion to the Muslim population of 27% in the Mannar District.
5. Urban Councils should be created in Sammanthurai, Kattankudi and Kinniya without reducing the Muslim majority in the balance areas of the Pradeshiya Sabhas.
6. A Municipal Council should be created in Kalmunai without reducing the Muslim majority in the balance area of the Pradeshiya Sabha.
7. Institutional arrangements should be made to link the Muslim Majority Local Authorities to constitute Muslim Administrative District in the Batticaloa, Trincomalee and Mannar Districts.
8. For the purpose of Provincial Council Elections, all the Muslim Administrative Districts in the Northern and the Eastern Provinces should be considered as Electoral Districts in the Provinces. Under the Proportional Representation System, this is the only way to ensure the election of Muslim Representatives by the Muslims in sufficient numbers to the Combined Provincial Council. The cut-off point should be reduced to 5%.
9. When deciding ethnic representation to the House of Representatives the Parliament, from the Eastern Province, the Delimitation Commission of 1976, had demarcated five (5) electorates for the Tamils, five (5) electorates for the Muslims (Moors) and two (2) electorates for the Sinhalese. On this basis, Tamils have 42% members, Muslims have 42% members and the Sinhalese have 16% members in the present Parliament. This ratio should be maintained in the allocation of members to the ethnic communities in the Eastern Province.
10. In view of the strategic importance, natural resources, and the anticipated increase of population in the near future due to development activities, enhanced representation should be given to the Eastern Province. Further, the area is also 1,100 sq. kilo metres more in the Eastern Province, and the people here have to sacrifice their Council to keep the merger. Therefore, the elected membership of the Eastern Province should be more than the elected members of the Northern Province.
11. Sufficient weightage should be given so that the elected Muslim membership by the Muslims in the Northern and the Eastern (Combined) Provincial Council will not be less than 30%.
12. UNDER ONE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL IN THE COMBINED TAMIL SPEAKING NORTHERN AND EASTERN PROVINCE there should be two (2) Ethnic Councils. One (1) for the Tamil Speaking Tamils and One (1) for the Tamil Speaking Muslims (Moors) on equal status for sharing of power.

13. With regard to Law and Order, all the powers and functions devolved on the Tamil Ethnic Council should be devolved to the Muslim (Moor) Ethnic Council also.
14. Provisions should be made to ensure not less than 30% of the Board of Ministers with key Ministerial Posts, is from the Muslim (Moor) Ethnic Council.
15. The Chief Minister of the Tamil Ethnic Council and the Chief Minister of the Muslim (Moor) Ethnic Council should be the Chief and the Deputy-Chief Minister respectively of the Combined Provincial Council.
16. Seperate Educational facilities up to University level should be provided for the Muslims under the Muslim (Moor) Ethnic Council.
17. Entitlement of State Land of the Muslims in the Muslim (Moor) Ethnic Council should not be less than 35% in the Eastern Province, 30% in the Mannar District, and 10% in the rest of the Northern province.
18. Muslims in the Muslim (Moors) Ethnic Council should be entitled to not less than 30% of the employment of the Combined Provincial Council.
19. No Statutes which would impinge the Political and Administrative powers and functions of the Muslim (Moors) Ethnic Council shall be passed by the Provincial Council without three-fourth majority approval of the elected members of the Muslim (Moors) Ethnic Council.
20. When working out an equitable arrangement, such an arrangement should not in any way prejudice or undermine the integrity of A UNIFIED REGION OF THE NORTHERN AND THE EASTERN PROVINCES FOR POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES.
21. The above provisions that we have asked for are within the purview of the proposals for the Devolution of powers to the Provincial Councils announced by His Excellency the President on 25th June, 1986 and also of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement dated 29th of July 1987.
22. To preserve the unitary character of the Northern and the Eastern Provinces as a single region for political and administrative purpose and for the Muslims (Moors) to live in equality, safety, and harmony and prosper and fulfil our aspirations, the above safeguards are absolutely necessary. If these safeguards are not secured it would amount to be the biggest betrayal of the Muslims in the Eastern and Northern Provinces.

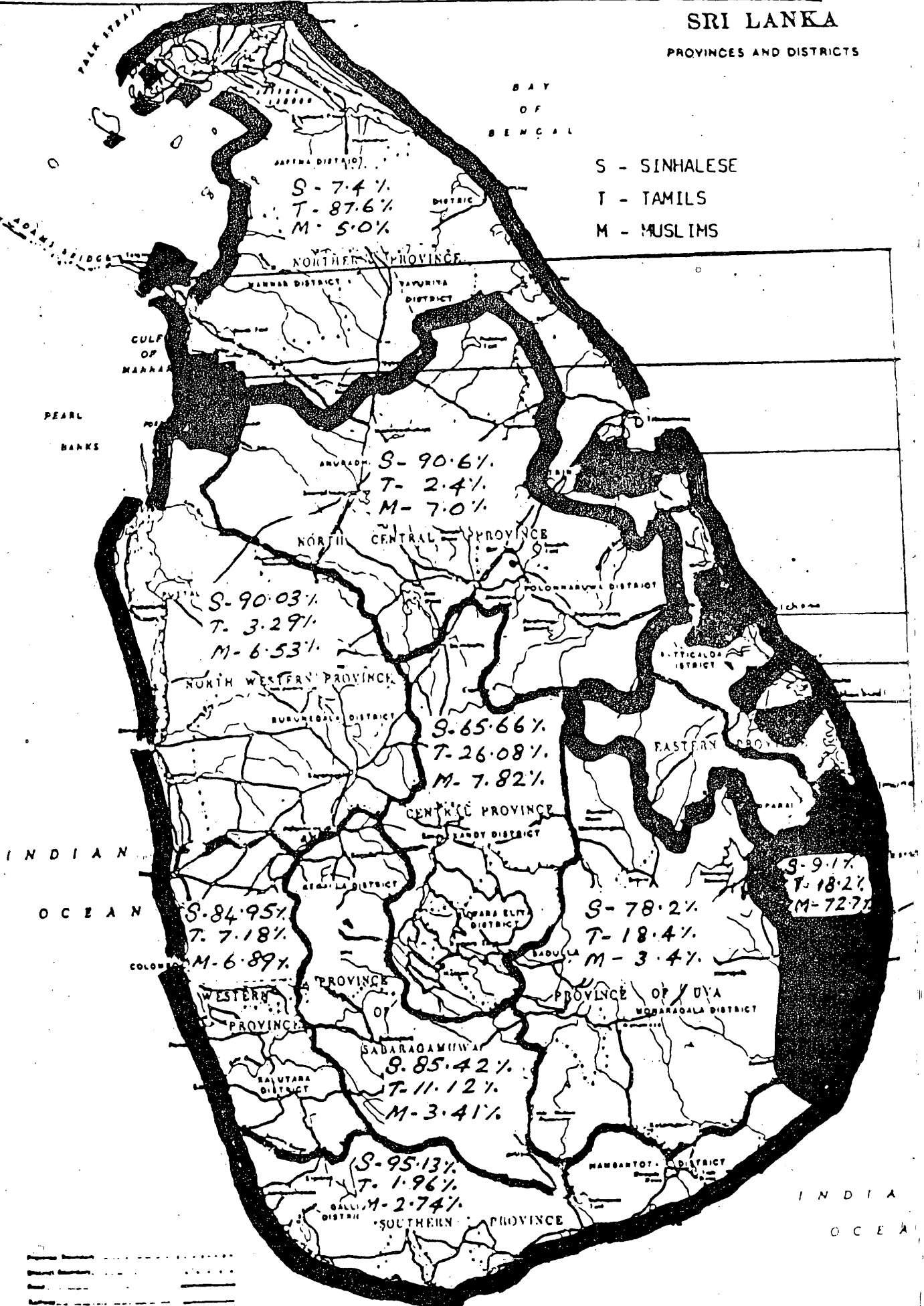
MUSLIM MAJORITY (MOOR ETHNIC)

COUNCIL IN TAMIL SPEAKING AREA

SRI LANKA

PROVINCES AND DISTRICTS

S - SINHALESE
T - TAMILS
M - MUSLIMS



PRADESHIYA SABHAS AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES ELECTIONS IN SRI LANKA

A MUSLIM POINT OF VIEW

By M.I.M.Mohideen, President, East Sri Lanka Muslim Front.

1.0 LAWS ARE CONTRARY TO PARTY PROPOSALS AND THE STATEMENT OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT.

1.1 Provisions of the newly enacted Pradeshiya Sabhas Act and the Local Authorities Elections (Amendment) Act, with regard to the area of Administration and the Election of Members to local Authorities, do not conform to the proposals of the United National Party for the decentralised government and the statements made by His Excellency the President for the Devolution of power, for the settlement of Ethnic Problems in Sri Lanka. Pradeshiya Sabhas, Urban Councils and Municipal Councils constituted under the provisions of these laws will give no opportunities for the Muslims to participate in decision making process relating to Administration and Development activities at the local level. The new laws will also have serious consequences endangering the fundamental rights of the Muslims when implemented at the forthcoming elections scheduled to be held shortly.

1.2 In the UNP proposal dated 20th february 1984, to the All Party Confrence, it was stated that there would be 200-250 Pradeshiya Sabhas. They would be vested with necessary powers and functions. The economic viability and stability will be ensured by careful demarcation of the area of authority, taking note of population, size, resources etc. The Chairman and Councillors would be elected directly by the people on Proportional Representation basis.

1.3 His Excellency the President in his statement dated 25th June 1986 said that in order to allay the apprehension of any community the Government was prepared to consider the establishment of units to give the Ethnic Groups a large measure of local self-government under the control of Provincial Government such as Community Oriented AGA Divisions, Pradeshiya Sabhas in the AGA Divisions and any other unit of local self-government.

2.0 MUSLIMS DISCRIMINATED IN THE DEMARCATION OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

2.1 There were 549 Village Councils with 7,316 members and 83 Town Councils with 528 members prior to the setting up of the Development Councils in 1981.. We had 138 DRO's Divisions before the establishment of the 241 AGA Divisions for local administration directly under the Ministry of Home affairs. Now, the Government, without inviting the members of the public, political parties

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and associations to make representations they desired regarding the delimitation of the area of administration and the method of election of members, have established 257 Pradeshiya Sabhas to elect 3,695 members, 39 Urban Councils to elect 416 members and 12 Municipal Councils to elect 255 members in the 25 districts of the country. Such a ~~big~~ responsible operation was carried out unilaterally by the Government without consulting the people specially when these sub-national units are meant to give an opportunity to the minorities to share power at the local level. From the list which appeared in the local News Papers ^{that} we find ~~the~~ interests of the Muslim Community have been deliberately ignored when carving out local bodies in this country. We do not have Pradeshiya Sabhas, Urban Councils and Municipal Councils according to our national ethnic ratio. Muslims being 8% it is our legitimate right to elect 281 members in 21 Pradeshiya Sabhas, 32 members in 3 Urban Councils and 19 Members in 1 Municipal Council in order to participate effectively like the Sinhalese and Tamils in decision making process relating to administration and development activities at the local level.

- 2.2 In 1921, the Sinhalese population in the Eastern Province was less than 4%. However the situation has changed considerably now after the colonisation. 1981 census recorded Tamils 42%, Muslims 33% and Sinhalese 25%. In the list of local bodies to poll this year in the Eastern Province, the Sinhalese are given 12 Pradeshiya Sabhas and 1 Urban Council. On this basis the 33% indigenous Muslims in the Eastern province are eligible to have 16 Pradeshiya sabhas and 1 Urban Council. But the Muslims are given only 12 Pradeshiya Sabhas and not a single Urban Council. When the 34% Sinhalese are given 5 Pradeshiya Sabhas, the 29% Muslims should have at least 4 Pradeshiya Sabhas. But we are given only ONE Pradeshiya Sabha in the Trincomalee District of the Eastern Province. ~~Muslim Majority local bodies could have been created if~~ the Government wanted to in the AGA Divisions of Colombo, Beruwela, Harispattu, Puttalam, Pottuvil, Akkaralpattu, Attalaichenai, Ninthavur, Sammanthurai, Kalmunai, Kattankudi, Eravur, Ottamawadi/Valaichenai, Muthur, Kinniya, Kuchevelli, Musali, Erikalampitty, Kalpitty, Kuliypitty, Thampalakamam, Thambankaduwa, Lankapura, Welimade, Mawenella, Udunuwera and Mededumbara.

3.0 MUSLIM PRADESHIYA SABHAS HAVE BEEN DENIED LEGITIMATE ECONOMIC RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPMENT.

- 3.1 Great injustice have been done to the Muslims in the allocation of economic

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resources even to the 12 Muslim Pradeshiya Sabhas and hence most of them are not economically viable. When community oriented Pradeshiya Sabhas are created in Akkaraipattu AGA Division, most of the natural resources legitimately belonging to the Muslims and all the Government Institutions are separated and included in the new Tamil Pradeshiya Sabha called Alaydivembu. Alaydivembu Pradeshiya Sabha with 13,000 Tamils, is given 37 Sq.Miles of land area, where as the balance area of Akkaraipattu AGA Division now called Karunkodithlevu with 23000 Muslims, is given only 20 Sq.Miles of land area. Of the 37 Sq. Miles in the Tamil Pradeshiya Sabha area of authority more than 20 Sq.Miles are the Paddy Lands owned by the Muslims who are now in the new Muslim Pradeshiya Sabha. Even the name of the predominant Muslim AGA Division "Akkaraipattu" had been omitted against the consent of the Muslims for their Pradeshiya Sabha. The two UNP Muslim Members of Parliament representing Akkaraipattu were unable to rectify this injustice because the Hon.Minister was not prepared to change his decision when representations were made to him directly before the list for local bodies were published. However, the single woman Tamil UNP M.P. was more powerful and she was able to get every thing the way she wanted with the blessing of the party hierarchy in carving out the new Alaydivembu Pradeshiya Sabha for the Tamils in Akkaraipattu.

- 3.2 Lahugala Pradeshiya Sabha with 7,000 Sinhalese is given 368 Sq.Miles and where as the Kalmunai Pradeshiya Sabha with 43,000 Muslims and Tamils is given only 11 Sq.Miles. The average land holding of a Sinhalese in Lahugal is 208 time more than the Muslim in Kalmunai. On population basis the land areas allocated to Sinhaless Pradeshiya Sabhas are 13 time more than the land area allocated to Muslim Pradeshiya Sabhas in Amparal District. Worst discriminations have taken place in Kattankudy, Eravur and Ottamavadi/Valaichenai areas. These new Muslim Pradeshiya Sabhas created in Tamil majority AGA Divisions are restricted to the residential pockets only, quite contrary to what had taken place in the Muslim majority AGA Division in Akkaraipattu. What is the use of Pradeshiya Sabhas without our legitimate resources included in the area of authority, for development?

2.9 P.R.ELECTION SYSTEM, NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE MUSLIMS.

- 4.1 The concept of Proportional Representation system introduced in to the machinery of elections to the Local Bodies, presupposes the existence of Party System in the politics of the country. Muslims do not have recognised political parties of our own. We have been unconditionally and blindly supporting the UNP and SLFP all these days.

4.

1.2 The policies that have been pursued in this country after the independence in 1948, by successive governments headed by either the UNP or SLFP on Citizenship, Language, Education, Employment, Colonisation, Land Alienation, Inter Communal Relationship - particularly in relation to the safety and security of the minorities have made us to realise that the UNP and the SLFP are not truly national parties. In fact they are communal parties by the Sinhalese majority to look after the interest of the Sinhalese only in this country. On many occasions, the Muslim members of these parties have been expected to fall in line with the decisions of the Sinhalese majority, even on matters which are harmful to the Muslims. The Muslim members, even founder Secretaries and the Treasurers of these parties, who were not prepared to accept this position have been asked to leave the party or threaten to be kicked out.

4.3 Muslim community need genuine representations - not pseudo representations through the nominees of others. In this multi-racial, multi-cast, multi-religion, multi-lingual country, Muslim community find itself quite marginalised in that it has no effective interpretation to make known its needs and aspirations in the decision making centre. Like the other communities, the Muslims too want to have our grievances aired in the appropriate forum and have them redressed. This is our democratic right and that is why we want direct representations. However, good a representative chosen for us by others may be, he cannot be regarded as an adequate substitute for a representative elected by us to look after our interest.

5.0 DENIAL OF THE RIGHT OF SELFDETERMINATION.

5.1 Muslims are less than 12½% in about 230 Pradeshiya Sabhas, 30 Urban Councils and 10 Municipal Councils which are in 21 of the 25 Districts in the country. In view of the demographic pattern of Muslims, unless the 12½% cut-off point is removed and the voters are given the right to cast all three votes to any candidate, Muslims will find it impossible to ensure the election of Muslim candidates to any of the local bodies in the 21 Districts. In other words the fundamental right of self determination had been taken away from the majority of the Muslim community by the introduction of the 12½% cut-off point and the restriction to cast more than one vote to any candidate of one's choice.

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6.0 MAJORITY MUSLIMS HAVE NO CHANCE TO ELECT MUSLIM REPRESENTATIVES TO LOCAL BODIES.

6.1 The average membership for a Pradeshiya Sabha is 15, Urban Council 11, and Municipal Council 21. Each political party or an independent group has to nominate on an average 18 members for Pradeshiya Sabhas, 14 members for Urban Councils and 24 members to Municipal Councils. His Excellency the President had said on 26th June 1987 in Piliyandala, that the UNP got 51% of the votes and the SLFP got 40% of the votes in the last General Election. He also mentioned earlier in another place that under the P.R.system no one political party would get a two-third majority in the future elections. If that is so, the most popular political party or Independent Group will get elected an average of 9 members for Pradeshiya Sabhas, 7 members for the Urban Councils and 12 members for the Municipal Councils. Therefore, it is abundantly clear that nearly 50% of the candidates contesting even through the most popular political parties will have no chance of getting elected to local bodies under the P.R.election system. Muslims being less than 10% in 21 of the 25 Districts only one or two Muslims would have the chance of getting the nomination but definitely they will have no chance at all to be elected to any local body.

6.2 By the manipulation of the 12% cut-off points and the restriction on the casting of the three votes to three different candidates of only one party or independent group, Muslims are indirectly compelled to cast their votes to the majority community oriented political parties or independent groups. Hence, the P.R.system enables the majority community to derive an undue advantage for itself from the votes of the minority community. In other words, while the minority votes will be of no use to the minority itself, it will be very much useful to elect more members from the majority community when voted by the manner prescribed in the provisions of the Local Government Election (Amendment) Act No.24 of 1987.

The provisions to select the Chairman or Mayor and Vice-Chairman or Deputy Mayor by the political parties and not by the members of the local bodies, is again a blow on the rights of the people to elect their own local leaders.

7.0 MUSLIMS SHOULD REGISTER PROTEST BY BOYCOTTING THE ELECTIONS.

7.1 Although patronising remarks are made sometimes by political leaders from public platforms, in the actual exercise of powers, every effort appears to have been made to cripple and destroy the rights of the Muslims. The time has come for

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the Muslims to consider seriously the present trend to reduce us to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water in this country. Provisions of the Pradeshiya Sabha Act and the Local Authorities Elections (Amendment) Act are seriously damaging the rights of the Muslims to elect Muslim representatives to local bodies. Therefore, all Muslims should express our protest vehemently and peacefully by boycotting the forthcoming Local Authorities Elections.

M.L.M.Mohideen

President

EAST SRI LANKA MUSLIM FRONT

57 Norris Canal Road,

Colombo 10,

SRI LANKA

19th July, 1987.



" Statements have been made from time to time even by responsible politicians that the Muslims are a very rich community and have enjoyed a large share of National Resources than the other community is eligible according to its ethnic proportion in the country. The purpose of this booklet is to prove with facts and figures the fallacy of this statement and to emphasise the truth that if any community has grievances is Sri Lanka, the plight of the Muslims is the most grievous.

The Muslim Community has been taken for granted by every government and the National Political parties have betrayed us since independence in 1948."

M.I.M. Mohideen

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